Disbanding of groups expected

Several organisations are expected to disappear following the unbanning of ANC, PAC and SACP, reports SEFAKO NYAKA.

The "struggle" was not about the unbanning of organisations but about political power, Release Mandela Committee publicity secretary Mr Dali Mpofu said at the weekend.

The concessions were not a result of Mr de Klerk's goodwill but the result of pressure by internal and external organisations, he added.

Mr Mpofu conceded that Mr de Klerk's announcements, especially the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, had caught the Mass Democratic Movement off guard.

The unbanning of the ANC and SAPC would certainly result in a drastic realignment of forces in extra-parliamentary politics.

The United Democratic Front was likely to cease to exist and its members would probably operate under the banner of the ANC, while the SA Youth Congress would probably be absorbed by the ANC Youth League, Mr Mpofu said.

A number of UDF affiliates — especially civic, sports, cultural and women's organisations — were expected to operate formally as extensions of the ANC once consultations had been made.

But one contentious issue might be the status of Cosatu and its relationship with the self-exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions, Mr Mpofu said.

Cosatu had a historic link and longstanding alliance with the ANC, and although it was not officially banned, it went into exile when the ANC was outlawed in the 1960s because most of its office-bearers had been SAPC or ANC members.

Some elements in Cosatu, especially those who propounded the idea of a workers' party, would most likely resist efforts to make Cosatu a labour wing of the ANC.

Several single-issue organisations, such as the Release Mandela Committee, would fold when their demands had been met.

Mr Mpofu said Mr de Klerk's speech would pose a major headache to homeland leaders. His announcement that the issue of the reincorporation of homelands into South Africa was open for negotiation would meet with some resistance from people long regarded as puppets of the Government.

The suspension of the death penalty, although welcomed, was bound to pose problems, especially regarding crimes committed by right-wing elements.

The scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act would certainly be opposed by the CP, he said.
FW de Klerk's reforms not likely to reverse divestments

LONDON — There is little prospect of any early reversal of the strategy of disinvestment from South Africa in the wake of the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress and other measures announced by President FW de Klerk recently.

Barclays Bank, which pulled out of South Africa in November 1986, said, "Our position has not changed in the last few days."

The international business community is still absorbing the implications of Mr de Klerk's speech. Its initial response is likely to be cautious.

Post-disinvestment links remain close in many cases. On most occasions the departing company negotiated agreements with new owners on licensing, servicing, future technology transfers and use of patents and titles, so that the businesses could continue to perform profitably as a recent study, Apartheid and International Finance, commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat, points out.

If perceptions of the investment climate in South Africa change the likely first response is to upgrade these links rather than provide new capital. Secondly there may be substantial easing in the pressure for disinvestment, particularly powerful in the US where state and federal legislation has penalised ties with SA.

Although several Western governments have responded favourably to Mr de Klerk's speech, saying they will review sanctions, disinvestment is more the product of anti-apartheid lobbying than sanctions legislation itself.

In the US in particular, stockholder pressure co-ordinated by church groups, students, universities, and trade unions, backed by a powerful black lobby have led companies to pull out.

Another powerful factor in the US is Congress's Rangel Amendment of December 1987. This requires American companies to pay US taxes on their South African profits as though they were income earned in the US, without credit for taxes paid in SA.

High returns

The Commonwealth study estimates that this change in the law cost Mobil $3 million in 1988.

Thirdly, many foreign businessmen suspect that the days of high return from South African investments are over. Even four years ago, profits from Barclays's associate company, Barclays National Bank (now First National Bank) had fallen sharply, and were less than 10 percent of group earnings. Barclays was subjected to substantial pressure from several groups to disinvest, including the National Union of Students. The damage being done to its student business was one reason for the bank's decision.

The combination of political uncertainties in South Africa, as well as concern about the ANC's recent renewed commitment to nationalisation of banks and main industries, leave most investors and ex-investors cautious.

The bulk of disinvestment from SA took place between 1986 and 1988, by which time most of the companies vulnerable to pressure had pulled out.

Stocks of foreign direct investment in SA have fallen sharply. Britain is the largest foreign investor (80 percent of total direct foreign investment), but estimates of the size of the investment vary, affected as it is by different calculations of the book value, and the weakening of the rand.

One study by Merle Lipton for the Economist Intelligence Unit, suggested that their book value had declined from almost £3 billion at the end of 1984 to £2 billion at the end of 1985.

British-based companies which stayed include ICI, which owns a trading company and has a 38 percent stake in AECL. BP and Shell also stayed. They welcomed the political changes in the country as vindicating their decision not to disinvest.

ICI said it had always felt it could contribute more to change in South Africa by staying in the country. "We have felt we could change the system from within by keeping our activities in South Africa," an ICI official explained.

He also stressed that ICI never condoned apartheid and that moves to change the system were welcome. He added the company had adhered to both the UK government's directions and the EC code on doing business with SA.

BP sold its South African coal interests last November. However, the British oil group said the coal sale was not part of a broad programme to withdraw from SA.

Political change

Shell recently pointed out that it had publicly called for many years for the abolition of apartheid, the freeing of Nelson Mandela and political prisoners and recognition of all organisations.

The political change in the country is likely to be closely watched by the two French car giants, the private Peugeot-Citroen group and the state-owned Renault company, which both withdrew from the SA market.

The two French vehicle manufacturers are likely to review their approach to the South African market in the wake of recent attempts by Japanese car producers to expand their penetration there.

US investment in South Africa was valued at $2.8 billion in 1981 and had fallen to under $1.5 billion in 1987, according to UN figures, while latest estimates suggest it is now under $1 billion.

But SA's share of US investment abroad is insignificant and the issue is unlikely to have priority in US boardrooms. It represents less than 0.5 percent of all American direct investment abroad.
FW had no mandate to unban ANC, says prof

President de Klerk did not have a mandate to unban the ANC and scrap apartheid laws, a political scientist has claimed in Pretoria.

Retired political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said this week that he disagreed with Mr de Klerk that he had a mandate from voters to carry out the measures announced on Friday.

He said Mr de Klerk, in a television interview, had tried to justify the unbanning of the ANC by claiming that voters in last year's general election had voted for negotiation.

Voters' endorsement of negotiations could not be interpreted as a mandate to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and unban prohibited organisations, Professor Kleynhans said.

"If you say you have a mandate, it means you have spelt out your intentions specifically," he said.

"Negotiation is a general term and nowhere in the National Party's 1989 election manifesto was the electorate asked to give the Government the authority to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and to legalise the ANC, SACP or PAC."

Professor Kleynhans stressed he was not commenting on the merits of the Government's decisions, but on Mr de Klerk's interpretation of a mandate.

"President de Klerk's interpretation of a mandate is wrong and he cannot claim that a mandate to negotiate includes the things he did on Friday." — Own Correspondent.
Stoffel sees future govt with ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa's Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, was asked on British TV yesterday about the possibility of a coalition between the ANC and the National Party some time in the future.

Speaking on the BBC programme "Newnight", he said: "We believe that the future government of SA should be composed in such a way that all the parties that make a difference to the future of the country, should be represented in such a government.

"Now if that includes the ANC and that includes the NP, then one hopes that the future government will be so composed." 

On whether a black election would be held prior to negotiations starting, he said: "What is clear is that at the negotiating table, all the people of SA will have to be represented.

"What the right way is to select those leaders, whether it should be done through a universal black franchise or through whatever means, that is something that should be negotiated before the time. But the point is that eventually all the people must be represented and must feel themselves represented." 

He said negotiations would still take some time" to get under way.

"Speaking on the same BBC programme, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's support for the lifting of sanctions has been slammed by Mr Thabo Mbeki, international secretary for the ANC. 

Mr Mbeki backed Mr Mandela's call for international pressure to be retained till apartheid had been completely eradicated.

Mrs Thatcher, who has written to European and Commonwealth leaders calling for a "more positive" approach to encourage the ending of apartheid, yesterday released a statement reaffirming this standpoint.

Britain's voluntary ban on new investment in SA has already been ended.

Mr Mbeki said Mrs Thatcher had "always been opposed to any struggle against apartheid. It is therefore not surprising that she has wanted to remove even those little sanctions that this country has imposed.

"I don't know if she has any respect at all for the ANC—for the leadership of our people."

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd yesterday acknowledged that sanctions had played a significant part in Mr Mandela's release—"but added that British support for positive moves had also been beneficial.

While US President George Bush was not prepared to discuss sanctions yesterday, White House sources quoted here said Congress was unlikely to soften sanctions, with the possible exception of reinstating landing rights for SA Airways in recognition of Mr Mandela's release.

In the same programme, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche verbalised right-wing threats after footage was shown of the march in Pretoria on Saturday, including a white man who was badly beaten up for opposing the AWB. Mr Terre'Blanche said the "capitulation" of the government would result in war.
The South African government recently appears to be coming around to considering a bill of rights. If it accepts proposals on the issue, it could mean the scrapping of apartheid in South Africa.

RIGHTS RORIANA:
The bill of rights is an instrument used to protect the individual against the power of the state. It can be used to secure the rights of people to free expression, free assembly, and other forms of government.
De Klerk speech will be let-down — MDM

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will make general commitments and express pleasant sentiments, but is unlikely to make specific undertakings in his speech at the opening of Parliament tomorrow, mass democratic movement (MDM) leaders believe.

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said yesterday it was clear de Klerk had to address himself to the main issues raised in the Harare Declaration — including the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and the lifting of the state of emergency.

"But I suspect he will be vague. It is clear government is trying to diffuse expectations. For us, the important thing is how far he is prepared to go," Morobe said.

Both Morobe and an unofficial MDM source said they believed de Klerk remained bound to take into account the views of the "securocrats" who were worried about a repeat of the 1984 to 1986 uprisings.

"This, the source said, explained the "so-called problems" regarding Mandela's release. De Klerk was unlikely to name dates, times and other specifics of his intentions regarding the emergency and the legal status of the ANC.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that the largest assembly of ANC leaders outside Africa is gathering in Stockholm for a summit with their ailing president, Oliver Tambo, to respond to de Klerk's opening of Parliament statement.

The meeting of the most senior ANC executive members would give an "emphatic" response to De Klerk, spokesman said yesterday.

Tambo, recovering in a Stockholm clinic from a stroke that partially disabled him six months ago, will not appear in public.

The summit with Tambo would be held behind locked doors, and all media conferences and public meetings would be led by Walter Sisulu, secretary general Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki and SA Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo.

A spokesman for the ANC executive said they hoped de Klerk would respond positively to the "gravity" of the situation facing SA.

Sisulu and his group are due to return to SA on Monday to deliver to their colleagues the full details of their summit with Tambo.

KIN BENTLEY reports that the British government has not drawn up a firm list of political changes it expects de Klerk to announce.

But it does expect him to "say something new to develop the direction in which he has been going", a Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday.

With violence between police and anti-rebel cricket tour protestations featuring prominently in the UK media this week, political commentators have virtually dismissed hopes of major changes being announced.

The Whitehall spokesman said only the British government was looking for "fresh changes and the repealing of some Acts".

There are two sets of clues, but the answers are the same.
A chilling picture has emerged of how and why a secret right-wing organisation, likened in character to the once-formidable Afrikaner Broederbond, has been directly linked to police to the apparent political murders of Dr David Webster and former Swapo advocate Mr Anton Lubowski.

Details of the operations of the new secret group, which police claim was responsible for the two as yet unsolved murders, have been uncovered by The Star in a prolonged investigation of its own.

First indications of the character and objectives of the movement came from senior police sources in papers published in the Supreme Court in Pretoria.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, chief investigating officer in the Webster murder and commander of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, levelled a series of serious allegations against the group when he opposed an application for the release of Mr Perdie Barnard, a former narcotics detective who is allegedly a member of the organisation or was working on its behalf.

In an affidavit submitted to court last week, which led to an application for Mr Barnard's release being rejected, Brig Mostert expanded on the "sensitive" information he had gathered on the group's activities.

He disclosed the organisation committed murders and terrorised left-wing radicals with intimidation and violence, but said he could not reveal all the facts as secrecy was of the "greatest importance".

An investigation by The Star, however, throws some light on the strategies and activities of the group and on the movements of some of its alleged members.

It is now disclosed that:

- Mr Barnard has been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act since October 31, had at least twice met Irish national Mr Donald Acheson, who has been charged in Windhoek with the Lubowski murder.
- Both meetings took place in Johannesburg before Mr Lubowski was killed outside his home in Windhoek on September 12. (Mr Acheson is charged only with the Lubowski murder while Mr Barnard is being questioned in connection with both killings — Lubowski and Webster).
- Mr Barnard, who has allegedly confessed to being under the command of the military intelligence arm of the South African Defence Force, met Mr Acheson soon after the Irish national was due to appear on a shoplifting charge in Johannesburg. However, he never stood trial and disappeared to Windhoek where he was arrested on the night Mr Lubowski was shot.
- Mr Acheson, meanwhile, has apparently admitted in prison in Windhoek to knowing Mr Barnard — but by another name. He identified a photograph of Mr Barnard, but said he did not know him as "Barnard". There is wide speculation that Mr Acheson was in some way "set-up".
- This appears to confirm suspicions that members of the secret organisation used code names and were not known to each other by their real names. They apparently also do not know who their superiors are.
- A further indication of this is that payments were apparently made in cash to members of the organisation for "services rendered" by intermediaries using false names.
- Some members of the group may have been "set-up" in regard to illegal actions they are alleged to have perpetrated. This has given rise to speculation that they may have been used as pawns.
- Mr Barnard, it is believed, operated under the cover of an insurance company representative while undertaking tasks for the organisation.
- It is understood police established a link between Mr Acheson and Mr Barnard when they found a telephone number in Mr Acheson's apartment in Windhoek. The number turned out to be registered to a paging service in Johannesburg in the name of a former springbok athlete involved in a legitimate insurance business. It is believed Mr Barnard carried one of the company's radio pagers.

Forsyth link

Mr Barnard was allegedly instructed to shadow the movements of an activist who had close contacts with Dr Webster, though it is not known for what purpose. The telephone is a matter to be taken up with the concerned, who has requested his identity remain secret.

However, investigations show a possible reason for the surveillance may be linked to the case of forer security policeman, Olivia Forsyth, who escaped from the African National Congress (ANC) in May 1986 and took refuge in the British Embassy in Luanda before she was freed.

According to sources, friends of Lieutenant Forsyth, who has since returned to South Africa, were perturbed about her situation at the time she was held up in Luanda — the Angolan government at first refused to allow her to leave and the ANC demanded that she be handed back and approached the activist for help.

He and Miss Forsyth had known each other as students. It is believed the activist may have responded by discussing the matter with Dr Webster to see if the academic could help. It is not known to what extent Dr Webster became involved.

Also, several strange reports have surfaced in connection with the Lubowski shooting.

In repeated anonymous calls to the Windhoek Observer newspaper, a caller said Lubowski's assassins had long since flown out of Africa. The caller added that the case had aroused the attention of the United States Central Intelligence Agency and Federal Bureau of Investigation — not an unreasonable suggestion considering Lubowski's assassination occurred on the eve of Namibian independence negotiations and had the potential of wrecking the peace plan.

Also, in court papers, Mr Acheson described how a police officer had asked him to collect firewood for an informal braai at a dam construction site in Namibia soon after he was detained. On at least two occasions, he claimed, keys were left in an unattended motor car — once at the dam and once outside a police station. He claimed police told him how far it was to the border.

Mr Acheson said it appeared he was being encouraged to abscond and feared for his life.

Police in Windhoek are on record as saying they cannot discuss the Acheson/Lubowski case because of national security concerns.

The Star also established that the organisation is alleged to have intimidated prominent people and was involved in the burning of academics' motor vehicles and thestoning of buses. These incidents are being investigated by police.

It is claimed that the organisation threatened people with violence and death over the telephone. The Star knows of at least one person, an advocate, who received such a call.

Police are said to be investigating further incidents of violence allegedly perpetrated by the group and believe Mr Barnard is withholding vital evidence in this regard.

Dubbed by some as an "armed Broederbond", the new right-wing organisation also apparently has access to the security police, the military and government departments. And, like the Broederbond, it was formed to achieve political objectives.

However, unlike the Broederbond, whose purpose was and still is to reinforce Afrikaner political advancement, the new group is intent on destroying the base of the pre-independence National Party and the Government's reform initiatives.

There is growing evidence to show that the right-wing group could also be linked to military intelligence.

Sources say evidence in this respect may soon become known and police confirm they are investigating a possible connection.

Mr Barnard withdrew an initial application for his release on the grounds that, as a self-confessed MI6 operative, he feared for his life. He would be killed by "interested parties", he said. If he were freed, the SAPD has denied he was a member of military intelligence.
Protest by Schwarz: no to committee post

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr. Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, has announced that as a protest he will not accept the position of deputy chairman of Parliament's standing committee on finance.

Mr. Schwarz made it clear yesterday that his action was a protest against the Speaker of Parliament's appointment of National Party MPs to all the chairmanships of the standing committees.

The standing committees perform an important function in examining and often changing forthcoming legislation.

Veteran finance spokesman Mr. Schwarz has been vice-chairman of the important finance committee for years. But he said in a statement that he would find the position unacceptable because of the situation that had arisen.


The reason given was the Speaker's appointment of NP MPs as chairmen of all 11 standing committees.

Mr. Schwarz said he had served on the standing committee on finance since its inception and on the public accounts committees of Parliament and the Transvaal Provincial Council since 1958.

"I will continue as an ordinary Member to act to the best of my ability as a watchdog for the public in respect of its finances," he said.
with prizes for bold SA

Negotiating table laden

Why sit down?

The ANC is not a government of peace. Yet, the ANC is not a government of war either. The ANC is a government of negotiation. When the ANC is negotiating, it is doing so for the benefit of all South Africans. The ANC is not a government that seeks to divide the country. The ANC is a government that seeks to unite the country.

Negotiations are not just for whites. The ANC believes in a society where all South Africans have equal rights. The ANC is committed to the principles of non-racialism and non-sexism. The ANC is a government that believes in the unity of all South Africans.

Negotiations are not just for the elite. The ANC believes in the rights of all South Africans, regardless of their background or ethnicity. The ANC is a government that believes in the dignity of every South African.

Negotiations are not just for the present. The ANC believes in the future of all South Africans. The ANC is a government that is committed to the well-being of future generations.

Negotiations are not just for politicians. The ANC believes in the power of the people. The ANC is a government that empowers citizens to take part in the decision-making process.

Negotiations are not just for the ANC. The ANC believes in the rights of all South Africans, regardless of their political affiliation. The ANC is a government that believes in the unity of all South Africans.
Patience of white man run out - AWB

A GROUP of Afrikaner Weerstand-beweging supporters - several of whom were armed - assembled on Tuesday outside Cape Town station to “make their presence felt” because “the patience of the white man has run out” with the Nationalist Party government.

Fourteen members stood on the pavement outside the station as the Western Cape leader of the organisation, Mr Steven Jacobsen, read out a prepared statement. Sapa
Last-minute meeting for FW, Nelson

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will meet jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela today to try to remove the final stumbling blocks to his release.

De Klerk is also likely to brief Mandela on the contents of his address to Parliament — details of which were disclosed to the full Cabinet for the first time yesterday.

Cabinet Ministers yesterday would not discuss the contents of the speech, but one senior government source described it as "courageous." "It's an all-out effort to do as much as is possible in the prevailing circumstances," the source said.

Government members are all too aware of the dangers of Friday's speech turning into another "Rubicon" and have warned against raising "undue expectations." A source said while the speech had "elements of drama" in it, it was "not that dramatic." It is still considered highly unlikely that De Klerk will give specifics about Mandela's release date or even announce his release. But, depending on the outcome of today's talks, De Klerk can be expected to give an indication that the ANC leader will be released in a matter of weeks.

A date being touted in parliamentary circles is February 12.

Sources said most of the opening speech had been completed. De Klerk would add the final touches only after meeting Mandela.

Mandela is reportedly insisting that the ANC be unbanned and the state of emergency lifted before his release.

Sources said the outbreak of violence linked to the rebel English cricket tour and the general unrest potential in the country had occupied a major part of yesterday's Cabinet deliberations.

Because of this, the speech would not go as far as government might have wanted, but was still "courageous" from an NP viewpoint. The government was not hesitating to introduce reform measures because of fears of a right-wing backlash.

In his speech De Klerk is expected to outline government's plans to get negotiations going.

A partial lifting of the state of emergency, further details of the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act and a outlining of government's new fiscal and monetary policy can also be expected in the speech.

Administration and Privatization Minister Wim de Villiers and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis are understood to have been working on the latter aspect of the speech for several weeks.

Although a senior government source confirmed today's meeting between De Klerk and Mandela, it is not clear where it will take place. Unlike their previous

FW and Nelson

meeting, it is unlikely to take place at Tshabuyu as preparations are well under way for Parliament's opening ceremony.

Government officials are also taking precautions to prevent details of the opening speech from becoming known before De Klerk's address because of fears that an early leak could affect capital and equity markets.

Mervyn Harris reports that hesitancy emerged among foreign and local investors on Diagonal Street yesterday ahead of the speech.

Dealers said inventors were reluctant to take up positions as the rand investment currency was expected to move sharply in

reaction to any proposals.

A favourable response could see further strong demand for the currency, while a negative view could bring the price of the rand down.

The currency has already moved up sharply on the so-called Mandela factor.

The currency yesterday weakened to R3,5900 from R3,5400 in what dealers described as thin and quiet trading in both London and Johannesburg.

The withdrawal of buyers to the sidelines and a lower gold price resulted in share prices easing across most sectors on the JSE. The overall index declined 20 points to 3 194.
A second paper by Nelson Mandela, entitled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding," criticises state president FW de Klerk for his recent statements on reform and takes a clear stand on the 'talks about talks' issue.

Details of the document were made available in SOUTH this week.

In the document, Mandela makes an important departure from a previous document, first published in SOUTH last week, on the question of 'talks about talks'.

He calls for the creation of a "proper climate," echoing the view of the ANC, that certain pre-conditions must be met before negotiations can begin.

Mandela begins the document by complimenting the de Klerk for freeing the eight political prisoners in December last year.

He says the conflict and violence in South Africa would never be settled unless the government and the ANC reached an agreement.

The document states that the government had over a period of time consistently insisted that the ANC make a commitment to peace as a precondition for talks.

Mandela said he wanted to make it clear to the government that the ANC would never make such a commitment at the instigation of the National Party.

He said the history of the ANC itself had been such a commitment.
Birthday march for ET

If Nelson Mandela was released, "all hell would break loose", "Afrikaner Voorspruinsbeweging" leader Eugene Terreblanche told a crowd of emotionally-charged supporters on Tuesday.

On the eve of his forty-fifth birthday, TerreBlanche invited more than 800 people to join him and members of the Boerenaatparty and the "Transvaals Sepeartists" in the march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, some time soon.
Birthday march for ET

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Intense world interest in speech by FW

DAVID BRAUN Argus Foreign Service in Washington

NOT since President P W Botha's ill-fated "Rubicon" speech of a few years ago has so much international expectation built up over a South African leader's address.

President F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament tomorrow will, like Rubicon, be carried live in the United States by at least one television channel — CNN.

American viewers have been told to expect a major policy speech, probably including details of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison as well as other dramatic reforms such as lifting or modifying the state of emergency and relaxing restrictions on opposition organisations.

The major networks are hungry for a big international story at the moment, as the news has been somewhat flat since last year's rebellion in China and the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The big television companies are looking at what they expect will be one of the biggest stories of the decade, the release of Mr Mandela.

NBC director of foreign news coverage Mr Dave Miller told USA Today that when Mr Mandela walked to freedom "for 72 hours, South Africa will be in the centre of the world."

To ensure they will be on the spot, the major networks have already prepared travel arrangements for large television crews.

CBS is sending its 48 Hours team to South Africa to look at events leading to the release and ABC is sending Nightline's Ted Koppel to try to secure Mr Mandela's first interview.

ABC is planning to send its star anchor, Peter Jennings, to South Africa for Mr Mandela's release. If he goes, the other networks will almost certainly send their top anchors.
He continued to examine what De Klerk had been saying about reform in South Africa and criticised him.
In the document, he drew attention to De Klerk's inaugural statement where he had stated that the only way to peace was through reconciliation, seeking solutions together and negotiating a new constitutional dispensation.
Mandela said he believed that the cornerstone of the statement was the need for reconciliation.
He questioned De Klerk's meetings with homeland leaders, saying there was no need to seek reconciliation with them as they were the government's creation.
He said these meetings had nothing to do with reconciliation.
The large majority of South Africa's population understood reconciliation as that between the government and the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations. The government could not avoid this issue.
Mandela said it was at this level that the country was yearning for reconciliation.
Experience had shown that the government was only interested in making peace with those who agree with them.
This did not help but only impeded negotiations.
In his previous document Mandela had suggested two "stages" to negotiations. The first would be a meeting between the government and the ANC where preconditions for negotiations would be discussed; the second would be the actual negotiations.

Obstacles
The ANC, however, had stated that the onus would be on the government to create a proper climate for negotiations. He was therefore not in favour of the two "stages", Mandela said.
According to the ANC, the government had to eliminate the obstacles to negotiations, the second document stated.
The climate would be created if apartheid legislation was scrapped, the state of emergency lifted, banned organisations were unbanned, political prisoners were released, exiles were allowed to return and all executions and political trials halted.
Mandela said in the document that unless the proper climate was created for talks about dismantling apartheid and the measures used to enforce it, the idea of talks was totally unrealistic.
He reiterated his commitment to the ANC and said the "two stage" approach had been his own thoughts at the time.
He said in the document he had always indicated that whatever he did was subject to his organisation — the ANC — and he adopted their stand.
SOUTH's sources confirmed that Mandela handed the second document personally to Minister of Justice, Mr Kolie Coetsee, and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, on the afternoon of December 12, 1989.
At this meeting the two ministers informed him about the meeting with De Klerk the following day. The document formed part of this discussions with De Klerk.
Conditions of release the sticking point

FW, Mandela in dramatic talks today

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and jilted ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela are expected to meet today in a dramatic last minute attempt to solve the thorny problem of Mr Mandela's release date before tomorrow's opening of Parliament.

This would be the second known meeting between the two leaders, who last met at Tshwane on December 13 to discuss ways of ironing out obstacles to negotiation.

Senior government sources confirmed today "plans existed" for another meeting and they expect it would take place today.

The sources said the meeting could have an important bearing on Mr de Klerk's address at the opening of Parliament tomorrow.

A senior government source said Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela would discuss "sticking points that have arisen in plans for Mr Mandela's release."  

Finishing touches

"They will try to sort out one or two problems surrounding the release if they can sort them out, Mr de Klerk will say one thing tomorrow. If not, he will say something else," the source said.

Another source indicated Mr de Klerk's statement to be complete and "finishing touches" will allow no meeting with the ANC leader.

It is understood that the problem is whether Mr Mandela will come out of prison in Pretoria instead of the government's preferred conditions.

These probably include the immediate unmonitoring of the ANC, the deactivation of internal political organisations such as the UDF and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The Government, on the other hand, has expressed itself in favour of a step-by-step approach to removing these obstacles to negotiation.

Absurd situations

National Party sources suggest the Government is prepared partially to lift the state of emergency immediately and that Mr de Klerk intends to announce this tomorrow, but in a way that is altogether not shocking the ANC immediately.

There is mounting dismay in some high cirles of Government that Mr de Klerk did not release Mr Mandela unconditionally last year and has allowed himself to be manoeuvred by Mr Mandela into meeting his hard conditions for his own release.

One senior source said that it was "absurd" that a prisoner should be setting conditions for the release and that the Government should let him out immediately and face the consequences.

It now seems that if the problems can be sorted out today, Mr de Klerk could present to the country that Mr Mandela would be freed when arrangements had been finalised.

Argus donates R11m to TRAC

Argus Newspapers Ltd is about to give R1 million to young people of all races who will help build a new South Africa.

Instead of splurging on a nation-wide "bash" to celebrate the corporation's 100 years in newspapers, Argus Newspapers intends to mark its recent centenary by donating R1 million to a private initiative, education.

"The money will be used to capitalise on the efforts of The Star and morning readers -- and of all Argus newspapers -- who have invested in TRAC.

TRAC built classrooms when there was no place in school for many new pupils and, over a decade of shortfalls, it provided accommodation for about a quarter of a million children.

Today, in a new era, Argus chairman Mr Helen Adler ... reaping some of our dues," the newspaper said.

"... and to mark the beginning of its second century of commitment to South Africa, Argus Newspapers announces that it is to create a R1-million educational trust.

"The money is for all young South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or creed. It will promote education across the racial spectrum."
The politics of protest

It is not easy to find out what really happens when policeman meets protestor. The reporting of the cricket tour protests (and others) has been remarkable for the number of wildly different versions in the media. One newspaper said the protest at the match in Kimberley was peaceful; another reported that a fence was almost broken down and stones were thrown on to the field. And the SABC's radio and TV news teams often appear to have been at another event altogether.

When the visiting players arrived at Jan Smuts Airport, one British journalist apparently reported on an event he had not seen, in a manner which implied that he had.

On Tuesday, Radio 702 cricket correspondent noted that the protest at the Bloemfontein match was peaceful; a moment before, the same station's newscaster spoke of the SADF taking control of Bloemfontein township Mangaung because the SAP had lost control of demonstrators.

Are the police being mullish, even mutinous — and deliberately brutal? Or are they simply attempting to keep the peace in very trying circumstances, without proper equipment and clarity of purpose?

After more than a decade of the lid being kept firmly in place, the police are obviously not accustomed to handling huge demonstrations — but neither are the protestors. And most of the reporters, either rusty or naive, seem to have forgotten how to get all sides of the story, and prefer to settle into advocacy journalism, in which the good guys have been picked in advance.

Whatever the reality, the simmering violence seriously threatens President F W de Klerk's reform initiative. The problem must be dealt with quickly, unequivocally and in a peaceful way — and it is in the end a problem for the politicians, not the police (who can deal only with symptoms, not the root causes).

As the FM went to press, the situation appeared to be worsening. Three protest marches were planned for Cape Town's CBD. The largest, on Friday, will be to the gates of parliament to coincide with De Klerk's opening address. Winnie Mandela is due to take part. Hundreds of foreign journalists will report on the event. Official permission has not been granted for the gathering, and police have warned that they will break it up.

Optimists were ready to believe that De Klerk's message of compromise and tolerance was getting through to the police (Current Affairs January 26), and if perhaps it has. But some methods used against anti-tour protestors, and black scholars in Cape Town, suggest that it might not have.

Is it significant that the latest crackdown started only days after De Klerk told 500 senior police officers that his job is to keep law and order and not play politics? He said in essence that politicians will in future deal with political issues, including public protests, and that the strong-arm tactics of the past will be unnecessary.

Whether or not the latest police actions were unnecessarily brutal, the public relations effect was such that they were. Mention water-cannon, razor wire and teargassing, and it begins to look as if the police are making a political statement.

It is understood that De Klerk is extremely concerned, but is unlikely to do anything until after the opening of parliament.

The police are not in an easy position. How long should they wait, at a protest, before acting to prevent injury and damage to property? If the law is broken and they are criticised for acting upon that offence, surely it is the law that is at fault? And that is a matter for the politicians.

The situation that has arisen is inevitable. The MDM no doubt needed to test the outer limit of government's new-found tolerance by seeking ways to defy official rules for peaceful protest. Refusing to apply to magistrates for permits to demonstrate is their chosen strategy.

Once again, we see police colonels surrounded by chanting mobs, trying to wage unwinnable street debates on issues of political principle with shrewd MDM leaders. The police tend to be (understandably) impatient with clever talk, and they become intransigent; so does the mob.

The situation also dents our battered international image and highlights the apparent inability of government leaders to deal even at this relatively uncomplicated level with extra-parliamentary political opponents. Simply to insist that protests must be officially sanctioned invites conflict and plays into the hands of township anarchists.

Law & Order officials argue that to compromise or allow protests to proceed without formal approval brings the law into disrepute — and they have a point. Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe insists that the police will enforce existing laws.

But justifying police action against "illegal" protestors and blaming the organisers for injuries and damage to property doesn't resolve the political problem. To his credit, Minister Adrian Vlok revealed last week that he invited anti-tour leaders to discuss their protests "and to state government's viewpoint on legal and peaceful protests," but was spurned.

How to end the violence must be a government priority. It will be tragic if peaceful resolution were to be derailed by petulant street mobs bent on little more than provoking nervous, short-fused policemen.

Both sides deserve a better deal.

TALKING TO THE ANC

It's Pik and Thabo!

Two weeks after President F W de Klerk opens parliament, the National Party government will break its own ban on the ANC with a flourish — by sharing a platform with the arch-enemy. They won't be in the same room — the debate will be on TV — but Foreign Minister Pik Botha will publicly square up to ANC crown prince Thabo Mbeki.

This extraordinary about-turn in National Party policy is the result of delicate behind-the-scenes planning by the well-known American TV journalist, Ted Koppel, host of the ABC network's Nightline programme. So the electronic face-to-face will be a media event with international interest.

Koppel's able research assistant, Terra Sonnenschein, recently returned to Washington (where Nightline is normally produced) after successfully concluding the final negotiations for Koppel's SA programmes. They will be broadcast worldwide over four days this month. Sonnenschein also spent a week in Lusaka to obtain Mbeki's co-operation.
Parliament is still the most important forum for passing or repealing laws, but the real debate this year will essentially be between government and the ANC.

There is little doubt that "reform" will dominate this session, but it seems doubtful that parliament itself will have much effective input. Government will probably use the forum to announce progress, or pass or repeal laws deemed necessary for reform. The tricameral system is effectively dead. The coloured and Indian houses will play an even less significant role.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer doesn't have high hopes for De Klerk's programme. He is worried that Nat policy remains wedded to "group" concepts and ultimate white control. Statements implying this were made by De Klerk during the general election campaign.

De Beer sees both opportunity and danger. "If I'm correct in interpreting Nat policy as being based on groups and white control, then we have a very dangerous and explosive situation. But it is possible that in the pre-negotiation process things may develop in such a way that the Nats and De Klerk can't control them. In that case, we may end up with them doing the right thing — by accident."

The DP's role in parliament will be to support government where it moves decisively towards an open and equal society and to oppose measures that inhibit such moves. It also intends hammering away at important topical issues, such as the crisis in black education and allegations of police hit squads.

He says while political issues will dominate in the short term, economic issues will be "absolutely decisive" in the medium term. Political stability is essential if the economy is to grow at the rate necessary to satisfy the reasonable demands of all South Africans. He believes that reducing the size of the civil service, keeping tight control of monetary policy and improving productivity must be government priorities.

High-profile political change is important to encourage foreign banks to again roll over loans, to attract private-sector foreign investment and to stop the outflow of capital. "There must be evidence that we are moving away from apartheid and building a democracy."

De Beer believes parliament's obvious flaws mean that only part of the political debate can take place there. "My fervent hope is that we are beginning to embark on a process which will give us a representative parliament. Then it really will be important."
Focus on one more victim of apartheid — the environment

The state’s policy of separate development has had far-reaching consequences. Moira Levy reviews “South Africa — The Wasted Land,” a documentary on the destruction of the environment.

There have been other documentaries on the human costs of apartheid but South Africa — The Wasted Land, to be shown on British television’s Channel Four on Sunday, focuses on the environmental consequences and poses new questions.

One scene in particular stands out: children in a classroom learning about the dangers of asbestos. They repeat after the teacher, “asbestos causes lung cancer.”

The voice-over declares: “Building materials are so scarce in the ‘bantustans’ that Mmefe school was made from asbestos bricks.”

In the schoolyard children at play kick up clouds of blue asbestos dust. The commentary continues: “The asbestos used to make the bricks was left lying in the school playground.”

Twenty years ago the Mmefe asbestos mines were abandoned. Only now is the community starting to learn what the mineowners knew all along about the dangers of asbestos.

Pinnea Makoti is interviewed lying on his narrow bed, a figure wasted by lung cancer. “They should have told us a long time ago not to work in those asbestos dumps. Asbestos is like a green mamba. It’s very dangerous,” he said.

Until they learned of its dangers, the community saw asbestos as a free building material.

“The roads are surfaced with it,” the commentary states. “They have used it to plaster their houses. The water supply contains more than 2,000 parts of asbestos per litre. X-rays show that half the population have traces of asbestos in their lungs.”

The camera zooms in on a graveyard — the gravestones are made out of asbestos.

It gets worse. The scene cuts to an industrial dump where containers used to store toxic waste have been corroded away, and poison spills and ooze into the dust. Nearby, more children play.

“This industrial waste contains high levels of both lead and mercury. It has been dumped here by a dealer who knew that the black people living nearby would be unable to protest.”

The camera focuses on the playing children: “The lead in this waste can produce mental retardation,” the commentary continues.

In an interview the Weekly Mail’s environmental reporter, Eddie Koch, says: “International dealers in toxic waste could see South Africa as the ideal dumping ground.”

“The South African government, with an economy sensitive to sanctions and a massive foreign debt problem, is obviously tempted to see toxic waste as a solution to some of its problems.”

He cites the Middle East, particularly Israel, as a source of dealers in toxic waste who have made “almost irresistible” offers to South African firms to “take other people’s high level
Apartheid's victims - the environment

waste and store it and recycle it".

In another scene, white mothers are told by their doctors that air pollution is the cause of their children suffering from bronchitis and asthma. The pollution is so dense that "early in the morning you have to put your headlights on, you are going through such smog that you can't see where you are going".

The documentary makes the point that environmental degradation only became a public issue when it began to affect white communities.

For generations, black communities have suffered the environmental destruction that is a direct product of apartheid. But it is the homeland policy that is most destructive of the env-

Matter of fact

IN last week's report on the recent Unisa International Piano Competition the gremlins were at it again. There were initially nine South African entries, of course, not one.

More importantly, when the allegations about the inclusion of Salvatore Spanò among the finalists were put to John Roos, the professional director of the competition, he strenuously denied them, and explained that the jury voting system made it impossible for any rig-

ronment. The film effectively uses the technique of switching rapidly from scenes of "homeland" degradation to South African Tourist Board sunsets and wildlife footage.

Directed at a British audience, it takes pains to explain the policies of forced resettlement and separate development. Subtitled interviews with a community threatened with eviction are gruelling and effective, as is a surreptitious interview with the farmer forcing them from their land — "They just can't stay. I bought the land. It's mine."

The producers of the documentary manage to steer away from yet another historic sociological documentary on apartheid by their grim reminders that relocation and overcrowding in rural ghettos cannot be separated from soil erosion, drought and the destruction of forests.

Old men bent over walking sticks recall vast grazing lands and plains.

The irony is that a country world-renowned for its natural resources is destroying its envi-

South Africa — The Wasted Land was produced by Debonair Productions, in association with the Television Trust for the Environment, for Channel Four Tele-

vision. Producer: Teri Strasburg. Director: Jamie Hart-

sell.
Fierce cabinet row over FW’s speech

STATE President FW de Klerk’s opening address to parliament, to be delivered at 11am today, was the subject of a “furious cabinet row”, according to senior National Party sources.

The initial draft of the address, which has since been revised, caused Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to express “grave fears” that it was not offering enough.

According to the NP source, who asked not to be named, Pik Botha was “terrified of a Rubicon repent” and wanted Nelson Mandela to be released on Monday January 29 — a move which the cabinet came close to accepting.

Arguing against him was Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who favoured Mandela’s release as part of a package and therefore proposed the move be delayed until some weeks after De Klerk’s speech.

The NP source said the possibility of being released on January 29 was conveyed to Mandela, who was “angry” that it broke assurances his release would be accompanied by measures such as lifting the Emergency and the unbanning of the African National Congress. Mandela is said to have insisted that his release could not be an isolated event.

Since the cabinet meeting the speech had been redrafted with a more “upbeat” tone, but has not been substantially changed in content, according to sources.

De Klerk is said to have left open the possibilities of further changes following communications with Mandela.

National Party, Democratic Party and top-level diplomatic sources say that De Klerk is seeing the speech as the first salvo in a battle to wrest the political initiative from the ANC.

“He wants the package to unfold over a period of six months to a year, rather than to be released in a single, once-off speech,” said the NP source.

A senior Western diplomat said he had been led to believe that the speech would have a positive tone, which would suggest a process of substantial reform without many major announcements.

Among the moves it is expected to include are lifting the Emergency media regulations and restrictions on various political organisations, changes to the Separate Amenities Act and the Land Act and a package of economic concessions to appease the business community.

Barring last-minute changes this morning’s speech will not include an announcement of the date of Mandela’s release or lifting the ban on the ANC and other organisations, though it may indicate an intention to do so.

There will also be no announcement of a complete lifting of the Emergency regulations, he said.

It is possible that an announcement will be made concerning the release of five ANC prisoners sentenced to life imprisonment 13 years ago. Some of them have served a total of 25 years behind bars.

De Klerk was said to be considering an announcement relating to the death penalty — possibly a commission of inquiry.

He is also expected to provide an indication of the nature and extent of the forthcoming budget cuts.

The speech will explain the need for cuts in defence spending, will praise the police for their role in playing and will stress that “law and order” will be maintained.

Democratic Party national chairman Tienie van der Merwe said he was not expecting any dramatic announcements, and much of the speech’s tone would be aimed at maintaining the support of the business community.

National Party sources indicate, however, that today’s speech should not be seen in isolation.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen is said to be keen to start the negotiation process in earnest by the end of the year, and the government recognises that before the major “obstacles” need to be removed.

Unless there is large-scale “unrest”, by mid-year the government is expected to have announced the unbanning of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, the lifting of the Emergency and a package which includes an end to political trials and the release of political prisoners not convicted of murder.

Towards the end of the year provision is expected to be made for the return of ANC and other exiles.

In return the government is expecting an immediate scaling down of the ANC’s insurgency, leading to a mutually binding ceasefire later in the year.

NP sources say they are moving in this direction because De Klerk feels that by taking the initiative they will be able to “keep the ANC on its back foot”.

They also recognise that such changes are inevitable and would prefer that they are not seen as concessions squeezed from the government through pressure.

The government recognises that the ANC is a necessary party to negotiations, but insists that Inkatha be given equal status.
As the world holds its breath...

FW denies any meeting with Mandela

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk said last night he did not meet jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday.

A short statement issued by his office late last night said: "In response to numerous media queries and widespread speculation, it can be stated that a meeting did not take place today between the State President, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, and Mr. Nelson Mandela."

It added: "Furthermore, no such meeting is planned before the opening of Parliament on February 2."

Earlier both the President's office and spokesmen for Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee refused to confirm or deny that a meeting would take or had taken place.

However, by midday yesterday, Cabinet Ministers, who were briefed on Wednesday on the contents of De Klerk's opening speech to Parliament today, were still expecting a meeting between the two men. Some even thought a statement, outlining issues raised, would be released.

De Klerk's statement gave no indication that a meeting had been planned, but sources said he was furious that details of a planned meeting had been leaked.

Television crews that gathered outside Victor Verster Prison in Paarl early yesterday reported that a convoy of three vehicles, including a truck, had left the prison at about 4.30am, followed later by a black car. Large media contingents gathered outside De Klerk's residence, Westbrook, and outside his Tuyulubu office from early yesterday morning.

Cabinet Ministers closely linked to the arrangements for Mandela's release cancelled all interviews yesterday. Our Cape Town Correspondent reports that the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

MIKE ROBERTSON

president the Rev. Allan Boesak said yesterday he had been requested by prison authorities to cancel a meeting yesterday with Mandela. It had been postponed to February 6.

Asked whether he thought he would be able to keep his appointment with Mandela then, he said he thought Mandela would be released before the arrival in SA on February 8 of US civil rights campaigner Rev. Jesse Jackson.

"The government doesn't want competition from Jackson," he said.

Sapa-AP reports from Washington that President George Bush will invite Mandela to visit the White House as soon as he is freed. Whitehouse spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said yesterday "there were indications" Mandela would be freed today.

But ANDREW GILL reports that at least one major US news network is banking on a different release date. An ABC TV network spokesman said yesterday anchor Ted Koppel would arrive in SA on February 11, to present his Nightline programme for five nights from February 12.

The spokesman said the date February 16 had been gaining ground in the US as a possible release date for Mandela.

Reports earlier this week that Koppel had lined up a debate between ANC leader Thabo Mbeki and Foreign Affairs Minister Pika Botha could not be confirmed by any other ABC employee, Koppel's research assistant Terra Sonnenschein.

"Nothing definite has been lined up. I spoke to Ted yesterday and he couldn't confirm any of the reports," she said.

Meanwhile, except to say that it was "courageous" and would result in a "great


eight-page

FW and Mandela

"clear that the ANC would not make the commitment to peace if government was insisting on unconditional release. South of the ANC had been from such commitment," South confirmed.

The newspaper, which refers to "De Klerk's strategy of defusing the emergency and drawing attention to the Separate Amenities Act and an outlining of the ANC's plan to move further on issues of negotiations was 'about right.'

In a separate development, the Cape Town-based newspaper said Mandela's yesterday's policy linked details of what it said was a document handed to De Klerk by Mandela. South said that, at the time, the document
UK business bullish on SA, says Wirtz

Brazilian newspapers: 

**in the past...**
Dear Mr de Klerk,

Whatever I say now will not affect the shape or content of your speech to Parliament today.

You must probably have lost a fight over the decision to hold elections, and you are now facing the inevitable consequences, having evidently insinuated that you are prepared to get off the world stage.

It is an enormous responsibility.

The world expects you to pronounce the death sentence on apartheid and announce the beginning of a new chapter.

It expects you to talk about the dismantling of a system that was started by your forebears, both English and Dutch, and codified by your party in 1948.

I've never had such responsibility weighing down on me. Am I the only one who is able to imagine and feel your burdens.

What I know very intimately is what most, if not all, blacks and whites in this country and most of the world would have to know you are today.

Sadly, I know you are not going to say it.

In fact, the SABC - they are the only people to give an indication of the direction you are taking - this week were warning against 'negotiated solutions'.

They quoted you as saying that you intend living up to the expectations that have been raised and cannot accept responsibility for others, uninterestable expectations that have been bandied around as a result of over-exaggeration or even twisted versions of your Government's policy.

Mr de Klerk, nobody in his right mind expects you to pull out a magic wand and get rid of apartheid and an enhanced cliché.

What the vast majority of the world expects you to do today is to prove a vision - to spell out an unequivocal language that your goal is to create a one-person-one-vote democracy where the colour of the vote or the texture of his hair is completely irrelevant.

You could then place the blame for the whole world's problems on the problem of preventing you from reaching that goal.

The whole world - that includes the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, the3 African National Congress, the African Union Movement, the Movement, the PAN, the ANC - the whole lot - would be rushing in to fill the vacuum that is created by your programme for overcoming the obstacles of ending apartheid.

You and your petty friends to paint that big picture, to clearly spell out the world that will be feeling better today.

You can sit back, comfortable with yourself, saying that you wanted to see genuine, unfettered and unanswerable expectations.

You actually started by saying that you would accept the results of the election, and to others, and leave you alone to get down to your relevant, and that you don't want to happen.

The world in this country will continue to feel that the best that our land can give us to go to whites. The violence in the streets will not stop.

You cannot continue to talk about a new order, unless the destination is clearly spelled out in acceptable to the majority.

You will run out of rebukes to pull out of your bag. I've just read an article and I have to say it is very well for the ancian sage to say that a journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step, but it does not mean that if we do not know precisely in which direction we want to travel.

So far you have said you want peace and stability, you have said that every person must have the vote, but your language has not differed radically from that of your predecessors, who have said the same thing. It seems that we have already walked part of the way and that your predecessors also negotiated with the Mpondo and the Metamorphosis.

All we have on record is the five-year plan you outlined when you took office four years ago.

That plan is one-dimensional, political and it comes with a smile. We are now wondering how we are going to give up our voices to a voiceless government in the next five years.
D-Day for De Klerk

By SOWETAN REPORTER and SAPA

THERE was speculation yesterday that Nelson Mandela will be released from prison today.

The rumours started in the United States and was picked up by South African news agencies but could not be confirmed by late last night.

However a spokesman for President FW de Klerk said: "That is pure speculation".

Meanwhile, in a day of dramas in Cape Town yesterday, the media chanced around for the time and venue of a meeting between Mandela and State President Mr FW de Klerk, a meeting that the Government later denied.

A statement from De Klerk's office said: "In response to numerous media queries and widespread speculation, it can be stated that a meeting did not take place between the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and Mr Nelson Mandela."

"Furthermore, no such meeting is planned before the opening of Parliament."

Until late yesterday, media representatives from various parts of the world were arriving in large numbers in South Africa, briefing themselves in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

There was intense local and international interest in De Klerk's speech opening to Parliament today.

He is expected to announce the release of Mandela and give the Government's plans for creating a climate for negotiations for a new constitution.

The speculation among Natsafel MPs is that De Klerk's speech will be aimed at setting the scene for pre-negotiations, "talks about talks", with the start of negotiations to provide for black political rights and a new democratic system.

"Confidential" permit for Cape march

By THEMBA NOLILE

CAPE TOWN'S Chief Magistrate gave the nod to today's march on Parliament after a "mysterious" source applied to him for permission.

The chief magistrate, Mr W P Thomson, yesterday refused to reveal the name of the applicant saying it was confidential.

The Miss Democratic Movement said it had not sought permission for the march and was unaware that permission had been sought on its behalf.

A spokesman for the MDM in Cape Town said the march, which begins at Noon in the city centre, went on as planned. He said the mysterious granting of permission was a play to define the memory of a march.

Meanwhile, it is believed that MDM leaders have agreed to change key elements of the plan for today's march on Parliament after consultation with Cape Town City Council - and that details had been delivered to the magistrate's office.

Today's march, to coincide with the opening of Parliament, is to protest against the presidential initiative to change the constitution.

To page 2

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Sealy, Serta, King Koil

The Sleep Specialist

The Spegg Decolition Centre

The Spegg Decolition Centre
It's D-Day for FW De Klerk

From page 1

He will not be presenting any final package for negotiations.

Speculation about De Klerk's speech is reaching fever pitch in political and diplomatic circles amid indications that he will go no further than to set out in broad terms the Government's plans to get negotiations going.

Demands

In most political circles it is felt that, in order to create a climate for negotiations, De Klerk will have to take note of the demands for the unbanning of the ANC and other political movements, the lifting of the State of Emergency and the release of Mandela and other political prisoners.

The United Democratic Front expects De Klerk, at the very least, to boldly commit the National Party to meeting the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration.

UDF national publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said in a statement issued in Johannesburg yesterday that nothing less would be acceptable to the liberation movement and the international community.

Lekota warned: "The Government must also note the high expectations of the masses of the people, as well as the preparedness of Tonga activists to engage in direct non-violent action."

Dr Zac de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said De Klerk would obviously want to continue creating a climate for negotiation.

This was why he believed De Klerk could still announce Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC today.

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said it was clear that De Klerk could not afford to say something about Mandela after all the expectations that had been created.
A New Asian World: An end to conflict
Veteran activist Helen Joseph – ‘free at last’

Veteran human rights campaigner and activist Mrs Helen Joseph (84), a listed person since 1962, regards herself as free at last.

After listening to State President F.W. de Klerk’s announcements of the unbanning of organisations she has been involved in for decades, she said: “This is a wonderful day. I am very excited about my personal freedom since I am no longer a listed person.

Resistance politics

“Most of all I am excited about our victory, for this is a victory of the people. It must be clearly understood that this is a victory of the people.”

The wheelchair-bound Mrs Joseph has for more than 30 years been active in resistance politics since her early involvement with the Congress of Democrats in 1936.

A founder member of the Federation of SA Women, she has received international praise for her stoicism and courage in her own life and for her outspoken criticism of the authorities, despite years of banning and house arrest.

She said: “My heart grieves for those people who have died for something that should never have happened. If only South Africa had justice and democracy before this.”

Above all I am excited about the return of all my friends and comrades and all the exiles who will be coming back home, all my comrades who will be released from jail, and the lifting of restriction, although only partly.

“I very much hope that the door will now be opened for proper negotiations which will be negotiations between equals. Out of that will come some sort of democracy under which we can all live in peace, a country in which — at last we can bring up our children with hope,” she said.
The government, or in the case of this "free press" column, at least the government of Utah, is not required to publicize the names of any of the individuals in its employ who are involved in the preparation of the weekly "free press" column. The government, or in the case of this "free press" column, at least the government of Utah, is not required to publicize the names of any of the individuals in its employ who are involved in the preparation of the weekly "free press" column.
● That we shall persist with the implementation of the required structural adaptations in respect, among other things, of the following: cost burden, especially on individuals; sustained and adequate generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments; and the recognition of our gold and foreign exchange reserves.

It is a matter of considerable seriousness to the government, especially in this particular period of our history, to promote a dynamic economy, which will make it possible for increasing numbers of people to be employed and share in rising standards of living.

NEGOTIATION

In conclusion, I wish to focus the spotlight on the process of negotiation and related issues. At this stage I am refraining deliberately from discussing the merits of numerous political questions which undoubtedly will be debated during the next few weeks.

The focus, now, has to fall on negotiation.

Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation.

However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part, are advanced.

Some of the reasons being advanced are valid. Others are merely part of a political ploy. The game. And while the game proceeds, valuable time is being lost.

Against this background I committed the government during my inauguration to giving active attention to the most important obstacles in the way of negotiation.

Today I am able to announce far-reaching decisions in this connection.

I believe that these decisions will shape a new phase in which there will be a movement away from measures which have been seized upon as a justification for confrontation and violence.

The emphasis has to move, and will move now, to a debate and discussion of political and economic points of view as part of the process of negotiation.

I wish to urge every political and community leader, and outside parliament, to approach the new opportunities which are being created, constructively. There is no time left for advancing all manner of new conditions that will delay the negotiating process.

which included members of the security community.

Implementation will be immediate and, where necessary, notices will appear in the Government Gazette from tomorrow.

The most important facets of the advice the government received in this connection, are the following:

● The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to which I have referred already, weaken the capability of organisations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters.

● The activities of the organisations from which the prohibitions are now being lifted, no longer entail the same degree of threat to internal security which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions.

● There have been important shifts of emphasis in the statements and points of view of the most important of the organisations concerned, which indicate a new approach and a preference for peaceful solutions.

● The South African Police is convinced that it is able, in the present circumstances, to combat violence and other crimes perpetrated also by members of these organisations and to bring offenders to justice without the aid of prohibitions on organisations.

About one matter there should be no doubt. The lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations does not signify in the least the approval or condonation of terrorism or crimes of violence committed under their banner or which may be perpetrated in the future. Equally, it should not be interpreted as a deviation from the government's principles, among other things, against their economic policy and aspects of their constitutional policy. This will be dealt with in debate and negotiation.

At the same time I wish to emphasise that the maintenance of law and order dare ready begin to give effect to this.

I wish to thank the members of our security forces and related services for the devoted service they have rendered the Republic of South Africa. Their dedication makes reform in a stable climate possible.

On the state of emergency I have been advised that an emergency situation, which justifies these special measures which have been retained, still exists.

There is still conflict which is manifesting itself mainly in Natal, but as a consequence of the countrywide political power struggle.

In addition, there are indications that radicals are still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the co-operation of everybody towards this end.

Those responsible for unrest and conflict have to bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency. In the mean time, the state of emergency is inhibiting only those who use chaos and disorder as political instruments. Otherwise the rules of the game under the state of emergency are the same for everybody.

Against this background the government is convinced that the decisions I have announced are justified from the security point of view. However, these decisions are justified from a political point of view as well.

Our country and all its people have been embroiled in conflict, tension and violent struggle for decades.

It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation. The silent majority is yearning for this.

The youth deserve it.

With the steps the government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation, to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution, universal
Southern Africa now had a historic opportunity to set aside conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction that would attract loan capital and investment from the world, President de Klerk said today.

"The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived," he said.

The Government believed "obstacles in the way of a conference of southern African states have now been removed sufficiently".

Mr de Klerk warned: "Unless the countries of southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced with further decline and ruin."

He added: "The Government is prepared to enter into discussions with other southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan."
Letters

The correspondence to the editor of the

Chronicle has been

controversial, reflecting a split in opinion on the

issue.

Many letters have been submitted, expressing a variety of views.

Some argue for the preservation of traditional values and practices,

while others advocate for change and progress.

Regardless of one's perspective, it is clear that the debate is
divided, with passionate arguments on both sides.

The editor has chosen to print a selection of
typical letters, reflecting the range of
differing viewpoints.

It is hoped that these letters will

provide insight into the
discussion and provoke further

reflection on the issues at hand.

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Charlene Smith 4/10/19

Meet ANC's terms to de Klerk moves to

Without saying so,

Resignary P. de Klerk
No more reason for violence, says FW
Mandela ‘must stop war talk’

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC and Mr Nelson Mandela “must now stop the war talk”, as the reason for the justification of violence had fallen away, President FW de Klerk told TV US viewers.

In an interview with Mr Ted Koppel on the ABC-TV programme “Nightline” on Tuesday, Mr De Klerk said the reason for the ANC’s original justification of violence “as well as for the refusal to talk and the refusal to admit and accept that South Africa needed a constitution in which all South Africans must vote, has fallen away”.

“They must realise that an essential change is now to take place within their own ranks, a change from being also a military organisation to becoming really a political party.”

He added that he was prepared to talk to anyone, including the ANC, who was interested in establishing the foundation which would make possible the end of the state of emergency.

He also said it was “a bit early” to judge Mr Mandela and how exactly he was going to react to events.

Mr De Klerk said there was a marked difference between Mr Mandela’s first speech and the statements he made the day afterwards.

“On the one hand he made a very important statement when he said that he and the ANC are committed to peaceful solutions and that they recognise that those solutions must in the final analysis be able to have the support of blacks as well as whites.”

“I’ve been saying that for some time now.

“On the other hand, the adherence to justification of violence is to my mind not justified.”

Mr De Klerk said the state of emergency could be ended “within days, within weeks after we can be sure we can afford to up-lift the state of emergency.”

“The test is that basically there must be stability. The occurrence of unrest-related things must be limited to the marked exception and must not still be a common factor of our daily life.”

In reply to Mr Koppel’s question whether the ANC’s Mr Thabo Mbeki or the Communist Party’s Mr Joe Slovo would be welcome at talks on the end to the emergency, Mr De Klerk said: “I think in their case, certain other talks would be necessary. We must also have discussions, and I declared myself willing to hold such discussions, as to how we should handle those outside SA who might be guilty in terms of the laws of the country, of certain crimes.

“We have to discuss that because there is fear amongst some of them that on their return they might be arrested. We want to solve that,” he said.

“One will have to work out structures as to how people can clear their positions.”
Mandela criticises FW report

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk’s statements on reform and reconciliation have been criticised by Mr Nelson Mandela in a publication titled “A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding”, it was claimed yesterday.

In the document, extracts of which were published yesterday in South, Mr Mandela is reported to have said a climate for negotiation would be created if apartheid laws were scrapped; the state of emergency lifted; banned organisations unbanned; political prisoners released; and all political and political trials halted.

UNREALISTIC

Unless a proper climate was created for talks about dismantling apartheid and the measures used to enforce it, the idea of negotiations was totally unrealistic.

In the document, said to have been handed to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen on December 12, Mr Mandela criticised Mr de Klerk for meeting homeland leaders.

South carried extracts from the document in yesterday’s report. Last week it published an earlier document given to the Government.

Examining Mr de Klerk’s statements on reform, Mr Mandela said the President had stated that the only way to peace was through reconciliation, seeking solutions together, and negotiating a new constitution.

But he questioned Mr de Klerk’s meetings with homeland leaders, because they were the Government’s creation and had nothing to do with reconciliation.

The document compliments Mr de Klerk for releasing eight political prisoners in October. But Mr Mandela said the conflict and violence in South Africa would not be settled until the ANC and the Government reached agreement.

The Government had insisted that the ANC make a commitment to peace as a precondition for talks. Mr Mandela said the ANC would never make such a commitment at the insistence of the National Party. The history of the ANC had itself been such a commitment.

South editor Moegsien Williams said the newspaper report was a summary of the document. “We did not get the actual document this time. However, our sources are impeccable,” he said.
Response to FW has ANC hopping

By KEN VERNON, The Star's Africa News Service

On the eve of one of the most crucial meetings in the history of the ANC, at which it must formulate a response to President F W de Klerk's reform initiative, the leadership appears to be in disarray.

The meeting is scheduled to be held in Zambia this week.

Forced on the diplomatic offensive by the scope of Mr de Klerk's reform programme announced two weeks ago, the ANC must come up with matching concessions, or risk losing any chance of regaining the initiative in the important pre-negotiation manoeuvring.

It also risks being labelled incapable and obstructive by friends and enemies if it fails to meet de Klerk's challenge adequately.

The crucial meeting could not come at a worse time.

Since Mr de Klerk's announcement, it has been trying to answer him with a multitude of differing voices, reflecting dissension on how to react.

More importantly, its external leadership structure is in disarray.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo is incapacitated since his stroke last year, and acting president Mr Alfred Nzo is under pressure from two differing factions over what course to take.

A pre-negotiation faction is led by foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki, while a faction led by military strongman Mr Chris Hani favours pursuing the military struggle to victory.

The situation is further complicated by the role of Mr Nelson Mandela, who was freed yesterday.

He has more and more seemed to be adopting the role of real leader of the ANC, issuing statements and negotiating with the Government.

Military capacity

Internally, the view of the leadership of the nebulous Mass Democratic Movement has to be taken into consideration, in addition to those of the released Rivonia trialists — mainly Mr Walter Sisulu.

Accommodating these various factions, views and personalities at the meeting will be difficult enough, but in addition, it is being held against a backdrop of the virtual emasculation of the organisation's military capacity.

Members of the armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, were first expelled from Mozambique under the 1984 Nkomati Accord, and then from Angola under the Angola-Cuban-South African tripartite agreement.

This was followed last year by their expulsion from Zambia by President Kaunda, who became exasperated with the lawlessness of armed ANC members.

Restricted to bases as far away as Tanzania, the "armed struggle" has become almost impossible to prosecute, at least in the short term.

Faced with these realities and pressures, it is certain that the first priority of this week's meeting will be to try to restore a semblance of a unified front towards the South African Government.

After that it might decide to announce a moratorium on an armed struggle, which it cannot pursue in any event.

In that case, not only could its immediate dilemma be resolved, but also possibly the future leadership of the organisation — in favour of the negotiation faction.
Time for reconciliation is here, says De Klerk

Celebration and reconciliation has arrived

The Government accepts the principle of the recognition and protection of the fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of both Western democracies. We acknowledge, too, that the most practical way of protecting those rights is vested in a declaration of rights, published by an independent judiciary.

Peace Plan: Mr de Klerk crosses the Rubicon at the opening of financial services sector in the economy to give the private sector the opportunity for private sector performance, he said those who made and implement economic policy face the role of the public sector.

CAPE TOWN — This is a great milestone, as addressed by President de Klerk at the opening of Parliament yesterday.

The elections in September 1994 placed our country unequivocally on the road of drastic change. Under-ministers have been starting to issue reports on the future relationship of the TBVC with South Africa and specifically about whether they should be reconvened into our country. Without rejecting this idea itself, I have to be in mind that it is but one of many possibilities. These countries are constitutionally independent. Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with, not only by means of legislation in their parliaments but also by legislation in this Parliament.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Some time ago the Government referred the question of the protection of fundamental human rights to the South Africa Law Commission. This resulted in the Law Commission's interim working document on individual and minority rights. It elicited substantial public interest.

I am convinced that every individual and organisation in the country has had ample opportunity to make representations to the Law Commission, express criticism freely and make suggestions. At present, the Law Commission is considering the representations received. A final report is expected in the course of the year.

Certain matters of principle have emerged from these complaints. In the opinion of the Government, these complaints have been resolved to the satisfaction of the people.

The Governments of both South Africa and are preparing to do the necessary work to ensure that the countries' regions and sectors' interests will be taken into account in the new constitution.

The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.

The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.

One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement is the Separate Amenities Act 1953. I announce that this Act will be repealed during this session of Parliament.

The conditions for the protection of the rights of individuals, with a view to allaying the fears and misconceptions which have prevented the implementation of the principle of non-racialism, will be strengthened.

During that particular period and in which the high gold price was protected temporarily by the rising gold price, the necessity for making similar adjustments immediately. In fact, the high gold price even brought prosperity with it for the economy. The recovery of the world economy and the decline in the price of gold and other primary products, and with the decline in trends, the high inflation, the serious weakening of productivity of capital, stagnation in the economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities. All of this made a drastic structural adjustment of our economy inevitable.

The Government's basic plan of departure is to face the role of the public sector in the economy to give the private sector the opportunity for private sector performance, he said those who made and implement economic policy face the role of the public sector.
of violence over

KLERK'S SPEECH — NEWS AND VIEWS

PLN: Mr de Klerk crosses the Rubicon at the opening of Parliament yesterday.

I repeat my invitation with greater concreteness than ever: walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament.

The most important facet of the advice the Government received in connection with this question is that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the opposition parties would be able to ensure lasting peace.

The most important facets of the advice the Government obtained in connection with this question are the following: the need for the United Nations in South Africa, the need for a political change in the government, the need for a negotiated settlement, and the need for an international conference.

If the negotiations are to be successful, the government must ensure that the parties concerned are willing to enter into a genuine and inclusive dialogue. The government must also ensure that the negotiations are transparent and free from any undue influence or pressure.
Support FW's Moves
Investors Race to Market Clamour

By AR JACOBSON

06/21/97

The recent flurry of activity around the potential acquisition of 21st Century Fox by News Corp highlights the ongoing consolidation in the entertainment industry. As Fox's board considers the offer, analysts and investors are closely watching the drama unfold.

The deal, if consummated, would result in a significant consolidation of media assets. News Corp, led by CEO Rupert Murdoch, has been a key player in the industry, with a portfolio that includes media properties, telecommunications, and technology ventures. Fox, on the other hand, is a major player in Hollywood, with a strong presence in film and television.

The potential acquisition has sparked a frenzy among investors and the media. The prospect of a larger, more powerful media entity has piqued the interest of many, leading to a scramble to secure a position in the market.

For News Corp, the acquisition would provide a significant boost to its already impressive portfolio. With Fox's extensive content库 and distribution channels, News Corp would gain access to a wider audience and increased firepower in the competitive media landscape.

However, the deal faces several hurdles. Regulators must approve the acquisition, and the terms need to be negotiated to the satisfaction of both parties. The financial implications of the deal are also a significant concern, with analysts monitoring the impact on earnings and shareholder value.

Despite these challenges, the market continues to react positively to the news. News Corp's stock price has risen in anticipation of the deal, and investors are eagerly awaiting the outcome. The potential acquisition of Fox is a testament to the evolving media landscape and the increasing consolidation of media assets.
Church leaders enthuse

LEADERS of a number of churches enthusiastically welcomed President De Klerk's announcement on the lifting of the bans on organisations but several said his speech should be seen in perspective as a response to pressure. They called on him to move quickly towards "genuine negotiations" to dismantle the pillars of apartheid.

Dr Alan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said it showed Mr De Klerk was serious about political change while the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, believed it a "sign of hope" that Mr De Klerk used the powers of his office to make the announcements by decree.

Member of the SA Catholic Bishops Conference and the National Reception Committee of the MDM Father Smangaliso Mkatshwa said he was delighted with the announced reforms.
Sanctions: Should they now be lifted? A debate hots up.

**Presidential Message**

President de Klerk's watershed speech has been heralded worldwide as a breakthrough and the dawn of a new era for South Africa.

The reaction generally has been one of astonishment: that he has far exceeded expectations.

There is consensus that he has gone a long way towards setting the scene for the start of negotiations over a new democratic South Africa. And debate is already raging over whether sanctions should be lifted.

International doors are also opening for Mr de Klerk. He has accepted an invitation from Mrs Margaret Thatcher and has also had one from President George Bush of the United States.

**Thabo Mbeki**

In the most significant reaction from the African National Congress so far, its international expert, the charismatic Mr Thabo Mbeki, has said of the speech: "This is good news. If these decisions are carried out, they will be very important."

"Obviously this is going a very long way to meeting our demand that political conditions must be created for everybody to participate in a peaceful political process."

Speaking in Stockholm where recently released ANC prisoners Mr Walter Sisulu and others have been discussing developments with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo and other exiles, he cautioned, however, that political prisoners still needed to be released, all troops still had to be taken out of the townships, the legislation which had been used to ban the ANC be repealed and the emergency lifted in its entirety.

But he added: "If Mr de Klerk says the time for talking is over then I believe we may be saying the same thing ourselves soon."

The Weekend Argus bureau in Washington reports that Mr de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC and other announcements have sparked intense debate on

**Repeal of Sanctions**

Mr de Klerk, described the steps announced as sweeping and said the South African government had now met some of the preconditions required by US law to modify or suspend sanctions.

Pointing out that the Bush Administration was prohibited by law from lifting sanctions, he added that if more conditions were met, such as the lifting of the state of emergency and releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, a stage could be reached where all but one of the requirements for lifting sanctions had been met.

**Requirement**

It appears there is still some requirement that there be a start of starting negotiations.

He said: "So it seems to me that at such time as all but one of the requirements are met and I think a couple of them have been met now, we would then consult with Congress to determine whether the President should move ahead and use his authority to suspend or modify sanctions."

"In South Africa, white conservative reaction has been vehement and from some on the left there have been claims that Mr de Klerk has still not gone far enough.

But the general response is typified by that of even a long-standing opponent of the government like Archbishop Desmond Tutu. "This is incredible. We expected he might deliver something, but what he said has taken my breath away."

**The struggle**

Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi described Mr de Klerk's address as a truly historic occasion.

"South Africa's long line of heroes and martyrs should applaud the statement that black leaders can now realise the dreams of the struggle."

The chairman of the Organisation of Frontline States, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, advised against lifting sanctions but said the unbanning of the ANC was the first step that should lead to other steps in the right direction.
"Obviously this is going a very long way to bringing our demand that political conditions must be created for every body to participate in a peaceful political process."

Speaking in Stockholm where recently released ANC prisoners Mr Walter Sisulu and others have been discussing developments with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo and other exiles, he cautioned, however, that political prisoners still needed to be released, all troops still had to be taken out of the towns, the legislation which had been used to ban the ANC be repealed and the emergency lifted in its entirety.

But he added: "If Mr De Klerk says the time for talking has come then I believe we may be saying the same thing ourselves soon."

The Weekend Argus bureau in Washington reported that Mr De Klerk's unbanning of the ANC and other announcements have sparked intense debate on what the appropriate next step for the US would be.

Mr De Klerk's speech was the main news on all the major television channels on yesterday. Most commentators described it as the most historic event in South Africa in 40 years.

A furious debate has already started on whether sanctions should be lifted or tightened. The US Assistant Secretary for Peace and Security said the US would only meet Mr Mandela if he had come into line.

The struggle

Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi described Mr De Klerk's address as a true historic occasion. South Africa's long line of heroes and martyrs should applaud the statement that black leaders can now realise the dreams of the struggle.

The chairman of the Organisation of Frontline States, Zimbabwean President Kenneth Kaunda, advised against lifting sanctions but said the unbanning of the ANC was the first step that should lead to other steps in the right direction.

Mandela may have been moved

By BRONWEN DAVIDS and VIVIEN HORLER
Weekend Argus Reporters

SPEECULATION was mounting yesterday that Mr Nelson Mandela, the man who holds the key to the future of South Africa, may have been moved from Victor Verster prison in Paarl prior to his release.

But sources in the Department of Justice emphatically denied he had been moved, and refused to comment further.

Today Mr Mandela's son Mr Makgatho Mandela, who had arranged last Tuesday to see his father today, failed to arrive on a flight from Durban.

Church leader Dr Allan Boesak's planned visit to Mr Mandela on Thursday was cancelled by authorities.

The unconditional release of Mr Mandela, promised by State President F W de Klerk in his watershed speech at the opening of parliament yesterday, is the next major step for South Africa on the road to reform.

Mr De Klerk, who said Mr Mandela would be released within "a short passage of time" and "without delay", said Mr Mandela could play an important part in the negotiations for a new dispensation in South Africa.

There was puzzlement at Mr Mandela's son's failure to arrive in Cape Town today. Said Mr Farida Omar, who accompanied her civil rights lawyer husband Dullah to the airport to meet Mr Mandela: "This is most unlike him. It's unlike him not to come, and it's unlike him to fail to inform us and save us an unnecessary trip to the airport. It's very strange."

"Last week Dr Boesak's visit was cancelled by the State, and now this. It seems that something is going on."

Surviving son

Mr Mandela, Mr Nelson Mandela's only surviving son, had been due to see his father from 11am to 5pm. He last saw him about two months ago.

When Weekend Argus rang Mr Mandela's shop in Cyrildene in Transkei, the man who answered the telephone said he thought Mr Mandela was in Durban. He said: "He lives his life, I live mine."

Outside the prison today it was quiet with few journalists present and no visitors for Mr Mandela at all, just a few for other inmates.

F W'S MOVES GAZETTED

PRETORIA. - Government Gazette proclamations enacting the announcements by State President F W de Klerk yesterday were published in Pretoria today.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee published notices repealing the prohibition of the ANC, PAC, SACP and their subsidiary organisations.

A total of 58 names - including that of Joe Slovo, Helen Joseph, Marius Schoon, Albie Sachs, Archie Sibeko, and Rowley Arentsen - were removed from the Internal Security Act consolidated list.

However, the names of a number of ANC members - including Oliver Tambo and Tom Sheba - apparently remained on the list.

There was no immediate clarification available from officials in Pretoria.

The media and education emergency regulations were repealed. - Sapa.
Brokers flooded as JSE soars

By DICK USHER
Deputy Business Editor

The business world, both local and international, reacted sharply and positively to President De Klerk's major reform initiatives.

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange soared to fresh highs, financial indicators responded strongly and brokers were flooded with orders.

All leading business organisations welcomed the changes which were called brave, statesmanlike and a challenge to the business community to help create a new South Africa.

Speculation also emerged overseas that sanctions could be eased or lifted.

As news of the steps swept the financial markets, reaction was immediate.

At the close, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange overall share index had risen to a new high of 3 029 from Thursday's 3 019 close and a previous record close of 3 229 on January 13.

The all-gold index surged to a preliminary close of 2 252 from Thursday's 2 180 finish, with added help from a rally in the bullion price. The industrial index rebounded to a record 3 025 from 2 933 — breaching its January 15 high of 3 023.

Capital market rates were sharply lower.

In London, gold shares rose in early trading and shot up by between 5 and 10 percent while the Stock Exchange showed interest in South African industrials for the first time in years.

One dealer said: "The market's extremely good at the moment, we're very busy and shares are flying about all over the place."

Sanctions

She speculated that economic sanctions against South Africa eventually could be eased as a result of the moves.

In the United States, where Mr De Klerk's speech was carried live via satellite by one network, the market was sluggish in response.

Gold futures were slightly lower and one trader said this was possibly because the steps would "lessen the threat of a civil war and it should also reduce the possibility of production interruptions at the gold mines."

Anglo American Corporation chairman Mr Gavin Kelly welcomed the steps, which he said would normalise political life in South Africa.

"We would hope that these acts of courage and statesmanship on the part of President De Klerk will create matching acts of courage and statesmanship within South Africa's borders and beyond."

Mr K W Maxwell, president of the Chamber of Mines, said President De Klerk had crossed the Rubicon and opened the way to a new South Africa.

"We look forward to a positive response from the international community, including the lifting of sanctions. Together with President De Klerk, we also look forward to the end of decades of tensions and conflict."

The Afrikaans Handelsinstituut said the business sector had, for some time, pleaded for negotiations, the tested way to reduce tensions.

The organisation welcomed the announcement that the role of the public sector in the economy was to be reduced and that the private sector would be given the maximum opportunity to flourish.

As the largest employer organisation in South Africa, the South African Chamber of Business (SACB) "heartily welcomes the bold initiatives."

3/2/90
Key issues in De Klerk’s announcement

By FRANS ESTERHUYSSE
Weekend Argus, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk’s announcements on key issues in his historic address to Parliament yesterday include:

■ DEATH PENALTY: Government has approved in principle that the death penalty be limited as an option in “extreme cases” and that automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

■ EXECUTIONS: All executions have been suspended until parliament takes a final decision on the new proposals.

■ APARTEIHID: Separate Amendment Act of 1955 to be scrapped during the present session of parliament.

■ NEGOTIATIONS: “The time for negotiation has arrived.” The government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace. The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on banned organisations “places everybody in a position to pursue politics freely.” The justification for violence which was always advanced, no longer exists.

■ BANNED ORGANISATIONS: The African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the SA Communist Party (SACP) and subsidiary organisations are being unbanned.

■ RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS: People serving prison sentences for their membership of these organisations and for related offences will be identified and released.

This does not apply to prisoners sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson.

■ MEDIA CURBS: The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being scrapped “in their entirety.”

■ STATE OF EMERGENCY: An emergency situation still exists, however; the retention of certain emergency measures. The government’s intention is to terminate the state of emergency completely “as soon as circumstances justify it.” Those responsible for unrest and conflict must bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency.

The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to access of unrest.

■ RESTRICTED ORGANISATIONS: Emergency restrictions on 34 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the National Education Crisis Committee, the SA National Students’ Congress, the United Democratic Front, Cosatu and the Blankes Berydiesbeweging van Suid-Afrika.

■ EMERGENCY DETAINES: Conditions imposed on 374 emergency detainees on their release are being rescinded and the regulations providing for such conditions are being scrapped.

The period of emergency detention will be limited to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing.

■ PEACEFUL PROTEST: The government will not allow peaceful protest to become a springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation. “Violence from whichever source will be fought with all available might.”

■ SOUTHERN AFRICAN SUMMIT: The obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states for formulating “a realistic development plan” have now been removed sufficiently. Hostile postures have to be replaced by co-operative ones; confrontation by contact.

■ THE ECONOMY: Financial figures show government expenditure is “thoroughly under control.”

The government will persist with “structural adaptations” for easing the tax burden, especially on individuals; for sustained and adequate generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments; and for reconstruction of gold and foreign exchange reserves.

■ INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS: The government does not “reject out of hand” the idea of their future re-incorporation into the RSA and regards it as “but one of many possibilities.” Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with by legislation in the respective parliaments. Such legislation will have to be preceded by talks and agreements.

■ THE POLICE: Strong emphasis on being placed on even more effective law enforcement. Provision of manpower and resources for this will be ensured. The budget for the coming financial year will begin to give effect to this.

MR NELSON MANDELA: The government has noted that he has declared himself willing to make a constructive contribution to a peaceful political process. The government has taken a firm decision to release him unconditionally. A decision is to be taken soon on the release “not the least of factors in the way of his immediate release.”

Mr Nelson Mandela ... decision to be taken soon on release date.
Macmillan right, Verwoerd wrong

By PATRICK LAURENCE

Thirty years ago tomorrow British Prime Minister Mr Harold Macmillan caused a stir in South Africa when he delivered his "winds of change" speech to Parliament in Cape Town.

In the polite language of the British upper class, Mr Macmillan, who had come to South Africa on the last leg of a tour through Africa, warned that South Africa would have to take cognisance of the challenge brewing in the African hinterland.

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the man of granite in man wat sy man kon staan—was South Africa's Prime Minister. The architect of grand or territorial apartheid, he believed that South Africa was taking the necessary measures to withstand the pending storm.

Looking back, it is clear that, on balance, Mr Macmillan was right and Dr Verwoerd was wrong.

The Speaker at the time, Mr J H Conradie, had enough of a sense of history to have the speeches printed in a souvenir publication. Reading Mr Macmillan's speech and Dr Verwoerd's reply is a fascinating exercise.

One is struck by Mr Macmillan's tact and politeness. Remarkably, he did not mention the word "apartheid"—he was too circumspect for bluntness of that order.

His admonishment was gentle, not hectoring. He spoke not as an outsider but as an insider. His criticism was softened with kind words: "I said that I was speaking as a friend. I can perhaps almost claim to speak as a relation. For we Scots can claim family connections with both the great European sections of your people, not only with the English-speaking people but with the Afrikaans-speaking people as well."

His speech contained essentially two criticisms: first, a rejoinder to the current notion that South Africa's internal affairs were her own business; second, a rejection of race discrimination and, as a corollary, indirect counsel to South Africa to extend its notion of nationhood to include all the people of South Africa, not merely the whites.

On the first point Mr Macmillan asserted his acceptance of the concept of sovereignty. He then immediately modified it by noting that the world was "shrink[ing]" and that the policies of one nation could have repercussions beyond its borders.

"We may sometimes be tempted to say to each other, 'Mind your own business,'" Mr Macmillan said. "But in these days I would myself expand the old saying so that it runs 'Mind your own business, of course, but mind how it affects my business too.'"

On the second point Mr Macmillan quoted the then British Foreign Secretary, Mr Selwyn Lloyd: "We reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another. Our policy, therefore, is non-racial; it offers a future in which (all will) play their full part as citizens in the countries where they live and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations."

Dealing with the argument that white South Africans had deep roots in Africa, Mr Macmillan said: "The same is broadly true of Europeans in Central and East Africa."

Then came his crunch line, insofar as there could be one in his politely phrased speech: "We always try to (give) South Africa our full support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our deep convictions about the political destinies of free men."

Dr Verwoerd, never a man at a loss for words, replied promptly, defending the idea of separate freedoms for the different races.

He asserted that South Africa's whites found empty tracts of land—"we settled a country which was bare." He put the "Bantu" on a par with the whites as "settlers"—"The Bantu, too, came to this country and settled certain portions for themselves."

Each would be given the "fullest rights" in the areas in which they settled, the imper- ciable Dr Verwoerd said.

 Barely six weeks later the first of the winds that Mr Macmillan had warned of struck.

On March 21, the Pan-Africanist Congress campaign against the pass laws—an integral component of Dr Verwoerd's grand vision of enforced separation—led to the Sharpeville massacre when nervous police opened fire on a crowd outside the police station in Sharpeville, killing 69 people.

Dr Verwoerd's reaction was composed, if not complacent, his opponents who blamed the disturbance on separate development were ill-informed and did not have sufficient facts at their disposal.

His first and immediate remedy was to quell the "incitement" and round-up the "inciters". His long-term reaction was to intensify the application of separate development.

But the "winds of change" were not stilled.

Sixteen years later his successor, Mr B J Vorster, warned: "The storm has not yet struck. We are only experiencing the whirlwinds that go before it." He started to cautiously reform apartheid in the hope of depriving the pending storm of its driving force.

He failed. Eight years later, South Africa plunged into the worst and most prolonged turmoil since the Act of Union. The townships burned, fanned by a hurricane.

Today, South Africa under President F W De Klerk, is in a period of relative calm. But there are signs that it may be merely another lull before the storm. Mr De Klerk, it seems, has but a few months to defuse the threatening tornado.
Bush wants to review sanctions, Pope may visit

SOUTH Africa's international relations have taken a giant leap forward following President F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament yesterday.

The United States government will review its sanctions policy, and British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has formally invited Mr de Klerk to an "early meeting" at her country residence, Cleobury. Mr Mandela would also have been invited once he had been released.

In other favourable reaction yesterday, Vatican sources said it was now likely that the Pope will visit South Africa.

President George Bush told reporters on board Air Force One, the presidential aircraft, yesterday he wanted to talk to congressional leaders and various South African leaders about reviewing sanctions and the other aspects of US policy on South Africa.

But first he wanted to see the announcements made by Mr de Klerk developed and Mr Nelson Mandela released, he said.

Mr Bush said earlier this week he would be inviting Mr Mandela to meet him in the White House once he was released. Similarly, he would invite Mr de Klerk. He planned to discuss with them how the United States could be of assistance to South Africa in promoting a democratic nonracial society.

But congressional sources were yesterday more guarded about Mr de Klerk's speech.

One source pointed out that Mr Bush could not lift sanctions against South Africa until certain specific conditions stipulated in the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) had been met. While Mr de Klerk may now have met most of these, there were still some, such as the repeal of apartheid, which had not been met.

Sympathy

On the other hand, there is a degree of sympathy on Capitol Hill with the view that Mr de Klerk's far-reaching moves should in some way be encouraged.

A bipartisan task force in the House of Representatives and key senators hopes to hammer out a common policy with the Administration.

Anti-apartheid congressmen believe a package of incentives and sanctions would be appropriate.

The major US media yesterday reported Mr de Klerk's speech as the lead item, together with generally favourable reaction from prominent spokesmen for the South African opposition.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told US television.

TO PAGE 2.
FW applauded


viewers he believed all parties could prepare themselves now to start negotiations within weeks rather than months.

The British government hailed Mr de Klerk’s speech “a major step forward” and said the measures announced by the State President were “an important justification of our policy of contact rather than confrontation”. Britain has said that it will not continue with its policy of “discouraging” artists, scientists and academics from visiting the Republic.

A Vatican source said the speech was a “major step towards a papal trip.”

The Pope has often expressed a desire to visit South Africa, but on the advice of South Africa’s Catholic bishops, he declined an invitation from the Pretoria government to visit during a 1986 tour of neighbouring countries. But he said he would make a trip here eventually.

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday likened the news of changes in South Africa to “celestial music”, saying he hoped it was the beginning of the end for apartheid.

Mr Perez de Cuellar said he intended going to southern Africa in mid-March to celebrate the independence of Namibia from South African rule, scheduled to be proclaimed on March 21.

South Africa has been suspended from the United Nations General Assembly since 1974 because of its racial policies. But it remains a member of the 159-nation organisation and its flag flies alongside those of other countries outside UN Headquarters.

President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday welcomed the speech, but said the next step was to create real conditions for dialogue with black opposition groups.

“I say hearty congratulations for a job well started, not well done. I wish him (De Klerk) the best of luck.”

In Lisbon, President Mario Soares, who last October became the first foreign head of state to visit South Africa in nearly 15 years, congratulated Mr de Klerk on the decision to legalise the ANC and free jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosutho Buthelezi said yesterday he was prepared to enter into negotiations with Mr de Klerk.

“I have always adamantly refused to be involved in any negotiations about the constitutional future of South Africa unless today’s kind of announcements were made,” the Chief Minister said.

He, however, remained concerned that the state of emergency had not been lifted, and appealed to the state president to be more specific about the circumstances in which he would lift all emergency regulations.
ANC: It's a victory, but not enough

ROBIN DREW and SAPA-REUTER

STOCKHOLM — ANC leaders visiting Sweden welcomed South Africa lifting the ban on political organisations, saying "victory is in sight".

Former ANC Secretary-General Mr Walter Sisulu told a news conference that President de Klerk had done a great deal by lifting a 30-year-old ban on the organisation.

"But he has not yet gone far enough," and added that economic sanctions must be maintained.

The ANC would have liked to have seen Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners set free immediately and soldiers removed from townships.

Mr Sisulu said Mr de Klerk had shown "he is a man the ANC can, and will, talk to."

"But this is merely a beginning. We want the end of apartheid.

ANC leaders in Stockholm issued a statement saying the removal of the ban "goes a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations".

But the ANC was concerned that not all political prisoners would be released and demanded that the state of emergency be lifted.

ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo and SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo were due to travel to Sweden yesterday from Lusaka.

The two organisations will hold a meeting to review the political situation after yesterday's announcement by President de Klerk.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni, one of the ANC leaders released last October, said he was surprised at Mr de Klerk's lifting the ban on the SACP. "We did not expect that."

"Swedish Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson and Foreign Minister Mr Sven Andersson welcomed President de Klerk's announcement."

Mr Andersson said the international economic

© TO PAGE 2.
Reform moves raise hopes of major sanctions relief

SOUTH Africa's business community is expecting a significant reduction in sanctions following State President PW de Klerk's historic policy statement yesterday.

In hectic trading on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange buoyant share prices reflected the mood of optimism that swept the country yesterday.

But more fundamental economic changes are expected to emerge from the speech, which many economists described "as the first step in ending our international economic isolation".

Reports that US President George Bush would seek a mandate from the US Congress to reduce sanctions, buoyed trading on the JSE.

Prices surge

Stockmarket dealers said one effect of Mr de Klerk's moves may be that economic sanctions against South Africa will be eased, resulting in improved trading prospects for South African companies.

Prices on the stockmarket surged to record highs yesterday as the overall index climbed by 27 percent, or 86 points, to close at 3200.

Both local institutions and foreign investors pursued industrial shares in particular — the JSE industrial index closed the day 32 percent or 96 points up at 3031.

South African gold and industrial shares also surged on British and European share markets.

Mr Les Boyd, president of the SA Chamber of Business, said: "Mr de Klerk has gone much further than expected. These steps should significantly enhance South Africa's business image. We hope this new approach will see a lifting of punitive sanctions."

The chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly, said: "We would hope that these acts of courage and statesmanship on the part of President de Klerk will create matching acts of courage and statesmanship both within South Africa's borders and beyond."

Dr Carl Hahn, the international chairman of the motor giant Volkswagen, who is on a visit to Johannesburg, said: "The announcement will contribute greatly towards bringing South Africa back into the mainstream of the international business community."

 Reserve Bank Governor Dr Chris Stals said the historic speech had greatly improved prospects for the South African economy. "Most foreign banks will take their lead from their country's politicians, but short-term trade credits will be more easily accessible," Dr Stals said.

He also expected significantly reduced foreign debt repayments as a result of improved political sentiments, with the possibility that as much as R3 billion of this year's total R7 billion debt could be rolled over.

* See PAGE 13
Ivorian Minister met FW

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast, Mr. Simon Ake, has paid a surprise and secret visit to South Africa, sources have disclosed.

Mr. Ake met President FW de Klerk for an hour on Thursday and flew home yesterday morning — deeply impressed with the dramatic announcements Mr de Klerk made at the opening of Parliament, the sources said.

Government sources believe that Mr Ake's visit will play an important role in improving the Republic's standing in Africa. Source 3/6/90

It is understood that a representative of the Zaire government is in Cape Town and attended Parliament's opening.
News of change like ‘celestial music’

FW’s speech saluted by world leaders

LONDON. — World leaders yesterday saluted Pretoria’s decision to free ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and introduced sweeping reforms.

President George Bush said he viewed Mr De Klerk’s speech “positively — and most people around the world will”. Speaking to reporters in Washington, presidential spokesman Mr Martin Fitzwater said “we remain hopeful the release of Mandela will occur as soon as possible”.

British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher has invited Mr De Klerk to an “early meeting” at her country home, Chequers. Welcoming the measures, she also said in a statement that she would invite Mr Mandela to visit Britain as soon as he was free.

UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Peres de Cuellar likened the news of changes in South Africa to “celestial music”, saying he hoped it was the beginning of the end for apartheid.

The Zimbabwe government said Mr De Klerk’s speech was a step in the right direction but that it met only some of the conditions laid down in the Harare Declaration.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia welcomed the changes but said the next step was to create real conditions for dialogue with the ANC and black opposition groups. “I say, hearty congratulations for a job well started, not well done. I wish him (Mr De Klerk) the best of luck. He has done something very, good indeed,” Mr Kaunda said.

In the Vatican, sources said South Africa’s decision to lift the ban on the African National Congress and free Mr Mandela had increased the likelihood that Pope John Paul would visit the country.

Canadian External Affairs Minister Mr Joe Clark welcomed the move, as did President Mario Soares of Portugal, who congratulated Mr De Klerk and said he heard the news “with great pleasure and a sentiment of profound hope”.

Egypt, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, hailed South Africa’s decision. “Egypt sees this action as a positive and first step toward elimination of apartheid in South Africa,” Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mr Boutros Ghali said.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, said the apartheid regime had “opened the door to a process of negotiations that could lead to the ending of apartheid — but much more still needs to be done”.

The Lesotho government noted the announcement “with appreciation”, while the President of Botswana, Mr Quett Masire, described the reform package as “a bold statement in the context of the South African reality”.

The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Taro Nakayama, said the steps taken by President De Klerk constituted important factors for dialogue to begin between the Pretoria government and black leaders.

Dutch Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek welcomed Mr De Klerk’s speech in Parliament as a “breakthrough”.

Nigerian Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Bilanu Lukman praised Mr De Klerk’s announcement as “the first concrete step in the long journey toward the total eradication of apartheid and racism of discrimination”.

Israeli Foreign Minister Mr Moshe Arens said: “I welcome the steps for liberalisation and freedom of political organisations announced by President De Klerk. Israel will continue to follow favourably the process of reform in South Africa”.

The World Council of Churches, welcoming the moves, said it was “particularly delighted that Mr Mandela’s release will be unconditional”. — Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuters-AP, Daily Telegraph and UPI
A top-ranking Government team has been instructed to roll up its sleeves for an intensive programme of informal approaches to Parliament. The Government is anxious to demonstrate its sincerity, both at home and abroad.

In the event of the De Klerk initiative failing, it plans to ensure that the ANC and its Pretoria, is identified as the "spoiler".

In London, the ANC's information chief, Mr. Paza Jor-
dan, told the Sunday Times that Mr. De Klerk's speech to the Parliament on Friday "opened up a number of new possibilities on which we will have to take decisions soon.

The ANC's full National Executive was expected to meet within the next few days.

Opened

The initial reaction from the ANC's leadership has been cautious — an indication of the boldness of the Government's moves, it appears.

While stressing the need to maintain the armed struggle and sanctions, the ANC's leadership is concerned about the opening of Parliament to the public. The ANC's decision to return to the talks was "in the interests of the country".

Senior government officials said yesterday that Mr. De Klerk's negotiating team, which included cabinet members, would start "Operation Ostroh" immediately to follow up Friday's dramatic announcement.

Ritter's contacts with leaders like Mr. Walter Sisulu have taken place in secret.

Mr. Jordan said yesterday that the Government had "seized the high ground".

Secret

It would not compromise its refusal to negotiate with parties that espoused or purveyed violence — and it believed it would receive solid international backing for its position.

For its part, the ANC is facing many difficult decisions. It, too, can expect strong pressure from foreign governments — especially Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union.

Yesterday, Mr. Jordan said that the initial stages of the ANC's talker was still vague and that it would be hard to say what the "Operation Ostroh" would do without a lot of discussion.

Gangs ar

SCOROS of non-persons "came to life" yesterday when they were officially unmasked.

By LESTER VENTER

and DRIES

van HEERDEN

Forward

Mr. De Klerk indicated that those convicted of purely political offences would soon be freed — but those implicated in the shooting of police officers would remain in jail.

ANC sources estimate there are about 250 ANC members in jail. Only about a third had been convicted of treason or violence.

Referring to Mr. De Klerk's announcement as "a lucky dip", Mr. Jordan said the ANC would not differentiate between its members. "What he regards as terrorism we consider to be people taking up arms to fight for freedom," he said.

"We are not considering a unilateral abandonment of the armed struggle. Any cessation of hostilities or a cease-fire will have to be negotiated between us and Pretoria," he added.

However, Mr. Jordan said a decision on the return of some prominent ANC members was premature.

GANGS AR

SCORES of non-persons "came to life" yesterday when they were officially unmasked.

However, Mr. Zuma said on parole with other political prisoners the ANC was still awaiting the release of Mr. Mandela.

Mr. Jordan said the ANC's "Operation Ostroh" was not a magical solution to all South Africa's problems.

"We are not looking for an easy solution, but a series of steps that will gradually ease the tension," he said.

The ANC's intelligence sources say the release of political prisoners will make it hard for the government to maintain its position.

"It was a dramatic step. It is not a sea change," Mr. Jordan said. "But it is a beginning."
The President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, delivered a speech on the floor of Parliament, addressing the nation on a matter of national importance.

In faith and condition determined to go forward with the tremendous challenge.

Boldly in the face of responsibility.

Deeply aware of our.

This is where I stand.

30th of April 2019.

Is Over.

The Season of Violence.
The Estuary

Ecosystem 

Structure and Function

1. Introduction
2. History
3. Current Conditions
4. Future Implications

Socioeconomic Aspects

1. Economic Impact
2. Cultural Significance
3. Environmental Services

Figure 1: Estuary Map

Table 1: Estuary Species

Appendix A: Data Sources
No more to be hanged until policy made

All hangings have been stopped and no further executions will take place until Parliament has taken a decision on new government proposals.

The government has been considering the issue of hangings for some time and on March 21 last year the Minister of Justice indicated there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area.

The government feels it is now in a position to be able to make concrete proposals for reform, after consultations with a broad range of bodies, including the Chief Justice and, through him, the benchers and academics and other interested parties.

The following broad principles had been decided upon from a variety of options:

- That reform in the area was indicated;
- That the death penalty should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence; and
- That an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

If the proposals are adopted they should have a significant influence on the imposition of death sentences and should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

No executions have taken place since November 14.

New and uncompleted cases will still be judged in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution. - Sapa

The season of violence in Southern Africa was over and the time for reconstruction and reconciliation had arrived, De Klerk said.

He said Southern Africa now had an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction.

"It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure the region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world. Unless Southern Africa achieves stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, it will be faced by further decline and ruin."

The government was prepared to enter into discussions for formulating a development plan.

"The government believes the obstacles in the way of a conference of these states have now been removed sufficiently. Hostile postures have to be replaced by cooperative ones - confrontation by contact, disengagement by engagement, slogans by deliberate debate." De Klerk said South Africa's positive contribution to the independence process in Namibia had been recognised internationally.

Similarly, its efforts to help bring an end to the domestic conflict in Mozambique and Angola had received positive acknowledgement.

Turning to foreign relations in a broader sense, De Klerk said that without contact and cooperation with the rest of the world: "We cannot promote the wellbeing and security of our citizens."

The year 1989 would go down in history as the year in which Stalinist Communism expired. These developments would entail unpredictable consequences for Europe, but they would also be of "decisive importance" to Africa.

"Indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline in the case of Africa."

The collapse, particularly of the economic system in Eastern Europe, also served as a warning to those who insisted on persisting with it in Africa. - Sapa

'Time for violence to end, reconciliation to begin'

These leaders expressed their clear concern about the serious economic problems in our part of the world. They agreed that South Africa could and should play a positive part in regional co-operation and development."

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 'Time for violence to end, reconciliation to begin'
THE government would give the process of negotiation the highest priority, State President FW de Klerk said when he opened Parliament on Friday.

"The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour – constitutional, social and economic," he said.

The general election of September 6 had placed the country irrevocably on the road of drastic change.

Underlying this was the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population was able to ensure lasting peace.

"The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest. The well-being of all in this country is linked inextricably to the ability of the leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation. No one can escape this simple truth."

De Klerk told MPs he hoped Parliament would play a constructive part in both the prelude to negotiations and the negotiating process itself.

"I wish to ask all of you who identify yourselves with the broad aim of a new South Africa, and that is the overwhelming majority: "Let us put petty politics aside when we discuss the future during this session.

"Help us build a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation.

"Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from domination and radicalism of any kind." – Sapa.
Separate Amenities to go

THE Separate Amenities Act will be repealed during this session of Parliament.
Various ministers would be making important announcements on socio-economic matters during the course of the session.
A changed dispensation implied far more than political and constitutional issues, De Klerk said. It could not be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demanded practical solutions.
“Poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life.”

The conservation of the physical and human environment was of cardinal importance to the quality of existence and for this reason the government was developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President’s Council.
“Although these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively. The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner.

“Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision,” he said.
“From this emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the responsible ministers during the course of the session.
“On the matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement is on the Separate Amenities Act of 1953. After my speech before the President’s Council late last year, I announced that this Act will be repealed during this session of Parliament.”

He said the State alone could not possibly deal with all the advancements South Africa’s circumstances demanded.

The community at large and especially the private sector also had a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people. — Sapa.
Radicals stay tough, but moderates want to talk

CP Reporters

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng said yesterday he would negotiate with President FW de Klerk if talks centred on issues such as ownership of land and resources and one-person-one-vote in a unitary state, without group protection or a minority veto.

Responding to the unbanning of the PAC, he said: “The PAC does not recognise the legitimacy of the South African government and therefore never recognised the banning of the organisation.”

Mothopeng said his first task was to convene a consultative conference of PAC members in the next few weeks, and a full conference when visits returned.

He said it was unrealistic to expect the PAC to disband its army, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Aplam), as it was formed to meet certain national objectives.

Mothopeng called for a complete mandatory sanctions as “partial sanctions have achieved partial change.”

The Azanian People’s Organisation praised De Klerk for breaking out of the old trappings of apartheid thinking. But the bold steps were still unsatisfactory, said Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza. His moves treated the symptoms and not the cause.

An hour after FW de Klerk’s speech on Friday, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church Stanley Mogoba phoned Nelson Mandela.

“In his message Mogoba said he was prepared to visit Mandela as he was his chaplain. Remember Mandela is a Methodist,” said a spokesman for the Bishop’s office.

“The new name of the game is adaptation and change. Everyone will have to compromise and change. If FW de Klerk and a party that had always been regarded as monolithic can do so, then only selfishness and greed can stop others from also doing so,” said Mogoba in a statement.

Cosatu said De Klerk’s announcements fell short of the expectations of the majority of South Africans and the world.

Though it welcomed the changes as “far-reaching and courageous”, Cosatu emphasised that the cornerstones of apartheid remained intact.

Cosatu called for a comprehensive initiative by the government to meet all clauses in the Harare Declaration.

But Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi praised the announcements and welcomed them as proof to those “who doubted De Klerk’s sincerity.”

“I am prepared to enter into negotiations and it is my prayer that the next few weeks will witness all important black political leaders making the same statement,” said the Kwa-Zulu leader.

Actstop publicity secretary Cas Coovadia welcomed the changes.

“We welcome this in the spirit of change in South Africa. The decision taken by De Klerk fully justifies the struggles of the masses of our country,” he said.

De Klerk’s address fell short of fulfilling the eight steps towards negotiations laid out by the ANC in the Harare declaration, the UDF said on Friday.

A climate of free political activity clearly has not been created. Only two of the eight clauses of the Harare Declaration have been met and even these are not unequivocal,” said the statement.

It said De Klerk’s initiatives failed to meet the following clauses:

■ Removal of troops from the townships;
■ Lifting the state of emergency;
■ Release of all detainees;
■ An end to all repressive legislation, including the Internal Security Act;
■ National directors for Lawyers for Human Rights; Brian Currin praised De Klerk for his brave and far-reaching initiative.

“We hope the unconditional banning of the organisations will result in negotiations as soon as possible. We call upon all political leaders who are in exile to return to SA and participate in negotiations about our future,” Currin supported De Klerk’s decision to suspend all executions.

The Association of Law Societies, representing over 7 000 attorneys, said it was much encouraged.

And in another development, the National Forum has praised De Klerk for “taking noble steps”, and called upon all black people to accept his hand of goodwill.

The University of Witwatersrand Council welcomed the changes.
Its ‘heavenly music’ for UN’s Perez de Cuellar

UN SECRETARY General Javier Perez de Cuellar likened the news of changes in South Africa on Friday to “heavenly music”, saying he hoped it was the beginning of the end for apartheid.

The British government was less “over the moon” but still impressed. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has reacted by inviting President FW de Klerk to an “early meeting” at her country home, Chequers.

In a warm welcome to the decision to release Mandela, Thatcher described this as an historic landmark on the road to a new South Africa. She said she would invite him to visit Britain as soon as he was free.

British opposition Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock welcomed De Klerk’s announcements saying “it shows that pressure pays”.

United States President George Bush said on Friday he would review US sanctions against South Africa with Congress and called Pretoria’s decision to free Mandela “quite positive”.

Bush previously indicated he would invite Mandela to the United States once he is freed, and would also invite De Klerk.

The Soviet Union described South Africa’s decision to lift its 30-year ban on the ANC and freeze death sentences as an important step.

Practical action was now needed, specifically the lifting of South Africa’s state of emergency and the start of talks on dismantling apartheid.

Leaders of African states welcomed De Klerk’s parliamentary speech as a step in the right direction.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said the South African government should seriously review the problems in the country, so the issue of sanctions and apartheid would be a thing of the past.

The Egyptian current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity hailed South Africa’s decision on Friday to lift a 30-year ban on the ANC.

“Egypt sees this action as a positive and first step towards elimination of apartheid in South Africa,” said Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali.

A special advisor to Zaire’s President Mobutu Sese Seko, Bula Nyati Mandungu, said “a new era is starting for all Africa”.

The Lesotho government “noted with appreciation” the announcement by De Klerk that the ANC, PAC and other organisations would be unbanned, among a host of other measures.

Portugal’s President Mario Soares described De Klerk’s move as “an amply significant step toward the opening of pluralist, multi-racial policies in South Africa”.

But Anti Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said in London that De Klerk had not abolished the pillars of apartheid nor had he abandoned his commitment to group rights.

“It is vital we maintain and intensify international sanctions”, he said. – Sapa, AP and Reuters.
Now the hard work begins

A sober assessment of FW de Klerk's announcements in Parliament last Friday is necessary now that the dust has settled.

Friend and foe must concede that De Klerk's measures, including the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, SACP and several subsidiary organisations, are a shift away from the fixed National Party position since 1948.

The suspension of the death penalty has been widely welcomed.

Journalists, however, are most notable for what they fail to address. No mention is made of scrapping fundamental laws underpinning apartheid such as the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act. The nation's history of repressive laws such as the Internal Security Act and Public Safety Act are still intact.

Foolhardy

They fall far short of the vision of a future South Africa outlined by the ANC in its Freedom Charter and constitutional guidelines, the DFAA Declaration (fast becoming an internationally accepted document) and the resolutions adopted recently at the Conference for a Democratic Future.

De Klerk's measures must be interpreted as merely symbolic and not a principled advance to real democracy in South Africa.

They are designed to soften or reverse the enemy's economic, cultural and sporting isolation and based on the realisation that more than five years of emergency rule failed to stop the majority's march to freedom.

Under three conditions, it will be foolhardy to rely on the enemy's political, economic, cultural and sporting isolation and based on the realisation that more than five years of emergency rule failed to stop the majority's march to freedom.

Anti-apartheid forces, however, are now compelled to respond to De Klerk's measures. They need to seize the initiative in a way that embarrasses people around the world and forces the issue to the world stage where it can be debated and resolved.

Support for the ANC should not be assuaged. Now is the time for activists to shed the shock and go to the people.

We need to catch up on a 30-year backlog.

The Editor

ABC of the ANC

No 'emergency' freedom for Mandela - Page 3
Mandela's behind-the-scenes role - Page 7
A longing for South Africa - Page 10
The ABC of the ANC - Page 9
The ANC's new generation - Page 10
MK chief speaks out - Page 11
ANC's history of endurance - Page 14
Afrikaners at crossroads - Page 19
Nats most hated enemy - Page 19
Dancing in the streets - Page 24

FREEDOM RIDE: ANC supporters take to the streets to express their joy at the movement's unbanning after 30 years.
guarantee that freedom will at last come to the suffering people of South Africa.

The United Democratic Front today called for sanctions to be intensified. We will continue to work with people in every part

of Africa still cannot vote to elect their nation's leader.

The Group of Ten is established so that people of South Africa remain in effect and hundreds of people remain in jail. The government must meet the minimum conditions for political emancipation in an important first step, and the release of Nelson Mandela will also be an advance.

The people of South Africa have forced F.W. de Klerk to take these actions, and for them it is certainly a great victory. At least five years.

Initial concessions.

If the government is not prepared to meet the minimum conditions necessary for political emancipation, then the people of South Africa have forced F.W. de Klerk to take these actions, and for them it is certainly a great victory. At least five years.

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DP still has plenty to fight for

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer has dismissed concerns among some rank and file members of the party that President F W de Klerk's far-reaching speech had cut the ground out from under the DP.

He appealed to party members to be "calm and patient".

He acknowledged that some people in the party were expressing doubts about the future — and the efficacy — of the DP.

Dr De Beer, though, as parliamentary leader, said: "I feel more confident now than ever."

He added: "I have not the slightest concern about this. "I know there are some members — mostly at fairly low levels of the party — who are saying: 'Do we need to carry on? Can't we just join De Klerk?'"

"What I say is that there is still a long and stony road before negotiations can even start, and I would be certain that the President will fall far short of what we believe is required. We have to be there to fight for what we want — it will then have a much better chance of succeeding. "If our people will just be calm and patient ... the next one or two years will be very exciting for us."

Artificial lung for girl

SALT LAKE CITY. — In an operation claimed to be the first of its kind, a 16-year-old girl struggling for breath because of badly damaged lungs had a temporary artificial-lung implant. — Sapa-Reuter.
Sisulu heads home with ANC's reply

LONDON — Walter Sisulu will fly home tonight to deliver a response from the ANC executive to President F.W. de Klerk's initiatives and his call to prepare for constitutional negotiations without delay.

Senior ANC officials admitted De Klerk had put the ball in the court of the organization's decision-making executive working committee, which has been locked in an emergency session in Stockholm since Friday night.

The committee, chaired by acting ANC president Oliver Tambo, met in the knowledge it must respond positively and without delay to what is seen around the world as a tactical success for De Klerk.

ANC officials admitted in private they were astonished by the extent and boldness of De Klerk's announcements, and particularly by the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SA Communist Party.

Sapa-Reuters reports from Cape Town that Winnie Mandela arrived in the city yesterday to visit her ailing husband Nelson Mandela for the first time since De Klerk announced he would soon be freed.

On Saturday she conveyed her husband's verdict on De Klerk's measures to a rally in Johannesburg's Alexandra township: "You are the ones who have made government give in to your pressure," Mandela said in a message addressed to "the South African people".

"It was not President de Klerk. It is partly the international community which has forced these concessions," he added.

Speculation has reached fever pitch over the date of Mandela's release from his bungalow at Victor Verster Prison in Paarl, where he is now held. De Klerk gave no date but government sources said Mandela could be out within a week.

A spokesman for the ANC's Swedish delegation said from Stockholm at the weekend: "We did not expect a completely new ball game so suddenly. There were a couple of big surprises, but we have had 30 years to prepare for them.

But the ANC executive and Tambo are reported to be angry that the organization's most senior internal leaders were not in SA when De Klerk made the announcements.

Officials said they had, as a result, been forced to meet "non-stop, night and day" to respond emphatically and clearly to government.

A spokesman said the ANC was confident Sisulu and the six leaders who travelled to Sweden with him would be carrying an "emphatic response for the people" when they boarded an aircraft for Cape Town tonight.

While they have almost certainly been forced to stave off a prepared hardline statement rejecting talks-about-talks, they are expected to maintain that De Klerk's changes are still short of creating the correct atmosphere for negotiations.

The ANC is nevertheless under pressure to open at least some contact with the Pretoria government.

Officials said this was what the working committee was debating, while being aware of radical hostility within SA to any compromise with Pretoria.

The ANC executive, angry that British
Jackson tells De Klerk
Ignoring the Truth, 

03/14/89
How FW changed the face of A SOCIETAL ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A changed dispensation implicates far more than political and constitutional issues. It cannot be pursued successfully in isolation from other spheres of life without the aid of meaningful social and economic solutions. Poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, unemployment, and training, among others, are problems that cannot be handled in isolation. The government has to adopt a coherent, comprehensive approach to deal with these problems effectively.

The transformation of the political and economic environment is of cardinal importance to the quality of our existence. For this reason, the government has set out a strategy of development that will tackle the root causes of these problems. The aim is to create employment opportunities and to provide social security for all South Africans.

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From Page 2.

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Reguars at a Soweto tavern drink to a freer society . . . Mr Jackie Makone (left), Mr Zack Manetje, Mr Dan Mavuya and taverner Ms Irene Methel.

Picture by Herbert Mabusza.

Taverners toast FW’s historic act

BY PATRICK BULGER

Soweto doctor Dan Mavuya raised his glass to celebrate President F W de Klerk’s historic unbanning of opposition groups and declared: “It has taken a whole generation for the Government to understand what Nelson Mandela is saying.”

For Dr Mavuya and a handful of professional colleagues, this was no ordinary Friday evening in a Soweto tavern.

While thousands of youths danced in the streets in townships across the Reef, older, more sophisticated people at Ms Irene Methel’s tavern reacted with a mixture of joy and amazement as the implications of freeing the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party hit home.

Years in the political wilderness had clearly done nothing to dampen the enthusiasm with which these people regard their movements.

At the same time, however, the daunting task of reconciliation lies ahead.

“What a waste. Apartheid has been a human tragedy on the scale of German Nazism,” said a professional man enjoying his Friday night beer.

A new era

But here was clearly a sense that South Africa is entering a new era — that the days of pass raids and second class citizenship are finally on the way out.

Still, there was the reminiscing about the “bad old days” when blacks applying for reference books were told what names they would use by aggressive officials who could not be bothered to spell out “complicated” African names.

Like the man who told the official his name — only to be told: “From now on you are Sylvester”.

Clearly, however, the mere abolition of racist laws may not go far enough in restoring the human dignity successive Nationalist governments have usurped.

Said Dr Mavuya: “It is not enough to remove racist laws — we’ve got to criminalise racism. It is not enough to say there is no more Group Areas Act. You must make a law to make it illegal”.

President de Klerk’s announcement continued to evoke low whistles of amazement throughout the evening.

“He’s taken four months to undo 40 years of misuse,” one man commented.

“Now whites must get used to the idea of having blacks in Parliament.”

Another expressed a note of caution, saying the announcement would have to be studied more carefully.
HARARE — Reforms announced by President de Klerk on Friday were a step in the right direction but did not go far enough, Zimbabwe's government said at the weekend.

"The statement is silent on the question of abolishing apartheid through the repeal of such cardinal inequitable legislation as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act," a government statement said.

It criticised Mr de Klerk for saying his Government had no intention that any racial group should be favoured above or in relation to others.

**Better prospects**

"We read this as a continued advocacy of apartheid and a vitiation, if not rejection, of the principle of universal adult suffrage or one man one vote," the statement said.

The Zimbabwean government also regretted that Nelson Mandela remained in prison.

Namibia's President-designate Mr Sam Nujoma welcomed the unbanning of the ANC, saying it improved prospects for good relations with Pretoria when his country gained independence.

Mr Nujoma described the unbanning of the ANC and other political movements as a "courageous and important first step on the part of President de Klerk to end the international quarantine to which South Africa has been condemned."

His praise was carried in *Namibia Today*, the official mouthpiece of Swapo.

Mr Nujoma said: "The latest developments in South Africa hold forth promises and better prospects for good relations between independent Namibia and South Africa."

**Sacrifices**

Egyptian President Mr Hosni Mubarak yesterday sent a cable to Mr Mandela congratulating him on his imminent release.

"The decision for release resulted from the sacrifices of the African people in South Africa, and their loyalty to Mandela," Mr Mubarak said.

Mr Mubarak, current head of the Organisation of African Unity, also sent a message to ANC president Oliver Tambo assuring him of "the support of the Egyptian people."

"The decision to lift the ban (on the ANC) is a victory for human rights everywhere," Sapa-Reuters-AP.
African ties set to improve

By DEON DIELPORT

Diplomatic and economic relations between other African states have been made easier by President de Klerk's announcement of the ANC and PAC and the promised release of Nelson Mandela, according to foreign-policy analysts.

"It was the most important speech concerning international relations in very many years," SA Institute of International Affairs head Professor Peter Barratt said at the weekend.

The ANC will be under more influence from the Frontline states to get into talks, Zambia, particularly, has influence because that is where the ANC has its headquarters," he said.

Although President de Klerk had not met all the conditions of the Harare Declaration, he had met the "big ones".

The reaction from Western countries has been most favourable. Both Washington and London have said they would reassess their stand on sanctions and, hinted, that Mr Mandela's release would be met with certain economic incentives.
Big debate: Now for a long slog

FOCUS

BY JOE THILOLO,
Deputy Editor of the Sowetan

De Klerk has undoubtedly taken the initiative and the liberation movements will be running to catch up with him. He has opened the possibility of negotiations on a democratic South Africa even when he has not completely outgrown National Party separatist ideology.

In his speech he continued to refer to national entities, and national groups: "The Government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it. This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as the collective units, associations, minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution."

The new element was his committing himself to a democratic South Africa: "The agenda is open and the overall aim to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans."

"Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary, the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all."

There is still a long way to go: Who gets to the negotiating table and how do they get there? What is the role of the National Party government in this process? What is the role of the homeland governments and the Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei? What happens in the case of a stalemate in the negotiations?

The Government has already suggested an election to choose representatives of the indigenous Africans, the assumption being that the tricameral Parliament already represents whites, Indians and coloureds.

This is going to be rejected by the liberation movements who will demand an open election to a constituent assembly, as in Namibia.

There is going to be a heated debate on how the wealth of the country, which has been concentrated in white hands, is going to be spread evenly.

De Klerk has already spelled out that he sees the free enterprise system as the route, while the majority in the liberation movements believe some form of socialism is necessary to achieve that spread.

There will be conflict over the protection of minority rights, with the liberation movements seeing this as an extension of white privilege.

A lot of work lies ahead. De Klerk merely cleared the decks for that work to start.

The suspension of the death penalty, the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the relaxation of the State of Emergency and the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act were very welcome cherries on the cake of open debate.

* See tomorrow's Sowetan for the start of our series on the organisations that have just been unbanned: what do they stand for?

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's historic speech on Friday caught almost everybody, even the South African liberation movements, by surprise.

At the end of the speech, they were being back to their drawing boards: the ANC leadership had a strategy meeting in Stockholm at the weekend and the PAC president announced in Johannesburg that he would be calling a consultative conference of his organisation.

The immediate effect of the speech is that it paves the way for talks to start as organisations and individuals can now freely participate in the political debate in this country.

The South African Communist Party has officially been silent since 1950, one of the first victims of the National Party's 1948 victory.

The Suppression of Communism Act was used not only to silence the Communist Party, but also to gag individuals, some ironically anti-communist.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress were outlawed on April 8, 1960 during the PAC's anti-pass campaign that led to the Sharpeville massacre when the police killed 67 people and injured 186.

Black Consciousness organisations like the Black People's Convention, which arose to fill the gap left by the banning of the ANC and the PAC in 1960, were themselves banned on October 19, 1977.

Since 1977, political organisations have mushroomed, but they have all been standard-bearers for the ANC, the Black Consciousness Movement and, more recently, the Pan Africanist Congress.

The publications of the banned organisations, which have been reaching readers in this country via the underground, will now be dug out and read openly.

Thousands have been charged and convicted of being members of banned organisations, of furthering their aims and objects or of being in possession of their publications. All those still serving their sentences for any of these are to be released immediately.

The debate over South Africa's future has now started in earnest.

The African National Congress and its allies had some inkling that De Klerk was going to make concessions, but it now appears they were not expecting them so soon and so suddenly.

In a document circulated in the middle of last year the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF said: "There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987."

But after De Klerk's speech there was mixed reaction from the ANC. The initial statement welcomed the speech, but a later one from Lusaka said the organisation would not stop its military campaign.

The statement from the chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, Johnson Mlambo, from its headquarters in Tanzania congratulated the "Azanian masses" for having forced De Klerk to urban the organisation, but also called for an intensification of the struggle.
**The Good and Bad News**

By Same Transtructions

06/25/73

[Image of a globe and arrows indicating the good and bad news]

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**Democracy:**

Democracy is not just a system of government; it is also a way of life. It involves the participation of all citizens in the decision-making process. The rights of freedom of speech, assembly, and the press are protected. It also emphasizes the rule of law and the protection of human rights.

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**Over Optimism:**

Overoptimism can lead to overconfidence. It's important to be realistic in our expectations so that we can avoid being disappointed. Overoptimism can also lead to a lack of preparation for potential problems.

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**The Good News:**

The good news is that progress is being made in many areas. There is a growing awareness of environmental issues, and efforts are being made to address them. The economy is improving, and there is hope for a better future.

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**The Bad News:**

On the other hand, there are many challenges that need to be addressed. Climate change is becoming a crisis, and we need to take action to mitigate its effects. There is also a need for more social and economic equality.

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**Conclusion:**

It's important to be aware of both the good and bad news so that we can make informed decisions. By understanding both sides, we can work towards a more just and sustainable future.
The ANC welcomes sport's positive steps
Sisulu brings response to FW

President De Klerk assured the country that the government would not allow the negotiation process to be undermined by violence — and that any changes in the direction of a new constitutional dispensation would be put to the vote first.

The Conservative Party — whose MPs were horrified by the "revolutionary" changes announced by Mr De Klerk — said it was planning a series of extra-parliamentary protest actions, including marches and rallies.

Mrs Winnie Mandela said after visiting her husband at Victor Verster Prison that it was "out of the question" that the ANC leader would want to be released under a state of emergency.

In Stockholm senior ANC officials yesterday admitted that President De Klerk had put the ball firmly in the court of the ANC's decision-making executive committee, which has been locked in a marathon emergency session since Friday night.

The working committee, being chaired by acting ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo at his home, met knowing that it must now respond positively without delay to what is seen around the world as a tactical success for Mr De Klerk.

ANC officials admitted privately that they were stunned by the extent and boldness of President De Klerk's changes, particularly their astonishing nature and speed.

"We did not expect a completely new ball game so suddenly," a spokesman said.

During a break in the marathon talks, ANC foreign secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki said he realized the transition from an "apartheid South Africa" to a "non-apartheid South Africa" might take time and that a transitional government might be necessary.

"The road towards a political settlement is open ... and that is the road the ANC will take," Mr Mbeki told London Weekend Television's "Eye witnesses" programme.

But his father and veteran ANC leader, Mr Goven Mbeki, 79, stuck to the point of caution, saying that "it seems this announcement is a change of heart, but we must not believe it.

Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, added that it was going to be a long time to evaluate what De Klerk has offered.

It also emerged yesterday that the ANC executive and Mr Tambo are clearly uneasy that their most senior internal leaders were out of the country in Sweden when President De Klerk delivered his speech.

A spokesman said they were confident that Mr Sisulu would have an "emphatic response for the people" when he boarded a flight for Cape Town tonight.

They have almost certainly been forced to slope a prepared hardline statement rejecting talks about talks and they are expected to maintain that Mr De Klerk's changes are still far short of creating the correct "political atmosphere" for negotiation.

Subbed

The ANC executive is outraged that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher was reported in London yesterday to be preparing unilaterally to nudge all British trade and financial sanctions against South Africa.

They confirmed this as a result of Mrs Thatcher's unilateral decision last Friday to restore Britain's cultural, artistic, educational and scientific contact with South Africa, they had snubbed invitations to meet British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd in London today.

In Cape Town last night, Dr Viljoen said Anthony Johnson that a date for a meeting between the government and
Mandela Family Head and Lawyer Mr. Dulaimi Omar arranged her departure after winning her husband yesterday. She is accompanied by their three sons. Their house in Soweto is guarded by soldiers and police. Mrs. Winnie Mandela at F. Malan Airport in Pretoria. She arrives today.

Inside F.W. All Must Get Fair Chance
Anknancers at the Crossroads

BY ARNOLD PANDORO

South, February 1549

UNBANNING

SPECIAL
Shares boosted by 9-billion

By TOM HOOD
Business Editor

INVESTORS boosted South African share values by almost R9 billion in reaction to the speech by State President F W de Klerk at the opening of parliament.

Shares prices soared on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange on Friday and brokers expect the momentum to continue today.

Two share barometers, the JSE’s industrial index and the all-market index, reached new peaks on Friday and the total market value of shares was today estimated to exceed R31 billion.

South African gold and industrial shares also made sharp gains in British and European share markets.

In London gold share prices rose 7.2 percent. But a 4 percent rise in the financial rand restricted gains in gold shares in Johannesburg to 3.2 percent.

The strength in the financial rand also helped to limit the rise in industrial share prices on the JSE to 5.3 percent.

However, some foreign favourites scored sharp gains. Barlows jumped 500c (11.1 percent) to R50, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments rose 525c (10.6 percent) to R54 and SA Breweries rose 300c (9.3 percent) to R35.50.

The financial rand, following strong foreign buying, firmed to 3.45 to the US dollar — its highest rate since May 1988.

One of Germany’s top businessmen, Dr Carl Hahn, the international chairman of the motor giant Volkswagen, who is visiting this country, said the state president’s announcement vindicated Volkswagen’s decision to remain in South Africa.
Reconciliation has arrived.
The time for reconciliation is over.
The season of violence is over.
Human rights study ordered
Political Correspondent

The government would ask the Law Commission to make a study of the protection of human rights in constitutional models as a contribution to negotiating a new constitution for South Africa, President De Klerk said.

"This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations, minorities and nations," he said.

The Law Commission would be asked to analyse how human rights are protected in other constitutional models and to pinpoint methods to ensure the success and legitimacy safeguarding of a new constitution.

He also said he would ask the Law Commission to regard finalising its report on a Bill of Rights as a "high priority." The government accepted the principle of the fundamental individual rights protected by an independent judiciary.

"However, it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded whole," he said.

Any new constitution which disregarded the reality of South Africa's national composition would be inappropriate and indefensible, said Mr De Klerk. But no group, however defined, would be favoured.

Fight against inflation top priority
By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

The government's economic priorities were reducing inflation, encouraging personal initiative and savings, stringent financial control, rapid progress with tax reform and encouraging exports to earn more foreign exchange and boost industrialisation, said President De Klerk.

These adjustments would require sacrifices, but were preconditions for a "new period of sustained growth" in this decade.

The government's "basic point of departure is to react to the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance," he said.

Preference would be given to allowing market forces and a sound competitive structure to bring about the necessary adjustments.

The government remained committed to a balanced and practical approach and recognised the need to create a climate conducive to investment, job creation and economic growth by means of appropriate and properly co-ordinated fiscal and monetary policy.

It was the government's intention to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming year to achieve the following goals:

- "That the present downturn will take the form of a soft-landing which will help to make adjustments as easy as possible;"
- "That our economy will consolidate before the next upward phase so that we will be able to grow from a sound base; and,"
- "That we will persist with the implementation of the required structural adaptations in respect, among other things, of easing the tax burden, especially the generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments and the reconstruction of our gold and foreign exchange reserves.

Separate Amenities Act to go this session
Political Correspondent

The Separate Amenities Act would be repealed during this session of parliament, President De Klerk said.

Other "important policy announcements" in the socio-economic sphere would be made by ministers during the course of the session.

A changed dispensation meant far more than political and constitutional issues and could not be pursued in isolation.

Obstacles in the way of progress and prosperity were poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy and health needs.

Law and order

The maintenance of law and order dared not be jeopardised, he said.

Peaceful protest should not become the springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation. Proper provision of power and means to the police would be dealt with in the Budget.

Mr De Klerk said it was his intention to terminate the state of emergency as soon as circumstances justified it but he had been advised that an emergency situation which justified special measures still existed.

There was still conflict in Natal and indications that radicals were still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

Those responsible for unrest and conflict had to bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency, he said, but it was time to break out of the cycle of violence and to break through to peace and progress.

With the steps the government had taken it had proved its good faith and the table was laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation, to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

"The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans," Mr De Klerk said.

Among other things these aims include a new democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Mandela could play an important role.

(The end of the story appears on page 3, col 1)
Brokers flooded as JSE soars

By DICK USHER
Deputy Business Editor

THE business world, both local and international, reacted sharply and positively to President De Klerk’s major reform initiatives.

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange soared to fresh highs, financial indicators responded strongly and brokers were flooded with orders.

All leading business organisations welcomed the changes which were called brave, statesmanlike and a challenge to the business community to help create a new South Africa.

Speculation also emerged overseas that sanctions could be eased or lifted.

As news of the steps swept the financial markets reaction was immediate.

At the close the Johannesburg Stock Exchange overall share index had risen to a new high of 3 279 from Thursday’s 3 194 close and a previous record close of 3 239 on January 15.

The all-gold index surged to a preliminary close of 2 252, from Thursday’s 2 189 finish, with added help from a rally in the bullion price. The industrial index rebounded to a record 3 025 from 2 933 — breaching its January 15 high of 3 023.

Capital market rates were sharply lower.

In London, gold shares rose in early trading and shot up by between 5 and 10 percent while the Stock Exchange showed interest in South African industrials for the first time in years.

One dealer said: “The market’s extremely good at the moment, we’re very busy and shares are flying about all over the place.”

Sanctions

She speculated that economic sanctions against South Africa eventually could be eased as a result of the moves.

In the United States, where Mr De Klerk’s speech was carried live via satellite by one network, the market was sluggish in response.

Gold futures were slightly lower and one trader said this was possibly because the steps would “lessen the threat of a civil war and it should also reduce the possibility of production interruptions at the gold mines.”

Anglo American Corporation chairman Mr Gavin Rolly welcomed the steps, which he said would normalise political life in South Africa.

“We would hope that these acts of courage and statesmanship on the part of President De Klerk will create matching acts of courage and statesmanship within South Africa’s borders and beyond.”

Mr E W Maxwell, president of the Chamber of Mines, said President De Klerk had crossed the Rubicon and opened the way to a new South Africa.

“We look forward to a positive response from the international community, including the lifting of sanctions. Together with President De Klerk, we also look forward to the end of decades of tensions and conflict.”

The Afrikaans Handelsinstituut said the business sector had, for some time, pleaded for negotiations, the tested way to reduce tensions.

The organisation welcomed the announcement that the role of the public sector in the economy was to be reduced and that the private sector would be given the maximum opportunity to flourish.

As the largest employer organisation in South Africa, the South African Chamber of Business (SACB) “heartily welcomes the bold initiatives.”
Mandela to be set free soon

All executions are halted

C, PAC and unbanned

W opens doors to

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent
Cape Town

The President, Mr F W de Klerk, announced today the immediate unbanning of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

His move is seen as a dramatic gambit to launch negotiations with the black majority. In an historic speech, Mr de Klerk announced a series of far-reaching measures to create a negotiation climate.

He has met nearly all the conditions posed by the ANC and other organisations for negotiations.

He released political prisoners, freed all restricted organisations, and scrapped most of the state of emergency. He also suggested that jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would be released unconditionally as soon as administrative and security arrangements could be made.

The decision means that all members of the ANC in exile who had not committed ordinary crimes in South Africa would be able to return.

The government would take a decision on Mr Mandela’s release date soon.

With these steps there was no longer any reasonable excuse for political violence, Mr de Klerk said.

“The time for talking has arrived, and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk.”

“I urge you not to separate the means of ending violence,” he said.

Details of the measures would be given to the government.

The measures did not imply the government would condone violence and it was clear that Mr de Klerk had perceived the ANC’s economic policy and aspects of its constitutional policy.

Mr de Klerk described the situation as the most significant in its history and that it was time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation.

The national majority is yearning for this. The youth is yearning for this,” he said.

Decisive steps were taken by the government to ensure the nation moved on to a new dispensation.

The agenda is open.

Mr de Klerk said he had been convinced the measures were justified from a security and political point of view.

“With these steps the government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.”

The main obstacle might be the complete lifting of the state of emergency.

“The ice has been broken,” Mr de Klerk said.

The time for talking has arrived, and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk,” President de Klerk told Parliament today.

“The time for talking has arrived, and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk,” President de Klerk told Parliament today.
Political prisoners to be released

freedom

Delay over release is 'unavoidable'

Political Correspondent

The Government had taken a firm decision to release jailed ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Jonas Sizemore on Monday, with a further final decision on the latter to be taken by the President, Mr de Klerk, on June 16.

The President said today that the Government would not be able to release the leaders immediately, but that the final decision would be made as soon as possible.

He added that the Government would be guided by the legal requirements and the advice of the legal authorities.

He said that the leaders had been held for 18 months and that the Government had taken the decision after careful consideration of all the facts.

The leaders had been held on charges of seditious conspiracy, sabotage, and possession of arms, and had been denied bail on medical grounds.

Mr de Klerk said that the leaders had been granted bail on medical grounds and that they had been held on those grounds since their arrest.

He added that the leaders had been granted bail on medical grounds and that they had been held on those grounds since their arrest.

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GOVERNMENT had captured the political highground with Friday's announcements by President F W De Klerk, DA political scientist Professor Doon Geldenhuyse said yesterday.

"The politics of the next few months will be of one-upmanship as each side vies for the initiative." Geldenhuyse said De Klerk had taken people by surprise, and his speech had been a tactical coup.

The ANC would now be under pressure.

Geldenhuyse singled out the damage De Klerk had done to the ANC's long-time favourite, international status, with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in particular concerning a new responsibility on Pretoria with her invitation to De Klerk to meet her.

The ANC would have to make the transition from a liberation movement to a political party.

"During negotiations, it may well be that the ANC and SACP go to the table as entirely separate organisations."

There would be parallels with Namibia in that the negotiation process would be a torturous one, and likely to be conducted behind closed doors.

Unbanning

Director of the SA Institute of International Affairs Professor John Barratt said: "The door is now open. The ANC still have to step through as a united front."

Barratta said it was not often that expectations were exceeded but F W de Klerk had done a "masterly job".

The speech had been solid throughout, and wide-ranging, with the highlight being the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and PAC.

"It is an altogether different ballgame now. Even if this fall is not entirely out of F W de Klerk's court, given Nelson Mandela's continued imprisonment and the specific conditions mentioned in the speech, the government has reached a point of no return which is both frightening and exciting."

Barratt said the next move would have to come from the ANC.

Anyone who thought a divided ANC leadership was a good sign was misguided. Unless there was unity in the leadership there would be trouble for SA.

Barratt returned recently from a trip to Eastern Europe. He said there was little doubt the SA developments would be well received there.

He felt the demise of communist regimes in Eastern Europe had finally put paid to "the myth of the total onslaught" confronting SA. But Moscow would continue to support the ANC, he said.
UK media warm to FW

LONDON - President de Klerk was the toast of the British media at the weekend.

This speech to the opening of Parliament on Friday swept all major news off the front pages of major British newspapers and was widely heralded as a watershed for South Africa.

Most, however, struck a cautionary note, warning that further steps were required to end apartheid.

"The Sunday Times" said in an "inside editorial that history might one day show that Mr de Klerk's speech was the act that raised the curtain on the "Great South African Drama."

Opposition

Mr de Klerk's initiatives would "sadly but inescapably" be opposed by a large percentage of the white electorate.

His speech also placed a heavy burden on the leadership of the unbanned organisations. The Government has done what they have demanded for so long.

The Sunday Times said it was not enough to hide behind flexible excuses and raise pernickety points in order to shy away from talks.

"It concluded: "No solution will be found unless all sides are willing to take risks."

"The Sunday Correspondent said: "The first reaction among blacks (to President F W de Klerk's speech) suggests a dangerous degree of disinclivity. Bishop Tutu is characteristically but

naively positive. Winnie Mandela characteristically sour, and the full range of positions between joy and defiance have been struck. Should such disinclivity persist, it could turn potential triumph to disaster."

"The Observer said:

"With the unbanning of the African National Congress, the absolute promise of the early release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the removal of restrictions on political groups and the suspension of executions, President F W de Klerk has cleared the way for the beginning of talks on a new constitution."

"For while South Africans these huge changes, and de Klerk will face some fierce criticism. But what he has done is right, and he deserves support from all those outside South Africa who oppose apartheid."

The Independent On Sunday said: "President de Klerk has acted with a conspicuous political bravery which deserves both applause and reward."

On Saturday, "The Independent" devoted its entire front page and four inside pages to the story. In an editorial the newspaper said Mr de Klerk had "announced a courageous and considered package of reforms which would have been unthinkable a year ago."

But it cautioned that there had as yet been no confirmation that talks between black and white in South Africa would begin.

The Times editorial said Mr de Klerk's speech was "distinguished by a remarkable degree of candour and an absence of the glib if convoluted constitutional 'solutions' so beloved by his predecessors."

Weakened

The Daily Telegraph, in an editorial, said it was now time for the West to end its "negative" influence in South Africa by lifting some of the sanctions which have "so severely weakened" the economy.

"It will be very much easier for Mr de Klerk to carry white voters with him if they see, in return, tangible economic efforts," it said.

Stephen Robinson of "The Telegraph" described the speech as "the most radical and far-sighted ever made by a leader of the National Party."

He said the President had, in effect, thrown down a challenge to exiled ANC leaders to return home and negotiate the basis of a new society.

The Guardian said in front page commentary: "There is now at least a chance that there will be more talking than fighting in the future. It is a new era."

But its editorial warned that sanctions should be retained: "Mr de Klerk, or a successor under conservative pressure, could still despairing step back across the Rubicon."

The Daily Mail compared Mr de Klerk to Russian Premier Mikhail Gorbatchev. Its correspondent Ann Leslie said Mr de Klerk had shaken Afrikaners and free of its last "lunatic delusion of perpetual white supremacy" with the self-confidence of a Gorbatchev.

"The Financial Times" said in an editorial it was not yet the time to relax sanctions: "Judicious use of this pressure can push both sides towards a compromise."

The Daily Express said in an editorial that Mr de Klerk's "courageous and distinguished speech" had leap-frogged a looming deadlock over Mr Mandela's release.

And The Sun concentrated on Mr Pik Botha's assertion that "white domination will be ended in our country."

In an editorial, the newspaper said: "We must pray that what a black government takes over it creates a climate that will encourage the millions of nervous whites to stay."

The Daily Mirror speculated that Mr Mandela would be freed only after England's rebel cricketers had returned home and the ANC renounced violence.
STOCKHOLM — President de Klerk's reforms have made South Africa's political scene "more volatile" and are too limited to bring exiled opponents home to negotiate an end to the country's racial conflict, the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, said here yesterday.

"If he doesn't go further, he will be in a worse situation than before," Mr Slovo said.

To truly normalise political life, he said, Mr de Klerk must lift the state of emergency completely, end army occupation of the black townships and free all political prisoners, including those jailed for violent crimes.

Mr Slovo, formerly chief of staff of the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), left South Africa in 1963. His wife, Ruth First, was assassinated in Mozambique by a letter bomb in 1982. Mr Slovo said that if he returned to South Africa now he and other exiles could still be detained for up to six months under existing security legislation.

He was in Stockholm this weekend to meet with senior anti-apartheid leaders, including the ailing ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, to prepare for the new political era, what he calls "new space", opened by Mr de Klerk's speech to Parliament last Friday, which included the lifting of bans on the ANC and the SACP.

Caught off guard

Mr Slovo credited internal resistance and international sanctions for forcing Mr de Klerk's hand. It would be inaccurate and ungenerous to say that he has not shown "a degree of freshness and courage," Mr Slovo said.

But he argued that it was premature for Western nations to consider lifting economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Mr Slovo and other anti-apartheid leaders appeared to have been caught off guard by the scope of Mr de Klerk's concessions. "We have been in the wilderness for 40 years and don't yet see the promised land," he said. "We need a little more than 40 hours to work things out."

Even if Pretoria meets the opposition's demands in full, Mr Slovo said, negotiations will go nowhere if the Government continues to insist on minority rights, which the ANC regards as a euphemism for white domination.

"If they are not prepared to talk about democracy as it is understood in the whole of the civilised world, there would be very little to talk about," he said. "The Independent News Service."
Mandela free by February 16, say top Govt sources

BY THEMBA MOLEFE and Sapa

NELSON Rolihlahla Mandela will be out of prison by February 16, highly placed Government sources have said.

State President FW de Klerk is expected to make an announcement towards the end of the week.

"Mr Mandela might even be home next Monday, February 12," a source said after De Klerk's historic speech in Cape Town on Friday.

But yesterday Mandela's wife, Winnie, said outside Victoria Prison that there were still "certain obstacles" standing in the way of releasing him.

She said she had "extremely disappointed and sorry I was unable to bring Nelson along with me".

This was due to the obstacles, which she would not name, that still stood in her way.

She said the ones was not on her husband as to when he would be released.

She added that she too had no idea when he would be released, but said the statement to be released soon.

She would not comment further on the the statement but said the present State of Emergency and certain other conditions stood in the way of Mandela's release.

Winnie Mandela, dressed in a blue tunic suit and accompanied by her husband's legal "Rambo" Che Guevarra and his attorney, entered the prison about 10.30am on Sunday and left about 3.45pm.

Before leaving, Mandela told journalists her husband was in good health.

Many political observers expected De Klerk to announce Mandela's release in his speech.

Mandela's release was no longer a matter of speculation as the Government had already made the decision, the Government sources said.

Serious

On Friday De Klerk said in Parliament: "I wish to put it plitply that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to a conclusion without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately a further short passage of time is unavoidable."

Said the parliamentary source: "President De Klerk is also under pressure from some of his influential Cabinet members who want him to release Mandela immediately."

Meanwhile anticipation over Mandela's release has reached fever pitch. Journalists from all over the world began arriving in Cape Town at the beginning of the year.

Most hotels and flats

Mandela to be free soon

- From page 1

in the city have been fully booked as "Mandela-watching" reaches a climax.

Mandela lives in a luxury bungalow at Victor Verster Prison, Paarl, the scene of another drama which unfolded on the eve of De Klerk's speech.

Journalists flocked to the prison after rumours were spread that Mandela and De Klerk were to meet, ostensibly to discuss his release.

Others claimed they saw a luxury car enter the prison at about 4 am on Thursday and was seen leaving at high speed about an hour later.

However, Government officials later said no meeting between the two men had taken place.

Mandela, hailed South Africa's most famous political prisoner by the foreign media, was jailed for life for high treason in the "Rivonia trial" on June 11, 1964. He is now 71 years old.
NO DROWN COLUMN

Widening economic opportunities under the new South Africa

By STEPHEN MULDLOAND

The Government’s new economic strategy

The economic strategy is designed to create new opportunities for growth and employment. The strategy is based on a number of principles, including:

1. The promotion of a more inclusive and equitable society
2. The development of a diversified and export-oriented economy
3. The improvement of education and skills development
4. The strengthening of institutional capacity

The strategy also includes a number of specific measures, such as:

1. Investment in infrastructure
2. Support for small and medium-sized enterprises
3. The encouragement of investment in the private sector
4. The promotion of renewable energy and energy efficiency

The Government will work with stakeholders to implement the economic strategy and monitor its progress. The strategy is designed to create new opportunities for growth and employment, and to improve the quality of life for all South Africans.

Riding the Tide

In support of the new-look economy

As the new economic strategy is implemented, the Government will work with stakeholders to ensure that new opportunities are created for growth and employment. The strategy is designed to create a more inclusive and equitable society, and to improve the quality of life for all South Africans.

This is an exciting time for South Africa, and the new economic strategy is a key part of our journey to a more prosperous future.

For more information, please visit the Government’s website.
It's still too early for celebrations, says Tutu

BOSTON — Jubilation over the pending release of Nelson Mandela must be tempered with the realisation that apartheid is far from ended, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at the weekend.

The archbishop, who is visiting Boston, urged continued political and economic pressure on South Africa.

"We have not yet the complete dismantling of apartheid and this is the pinpoint of the sanctions programme. We want apartheid totally dismantled," he said.

Referring to Mr de Klerk’s promise to free Mr Mandela in the near future, Archbishop Tutu said his initial reaction was joy, but that soon faded.

"Of course, you see apartheid is still in place," he said.

The archbishop said he was looking forward to relinquishing his position as South Africa’s pre-eminent opponent of apartheid now that Mr Mandela was to be released from prison.

"I said long ago that I was just an interim leader until he comes out," he said.

"He’s been making us work too hard."

THINK-TANK

Archbishop Tutu was accompanied by UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota. They were met at Logan International Airport by Mr Thembu Vilakazi, head of the Boston-based Fund for a Free South Africa.

Mr Vilakazi had just returned from Zambia.

The group was met by Ms Zanani Mandela Dlamini (30), eldest daughter of Nelson and Winnie Mandela and a political science student at Boston University.

Archbishop Tutu, a member of Harvard University’s board of overseers, was in Boston to attend a meeting of the Albert Einstein Institute, a Cambridge think-tank which advocates the use of non-violent sanctions to solve political unrest.

Mr Mandela’s daughter, greeted fondly by the archbishop, told reporters she was sceptical of the recent changes in South Africa, despite the news that her father would be released soon.

"This has been going on for 300 years," she said. "What happened on Friday, I’m not overly excited about it. Release some political prisoners? To me, that’s nothing. We want total majority voting in South Africa. Until that happens, I will not be satisfied." — Associated Press.
SA envoy challenges ANC to talk

The Star’s Foreign News Service

THE HAGUE — South Africa’s Ambassador to The Hague, Mr A E Nothaygel, has challenged the ANC to return to South Africa and negotiate.

Speaking to the ANC’s London representative, Mr Aziz Pahad, on Dutch radio, he said: “If you are really genuine in what you say, there is no way that the ANC can at this point in time still remain in London... Let the people of Africa come back to South Africa, and let us decide what the future should be.”

Referring to ANC reservations about President de Klerk’s speech, he added: “I think with all these preconditions really you, in a certain way, are running away from what Mr de Klerk has created as the finest opportunity in the history of South Africa to get its people together at the table.”

PRECONDITIONS

Mr Pahad responded: “We have preconditions... we had to leave the country of our birth not because we like London... We have already said our organisation is based inside (South Africa), our leaders who have recently been released are inside the country, our organisation’s structures are inside the country. The orderly return of the rest of our organisation is in the process of discussion and we will work that out in a quiet, systematic way.

“Mr Mandela is not an individual, he is an outstanding leader of our movement, but he is inside the country. Mr Sisulu and the others are inside the country. We have got thousands of supporters inside the country. So we are not just an exiled organisation.”
The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Mr Laurent Fabius, Speaker of the National Assembly, issued a formal invitation yesterday to Mr Nelson Mandela to "visit us as soon as he is released."

Mr Fabius, wrote in the newspaper, *Journal de Dimanche:* "I am convinced that the Bastille of apartheid is really beginning to collapse."

He recalled that when he was Prime Minister in 1989, he walked one day through the streets of Paris with Archbishop Desmond Tutu who laughingly kept repeating: "Let us both, you a white and me a black, one day walk together side by side in Pretoria and Johannesburg."

Mr Fabius, as France's youngest Prime Minister, ordered strict sanctions against South Africa in 1986.

On Saturday night, Prime Minister Mr Michel Rocard handed Johnny Clegg a special prize at France's major annual show business awards at the Zurich Music Hall. The show was watched on TV by 10 million people.

Mr Rocard is a self-declared fervent admirer of Johnny Clegg.

In a front-page editorial, the weekend *Le Monde* commented: "By making a breach in apartheid, De Klerk will be forced to carry out its complete dismantlement."
It's too early for peace

New deal
Exiles challenged to return...
Bitter debate likely on watershed speech

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent.

TOUGH and even bitter debate is expected today, as MPs to the left and right of government return to parliament to dissect President De Klerk's speech.

He can expect both praise and reprobation and probing questions from all sides.

In contrast to demands from outside parliament that President De Klerk should go even further to remove obstacles to negotiations -- and the release of Nelson Mandela -- MPs from all three Houses who assemble again today in the Great Hall for the start of the four-day debate on the President's speech, will be pressing the government for clarity on key issues.

STRATEGY

Outside parliament, feverish discussion among African National Congress affiliates continues over tactics and strategy.

One of the questions that has arisen in some organisations is whether to disband and formally join ranks with the ANC, but matters such as these -- as well as strategies to boost recruitment and create a more established organisational base -- are likely to hinge on further consultations with the ANC leadership.

The government will challenge the ANC and the panoply of extra-parliamentary groupings to commit themselves to peace and negotiations, or lose respect and credibility at home and abroad.

FRANCHISE

Tough, but constructive questions will be put to the government from the Democratic Party today as they seek to clarify the ANC's plans and, in particular, the definition of "universal franchise," one of the commitments in his speech.

The government will be reminded that apartheid still exists ... and will be asked how it intends dealing with racial segregation at schools and hospitals, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

Pressure will mount from the right too -- angry responses are expected from the Conservative Party.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has challenged the government to go back to the electorate in an immediate general election to test their reaction to his "revolutionary speech."

The CP believes the "drastic announcements" Mr De Klerk made on Friday vindicate its own "warnings" on the consequences of the National Party's reform policy.

WHITE SURVIVAL

The official Opposition has promised to "intensify the struggle" for "white survival and freedom."

Dr. Zac de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said last night he would focus on Mr De Klerk's reference to "universal franchise."

"There was not a word of elaboration in his speech about this. What he means by this is not what you and I mean."

Dr De Beer said he would not conduct his debate in a "nasty" way, but in a "constructive spirit."
PRESIDENT De Klerk and the government are poised for preliminary talks about constitutional negotiations, but renewed obstacles to the release of Nelson Mandela could cause delays.

Top government spokesmen maintained today that the release of Mr Mandela could signal the start of the second stage of the lead-up to negotiations: the "talks-about-talks" phase.

However, prominent UDF figure Mr Dullah Omar, who is close to the Mandela family, said there were renewed snags and that hope for Mr Mandela’s release in the next week was fading.

Veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu is said to be flying back to Cape Town from London tonight with a clear response from the ANC executive to Mr De Klerk’s speech on Friday, but it is not clear whether he will meet Mr De Klerk immediately or whether he will first see Mr Mandela.

In government circles the impression today was that he would have discussions with Mr Mandela.

These government sources maintained that the government had now created the climate for pre-negotiations, that it had proved its bona fides and that it was serious about wanting to bring about a "new South Africa".

They said the Department of Constitutional Development had already had extensive consultations about the pre-negotiation stage with, among others, leaders of the black self-governing areas.

The next stage was the release of Mr Mandela, who had tried to act as facilitator for contact between the government and the ANC.

Hoping for pressure

Mr De Klerk has given the impression that only some administrative measures and, to some extent, concern for Mr Mandela’s personal safety are now delaying his release.

His release may also have been delayed to allow Mr De Klerk’s bold speech to sink in.

The government is now hoping for increased international pressure on the ANC to accept the offer of negotiation.

Mr Omar said today that obstacles to Mr Mandela’s release appeared to hinge on the emergency not being completely lifted and on the definition of political prisoners.

Mr Mandela wanted the emergency lifted completely and he wanted all jailed ANC supporters, whether they had been involved in violence or not, to be regarded as political prisoners.

He had consulted the ANC on this issue.

"Not criminals"

Mr De Klerk said on Friday that people who had been involved in common-law crimes of violence would not be released.

Mr Omar said that while the expectation had been that Mr Mandela would be released by mid-February, this possibility was now receding — unless there was some intercession by Mr De Klerk.

TUTU steps aside for returning exiles

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG, 10 — Archbishop Desmond Tutu will down-grade his high-profile political role as a result of the dramatic changes ushered in by President De Klerk on Friday.

Reacting to Mr De Klerk’s speech at the opening of parliament, Archbishop Tutu said the unbanning of political organisations, the release of jailed leaders and the return of political exiles changed his role in South Africa.

"I have said I am really an interim leader," he said on Friday.

"But now there is not going to be as much need for people such as me to be speaking out and saying things which others could not say because they were restricted, in jail or in exile."

CHURCH ROLE

"I am not saying that the church has no role in the political arena. It still has a role to speak the word of God on a social political dispensation."

"In the past I’ve had to step into a kind of vacuum because our political leaders were either in jail or in exile."

On the question of sanctions the archbishop said he and other church leaders had adopted

[Additional text not transcribed due to image quality]
THE SEASON OF VIOLENCE IS OVER

FW delivered more than US expected

From DAVID BRAUN of The Argus Foreign Service in Washington

PRESIDENT De Klerk's announcements on Friday were much more radical than the American government expected, the United States Assistant Secretary of State Mr. Banker Cohen said in an interview at the weekend. The South African government, he said, had now met some of the conditions required by US law to modify or suspend sanctions.

If South Africa met more of the conditions, such as lifting the state of emergency in its entirety and releasing Nelson Mandela, a stage could be reached where all but one of the requirements for lifting sanctions had been met.

That would be the stage when it was likely President Bush would meet with Congress on whether or not he should use his power to lift sanctions.

This is the text of the interview with Mr. Cohen:

Q: How soon can Mr. Mandela or Mr. de Klerk expect to be invited to the White House after Mr. Mandela's release?

A: I would say the President's invitation doesn't come at a time when:

a) The President has a very busy schedule, so does President De Klerk and we are quite sure Mr. Mandela is going to be very busy at home for a while.

b) Therefore there is a time limit on the President's invitation, but it is not a certainty, as it always is.

c) Some coalition governments. Certainly we would like it to be sooner rather than later.

d) Is there any disappointment in your or the US government about the state of emergency in its entirety?

A: Certainly we would like to see all the restrictions on normal political life abolished.

However, those steps that were taken were very sweeping, were far more than were expected and we think they go a long way toward normalizing political life. I am particularly happy with the legislation of political parties and political organizations, because having political leaders with the right to organize and to meet with their constituents, to publish and develop negotiations, is the absolute prerequisite to a negotiating scenario.

After all, that is the main objective of the whole exercise. Having free political activity is what really counts.

Q: Mr. de Klerk continued to denounce group rights in his speech. What is the US line on this sticky issue?

A: We see it as strictly a negotiating element and what we are pleased about is that President de Klerk said it is a negotiating element.

It is not a prerequisite to negotiations. That is all we see in this situation. What are the details are and how it is going to be handled in a negotiating problem we do not want to get into at all.

We want to stay out of negotiations.

Q: When you returned from South Africa recently, you said the US would put pressure on both sides to start negotiating. Have you changed this and, if so, why?

A: No, we have not changed this. On both sides of the political spectrum who are opposed to negotiations. On the white side, it is obvious. It is the Conservative Party.

But on the side of the black majority there are people such as the Pan African Congress and the Black Consciousness people who are a removal of people I met on my trip from the Black Consciousness Movement who would prefer a scenario that I'd like to call majority rule before negotiations.

I think we must send a message to both sides, whites and blacks, that this is not acceptable and that the only appropriate procedure in negotiations without preconditions where there are no losers.

Therefore our policy is to encourage negotiations and we will create any add that undermines negotiations or refusal negotiations.

Q: How would the US react if, after Mr. de Klerk's speech, new preconditions for negotiations were introduced?

A: I said in my statement in Johannesburg there was a triple commitment needed on both sides.

The three-part commitment by the government should be in non-violent political life, make a commitment to fundamental change and make a commitment to negotiations.

The reciprocal triple commitment on the part of the anti-apartheid side should be to engage in essential political life lawfully and in a non-violent way, make a commitment to negotiations without preconditions, and an agreement to create a climate and a commitment to a new constitutional system which is democratic.

In other words, we accept the creation of the climate in a de-armed situation, but beyond that we ask for no preconditions.

Q: You will be testifying later this month at hearings of the House of Representatives into proposed financial sanctions against South Africa. Can you tell us what message you are likely to take to Capitol Hill?

A: My basic position is that the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) already contains the sanctions and the incentives that we need. I don't see there is any need for new legislation.

Q: The question being asked by some is, has Mr. de Klerk now done enough to warrant the lifting of sanctions?

A: We are constrained by the language of our legislation (Section 311 of the CAAA) that certain changes that must take place before sanctions can be lifted.

The announcements of Mr. de Klerk have taken steps to meet some of those. When Mandela is released and the state of emergency lifted, more will be taken care of.

So we can go in whatever the case may be, from lifting any of the sanctions.

Q: But one of the requirements is met, then the President has the authority to modify or suspend any sanction. If all the requirements are met, the sanctions are automatically rescinded.

A: It seems to me that such times are met, but I don't think there is a case of those. I have not yet been informed, we would then consult with Congress to determine whether the President should move ahead and use his authority to suspend or modify sanctions.

Q: Isn't one of those conditions the actual start of negotiations?

A: One is to enter good-faith negotiations. Now, anybody who does not want to suspend sanctions will say, 'I don't think good-faith negotiations have started.' It is subjective.

The basic thing is we must watch the language of the negotiations, our hands are tied.
Viljoen urges ANC to take
one small step

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday challenged the ANC to match the large number of steps government had taken with one small gesture to get negotiations going.

Addressing Parliament, Viljoen said government had taken a great risk in unbanning the ANC and other organisations, President F W de Klerk had announced these steps on the basis of the ANC's stated preference for negotiations, despite contradictory statements about violence that were even now forthcoming.

For the ANC to respond to government's initiative with an all-or-nothing approach would be cowardly and carping, Viljoen said, and would demonstrate it was not serious about negotiations.

The ANC, he said, should relinquish violence and make its presence felt on the political terrain. When even the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had been unbanned, the need for this kind of organisation should be reassessed. The belief that armed struggle was necessary to dismantle apartheid had been overtaken by events, he said.

Government had committed itself to removing the last vestiges of apartheid. Its challenge to the ANC was for the organisation to join it at the negotiating table.

Viljoen said the new SA De Klerk was creating would ensure its citizens full and equal franchise in an undivided, multi-party democratic state. It would guarantee its inhabitants equal treatment through constitutional protection of human rights and minority rights.

Viljoen said one of the most important shifts in NP thinking had been the acceptance of the concept of one nation in an undivided SA.

Earlier, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, asked what conditions government was placing on the return of exiles, said that those directly involved in committing crimes would still be held liable for them. People indirectly involved in crimes that might have taken place would not be liable.

Van der Merwe said those exiles in doubt about what would happen on their return, should contact either SA embassies abroad or government for clarification.

IAN ROBBIE reports from London that the ANC has summoned a plenary meeting of its full leadership in Lusaka next week to respond to De Klerk's invitation to enter negotiations without delay.

The Lusaka plenary was announced yesterday as a marathon four-day summit of the national executive committee in Stockholm, chaired by President Oliver Tambo, ended with no response to De Klerk, and amid rumours of dissent.

According to diplomatic sources in Stockholm, the meeting was split on the issue of the return of SA senior exiles. But secretary-general Alfred Nzo scoffed at speculation, saying that after waiting 30 years to be unbanned, the ANC would not be rushed by anyone.

Before he left Stockholm for Lusaka, Nzo said De Klerk's offer for exiles to return was a farce and like a "Damocles sword" hanging over former guerrilla fighters and dissidents. Both he and Thabo Mbeki indicated that without absolute guarantees no ANC "soldier" would face criminal charges, this would remain a critical obstacle to negotiations.

In an apparent response to being caught wrong-footed by De Klerk's unbanning of the organisation, Nzo said: "Work has already begun to bring about a disciplined and ordered restructuring of the ANC, taking into account the new conditions. Until a new organisational structure has been finalised, we call upon all ANC structures to remain intact and to maintain their vigilance. We also call upon all sectors of the mass democratic movement to remain intact as before and together to continue to mobilise their respective constituencies."

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, long-time host to the ANC, said: "It is up to the ANC to decide whether they want to go back home. But the priority is now to bring all liberation movements to the negotiating table."

Walter Sisulu, leader of the seven-man internal leadership delegation, was flying to Johannesburg via Frankfurt last night and will report today to the "ANC constituency" in SA. He is also certain to be allowed to report directly to Nelson Mandela, especially on the issue of the security surrounding his release from prison.
Ball is in ANC's court

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government was yesterday waiting to hear the ANC's official response to President De Klerk's initiatives on Friday. (See story 6/1/90)

The response will determine whether the Government and ANC begin their first official contact to begin talks about setting up negotiations.

Government sources were unable to confirm today whether veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu - due to have flown into the country last night - would see De Klerk to deliver the organisation's response. Some said they believed it was more likely that Sisulu would see Mr Mandela and communicate the response to him.

Political problems

They said they believed that the "talks about talks" would begin with Mandela once he was freed.

However it appears that the talks about talks could be delayed by political problems - and not only administrative ones - which still appear to be holding up Mandela's release.

His wife Winnie saw him at the weekend and said it was out of the question that the ANC leader would want to be released under a state of emergency.

It seems that the Government is prepared to discuss these problems but may regard them as subjects for the agenda of pre-negotiations.

Six arrested after Jouberton attack

SIX white men were arrested and are to be charged with murder, attempted murder and assault after an attack on blacks in Jouberton, near Klerksdorp, on Saturday, police said yesterday.

On Saturday morning six men entered Jouberton in four cars and a bakkie, according to police. They allegedly picked up a number of blacks saying they had work for them cleaning the streets in Klerksdorp.

Kicked to death

The men then took the people to the police station and wanted to have them charged with minor crimes. Police said the whites had to make statements but were not prepared to do so and undertook to return the blacks to Jouberton.

They were dropped off on the Ysterstryd road, near Jouberton, and allegedly attacked with fists, feet and sjamboks.

One was allegedly kicked to death.

Six men, aged between 20 and 30, were arrested and are due to appear in court soon.

Police said there seemed to be no political motives for the attack. - Sapa.

Hospital workers back

STRIKING workers at the HF Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria are all back at their posts and the situation has been "normalised".

Tunnoval Provincial Administration (TPA) spokesman Jan van Wyk said yesterday all the 700 workers who went on strike last week had returned.

Protest

The workers - mainly kitchen, administration and cleaning staff - churned tools last week in a protest against their low wages.

They had also demanded im-
How FW helped put the reins back into Bush’s hands

SIMON BARBER in Washington
CAPE TOWN — The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP was "absolutely outrageous" and President PW de Klerk should resign, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Opening his party's attack in the debate in Parliament on de Klerk's opening address on Friday, Treurnicht said the voting public had been misled, Sapa reports.

De Klerk had not asked for a mandate in last year's general election for the steps he had announced and the ANC had tied itself to a strategy of violence. Treurnicht said it was "really the most revolutionary speech" he had listened to in 19 years in Parliament.

But it had, strangely enough, made him "more excited than ever before about the struggle".

Whereas the NP was saying it was "not obsessed with groups", the CP remained obsessed with them.

Therefore the party had decided to launch a national campaign, Action One Million, aimed at canvassing at least a million supporters.

The CP had decided to mobilise the population under the slogan A Free Nation in Its Own Fatherland.

Treurnicht said he differed from de Klerk's interpretation of events in Eastern Europe and Africa. Unlike de Klerk, he believed communism was alive and a threat to white SA.

Our Political Staff report that DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer yesterday scoffed at suggestions the party had become irrelevant because government had taken over parts of its policy.

Many delicate and difficult processes lay ahead because de Klerk's announcement was only part of the programme which had to be carried out to give SA peace and prosperity.

If the NP took over all the DP's policies it would be a cause for rejoicing because SA would be saved.

But, in the midst of the current euphoria, people should remember how far SA was from the DP's goal of a non-racial democracy.

"The President's speech attracted favourable reaction from nearly all quarters but, when everything announced in it has been carried out, we still will not have reached the negotiating table and even less, an agreement," said de Beer.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickx said yesterday the period of hope which had dawned in SA had vindicated the party's decision to take part in the tricameral parliamentary system.

Speaking in the debate on de Klerk's address, he said the climate was suitable for negotiations.

Sapa reports Solidarity Party leader and chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates J N Reddy said yesterday his party was elated with de Klerk's reforms which vindicated the party's decision to participate in the tricameral system.
demoso\'s says Dahun
NO LONGER NEED FOR
Returning
Thousands
Plan to intensify protests this week
Full rights in an undivided SA on way

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent
Cape Town

The new South Africa which President de Klerk is creating will give full citizenship and political rights to all in an undivided multiparty democratic state.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen gave this assurance in Parliament yesterday during the first day of the debate on Ms de Klerk's speech.

Dr Viljoen said one of the most important shifts in National Party thinking had been the acceptance of the idea of one nation in an undivided South Africa. The new constitution would need to broaden participation to comprise all South Africans.

This establishes an entirely new perspective and basis on which the demand for group or minority protection must be considered," he said.

Minority protection would have to comply with non-discriminatory requirements, or it would not pass the test of the negotiation process.

Dr de Klerk had stated clearly that protection of minority rights should not cause an imbalance in individual rights, or that any group, however defined, should be favoured.

This and other statements by NP leaders prompted Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer to say later in the debate whether there had been a change in the party's attitude on political rights. He urged on the Government to make an unambiguous declaration of intent.

Interpretation

He said President de Klerk had committed himself to "universal franchise" in his speech. Interpretation of these words would determine the success or failure of negotiation.

During the election last year, the NP had said in a pamphlet that "each group will have its own voters roll to determine its leaders".

"The leaders must then decide jointly about general affairs, by means of consensus," he added.

That was a formula which had no chance of succeeding at the negotiating table, Dr de Beer said, and he asked whether there was now a shift from the view stated in the NP pamphlet.

Dr Viljoen also had stress on group rights in his speech.

He said it was not practical to replace white-minority domination with black-minority domination, under which whites would be reduced progressively to powerlessness.

"The practical reality of our land demands an effective form of minority protection as a component of a new power dispensation."

The main component of minority protection was the ability to maintain an own identity and community life.

This mainly meant community values such as languages rights, religion, and cultural education.

See Page 11.

Labour protest

An African National Congress flag is placed yesterday where the Yembeni tobacco store's State advocates consulted the Attorney-General concerning the ANC and releasing those in jail.

At present there are 38 Bills before the 15 standing committees.

The Labour Party has objected to the appointment of National Party MPs as chairmen of all the committees. To protest against this, it has refused to take part in the committee meetings, leaving them out a quorum.

The four committee meetings are held for yes...
Labour protest holds up legislation

CAPE TOWN.—The Labour Party has brought the passing of legislation in Parliament to a standstill by refusing to take part in standing committee meetings.

At present there are 33 Bills before the 15 joint standing committees.

The Labour Party has objected to the appointment of National Party MPs as chairmen of all the committees. To protest against this, it has refused to take part in the committee meetings, leaving them without a quorum.

The four committee meetings scheduled for yesterday were cancelled by the chairmen.

The four meetings set down for today were also called off.

A Democratic Party source said the impasse was raised when the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, met the Labour Party caucus last week.

He said the impasse needed to be sorted out before February 21, by which date the debates on appropriation and part appropriation matters would have ended.

The spokesman also said the legislation that was jammed up needed to come before the various Houses.
TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk could bask in the approval of almost all the political parties yesterday, the first day of a joint debate on his speech at the opening of parliament.

Predictably, resistance came from the Conservative Party.

CP leader Dr A P Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk had "awakened the tiger in the Afrikaner" with his "most revolutionary" speech on Friday.

Roars of laughter

There were roars of laughter when he demanded that Mr De Klerk should resign.

There was more laughter when Dr Treurnicht referred to reports of a "Viva Comrade De Klerk" cry in the streets of Cape Town.

Dr Treurnicht maintained that Mr De Klerk did not have any mandate for a new South Africa that was open to African National Congress and communist leaders and that he had misled the voters.

The CP is to launch a campaign for "a free nation in its own fatherland" with the aim of rallying at least a million supporters.

Mr De Klerk's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, hit back by saying that the government was not indifferent to nationalism but that it could be served better by doing the right thing at the right time.

He said Mr De Klerk, with his impressive and brave package of reform measures, had placed the government and the National Party at the head of the march to a new South Africa.

With the 1983 constitution the nation had beyond doubt become multiracial with the inclusion of coloured and Asian citizens.

Now the final step was to replace this constitution with a new one that would complete the broadening of nationhood to include all South Africans.

It became clear from Dr Viljoen's speech that the President realised that his line on the need for the protection of minority rights could be one of the big sticking points in future negotiations.

There were attempts to soften this approach.

Dr Viljoen said that nation-building came first.

This established an entirely new perspective and basis on which the demand for group minority protection must be considered.

Within the new context, minority protection would have to comply with democratic and non-discriminatory requirements, otherwise it would not pass the test of the negotiating process.

Dr Viljoen called on those who wanted to become involved in negotiation to assess the approach to minority rights in this new context.

The Democratic Party leader in the House, Dr Zac de Beer, congratulated Mr De Klerk on his speech on Friday.

Since coming to parliament for the first time 37 years ago he had seen the development of apartheid and then its failure and decline. He hoped he had now seen the beginning of the end, Dr De Beer said.

Along with the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, he pointed out that problems such as the Group Areas Act remained.

Dr De Beer also took issue with the President on his aim of "universal franchise".

On the interpretation of these two words would depend the success or failure of negotiations for an apartheid-free South Africa.

"Open door"

The National Party should not "pussify" around the issue of political rights and Dr De Beer called for a declaration of intent setting out its broad aims.

Mr Hendrickse welcomed what he called "the open door to the future".

He said the Race Classification Act remained the basis of apartheid laws.

At the same time he welcomed the President's willingness to break the chains of apartheid and to break with white domination and exclusive white decision-making.
STATE President FW de Klerk did not have a mandate to unban the ANC's apartheid laws, a political scientist claims.

Retired political scientist, Professor Willem Kleyhans, said on Monday he disagreed with De Klerk that he had a mandate from voters to carry out the measures announced on Friday.

He said De Klerk, in a television interview on Sunday, tried to justify the unbanning of the ANC by claiming voters in last year's general election had voted for negotiation.

However, voter's endorsement of negotiations could not 'be interpreted as a mandate to',

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'tNo mandate'

From page 1

scrap the Separate Amenities Act and unban prohibited organisations, Kleyhans said.

"If you say you have a mandate, it means you have spelled out your intentions specifically," he said.

"Negotiation is a general term and nowhere in the National Party's 1989 election manifesto was the electorate asked to give the Government the authority to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and to legalise the ANC, SACP or PAC," Kleyhans stressed.

Kleyhans was not commenting on the merits of Government's decisions, but on De Klerk's interpretation of a mandate.
Education for blacks a priority — Stoffel

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Black education was one of the highest priorities of the Government and would receive extra money, as it became available, the Minister of Education and of Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Addressing a press briefing at Parliament, Dr van der Merwe pointed out that the budget for black education had risen from R148 million in 1978 to R1952 million in 1989.

In 1978 there were 10,000 black pupils in matric, while in 1988 there were 132,000.

In the same years the number of Std 1 pupils had increased from 460,000 to 550,000.

In 1976 the number of school-leaving certificates issued were: whites 33,000; blacks 2,000; coloureds 1,000 and Indians 2,000.

In 1988 the figures were whites 67,000; blacks 86,000; coloureds 14,000 and Indians 13,000.

SHIFT IN EMPHASIS

The budget increase for black education over the past few years "was not as dramatic as one would have liked to see, because the economy could not afford it."

Dr van der Merwe pointed out that the Government had shifted its emphasis from defence spending to social spending, but this would take a little time to be reflected.

Dr Wim de Villiers, Minister of Administration and Privatisation, said South Africa had to create employment opportunities for the rapidly expanding population in industry, agriculture, mining and construction.

Announcements about this would be made in the Budget.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

At the same time, equal economic opportunity for all had to be created.

Dr de Villiers said sanctions had the effect of not allowing the country to create employment opportunities.

If sanctions were removed, the growth rate would be three to four times the average 1.4 percent growth since 1981.

Dr de Villiers saw privatisation as a way of allowing free market forces to operate and create employment opportunities.

He said 63.7 percent of the fixed investment in the past 15 years had come from the Government.

The first step in privatising parastatals was commercialising them, Dr de Villiers said, meaning that they had to become used to working on a return-on-capital, profit-and-loss basis.
SA shares rising fast in London

From DEREK TOMMEE
JOHANNESBURG. — South African industrial shares, shunned for several years by the world's investors, have at last come in from the cold.

Since President de Klerk's watershed speech on Friday foreign investors have been heavy buyers of top class South African industrial shares listings on the London International Stock Exchange.

Since Friday morning the London price of Barlows has risen 28 percent from $13.10 to $16.77. The price of SA Breweries has risen also by 28 percent, from $36.07 to $12.26. Remgro's shares have risen 45 percent from $3.89 to $4.89 and Sasol shares have risen 20.5 percent from $3.71 to $4.47.

Differential

These price increases are larger than has been the case on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, where the strengthening financial rand has depressed prices.

In the two trading days since Thursday the financial rand has strengthened more than six percent, rising from R3.43 to the US dollar to R3.22, following heavy foreign buying. But for the foreign investment interest, this would have resulted in local share prices dropping by six percent.

Stockbrokers in Johannesburg said foreign investors were buying big in companies with London listings, with an established track record and whose shares were freely available.

Foreign investors are also showing interest in OK Bazaars and Iscor. But they are not getting the attention they should as OK Bazaars shares are not freely available and Iscor does not have a London listing.

The financial rand discount is also resulting in foreign investors getting better yields than local investors. Barlows is yielding 3.15 percent in Johannesburg and 3.59 percent in London.

These lower price-earnings ratios and higher dividend yields make South African shares attractive to foreign investors in spite of the remaining political risks.
Challenge to the ANC
Transvaal's conservative far north shocked by FW's speech

Pietersburg. - Most people in the far north of the Union were shocked and disbelieving at the sweeping measures announced by President D. F. Malan.

"Bravo!" a telegram reading "Bravo, thank you for a new Chamber of Deputies" came from the Pietersburg business community, which is given a fair chance in the Union's affairs.

Dr. Klip, a medical doctor, said, "We have had enough of the old system. It's time for a new era of progress." And the people of Pietersburg agreed.

"It's an absolute sellout of the white man," said a local farmer, shared his view with other farmers. Amidst the sellout of whites, Pietersburg areas, regarded as the bastion of liberalism, were now being threatened. "Don't push us too far," said a local resident.

The mood in Pietersburg is tense as their politicians struggle to adjust to the new dispensation.
Minority protection 'part of new deal'

Voting rights for all on horizon — Viljoen

The new South Africa which President F W de Klerk was creating would ensure all its citizens a full and equal franchise in an undivided multi-party democracy, Minister of Constitutional Development and National Education Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

But an effective form of minority protection was needed “as a component of the new power-sharing”, he added.

Speaking in the debate on the President’s opening address, he said the Government had taken a risk in making its announcements on Friday. Outstanding and unresolved problems could now be straightened out through negotiation.

“It would be petty to make further demands in terms of a ‘shopping list’. To respond with an all or nothing approach would be fault-finding and cowardly.”

Dr Viljoen challenged the ANC to relinquish violence unequivocally and to make its influence felt in peaceful politics.

“This new South Africa is no mere sweet-sounding rhetoric,” he said. “The outlines and essential traits of this initially vague concept are becoming clearer and more sharply defined.

“This new South Africa broadens the basis of democracy so as to ensure to all its citizens full and equal franchise and other political rights within an undivided, multi-party democratic state.”

The new South Africa was committed to the removal of the burdens of apartheid and guaranteed all its inhabitants equal rights and opportunities through constitutional protection of human rights and of groups and minorities.

Undivided

“One of the most important shifts in emphasis of the policy of the National Party has been the acceptance of the concept of one nation in an undivided South Africa,” he said.

The concept of minority or group protection would have to comply with democratic and non-discriminatory requirements, otherwise it would obviously not pass the test of the negotiation process, Dr Viljoen said.

On the one hand was the legitimate claim of all the country’s citizens, and in particular its black population, to full voting rights up to the highest level of government.

“This must be acknowledged and accepted,” he said.

“On the other hand there is the justifiable need and demand of minorities, in particular the whites, for constitutional protection against domination and for guarantees of a meaningful share in political decision-making.

“And between these two aspects, through peaceful negotiation, by give and take, an acceptable compromise must be achieved by reconciliation.”

The problem was compounded by demands for black majority rule in a unitary state, which was unacceptable to the NP.

“The practical realities of our country demands an effective form of minority protection as a component of the new power-sharing,” Dr Viljoen said. — Sapa.
Shots fired at British Embassy

A far right-wing backlash emanating from the epoch-making opening speech by State President FW de Klerk on Friday, is feared after extremists on Sunday fired shots at the British Embassy in Pretoria.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Shots entered an embassy window and the bullets hit a bookcase. Nobody was injured as the embassy was empty at the time.

Earlier in the day a right-wing flag was hoisted outside the embassy and on Saturday a right-wing slogan was spray-painted on the walls of the building. The slogan read: "The Right Wing struggle has begun."

First Secretary for the Embassy Mr John Sawers, speaking from Cape Town last night, said the embassy had never had police protection but after the weekend's incident has requested South African Police protection. "And they readily agreed," Sawers said.

"Sawers at the weekend said: "All indications point to right-wing sympathisers. We can only assume that they believe we influenced the South African government in the measures they adopted last week."

A spokesman for the SAP, General Herman Stadler, yesterday could not predict a backlash, but said that the police force was prepared.

"It is our job to maintain law and order and we will do so at all costs. We will not allow any persons to take the law into their own hands," Stadler said.
Courts to end election disputes
Suzman praises FW at the UN

The Star's Foreign
News Service

GENEVA — Former
Democratic Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman has
asked the United Nations
Commission on Human
Rights to encourage funda-
mental change in South
Africa by, for once, ad-
opting an encouraging
resolution.

In a message to the
commission, Mrs Suzman
praised President de
Klerk for his “courageous
speech” on Friday.

She said she was es-
especially pleased by the
imminent unconditional re-
lease of Mr Nelson Man-
dela because “only his
authority will curb the
extremists”.

Mrs Suzman said the
UN may soon be called
upon to play a crucial
role in the new thinking
in South Africa.

“I hope the UN Com-
mmission on Human Rights
will decide to give every
possible encouragement
to an ongoing attempt at
mutual reconciliation in
South Africa,” she said.

“May your important
commission lead the way
by passing a constructive
and progressive resolu-
tion, thereby indicating
that it, too, wishes to con-
tribute to this welcome
wind of change that could
well develop into a
strong movement toward
a non-racial society,
based on justice for all,”
she said.
‘Public safety’ key to Mandela release

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent
Cape Town
Government concern about the public safety impact of releasing Mr. Nelson Mandela seems to be the major snag still delaying his release.

Advisors, sources indicated, that the Government was still trying to secure some assurance from Mr. Mandela about the role he would play once released.

Sources have confirmed that some unspecified political problems still causing delay.

They said, however, they expected the problem would be cleared away soon, leading to Mr. Mandela’s release.

It has now emerged that Mr. Mandela is no longer placing any condition on his release — dispute a report to the contrary from his wife Winnie.

UDF leader Dr. Allan Boesak said yesterday after seeing Mr. Mandela at Victor Verster Prison:

He said Mr. Mandela still believed the Government should lift the whole state of emergency and release all political prisoners.

But if he were released before these conditions were met he would not hold on to throngs and tabloids, but he would have to state that his release was under circumstances such as himself would not have wanted.

Returning exiles

It seems the Government is unlikely to change its stand on the return of political exiles before talks with the ANC began.

The Government’s insistence that amnesty will not be granted to military guilty of ordinary crimes such as murder and sabotage — even if politically motivated — seems likely to be a major sticking point blocking ANC entry into discussions.

ANC leader Mr. Walter Sisulu returned to South Africa yesterday from the Stockholm ANC summit to say that the ANC would seek clarification from Pretoria’s de Klerk on the return of exiles before deciding whether to enter negotiation talks.

Government sources have indicated that although they are prepared to discuss the position of exiles, they cannot afford to hedge now from their position.

It is likely that the Government’s attitude is that ANC leaders will not be prevented from returning whatever their role in the planning of the armed struggle.

However those responsible for the actual perpetration of a crime will not be granted amnesty.

The ANC on the other hand believes that crimes committed by their guerrillas are acts of war which should be condemned.

But while the South African Government seems to be digging in its heels on the exiles issue as a precondition for negotiations, some sources concede that practically anyway will have to be granted to all ANC exiles.

This was the case with all the returning Swazis fighters under the UDF-influenced Swazi Diaspora peace settlement.

See Pages 5, 10 and 11.

Fewer cars are stolen but insurance premiums rise

By Craig Kotze

Vehicle insurance premiums are to rise again soon, despite a significant drop in car thefts, the chairman of the South African Insurance Association (SAIA), Mr. Ron Carter, said today.

The reason was that replacement costs of vehicles and of repairs had shot up.

Premiums, Mr. Carter said, were due to go up anyway because they had not kept pace with inflation.

BURDEN

The theft rate has been reduced, but the emphasis has changed in obtaining "old biases.

The new boys — South Africa's cricket teams's newest Springboks were officially tapped at a function in Sandton yesterday. Kepler Wessels (front), Richard Snell and Dave Bresler will be in the Boks side that takes on the rebel English cricket side in the first test starting tomorrow at the Wanderers. See Page 2, Page 6 and Back Page.

Picture: John Sepp.
Gun scramble over reform

ARMS dealers in Pretoria have been besieged with enquiries for guns since the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP.

Mr Pieter van der Walt of Bouwer Broers, Gezina, said he had experienced a sharp increase in demand for personal weapons, especially large-calibre hand-guns and pump-action shotguns, and ammunition of all types.

Demand

Other dealers admitted the demand for arms and ammunition had escalated but were reluctant to link it to President de Klerk’s reform measures.

The rush for weapons seems to be a countrywide trend. A Johannesburg arms wholesaler said he had been inundated with demands for “thousands of pump-action shotguns, big handguns or whatever I can supply.” -Sapa.

Flasher fined

A MAN who “exposed his private parts” on Second Beach Clifton, has been fined R300 (or 60 days) suspended for three years.

Riaan Kock (19) of Thrush Road Greenshields Park Port Elizabeth, pleaded not guilty. According to the charge sheet on November 25 last year Kock “exposed his private parts” and “put his hands down his shorts and rubbed his private parts.”

Kock said he had been under the influence of alcohol and could not remember what happened.

Judicial lag

MBABANE - An acute shortage of courtrooms, magistrates and interpreters in Swaziland, due to the rising crime rate, has caused a backlog of cases waiting to be heard in Mbabane.

Senior magistrate Anthony Cele said this week he had apologised to several awaiting-trial prisoners and witnesses, adding he had had to postpone their cases.

He said the situation would not improve until the shortage of courtroom facilities was eliminated.
Get rid of all discrimination, urges Labour

As long as the National Party clings to the group concept, suspicion about the sincerity of the National Party would remain, Mr. Luwellyn Landers (Labour Party, Durban Suburbs) said yesterday.

"We must rid ourselves of discrimination rules," said Mr. Landers. He was speaking during a debate on the State President's opening address in Parliament on Friday.

DEATH PENALTY

The LP welcomed the announcements about the death penalty as an option of sentence, in extreme cases, the automatic right to appeal and the cessation of executions until Parliament has taken a final decision.

The party also welcomed the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act.

Mr. Landers said South Africa had nothing to fear from the unbanning of the SA Communist Party because all races would now be able to judge for themselves what the SACP's ideology was about. — Sapa.
PIK BOTHA

The public should not put too much trust in people who visited the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and put words in his mouth, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Cape Town yesterday.

He briefed the local and international press on issues affecting his portfolio and said it was important to understand that the decision to release Mr Mandela did not rest with the Government alone.

Questioned about further conditions attached to Mr Mandela's release, Mr Botha said: "President de Klerk has said the release is unconditional and I appeal to you to accept that."

Important parts of the statement, if it was accurately, was helpful in this regard. "It means they are prepared to apply discipline."

"If we withdraw all the regulations and we are suddenly faced with an upheaval and disorder and have to reintroduce the state of emergency, the perception will be that things have got out of hand in South Africa."

"Then we will pay a far heavier price than taking the water step by step as we are doing," he said. - Sapa
Mandela lauds FW not moving quickly to simply fulfil the other conditions," Dr Boesak said.

Were he released before such conditions were fulfilled, Mr Mandela "would not hold on to chairs and tables, kicking, but he would then have to state that his release was under circumstances that he himself would not have wished". Meanwhile, veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu said the organisation's national executive would issue a definitive response to President De Klerk's watershed speech from Lusaka within two weeks.

He said the alliance between the ANC and SACP would continue.

Dr Boesak said Mr Mandela had held talks with government members since Mr De Klerk's speech on Friday.

Describing his visit to Mr Mandela as "the greatest experience of my life", Dr Boesak said Mr Mandela was a man of great intellect and a "great strategist, with the clear qualities one would expect from such a leader". He had received the impression that Mr Mandela was in contact with the ANC, Dr Boesak said.

Meanwhile, controversy surrounds Mrs Winnie Mandela's purported quoting of her husband as saying that his release was dependent on the lifting of the state of emergency.

Head of the ANC's international affairs department Mr Thabo Mbeki contradicted her, saying he was sure Mrs Mandela had "misunderstood" her husband.

Mr Mandela was ready to leave prison immediately and had not made the lifting of the state of emergency a pre-condition, Mr Mbeki said.

● Twenty senior members of the UDF will visit Mr Mandela on Friday, the largest political group yet to do so. UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said discussions would centre on Mr De Klerk's speech and the subsequent talks Mr Mandela had held with government officials.
Negotiations will end govt's power role

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Gun scramble over reform

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Right-wing anger mounts against Pretoria "all-race" govt as unbanning momentum gains

RIGHT-WING anger against Pretoria "all-race" govt is gaining momentum with a mass meeting planned by the Conservative Party.

A mass meeting was organised by the Conservative Party on Saturday, attracting a large crowd.

The meeting was held at the Pretoria Civic Hall and was attended by thousands of supporters.

The Conservative Party is calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress and other opposition parties.

The party's leader, Mr. John Botha, said: "We are committed to fighting for freedom and democracy in South Africa."

The meeting was attended by a large number of supporters, who were chanting slogans and waving flags.

The Conservative Party is planning to organise more meetings in the coming weeks to amplify its message.

"We are determined to resist the跛i-and-pretoria regime and to bring about a change in South Africa," said Mr. Botha.

The Conservative Party has been denied permission to hold public meetings in the past, and has been subject to harassment and intimidation.

However, the party continues to organise meetings and to send out leaflets to its supporters.

"We will not be intimidated," said Mr. Botha.

The Conservative Party is calling on other opposition parties to join forces in the struggle for freedom.

"We are calling on all South Africans to stand together in the fight for democracy," said Mr. Botha.

The party has been gaining momentum in recent weeks, with a number of public meetings and events being organised.

Conservative Party members are demanding the unbanning of the African National Congress and other opposition parties.

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"We are calling for an end to apartheid and for a free and democratic South Africa," said Mr. Botha.
After the Rubicon, FW faces the Ides of March

Where ex-President PW Botha got cold feet, President FW de Klerk — most observers agree — waded boldly across the Rubicon when he delivered his major policy speech last Friday. But Mr de Klerk, having climbed up the far bank, faces the daunting task of defeating opponents who, instead of applauding, were aghast at his action.

When Mr Botha talked of “crossing the Rubicon” in his speech of August 1985, he introduced a historical analogy with an unfortunate ending into South African political folklore: Caesar crossed the River Rubicon in 49 BC, only to be assassinated five years later on the Ides of March.

The question thus is whether Mr de Klerk can avoid an Ides of March fate, not in the sense of the assassination but at the more mundane level of defeat at the polls.

Whatever happens, Mr de Klerk is committed to obtaining the approval of the white electorate before altering the constitution to accommodate black people.

The Conservative Party, which accused Mr de Klerk of announcing sweeping changes without obtaining a mandate from white voters, promptly challenged Mr de Klerk to hold a general election.

Leeway

Mr de Klerk has a couple of years’ leeway. But he must face the voters by 1994, either in a general election under the present constitution — which gives the dominant say to white voters — or in a referendum.

His ruling National Party committed itself to submitting any proposed new constitution to the electorate in the Five-Year Action Plan which it drew up for last year’s general election. It can do so in one of two ways: either by referring the proposed changes to the electorate in a general election in 1994 (or earlier) or by referring them to the electorate for approval in a referendum.

The NP Action Plan was addressed to white voters. Hence, even if Mr de Klerk takes the referendum option, he is obliged, morally if not legally, to give the whites an opportunity to endorse or reject the constitution.

Dr Andries Treurnicht has accused Mr de Klerk of instituting sweeping changes without having a mandate from white voters and has challenged the State President to hold a general election.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and Development Aid and one of Mr de Klerk’s inner circle, agrees that any test of public opinion on constitutional changes will have to be under the existing electoral system. Hence, on his admission, whites will have one last, final say before the rules are altered.

The CP, aware that time is running out, that its influence will be seriously diluted under a new constitution, is galvanising itself in an all-out effort to stop Mr de Klerk.

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, is due to announce the start of the CP’s “Action One-million” campaign on February 12.

Assessment of its chances of success must start with last year’s general election.

The CP obtained 39 seats and 31 percent of the vote, against 93 seats and 48 percent of the vote for the NP and 33 seats and 21 percent of the vote for the Democratic Party.

Since then, there have been two by-elections — in Ceres and Vasco. In both the CP reduced the NP majority substantially; by nearly 950 votes in Ceres and more than 2,650 votes in Vasco.

The results confirmed the steady drift of NP voters to the CP in the 1989 general election, NP majorities were reduced in 84 constituencies.

The drift to the CP was prompted by dislike and fear of NP reformist policies.

Mr de Klerk’s “Rubicon” speech is likely to accelerate the trend. To that must be added the inextricable impact of the CP’s “now or never” rhetoric.

Given these factors, can the CP defeat Mr de Klerk when he submits whatever deal he can negotiate with black leaders to the whites for approval? Almost certainly not, if he opts for the referendum alternative.

In a referendum, anticipates Professor David Welsh of UCT, the CP will have no hesitation in discouraging its supporters to affirm Mr de Klerk’s constitutional reforms.

He forecasts a result not unlike the 1983 referendum when Mr Botha obtained roughly two-thirds of the vote for his new tricameral constitution.

No guarantee

If Mr de Klerk is forced to take the election alternative, victory may not be so easy.

Many DP voters may choose loyalty to their party above support for Mr de Klerk.

Thus, assuming continuing desertion by the NP’s conservative voters, there is no guarantee that the NP will be bolstered to the same extent by DP voters.

Much will depend on an imponderable factor: the nature of the deal that Mr de Klerk can formulate at the negotiating table. The tougher the negotiations, the more difficulties Mr de Klerk will run into trying to sell it to the white electorate.

The ANC, as the key black player at the negotiating table, has, ironically, become a potential determinant in Mr de Klerk’s fate.
Malan calls for direct talks

Suzanne pleads for UN resolution

The process has to be

Malan said.

Malan had also said that the government would not go ahead

with the initiative.

The ANC had also said

it would not negotiate a

settlement on the basis

of what had gone before.
FIERY LEADER... The founding leader of the Reformation Party, a new, yet unregistered right-wing party, Mr Patrick Kotze, believes that conservative Afrikaners need a newer, younger, more fiery leader, and demanded a “democratic re-election” within 30 days. Mr Kotze, 33, a Bellville salesman who “has turned to full-time politics”, is seen arguing with a group of spectators at his solo demonstration in Adderley Street yesterday. Police later escorted him away.
Run SA as single entity, DP urges

THE time had come for South Africa to be run as a single entity and it could no longer afford duplication of services and under-utilisation of facilities, the Democratic Party said yesterday.

South Africa was in a crisis situation in regard to education, provision of adequate health and welfare services and the maintenance of law and order.

Political reform was essential but it would lead to disillusionment and bitterness if it was not accompanied by the maintenance of basic standards for many and the improvement of standards for most.

A DP statement said money being spent on running 14 departments of health could better be used to increase the salaries of those providing essential services.

“We are particularly concerned that nurses should receive the remuneration they deserve.”

Afrikaners ‘will be tenants in SA’ — CP

PARLIAMENT. — The Afrikaner people in the new South Africa would be mere tenants in their own land, Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP Overvaal) said yesterday.

He said in debate on the State President’s address that under the NP’s proposals the Afrikaner would become dependent on the black man, and this was totally unacceptable to the CP.

The NP was committing political fraud against its own voters because it was carrying out these steps without a mandate.

It was true the NP’s mandate in the September general election had been vague in certain areas, but there was no doubt about two specific aspects: The NP had said that an own white community life would be safeguarded, but now the government was abandoning this commitment; and as far as the ANC was concerned, the government had then not even been prepared to talk to the organisation. — Sapa
Road to talks could see more unrest – Malan

The road to negotiation could be filled with potholes and moments of conflict which could lead to an increase in unrest, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the State President’s opening of Parliament address, he said political reconstruction had to be done from a position of strength and security.

The Government placed great emphasis on the need to maintain stability along with political, social and economic considerations.

“Unfortunately there are people in leftist radical circles who see the Government’s initiatives at normalising the political situation as a free pass to the taking of power and the overthrowing of order.”

He said it had been suggested recently in “leftist circles” that the “securocrats” had had their wings trimmed and had been put in their place. But nothing could be further from the truth.

General Malan said the SA Defence Force was willing to accept the new challenges facing the country and was keen to play a role in making the best of these opportunities.

He said accusations were being made against the SADF, especially now that the emphasis had moved away from security.

It was necessary to sound two warnings on this issue.

“Firstly, activities and actions that may have been necessary at a time of conflict and high tension should not be judged against the norms and standards which apply in more peaceful times.”

Secondly, stability was necessary for the reform process.

“Even in these challenging times, we must be aware that there could be heightened unrest.”

Referring to the unbanning of the ANC, he said the organisation had admitted that it could no longer win the military struggle.

“Its bombs and impet mines are no longer in step with what is happening in reality.”

The Minister said he trusted that the ANC would now stop making new demands and threats of further violence. Its leaders should now decide how far they were going to take the armed struggle. — Sapa.
FW's speech used in court

A transcription of Friday's speech by President de Klerk was handed to the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday as evidence in mitigation of sentence for an ANC member.

Sipho Mokwena (24) was cautioned and discharged on a charge of being a member of the ANC, but magistrate Mr WJ van der Bergh convicted Mokwena on a charge of terrorism and sentenced him to six years' imprisonment.

He was found to have undergone ANC military training and to have been in possession of a pistol and two grenades.

Mr van der Bergh added that although he took the changing climate in South Africa into consideration, the ANC had still not renounced violence. He said he was passing judgment in a cloud of uncertainty and the seriousness of the charges could not be ignored. — Sapa.
Stayaway plan ‘totally irresponsible’

By MARTIN CHALLENOR
Political Staff

THE Conservative Party was being utterly irresponsible in threatening to stage a white stayaway to force a general election, according to the National Party.

MP Mr Koos van der Merwe told an international Press conference that his Conservative Party could be pushed into organising a white stay-at-home which would halt South African Airways, police, fire brigades, hospitals, buses and schools.

He said a general election should be held.

Mr Renier Schoeman, chief director of information-designate of the National Party, said the CP was being “totally, utterly irresponsible”.

“It is disgraceful to see a party which has pretensions of being a parliamentary opposition resorting to extra-parliamentary militancy as had anything that has been seen on the radical left.

“This is a grave indictment of the CP’s moral bankruptcy.”

Responsible people would understand the conflict potential and would not allow themselves to be misled.

Mr Schoeman said the NP had asked for, and was given, an unequivocal mandate to create a new South Africa.

It had asked for a mandate to energetically pursue objectives that would show real progress in the next five years.

“It also undertook to eliminate obstacles on the road to negotiations.”

If the obstacles were not removed there could be no progress, Mr Schoeman said.

The NP had undertaken to submit any new constitutional principles to the electorate before they were implemented, Mr Schoeman said, “and that is not in dispute in the slightest”.

● Plans to mobilise conservative whites in Natal against President De Klerk’s reform moves have been announced by the Conservatives.

The CP does not have an MP, elected or nominated, in Natal.

A party information officer in Cape Town said a regional conference would start the campaign at Illovo on February 24. Natal party leaders and MPs would speak.

Delegates would be chosen to represent Natal at a leaders’ conference at the Pretoria showgrounds on April 6.

Another gathering would be held at Illovo on May 5.
Putco passengers in fight over high fares

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

RATINGS Sweto bus commuters have threatened to take action against Putco if their demands for improved transport are not met within two weeks.

At a meeting called by the Putco Daily Passengers Committee in Pinetown, Soweto this week, members decided that Putco be given an ultimatum to reply to grievances which they delivered to the company on January 22.

Their demands include:
- An 18 percent drop in the fares and that charges must be adjusted on some routes.
- Additional buses on all routes and vehicles to be kept clean.
- Training of bus drivers in the wake of a soaring accident rate.
- Weekly and monthly coupons must work when used, and
- The committee be recognised as the mouthpiece of the residents and the transport committee to be dissolved.

A spokesman for the company yesterday acknowledged receipt of the letter and said that the committee’s delegation was scheduled to meet Putco executives on February 20 at 5.30pm.

“We believe that in modern times we need a modern transport system,” said committee secretary Ms Adelaide Manana. “Putco has done nothing to improve its standards during its 50 years of existence.”

She said that the committee had asked taxi associations to help them in the likely event of negotiations with Putco reaching deadlock.

Scramble legacy of apartheid

By MOEKETSI MPHAKI

The rush by whites to buy guns following the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACR was a sickening war psychosis which indicates that a lot of work remained to be done in correcting people’s attitudes in South Africa.

This was the reaction of several leaders yesterday after reports that arms dealers were inundated with inquiries for guns after the unbanning of the liberation movements.

A spokesman for the Black Consciousness Movement, Mr Muntu Myeza, said this was a reflection on how apartheid and racism were bringing damage people’s thinking.

“This aberration is reminiscent of the mistrust and distrust that the BCM has been warning against during its entire existence. Intergration and non-racialism can only be effective in a situation of equality,” he said.

Mr Krish Naidoo of the National Sports Council, said this was a natural reaction, by whites resulting from the black fear syndrome created by the Nats.

Mr Azhar Chachalia of the MDM, said this was result of a propaganda waged by the regime.

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LOOK OUT FOR CHARLIE PARKERS’ PRIZE BUSTERS STARTING FEBRUARY 12, 1990

Soweto visit

SOWETO will today be visited by 30 Junior Mayors from all over South Africa.

The tour will start at the Oppenheimer Tower in Central Western Jabavu at 9.30am.

The tour will end at noon at the same venue.
Comment

By The Editor,
AGGREY KLAASTE

THE shock waves from Mr FW de Klerk's speech are still reverberating around the world.

To South Africans who had become conditioned to receiving only bad news, De Klerk's courage and initiatives came over like a bucket of cold water - both shocking and invigorating.

After three days of excitement and debate, we should now wake up to the grim realisation that we are faced with a great deal of hard work. The ringing of the bells will come to an end. The grueling work has to start.

Problems

South Africa has socio-economic problems that stagger the mind. That most of these problems are part of the daily life of blacks - the majority - presents formidable hurdles to continued peace and stability.

We will not have peace if black education is left in shambles. We have a housing problem second to none in the world. The health and general wellbeing of our people are in a parlous state.

Courage

The good news is that those who are willing to seek solutions will no longer experience the nightmare of having to look over political or ideological shoulders. Those who have lacked the courage to be creative can now use all their talents to help rebuild the nation.

The shame, indeed the pity, is that this news comes after so much pain, so many lives have been lost and wrecked, and after generations of children have been brutalised.

A youth brandishes a toy AK-47 rifle while sitting on the statue of former South African president John Smuts outside Parliament in Cape Town during the excitement that gripped the country after President de Klerk's historic announcements. (Itar-Tass)
Justice minister praises Mandela

**Political Staff**

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday said that when the history of the present period was written it would be shown that Mr Nelson Mandela had made a significant and positive contribution to the development of a new South Africa.

Mr Coetsee was responding to Conservative Party spokesmen who in the debate on the State President's speech attacked the ANC leader as a communist.

He said Mr Mandela had never been a communist and that in his youth the ANC leader had broken up Communist Party meetings.

‘Use force if needed in SA’

**TAMPA, Florida.** — The United States should use military force if necessary to help end apartheid in South Africa, Ms Maki Mandela, daughter of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, told a crowd of more than 1,000 in a 45-minute speech at the University of South Florida on Tuesday night.

Black South Africans had been kept in servitude for more than two generations, she said.

“According to the South African regime, we are savages, animals who don’t know any decent standard of living,” she said.

Ms Mandela, 35, said conditions were so morally bankrupt in South Africa that the US should consider military force, just as it did in Vietnam and Nicaragua.

“Why stop using that same foreign policy in South Africa?” she said. “That’s what I’m asking.” — UPI

Responding to calls for the scrapping of security laws, Mr Coetsee said these were necessary in a period of transition.

However, the government did not adopt an intransigent stand on the retention of the laws and their continued existence could be negotiated.

Explaining the government’s position on the return of exiles, Mr Coetsee said only those who had not committed offences would not be liable for prosecution on their return.

However, this, and the freeing of so-called political prisoners, was one matter that could be further investigated and be the subject of negotiations.

ANC-Inkatha move mooted

**LONDON.** — Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called the possibility of joining the ANC in a broad coalition against apartheid, the London Guardian newspaper reported yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi was reported as saying no approach had been made by leaders of the recently unbanned ANC for any coalition, but that relations with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela were warm.

The imprisoned leader had said he hoped meetings would begin to take place when the exiled leadership of the ANC was allowed to return to South Africa and he was out of jail.

The chief's effective second-in-command, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said the ANC should not dominate if there was to be any coalition.

"There must be collective leadership, equal responsibility and autonomy of the groups in a coalition." — Sapa
Showdown

Right threat to wreck FW's plan

The Conservative Party yesterday threatened to cripple the police, fire departments, hospitals and other strategic services in protest against the government's reform plans.

At a press briefing the CP, which drew 670,000 votes in the last election, disclosed that if necessary it could call on its supporters to stay at home for “two or three days” as part of a resistance campaign to force President F W de Klerk to hold another white election.

The party believes that white anger at the far-reaching changes announced by Mr De Klerk is so high that the party would sweep to power if an election were to be held now.

But as the right wing swung into action last night, the government, through Minister of Education and Development Aid Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, angrily warned of tough action against planned militant right-wing protests if they turned violent.

Dr Van der Merwe said Mr De Klerk had made it clear that the government planned to crack down on all acts of violence.

At the briefing Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP's official spokesman and head of its information and strategy committee, said the Nationalist government had deceived voters and told newsmen that it was facing a “ladies and gentlemen” of nothing but black, ANC, communist domination in this country. They are trying to put us in chains and we say 'no go'.

"You can only solve the political power struggle by dividing the land," he said. "If you go through this country you will find the graves of thousands of Afrikaners who have lived here who have died for this country, for a part of it which is legally ours, which we have fought for, which we have spilled our blood for."

In organising white resistance, the CP as a last resort was considering a "big stayaway" of Conservatives "of everything from the SAA, hospitals, the police, fire brigades, businesses, schools - the lot."

The campaign "to arouse the mood" of the white electorate would culminate on May 26, the anniversary of the NP's coming to power in 1948, at a mass rally in Pretoria.

Mr Van der Merwe said his party was not calling on its supporters to resort to violence, which the party rejected as a means to achieving its political objectives.

In Parliament yesterday, senior CP MP Mr
Casper Uys said the party would mobilise the Afrikaner in every field. Mr Uys said that if the government wanted to implement its present policies it would have to suppress its Afrikaner nation with violence—with the aid of the ANC.

The Minister of Manpower, Mr Ehi Louw, said in response that the remarks were an invitation to violence and wanted to know if Mr Uys associated himself with this.

Last night CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht reacted guardedly to a call by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder for CP public representatives to precipitate a crisis by resigning their seats. Dr Treurnicht said: "The challenge before the nation is the question of an effective strategy in the struggle against National Party capitulation."

At a news conference in Pretoria, Mr Terre'Blanche, Mr Van Tonder, Hervigste Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais and, in absentia, Dr Piet Ceele of the Transvaalse Separatiste, had accused Mr De Klerk of not having a mandate for his reform announcements.

"Pretoria may become Mandela," Mr Marais said.

Right-wingers who respond to a possible call by the Conservative Party to stay away from work for "two to three days" will find themselves up against sophisticated strike-hardened management, a snap survey showed yesterday.

Those in the police, transport services or city councils would face prosecution, no pay for no work or docked leave.

General Herman Stadler, head of the police public relations division, yesterday described Mr Van der Merwe's suggested call as "very optimistic".

"In the first place it's an offence for a policeman to do this. We are here to serve people; they can't expect us to break laws we are paid to uphold," he said.

General Stadler added that while he could not "vouch for every single policeman", he could not imagine any large-scale stayaway.

SATS spokesman Mr Leon Els said any of his organisation's 180 000-strong work force who stayed away would be treated on a "no work, no pay" basis. SATS had recently managed to keep services running in spite of a 13-week 26 000-member strike whose settlement affirmed that strikes were illegal in this essential service. The majority of SATS workers were also black, he added.
The case for social democracy in SA

Opinion

Disaster economy

ECONOMY THRIVING FOR NATION

TWO FUTURES

Extract from the opinion piece by Professor ...
A political solution ‘is SA’s cement’

CAPE-TOWN — Any fool could find a military solution to SA’s problems, but in the end it would be a political solution which laid the cement on which to build the future, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the President’s opening-of-Parliament address, he said the attitudes, quality of leadership, vision and inspiration of the various leaders would provide the solutions.

“It is going to be a tremendous test to take everyone with differing views to the negotiation table, and whether solutions will come depends on the degree of statesmanship displayed,” he said. He said the fundamental options were between danger and disaster. Maintaining the status quo was a recipe for disaster, he said.

Du Plessis said CP leader Andries Treurnicht should play a role in uplifting the people of SA. Instead “he entertains us with threats”.

“I want to remind him that the government was chosen for the whole of SA and not only for the whites. When he talks about total self-determination for the whites he is giving a false guarantee to those who believe him.” — Sapa.
'Not yet' a climate for talks

EAST LONDON — What was happening in SA now was not negotiation but the “removal of certain obstacles in the path of negotiation”. Ideals Executive Director Alex Boraine said at a public meeting here yesterday.

Speaking to members of the UDP and East London city councillors, Boraine urged them to “move swiftly and decisively towards an open city”.

He said, however, the climate for genuine negotiation “is not something which will be produced overnight”.

Even when apartheid's crumbling walls were demolished, everyone faced the responsibility of building a new society, he said.

He urged South Africans to be patient with one another, without losing their sense of commitment and urgency.

"Whites will have to understand what it is like to have lived under apartheid and what it means to be in that situation now. Blacks are also going to have to understand that those whites who have been fighting for peace and for change are desperate for statesmanship from the black community." (30/4)

Obstacles in the way of a new society included the release of Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency and the scrapping of apartheid legislation.

He said he was surprised the President had made no reference to the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts, but he expected this to be remedied during this week's No Confidence debate.

He expected a "very sharp and perhaps violent reaction from the extreme right wing", and said there would be "a variety of responses" from blacks as well as white South Africans. — Sapa.
Jackson arrives in SA for widespread talks

THE Rev Jesse Jackson, US presidential hopeful and civil rights campaigner, said on his arrival in SA yesterday he had no plans to see Nelson Mandela in prison, but "I hope to see him walking down the streets of Johannesburg".

He planned to meet people from the widest spectrum of SA society including leaders of the NGK, the Pan Africanist Movement, Asapo, the UDF and business leaders.

Massive security ringed Jan Smuts Airport for his arrival, and all cars were searched.

Members of the AWR were prevented from displaying rolled up swastika-style flags by a strong police presence and regular airport announcements saying "hammers and posters may not be unfurled in the airport according to government regulations".

Jackson neither confirmed nor denied he had supported an end to sanctions in conversations with the SA government, but said he did not want to conduct dialogue with government through the media.

"Apartheid is racial sanctions. For those who cannot vote it is political sanctions. The Group Areas Act is land sanctions. "End apartheid and sanctions will leave with them. Sanctions are a non-violent stimulus to negotiations and a viable alternative to bloodshed." Jackson said President F.W. de Klerk's speech to Parliament had given hope, but there was also caution because the structure of apartheid remained in place and Nelson Mandela remained in jail.

"Apartheid must be dismantled. It must be a place in the context of sharing power and no bloodshed. There is no security in a future with apartheid. We must encourage the president of this country to seize the moment and rise above uncertainty in the name of history."

Embassay

Jackson is here at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches, ANC and UDF leaders Walter and Albertina Sisulu, SACC secretary general the Rev. Frank Chikane and World Alliance of Reformed Churches leader Dr Allan Boesak.

He consulted US embassy officials yesterday afternoon before dining with the Sisulas. Tomorrow morning he will meet church leaders in Johannesburg.

He is expected to travel to Cape Town at the weekend to meet anti-apartheid leaders.
Power for the poor a ‘precondition’ for development

CAPE TOWN — Political empowerment of SA’s poor people was a necessary precondition for future social development and economic growth, Francis Wilson, UCT economics professor and member of the second Carnegie Inquiry into poverty, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Western Cape Regional Development Association (RDA) congress, Wilson said recent signals that SA was beginning to negotiate the inclusion of all its people in the political arena had enormous economic implications.

The aim of the two-day congress, which started yesterday, was to determine regional development strategies for achieving a level of annual economic growth in the western Cape which would at least prevent current unemployment figures rising further.

Cape Peninsula Regional Development Association chairman Clive Keegan said the congress hoped to have agreed on strategies by the end of today.

Wilson said regional development associations had a role to play in pushing for the abolition of the Group Areas Act and the 1913 Land Act and the granting of full democratic rights.

But, he warned that it would not be enough merely to remove the laws of apartheid because, like scaffolding that was taken away, they would leave structures behind them.

New institutions and structures would have to be developed to encourage economic growth in the political environment, he said.

He presented a model applied by the Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, city council. The council had decided after many years spent trying to solve the problems of unemployment and housing shortages by teaching its school-leavers superficial technical skills, to shift its focus to training job creators.

Apart from the technical skills, school-leavers were also taught to run financially viable co-operatives. The council set up a revolving loan fund allowing each person in a co-operative to borrow a maximum of R500 for tools. The co-ops were commissioned to build homes on land allocated by the councils, with building societies required to invest up to 25% of their funds in low cost housing projects.

Other obvious priorities on RDA’s lists were education and AIDS, Wilson said.
Mayor of Soweto praises De Klerk

Wilson Zwane

The unbanning of political organisations by President FW de Klerk last Friday was the first major step towards genuine negotiations about SA's new constitution, Soweto mayor Sam Mkhwanazi said yesterday.

"In a statement, Mkhwanazi said he and his council supported the move by De Klerk - particularly the release of political detainees," said Zwane.

"I commend the President for this bold step and I place on record our support for all those initiatives from beyond our country's borders designed to peacefully bring about a just, non-racial and democratic constitution for our country," said Mkhwanazi.

However, he said the question of what would happen to black organisations formed by the state during the apartheid era was problematic.

It was his belief that the legal authorities, although treated by the state, had a vital role to play in the short-term.
Nat love of freedom a recipe for conflict — says CP

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency
WHILE the National Party proclaimed its love of freedom on the third day of its parliamentary debate on President De Klerk's speech, the Conservative Party said it could not believe what was happening before its very eyes.

Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, said the steps Mr De Klerk had announced illustrated the National Party's love of freedom.

Features of the new South Africa would be freedom of speech with people's right to assert themselves politically.

PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS
The Supreme Court would be the bastion of the rule of law and at the same time law and order would be maintained.

The situation had changed because some of the organisations which had now been unbanned had started indicating a preference for peaceful solutions and history would show that Nelson Mandela had played a great and positive role in this.

The African National Congress should now spell out more clearly that it preferred a peaceful solution to a military one.

Referring to the release of political prisoners, Mr Coetsee said people who had merely belonged to banned organisations were welcome but, as the president had said, this decision did not mean that terrorism and violence would be condoned.

The freeing of political prisoners was something on which there could be further negotiations.

Mr Jan Hoon, MP for Kuruman and Cape leader of the Conservative Party, said Mr De Klerk's proposals were a recipe for conflict.

He accused the government of throwing overboard the assurances it had given to the whites as recently as the general election last year.

As an ex-Nationalist, he could not believe what was happening before his very eyes.

Everything that had been predicted as things that would happen under a Progressive Federal Party government were now beginning to happen under a Nationalist government.

The government was trying to make the political power of the white man irrelevant, but it would not succeed in making the CP irrelevant.

Mr Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, said the president had seized the initiative in respect of the movement towards talks and negotiations.

QUALITY AND VISION
The nature of South African politics would and could never be the same. The road ahead was still long and might be stormy, but South Africa was on it.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Bar - end du Plessis, said only a fool would try to set the country alight. The biggest challenge was to try to find a political solution.

A lot would depend on the quality of leadership and the attitudes and vision of the negotiators. The choices were between danger and disaster: one lay along a road which held certain dangers, but to maintain the status quo was a recipe for disaster.
We'll sacrifice all, warns CP

Minister justifies emergency

Vlok warns both Left and Right

Bittereinders' will have to be reckoned with - Hartzenberg
Govt 'must take initiative'

Although there were risks in trying to achieve government by consent in South Africa, there were greater risks in trying to maintain government by force, Mr Colin Eglinton (DP Sea Point) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the State President's opening address, Mr Eglinton said there was now the possibility that South Africans could talk to one another across the table "instead of glowing at one another across the ramparts of the laager".

The State President's speech was essentially about strategy and how to get the process of negotiation for a new constitution under way.

"While there are still certain issues arising out of the State President's statement that still have to be resolved — the release of Nelson Mandela and the lifting of the state of emergency — this is not the time for carving criticism or political grandstanding."

Mr Eglinton said the day of Mr Mandela's release could be declared to be a "day of national reconciliation".

The Government should not stand still on negotiations, but should take the initiative to get rid of apartheid once and for all.

SOCIALISM

Mr Eglinton said the State President should also take the initiative in negotiations on the economic system most suited to the needs of a new South Africa. "And certainly not wait for the advocates of socialism to do so."

Members of the Conservative Party were angry and frustrated at the realisation that history was passing them by.

The Democratic Party would press for the abolition of apartheid and would promote, among all sectors of the country, democracy based on the recognition of basic human rights.

Parties may have to dissolve — LP

Existing political parties may have to pay the price of disappearance as an investment in the future of South Africa and all its people, the chairman of the House of Representatives' Ministers' Council, the Rev Allan Hendriksz, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the State President's opening speech, he also called for the three Houses of Parliament to be scrapped as separate entities.

"Let us in future meet as one House.

He asked how a new South Africa could be born if the old one did not die.

He said the National Party might have to dissolve to form something new. — Sapa.
Negotiation is government's highest priority. It's aimed at a new system, giving all citizens equal rights in the constitutional, social and economic spheres.

To facilitate negotiation, government has:
- Unbanned the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the PAC; freed those jailed merely because their organisations were banned; scrapped nearly all the emergency media restrictions; lifted restrictions on 33 organisations, including the National Education Crisis Committee, the UDF, Cosatu and the Blanke Bewydingsbeweging; lifted restrictions on 374 former detainees; and limited detention without-trial to six months;
- Nelson Mandela will be released unconditionally; a date will be set soon;
- The State of Emergency is still justified because of the conflict in Natal and indications that radicals are trying to disrupt negotiation. But the emergency will be terminated as soon as possible;
- Government's aims in creating the climate for negotiation are: a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on private enterprise; programmes for better education, health and housing;
- The death penalty needs reforming. Government proposes to limit it to extreme cases only, broaden judicial discretion and allow automatic right of appeal. Meanwhile, there's a moratorium on executions;
- Existing socio-economic strategies are being reviewed. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act will be scrapped;
- There are new opportunities for southern Africa. Countries in the region must set aside conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme to attract foreign investment and loan capital;
- A new SA is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound, growing economy. Particular emphasis is on the creation of jobs;
- Government's point of departure is to reduce the public-sector role in the economy. Preference will be given to market forces and a sound competitive structure;
- Restricted capital expenditure in government corporations; privatisation and deregulation; and lower government spending have substantially reduced government's role in the economy. It will continue on this path;
- Special attention will be given to the supply side of the economy;
- Fundamental factors which will help restructuring are: gradually reducing inflation to that of SA's main trading partners; encouraging personal initiative and savings; subjecting all government economic decisions to stringent financial discipline; rapid reform of tax systems; and encouraging exports to boost industrialisation and foreign exchange earnings;
- Such adjustments, which will require sacrifices, are essential for sustained growth in the Nineties;
- Government has met most of its economic aims in the past year. The Budget will show that: government spending is under control; the normal financing programme has not exerted significant upward pressure on interest rates; and the year will close with a surplus, not counting the cash from Iscor; and
- In the new financial year government will co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy to achieve: a soft landing from the present downturn to cushion adjustments; economic consolidation before the next upward phase, so the economy can grow from a sound base. There will be structural adjustments for easing the tax burden, sustained generation of surpluses on the current account of the BoP and the reconstruction of gold and foreign exchange reserves.
De Klerk 'didnt go far enough'

WHILE the ANC has welcomed its unbanning, it has stated President FW de Klerk did not go far enough in meeting the demands of the Harare Document.

The Harare Document was drawn up after consultation with groups such as the UDF, the trade unions and the churches. The ANC was involved in the discussion. In the end a document was produced which was placed before, and passed by, the ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on August 21, 1989.

The main feature of the declaration revolved around the question of negotiations. It says the government should create a climate for negotiations by, "at the very least":

- Releasing all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally (De Klerk has promised to do this);
- Lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons. (There are conflicting reports, some saying the Internal Security Act consolidated list has been scrapped, others that the names of some ANC members have not been removed from the list);
- Removing all troops from the township. (De Klerk did not mention this in his speech last Friday);
- Ending the state of emergency and repealing all legislation, including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity. (This basic condition has also not been fulfilled).
- Ceasing all political trials and political executions. (This point is also not clarified through De Klerk's statement).

De Klerk in his speech to open parliament made much play of the fact that through his concessions, the armed struggle was no longer justified.

The Harare Declaration, however, states that only after these conditions to create a climate for conditions are met, discussions should take place between the ANC and Pretoria to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.
DE KLERK SPEECH

Fragile bubbles

The ripple effects of President FW de Klerk's historic speech to parliament on Friday are already being felt in certain sectors of the economy — including property.

His dramatic announcements, paving the way for negotiations with the now unbanned ANC, immediately injected vigour into the stock market as business confidence soared.

Property also reacts to rising confidence but most experts believe reaction to the news in this market will be delayed.

Allied MD Kevin de Villiers believes it could take 12-18 months for increases in property values above the rate of inflation to filter through.

Most commentators predict that, initially, there's likely to be a growing demand for offices and, further down the line, dwellings.

Eskol Jewitz maintains the impact on the housing market is already being felt but adds there's no guarantee the bubble won't burst because the newly created confidence hangs on two slender threads — political and economic.

"One can't divorce the political and economic situations and we still have a long economic path to tread. It could be five to 10 years before we get things right."

De Villiers cautions that high interest rates will continue to depress house prices in the short term. The exception will be homes in the R400 000-plus bracket.

However, he adds, the prospect of interest rates falling in the second half of the year are extremely good.

"When that happens properties below R400 000 will become more affordable and there will be no shortage of willing buyers. That will buoy up prices. One could see property prices rising by 2.5%-3% a month."

Not everyone is as enthusiastic about the impact of De Klerk's speech. Ampacs leasing director Graham Lindop cautions there is a long way to go before meaningful change.

"Until sanctions are lifted, and there is normalisation of international communications, there will be little change in the property market. The really big change must be in line with what is happening in south-east Asia and Australia. That means massive injections of foreign capital. Until that happens property values and prices won't rise dramatically."
Waiting for the response

The debate around nationalisation will be a key to the ANC's credibility.

Only a few months ago, the extent of any reforms announced by a new State President would have been judged by the depth of chagrin on the Right. However, after President F W de Klerk's profound and far-reaching statements on Friday, what Andries Treurnicht had to say in parliament this week appeared both predictable and irrelevant.

De Klerk has freed the National Party — if not the whole Afrikaner tribe — from the confines of its own ideology. He has not so much emancipated the unenfranchised blacks as prepared the way for his own people to use their considerable skills, talents and resources for the benefit of the whole region.

The response that matters, and is still substantially being awaited as the FM goes to press, is the considered view of the ANC and what it plans to do now. For it, too, if it chooses to be magnanimous, could be a useful tool of the greater freedoms now open to it: the whole southern African region on to a plateau of peaceful prosperity which would have seemed an impossible dream only a short time ago.

Southern Africa has abundant natural resources, the exploitation of which requires substantial technical skills and capital. SA has the industrial and financial infrastructure that could enhance this exploitation to the substantial benefits of people of all races and cultural backgrounds in the region.

There has been economic decay, partly as a result of Nat policies here and the collectivist ideals of the liberation governments to the north. But there has been nothing like the economic devastation that 70 years of communism has brought to Soviet Russia and, since World War 2, to eastern Europe. Simply put, a peaceful southern Africa — stripped of its political fantasies — could offer private foreign investors some opportunities far more lucrative and secure than much that might be found in eastern Europe.

Indeed, it might well be argued that while the ANC can be capable of disrupting and delaying this prosperity, it is unlikely to be able — even if it were so inclined — to thwart the process entirely.

For the ANC, slow and unimaginative as it has shown itself to be, is losing — and could lose faster — its credibility and support in the developed world. If it adheres to violence and scorns the opportunity to seek democratic justification openly and peacefully, it will nurture the seeds of its own destruction.

Its weapons supplies and tactical support systems are already in jeopardy as a result of the explosion of the Marxist myth of equality and plenitude through collectivism in eastern Europe and Russia. The Nordic countries, which have given support naively and unthinkingly, have some economic problems of their own to face and have already shown some impatience at African political intrusiveness.

But the country with the wild cards could be the US, for it is capable of turning the threat of removing sanctions into a powerful inducement to the ANC and other black bodies to negotiate seriously with Pretoria.

Conversely, the developed world has little else with which to balance SA, even if it wished to. The real sting to this economy

came from the 1985 capital freeze and subsequent disinvestment. That is not only incapable of repetition but the process is being reversed. Disinvestment is but a trickle and capital inflows, while still small, are gathering momentum.

Trade sanctions, as we have argued for some time, are no longer really an issue. They are unlikely to be tightened — especially after De Klerk's reforms — and the economy has shown itself to be remarkably resilient in finding new markets. Sanctions are an unnecessary impediment to growth but they are incapable of strangling it.

Nor are the developed countries, which control substantial aid flows, likely to be impressed by economic policies in Africa that have been shown to reduce self-sufficiency, encourage poverty and uphold dictators. They no longer regard the extent of their charity to the Third World as a measure of virtue. Those who have been instruments of their own impoverishment are not popular in the West.

The ANC has more than the eyes of an anxious SA whites on its policy utterances. It has the developed world as well as the eastern European, whose own experience belies the economic sense of much of what the ANC has been saying about a post-apartheid society.

Take, for instance, what Comrade Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general, has to say about nationalisation: "The nationalisation of key elements is necessary to get resources for the democratic government to carry out its programmes . . . (It) could not allow its plans to be thwarted by lack of resources."

The truth is that nationalisation deprives government of the resources it requires.

Nzo, who clearly has no grasp of elementary economics, has only to look at the shortages of food and other basic commodities and sad queues of disappointed customers in eastern Europe to see the manifest depriva
tion of nationalisation. As British Liberal Prime Minister W E Gladstone found by chance in the last century, rising government revenues come from lower taxes and excises that encourage private commercial and industrial endeavour.

Moreover, if the mines, banks and what the ANC calls monopoly industries here were nationalised, more than 60% of the companies quoted on the JSE would be owned by government, which would have to run them. If that were to happen, foreign investment capital and technical skills would simply not flow in our direction. The press would be effectively nationalised and the flow of commercial information frustrated and distorted.

Scarce economic resources would, in consequence, be wasted through misallocation by a pricing system that received the wrong signals. Price controls, hyperinflation and a concentration of wealth into fewer hands would be the inevitable outcome.

Economic history has shown repeatedly that a rising level of prosperity comes from governments that foster private initiative and aim for the fastest possible economic growth rate that is capable of being sustained. Those that sacrifice growth to income or asset distribution inevitably end up with a poorer populace, offering fewer jobs and declining real incomes.

No matter how sound these economic arguments, we suspect the ANC will require some form of heroic economic gesture from government and business before it leaves the negotiating table — regardless of what poli-
tial agreements may have been reached.

It is an unfortunate and hard fact of life — especially after the exclusion of blacks for so long from free enterprise here — that gestures such as these all have economic and social costs which could be quite severe in the short run. In the longer run they amount to very little for the recipients. Economically they do more harm than good.

For this reason the economic aspects of De Klerk’s speech are of substantial importance and require rapid implementation. Deregulation must be continued at a cracking pace so that blacks are able swiftly to benefit from their own informal commercial activities. State corporations need to be privatised, not only to provide tax revenues and once-off sale profits to government, but to foster a share-owning democracy.

Deregulation of the financial system is as important as that of the commercial system. For, among other benefits, it will provide further conduits for black savings to be channelled into the financing of black housing.

The shortcomings of the education and health systems, which have been created partly by apartheid and partly by a past tendency towards collectivist solutions, need to be addressed urgently. It is not logical that white schools and hospitals should be under-used while the equivalent black institutions are overcrowded and inadequate. They require bold and creative solutions, not just more money.

If De Klerk moves swiftly with reforms such as these, much of the economic sting will be drawn from the political and constitutional negotiations. For blacks will have a better perspective of the fruits and freedoms of free enterprise. The inevitable hollowness of the heroic redistribution of resources from whites to blacks will become more evident. The unrealistic economic expectations will be moderated.

What is becoming increasingly clear is that when negotiations over a new dispensation get under way, the ANC is going to have no monopoly on moral fervour and economic righteousness. It is going to have to negotiate from a standpoint weakened by the desire of both the West and Soviet Russia for a negotiated settlement; by harsh economic reality which it has been avoiding; and by increasing censure from abroad if violence and intimidation persist.

Moreover, the ANC will increasingly now come under the influence of a new and — for it — strange phenomenon: it will become the focus of newspaper analysis, comment and criticism. Nothing tests the devotion to democracy as much as that. It will give the West and the whites here something of the flavour of the ANC’s commitment to freedom of expression.

New-found freedoms, as well as the austerity and rising unemployment that curbing inflation is going to make inevitable, will give the ANC substantial opportunities to exploit violent protest in front of seductive world television cameras. It should weigh very carefully the likely judgment of its benefactors if it gives way to this temptation.

The need for violent protest has been removed. There can be no justification now for the disruption of university gatherings because radical black students cannot express their views.

If the ANC allows this sort of thing to continue, it will progressively alienate its support.

Last Friday, De Klerk not only gave greater freedom to the expression of black aspirations, and restored to his own party and people the freedom to confront, persuade and understand the political motives of black fellow-countrymen, he gave all community leaders the opportunity to seek responsible government and rising prosperity in a new and more equitable society.

It is not an inconsiderable challenge to which they must now respond.
FW's SPEECH  PIM 9/14/90  (304A)

Business reaction

The predictably optimistic business reaction to President FW de Klerk's speech on Friday has been tempered with more cautious views.

While the long-term outlook has improved markedly business leaders say stability, economic reform and real negotiations are pre-conditions for breaking out the champagne. "Business has a pivotal role in ensuring the president's initiatives are followed through to a successful conclusion," says Johannesburg Consolidated Industries CE Murray Hofmeyr.

He adds that future political and economic systems will be vital in influencing foreign investors to return. "SA business must continue to argue the case for moving away from the obsession among some white South Africans with groups and group rights. They must also insist with equal forcefulness on the need to ensure that the process of wealth distribution is achieved through sound economic measures and not on the basis of reward and punishment."

Ron Haywood, Deputy Director-General of the SA Chamber of Business, says the improved foreign climate could encourage overseas companies already invested in SA to proceed with expansion plans. But, while new investment will undoubtedly be a longer-term option, of more immediate concern is reopening export markets. "The door is now open for serious negotiations. The world will be watching and stability will be a major factor in investment decisions," he says. Haywood remains convinced economic mismanagement played a major role in the disinvestment of many US companies.

"We have been perceived as a risk area. In addition, the Sullivan Principles and US tax legislation made it too costly for many companies to stay in SA."

Wayne Mitchell, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce, maintains De Klerk's speech has created "an aura of optimism" among US businesses still in the country.

He speculates that President George Bush may now be in a position to lift some restrictions, such as the suspension of SA Airways' US landing rights and the double-taxation legislation.

New US investment would benefit blacks. Mitchell says that with about 160 US companies left in SA (141 have pulled out since 1986), the current value of American investment stands at about $1.6bn.

Since 1976, US companies have contributed about R700m to social responsibility programmes benefiting blacks. Last year the remaining US companies invested R83m — about 12% of their total payroll.

"Once all restrictions are lifted the debate can focus on reality, including the best use of SA's limited resources, and the ANC's views on nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth," says Anglo American executive Michael Spicer.

"We will have to look at the examples of eastern Europe and African economies to see which way SA should go. We must prevent the mirror image of the past 40 years of statism, to form part of a future SA, as this deleterious example has cost us dearly in lost economic opportunities."

Nonracial corridors

He is encouraged by the "pragmatism" of Sam Nujoma's Swapo government in Namibia, where ideological rhetoric has made way for a level-headed approach to economic issues. "The example of Botswana seems to carry more weight now than the disastrous one-party socialist experience of Zambia," Spicer says.

Mike Clark, CE of a soon-to-be-listed venture capital firm, New Company Investment, says SA's capital-rich financial institutions can help to "democratising" the often misunderstood free enterprise system by making more of their capital available to small entrepreneurs with lots of enthusiasm, bright ideas but no capital.

George Negota, acting president of the Black Management Forum, says the business world must "declare its corridors nonracial and ensure that blacks are also placed in decision-making positions." He calls for a united front of black business and political interests to meet the challenge set by De Klerk.

SA Chamber of Business president Leslie Boyd says that with eastern Europe now opening up to massive Western investment, care should be taken to ensure that the investment climate remains attractive and competitive. "This means that we need the right economic policies."

Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman says the business sector must continue with its effective, behind-the-scenes role of influencing opinion here and abroad. "There is still pressure for sanctions, which means there is still a lot of work to do."
Pitching new tents

Intense backroom discussions are going on among various MPs of the Democratic Party about its relationship with the ANC. A well-informed source tells the FM that some MPs have indicated that they are seriously considering joining the unbanned organisation.

The strategic planning committee of the party has apparently met to discuss the issue of DP-ANC cooperation. A meeting of the committee (chaired by Robin Carlisle, MP for Wynberg) took place two weeks before President F W de Klerk’s speech on Friday. Other MPs on the committee are Kobus Jordaan (Union), Tony Leon (Houghton) and Louis de Waal (North Rand).

A DP MP tells the FM the committee has been looking at the party’s role. “De Klerk’s announcement has strengthened our belief that a repositioning vis-à-vis the ANC is now imperative,” he adds.

It seems a group of MPs led by DP co-leader Wynand Malan, intends joining the ANC. Other names being mentioned — purely speculatively — by sources in the DP are Natal MPs Peter Gastrow, Pierre Cronje (both the left former PFP to join forces with Malan) and Jordaan, as well as De Waal and Jannie Memberg (Simon’s Town). In discussions with various MPs this week it became clear that the list could be much longer.

Decisions to join the ANC may be taken within a year or 18 months, according to one source.

MPs approached for comment say that policy gaps between the ANC and DP are not unbridgeable and consensus would be enhanced by the NP’s reluctance to abandon entirely its race-based group concept. They also feel that the DP has already crossed the psychological barrier of negotiating with the ANC because of its encounters with the organisation when it was banned.

These MPs believe the economic differences between the free marketeers in the DP and the ANC’s proponents of nationalisation could be resolved by co-operation in the pre-negotiation phase. “We would at least be in a better position than the NP to exert any influence on the ANC,” one believes.

On Tuesday, in his first speech in parliament in 10 years, Jordaan (a former Nat senator) briefly raised the issue. De Klerk, he said, had correctly indicated that an important change in emphasis, visible in statements and viewpoints by the ANC, had already taken place.

During our interaction with extra-parliamentary organisations, we have experienced that, despite differences in strategies, we are sharing more and more the same principles (beginselstandpunte),” Jordaan spoke glowingly of his former political boss, Chris Heunis, whom he served when Heunis was minister of constitutional development.

From Jordaan’s opening remarks in his speech it became clear that the meetings with the ANC had the blessing of Heunis. Referring to the unbanning of the ANC, Jordaan said: “I am convinced that this was also a day of great joy to my colleagues and minister at the Department of Constitutional Development. These are people with whom I share many ideals.”

In his speech, Wynand Malan said that he had always, in private conversations and in public, tried to put pressure on the NP and the ANC to start the political process. “The next step now is the contact,” he said. “I am an Afrikaner in the DP. I share my language and cultural interests with Afrikaners in the AWB, the CP, the NP and the ANC...”

The DP believes in free elections on one voter’s roll, said Malan. “We also accept that the majority of representatives in parliament and in government will be black. We believe that we will be part of the parliament and do not believe we will not be part of the government.”

It has been clear to political commentators that De Klerk’s announcement, while lauded by the DP, has placed the left-of-centre party in a position where it will have to prove its relevance to the voters.

Parliamentary leader Zach de Beer in his speech reacted with indignation to any suggestions that his party has become irrelevant.

“When you have fought through the years for your values and policies, and others are converted to (those values), how on earth does that make you irrelevant?”

However, a formal link with the ANC, which has yet to reject violence completely, and is still intent on nationalising mines and banks, is clearly a risk to take for a new party which made electoral gains through compromise.

Many of its supporters may not like the new link.

Struggle on

Will the United Democratic Front (UDF) disband and fall in with the ANC, now that it’s legal? After all, the UDF has always proclaimed allegiance to the Freedom Charter and hailed Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo as “our leaders.” It has maintained the distinction between it and the previously banned organisation — mainly to avoid prosecution.

UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia says: “The matter must obviously be discussed, but disbanding won’t be automatic.”

There seems no reason for disbanding UDF affiliates such as civic organisations, housing action committees and so on. But the issues were different when it comes to the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and its Natal counterpart.

Cachalia argues that UDF activity, since its formation in 1983, “resulted in a quantitative and qualitative leap forward in the struggle which brought government closer to unbanning the ANC.” The way in which the ANC, UDF and Cosatu operate at this stage, he added, is through “consultation on major issues... When the ANC is back, debate will centre on what role the party will play.” There is, however, “no question” of the UDF seeking a place for itself at the negotiating table, if and when it comes to that.

At an executive committee meeting on Monday night, the TIC resolved to continue until there was “clarity” on aspects of President De Klerk’s dramatic announcements on February 2.

For example, says TIC president Cassim Saloojee, there’s still the question of whether normal political functioning is possible while the emergency remains. This meant that the ANC was “quite rightly” being cautious about returning. According to Saloojee, one

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The De Klerk Breakthrough

The next step to freedom

The claims which the black majority will make upon the commanding heights of power in this country are exactly what they were 30 years ago — before the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the ANC and PAC. In this sense, F W de Klerk has merely restored the status quo ante — and there is a lot to be forgiven and forgotten. Perhaps, for some, too much.

But that de Klerk is a leader in a radically different mould to his predecessors is evident in the variety of responses his speech elicited: from anger and frustration on the Right, to a numb sense of having been outflanked on the Left.

It was Verwoerd who once said: "I do not have the nagging doubt of ever wondering whether, perhaps, I am wrong," and, in so saying, cast SA into the fatal experiment of apartheid. De Klerk gives no evidence of such messianism — he is in accord with the temper of the times.

He is the first Afrikaner leader since Smuts to address himself to the problems of the entire nation. And like Smuts — though in wholly contemporary terms — he is prepared to alienate elements of his own rank by carrying through essential reforms for the sake of a wider polity. Those elements will vilify him — but he is right.

With such momentous events under way, there is no point in dwelling on what might have been, on a wasted decade or the sorry history of the past 40 years. Everyone now has to adjust to what the expanding horizons of freedom mean, not least those who have been calling for just such steps as De Klerk took last Friday. Many expectations have been exceeded.

We can now think the previously unthinkable: of the ANC and the Communist Party free to organise and demonstrate support countrywide; of power-sharing to the highest levels of government; or even of the prospects of majority rule.

It is no coincidence that de Klerk felt himself free to normalise the political process at precisely the same moment that events in eastern Europe are underscoring the bankruptcy of collectivism; and that the independence process in Namibia has shown how old foes can turn swords into ploughshares.

The political claims of the black majority, therefore, could be met sooner than anyone thinks. This has passed into the realm of possibility with the stroke of a pen. Who doubts that now? One of the accused in the old Treason Trial asked: "What treason was there? Is it treason to ask that black and white should live together as brothers, countrymen, equals?"

Finally, unequivocally, government has accepted that.

The social claims, however, represent perhaps the real minefield ahead. For while the Group Areas Act and, further down the line, race classification are vulnerable to political bargaining or moral suasion, the great divide between black and white — the enormous disparities in wealth and the expectations these breed among the poor — is likely to endure beyond any political settlement.

This is where a claim on power becomes a claim upon the economy. And while the benefits of political freedom will have a direct bearing on the national ability to create wealth and attract fixed capital investment (see next page), there will be those for whom no amount of reallocation of scarce resources to education and social services will ever be enough. They will choose the State equity route, so to speak.

The chimera of wholesale redistribution — not just of taxes, but of land, property and enterprises — will be pursued by ideologues. That is their raison d'être.

The FM's position on this is well known — and we reiterated it last week in relation to Nelson Mandela's statement on nationalisation of the banks and mines. The expropriation of these sectors of the economy is mooted precisely to redress social inequality, to fund what would amount to social welfare programmes on a massive scale.

Faced with the clamour for material advancement which will persist for decades — and which will be blamed on the structural inequalities of apartheid — there will be many who argue for social tinkering and centralist planning, whatever the putative lessons of eastern Europe.

Barring the demonstration effect of market policies — which have hardly begun to take, thanks to those very structural inequalities of apartheid — the best way to address this misperception is for government to again act decisively in the political sphere. It would be disastrous if it made group rights, rather than individual ones, a chip on the negotiating table.

By paying proper constitutional attention to individual rights to life, the rule of law, property and the fruits of legitimate enterprise — and by doing so now — government, acting for the white minority, will circumvent the colossal dangers of achieving a short-term entrenchment of political privilege.

This after all was the route chosen by Ian Smith in Zimbabwe — specifically, a fixed representation in parliament — and now that expropriationist thought is again on the rise, the system has crystallised into what is in effect a dictatorship. There is little defence against that.

The Namibian experience again should have a strong bearing on our fortunes. If Dirk Mudge had held out for group rights, where would he be today?

The time to jettison the notion of group rights (as if people have ever needed group definitions to fit in) is now, while the nation as a whole is spiritually buoyed by the eagerness to change. For its part, the ANC should be aware that it must positively contribute to a subsidence of violence — making it easier for de Klerk's major emphasis on human rights to become common cause.

For the first time since the Nationalists took power, what we have in common is becoming the basis on which to construct a safer, even enviable, future.
REFORM AND THE ECONOMY

Waiting for the response

The debate around nationalisation will be a key to the ANC's credibility

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The response that matters, and is still substantially being awaited as the FM goes to press, is the considered view of the ANC and what it plans to do now. For it, too, if it chooses to be magnanimous, could by clever use of the greater freedoms now open to it lift the whole southern African region on to a plateau of peaceful prosperity which would have seemed an impossible dream only a short time ago.

Southern Africa has abundant natural resources, the exploitation of which requires technical skills and capital. SA has the industrial and financial infrastructure that could enhance this exploitation to the substantial benefit of people of all races and cultural backgrounds in the region.

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Indeed, it might well be argued that while the ANC may be capable of disrupting and delaying this prosperity, it is unlikely to be able - even if it were so inclined - to thwart the process entirely.

For the ANC, slow and unimaginative as it has shown itself to be, is losing - and could lose faster - its credibility and support in the developed world. If it adheres to violence and scorns the opportunity to seek democratic justification openly and peacefully, it will nurture the seeds of its own destruction.

Its weapons supplies and tactical support systems are already in jeopardy as a result of the explosion of the Marxist myth of equality and plenitude through collectivism in eastern Europe and Russia. The Nordic countries, which have given support naively and un- unstintingly, have some economic problems of their own to face and have already shown some impatience at African political intrusiveness.

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Trade sanctions, as we have argued for some time, are no longer really an issue. They are unlikely to be tightened - especially after De Klerk's reforms - and the economy has shown itself to be remarkably resilient in finding new markets. Sanctions are an unnecessary impediment to growth but they are incapable of strangling it.

Nor are the developed countries, which control substantial aid flows, likely to be impressed by economic policies in Africa that have been shown to reduce self-sufficiency, encourage poverty and uphold dictatorialships. They no longer regard the extent of their charity to the Third World as a measure of virtue. Those who have been instruments of their own impoverishment are not popular in the West.

The ANC has more than the eyes of anxious SA whites on its policy utterances. It has the developed world as well as the eastern European, whose own experience belies the economic sense of much of what the ANC has been saying about a post-apartheid society.

Take, for instance, what Comrade Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general, has to say about nationalisation: "The nationalisation of key elements is necessary to get resources for the democratic government to carry out its programmes... (ii) could not allow its plans to be thwarted by lack of resources." The truth is that nationalisation deprives government of the resources it requires.

Nzo, who clearly has no grasp of elementary economics, has only to look at the shortages of food and other basic commodities and sad queues of disappointed customers in eastern Europe to see the manifest deprivation of nationalisation. As British Liberal Prime Minister W E Gladstone found by chance in the last century, rising government revenues come from lower taxes and excises that encourage private commercial and industrial endeavour.

Moreover, if the mines, banks and what the ANC calls monopoly industries here were nationalised, more than 60% of the companies quoted on the JSE would be owned by government, which would have to pay for them. If that happened, foreign investment capital and technical skills would simply not flow in our direction. The press would be effectively nationalised and the flow of commercial information frustrated and distorted.

Searce economic resources would, in consequence, be wasted through misallocation by a pricing system that received the wrong signals. Price controls, hyperinflation and a concentration of wealth into fewer hands would be the inevitable outcome.

Economic history has shown repeatedly that a rising level of prosperity comes from governments that foster private initiative and aim for the fastest possible economic growth rate that is capable of being sustained. Those that sacrifice growth to income or asset distribution inevitably end up with a poorer populace, offering fewer jobs and declining real incomes.

No matter how sound these economic arguments, we suspect the ANC will require some form of heroic economic gesture from government and business before it leaves the negotiating table - regardless of what politi...
You should yourself, but...

Sir, you outdated.
Umlazi fight will spotlight white reaction

Political Staff

INTERNATIONAL attention is already focussing on the pending Umlazi by-election as it will be the first test of white political opinion after President De Klerk's unbanning of the African National Congress, Pan African Congress and the South African Communist Party to normalise South African politics.

The seat falls vacant on April 2, when Mr Con Botha MP becomes Administrator of Natal and it looks as if there will be a four-way fight to fill it.

The National Party has chosen attorney and President's Council member Mr Piet Malan as its candidate.

He has fired his first salvo by accusing the CP of "selling out the white man" because its policies offered only anarchy and chaos, while the NP offered a prosperous and secure future for everyone in the country.

COUNTRY-WIDE BATTLE

The Conservative Party definitely would field a candidate in Umlazi and was set to build its election battle into a country-wide fight to force the government to resign and call a general election.

Durban city councillor Mr Dave McNaught seems set to stand as an independent, campaigning on local issues.

The Democratic Party has four people from whom to choose and will announce its candidate by month end.

Political observers say the outcome could have a bearing on President De Klerk's plans to consult the electorate on a future constitution, forged at the negotiation table.

Mr Rennier Schoeman, chief director-designate of information for the NP, said: "The most persistent question from foreign journalists now is whether we are taking our voters with us. There is an historic responsibility on the voters of Umlazi."

Political prisoners: Call for clear policy

THE government had to state a clear policy regarding all political prisoners, said Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Abe Williams.

He said the danger existed that if only the leaders were released, they could be seen as "sell-outs".

The Labour Party also would ask the State President to send out a bigger message of reconciliation.

Negotiations should not be conducted in the dark and there should be more freedom for the Press, he said.

Mr Williams caused laughter when he said that if whites did not want the President, Mr De Klerk would feel very much at home in the Labour Party.

Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid, Mr Piet Marais, said that after last year's disappointing black matric results, it was time to reflect with honesty about what could be done.

Stability and prosperity could not be established if black education was not successful.

The whole system of black education had to be decentralised, Mr Marais said. — Sapa.
R26m 'went up in smoke'

CAPE TOWN — SA exported tobacco at a loss of R26.8m during the 1987/88 financial year, former auditor-general Joop de Loor reported yesterday.

This was disclosed in his report on the accounts of the Tobacco Board, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

De Loor also reported that the board paid R1, 1m as an ex gratia payment to tobacco producers in respect of 76% of the domestic value of unsellable, chlorine-contaminated tobacco from the 1987 crop.

"During the year financing amounted to R50 119 002 was granted to cooperatives in respect of tobacco that could not be absorbed by the local market immediately. "Payments of this amount of the stocks carried forward from previous seasons were sold abroad during the year at a loss. "At 31 March 1988 surplus stocks to the value of R4 115 252 were still on hand at co-operatives."

De Loor said the Agriculture Minister granted standing approval for the available funds of the board to be used for advancing "ba-tobacco co-operative" immediately on submission of invoices, the full local value of packed tobacco supplies intended for export. Advances amounting to R13.5m were made during the year, but these were repaid by March 31, 1988.

"Losses on tobacco sales abroad amounted to R25 765 119 during the year and were written off against the price stabilization account."

GERALD REILLY reports that figures released yesterday show that South Africans spent a huge R36.4bn on tobacco products last year.

Politics blurring gold's destiny

LONDON — Political uncertainties in the world's two largest gold producers will cloud investor sentiment for some time, say analysts.

"Gold may be a halfway house at the moment if you're not sure where to go," said Andrew Smith of UBS Phillips and Drew here.

The reformist package by President F W de Klerk and the Soviet Union's move to end monopoly communist rule have blurred perception of future price trends. Furthermore, traders remain concerned about gold loans and possible sales by central banks. SA mining houses believe sweeping concessions to blacks will significantly ease tensions in labor relations with black miners.

"We see de Klerk's speech as very positive. Hopefully there will now be a climate more conducive to normal industrial relations," said Gary Mauds, head of the gold and uranium division at Gemini (3,9%).

The speech raised hopes that dealings with trade unions will now focus more on workplace and wages issues rather than political matters, he added. 190517 11:17 D/05/17

Swiss analysts see reforms benefiting SA's economy by increasing the likelihood of foreign investment, although cheaper capital could lead to increased production and lower prices.

De Klerk's statement would give little short-term impulse, brokers Warburg Securities "said in a note. London review. But if nationalisation were adopted, the impact on gold could be disastrous, Warburg noted.

"It would lead to a rapid decline in gold output... and give an enormous boost to the price," Reuter.

Soweto council told to collect debt

PRETORIA — The Soweto City Council has been directed by the Provincial Administration to collect monies owing for services.

In October last year the council was handed over the conduits by the administrator for failing to "perform its duties." 10/14 7/21 170

In a joint statement, yesterday MEC in charge of local government Gwias van Zyl and Soweto mayor Sam Mkhwanazi said the council had been given statutory directives "requiring it to take specific action within a specific time."

It was pointed out the council's new tariffs, which come into operation on March 1, have been simplified and are substantially lower than cost.

The council has been told "to recoup the monies owing by taking into account their validity and affordability," and submit proposals to the minister for the period within 6 months.

It was stressed the new tariffs were temporary and the council had been instructed to review them, particularly the bulky services from Eskom and the Rand Water Board.
By GAVIN EVANS

TODAY’S opening of parliament marks one of the biggest challenges facing the Democratic Party since it was formed a year ago.

Caught in a time of negotiation, the DP is striving to assert itself as a major political force and forge a new role as an intermediary between the main protagonists.

DP leaders acknowledge that State President FW de Klerk has at least temporarily eroded some of their support by taking up causes once considered their own preserve.

The prospect of the African National Congress being unbanned within the next six months may remove some of the sting from the DP’s role as an opposition party.

In the five months since their impressive general election performance, the media hype surrounding De Klerk’s reforms and the ANC’s return to visibility has reduced the DP to a largely backstage role.

The current parliamentary session offers the possibility of a more vigorous presence, and the DP is determined to seize the advantage.

“The new parliamentary session will provide us with a fresh and important opportunity to make it clear to the public exactly where we are and to show the limitations in the government’s plans,” said the DP’s national chairman Tian van der Merwe.

The media tends to pay more attention to the debates in parliament than to our activities between sessions. I think we can now help make it clear that De Klerk has no clear intention to end apartheid,” the DP sees it as “vitally necessary to push the government to keep pace with the rising expectations which they have created and the media have praised.”

One of the party’s opening shots will be to challenge the government to launch a judicial commission of inquiry into the death squad allegations.

“Their failure to deal with this question reflects badly on their bona fides. Their current approach could well soil the negotiations process,” Van der Merwe said.

“Unless the government begins to take a lead in this process, it’s not impossible we could find ourselves in a situation where people are getting picked off in the course of the negotiations process.”

He said they would also be using the parliamentary forum to push the government towards the rapid removal of all apartheid measures and a more flexible approach to negotiations by exposing “their hidden preconditions.”

DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer said they would be pressing for urgent measures to deal with the crises in black education, Transvaal hospitals and the police force.

“We will also be giving considerable attention to economic issues. While business confidence is high at the moment, we still have a situation where GDP is growing by less than one percent but the population is growing by two and a half percent.

“The result is rising unemployment and a lower standard of living. What we will be arguing is that the remedy lies in the political sphere,” he said.

De Beer said he saw the current moves towards negotiations as a “fairly delicately balanced process”.

The Democratic Party will play whatever part we can to assist.

“What does appear to be emerging is some sort of intermediary role for us which will not be headline-making.”

Van der Merwe expects the DP to win back “much of the support lost to De Klerk, though maybe not all of it.”

He said he did not believe the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela would have a major effect on DP support.

“There is no reason to believe this will change things. For one thing, there is no immediate prospect of the ANC attracting major white support.”
FORWARD to DEMOCRACY

IDASA rejoices at the recent dramatic progress towards our goal of a non-racial democratic South Africa and salutes all who have struggled so hard and long to achieve it.

■ We look forward to welcoming home the exiles and to celebrating the release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, so that real democratic debate can begin to take place in our country. In particular, we look forward to seeing Nelson Mandela take his rightful place as a key figure in this process.

■ At the same time we note the shadow of grief cast by decades of unnecessary suffering and injustice, whose enormous cost should not be underestimated. We look forward to the public expression of remorse that would add moral depth to steps taken by the government, whose courage has been justly applauded.

■ IDASA recognises that there is still a long road to travel before peace and justice are established in our country, and we re-dedicate ourselves to the task of helping to build a truly democratic future.

(Issued by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa)
SHYMY JONSON REPORT

Government: This is a new government. It's a new one now. It's not my government, said the minister.
The Resolute soldiers lurking in the background

The Farmer Backlash is the Country's Greatest Danger

Now it's open
The restless

There are signs of growing turmoil in the security forces that could threaten government reforms. EDDIE KOCH reports

African

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VIVA the ANC!

Forward to democracy!

-Welcome home exiles-

The Peoples Computer Bureau.

- Matters of Fact -

IN the Weekly Mail of December 22, 1989, it was mistakenly reported that artist Sue Williamson had described Leon Louis's Let the People Govern as one of her best books of the year.

This was not the case. The statement was erroneously attributed to Ms Williamson.

The book by psychologist Lloyd Vogelman in last week's Weekly Mail was given the wrong title. The correct one is The Sexual Face of Violence: Rapes on Rape (Ravan Press).
CP walks out of Parliament

THE Conservative Party walked out of the Chamber of Parliament yesterday after the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, had ordered the CP MP for Overvaal, Mr Koos van der Merwe, to leave the Chamber.

--Mr van der Merwe had objected at being ordered to withdraw a remark that the State President had "daggie in his head" after an NP member had allegedly said this to the CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, while he was making a speech.

--As Mr van der Merwe left the Chamber, all CP members, with the exception of the leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the Chief Whip, Mr Frank le Roux, also walked out.

*It was the second time this session that Mr van der Merwe was ordered to leave the Chamber. 00/2
Mandela can sway S'A whites — Economist

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela may be the only man who can persuade South African whites to stake the way of courage and abandon apartheid, says the Economist.

And, judging by the speed with which he is moving, it could now be weeks rather than months before blacks and whites negotiate a new constitution, says the journal in its leading editorial this week.

"Only the assassin's bullet can rob (Mandela) of a starring role in his country's retreat from apartheid," the editorial says.

"The editorial says it is no surprise that Mr Mandela is a man of conscience and principle. The surprise is that he has emerged from jail as such a remarkably skilful politician." The real test, Mandela is a practical politician who intends to sit at the peace table in the name of the ANC and negotiate the end of apartheid with President de Klerk.

No precedent in history

The politician, the influential journal says, is likely to be a lot more useful than the symbol ever was.

With luck, says the editorial, SA is about to make a U-turn that has no precedent in history.

But it warns that while yesterday's Leninist rulers are being replaced by people who think differently but look the same, it is harder, in practice, to hand over to people of a different colour.

Mr Mandela's first job, says the Economist, is to make sure he is the movement's unchallenged leader and that means staying loyal to ANC policy.

Mr Mandela, it believes, will drop the armed struggle in exchange for an end to the state of emergency.

"At this rate, it may be weeks rather than months before blacks and whites sit down to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa."
Kriel in a pickle

Herman Kriel, Planning & Provincial Affairs Minister, epitomised the National Party (NP)'s dilemma when he faced newsmen at a briefing in Cape Town this week.

Grilled about the Group Areas Act, Kriel became embroiled in a tortured defence of "group rights" and "own community life" that seemed somewhat out of kilter with President de Klerk's vision. Kriel conceded in the end that the Act "is on the table" for negotiation. He could have saved time by acknowledging that the widely despised law will almost certainly be dumped in the near future. It has no role in the "new SA," and the Nats know it.

Acknowledging as much in public is the dilemma. Kriel and other senior Nats know that the Act will have to go — just as they knew some time ago that the ANC, the SAPC and the PAC would have to be unconditionally unbanned to facilitate negotiation.

But it's politically unwise to say so. This would upset many white voters who are still trying to come to terms with the shock of De Klerk's speech. Nat leaders also appear to believe that such a statement would pre-empt negotiations; it's another card to be played when the bargaining gets under way.

The NP still sees "group rights" as negotiating chips. They're not high cards, but the Nats seem determined to hang on to them for the time being. To his credit, perhaps, Walter Sisulu seems to be playing along. He has indicated that the Act can be a subject for negotiation and need not necessarily be scrapped before talks begin. He knows as well as the Nats that the Act won't last long when weighty constitutional matters are on the table.

In the meantime, Kriel has to administer the Act, along with similar discriminatory measures. He insists that the Act is not being enforced as "rigidly" as in the past and that his officials are helping people affected by the law to find alternative accommodation.

But in the next breath he concedes that scrapping the law would probably not lead to a "mass movement" of people into different residential areas. Then why not scrap it and let the market decide who lives where? Because it's a card to play at the right time. Kriel says "areas for minorities" may play a role in constitutional negotiations and scrapping the Act now will remove from the table the option to take action on the law at some later stage — though he adds that doing away with the Group Areas Act does not necessarily mean abandoning the concept of "group rights."
FW's speech recalls the granting of Union

By RAMSAY MILNE, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — By common consent from Lusaka to Stockholm, Boksburg to Bangkok, President de Klerk has placed South Africa's future squarely in the melting pot of history.

To anyone who knows anything at all about South Africa's tortured past, President de Klerk's speech last Friday has to be considered the most courageous act of statesmanship since a British government, in what is still regarded as one of the most generous political acts of this century, conferred independence — unity — on the as-yet informed Union of South Africa.

That concession gave Britain's defeated enemies — the Boers — a 50-50 stake in the future of a young and wonderfully rich and bountiful land.

There was no international compulsion. No sanctions. No rowdy priests.

No stick-wielding rightists.

Britain had won that war. What followed was a moral concession to time and circumstance.

Now South Africans — and the world — are witness to the phenomenon of a latter-day Afrikaner beneficiary of that great British benevolence writing a new chapter in history that is almost an exact replica of those times.

What President de Klerk is conferring on South Africa's blacks is what the government of Campbell-Bannerman at the turn of the century conferred on the defeated Boers: an equal share of a part of the continent on which they live.

What is different between then and now is that the victorious British government of those times was lucky enough to have in two defeated Boer generals, Jan Smuts and Louis Botha, true and faithful upholders of the concepts of detente and forgiveness — men ready to devote their lives to the notion of a new country based on a new unity between divided people.

Those of us a little older than most know what that was. It was Union — a union of people formed in the best and most responsible way by proven men of their times.

From the moment of his release, it seems certain that Mr Nelson Mandela will help to write a new chapter in South African history.

There may be only one real question that should bother President de Klerk in these pulsating moments of history: Is there a Smuts or a Botha, among the Nelson Mandelas, the Oliver Tamsos or Walter Sisulus of these times?
FW 'could save SA' — Jackson

JOHANNESBURG. — President FW de Klerk, by the sheer strength of his courage, could save South Africa, the Rev Jesse Jackson said after a day of meetings and visits in Johannesburg and Soweto.

Speaking after a visit to the Orlando Children's Home, the Dlamini squatter settlement and the Funda Education Centre in Soweto, Mr Jackson said: "Rarely has a man been as able to do as much as President De Klerk has done towards change."

He said Mr De Klerk's speech to Parliament on Friday — in which he unbanned the ANC, PAC, SACP and other organisations, lifted certain press curbs and spoke about the release of political prisoners — had gone a long way towards giving a new sense of purpose to life in South Africa.

Mr Jackson said he would like to see more whites with that same sense of purpose.

In speeches throughout the day Mr Jackson referred to a "new" South Africa which would be embraced by the world community.

"The world community awaits South Africa's participation."

"The world community is waiting for South Africa to become a free and fair democracy, where whites and blacks will be sharing respect and power."

The visiting US politician and former vice-presidential hopeful had a full day, starting with a prayer break-

fast with his hosts, the SA Council of Churches, which was also attended by members of the Council of Independent African Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference.

After breakfast Mr Jackson went into a closed-door meeting with SACC members before meeting a PAC representative, who pressed the American clergy to push for stiffer sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Jackson's party — which included his wife Jacky, his son Jesse and the Rev Beecher Hicks of Washington — then headed for Soweto, followed by a large contingent of both US and local security guards and local and foreign media crews.

At the Funda Education Centre, a privately-funded teachers' training institution, Mr Jackson was met by recently-released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, his wife Albertina and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Dr Ellen Khuzwayo.

He said he was looking forward to a free and democratic South Africa that will feed, clothe, and house its children.

"Here in Soweto you may be teaching a new South African president or a possible minister of justice. You are teaching the architects and builders of a new South Africa," he said to tumultuous applause.

Introducing Mr Jackson, Mr Sisulu told the crowd the ANC had made education a top priority for the year.

— Sapa
CP urged, not to play reckless games

The South African government has urged peace activists to play a responsible role in the ongoing conflict. The government has noted that recent acts of violence have only served to exacerbate the situation and have called on all parties to engage in meaningful dialogue.

"We urge all parties to engage in meaningful dialogue and to play a responsible role in the ongoing conflict," said the government. "Violence only serves to exacerbate the situation and will not bring about a lasting solution."
Angry CP walks out of Parliament

CAPE TOWN — The CP walked out of the Chamber of Parliament yesterday after the Speaker, Louis le Grange, had ordered CP Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe to leave the Chamber.

Van der Merwe had objected to being ordered to withdraw a remark that the President had “dugga in his head”, after an NP member had allegedly made the same remark to the CP’s deputy leader, Ferdi Hartzenberg, while he was speaking in the debate on the President’s vote.

All CP members, with the exception of leader Andries Treurnicht and Chief Whip Frank le Roux walked out, with Van der Merwe. 12/12/90

Hartzenberg said earlier that the Afrikaner nation would not allow itself to be led to the abattoir by government.

He said the CP would mobilise the majority of whites for their fatherland.

The nation (volk) will make itself free in its own country, the country to which it has title.

“The march of freedom begins next week on Thursday in Church Square in Pretoria, and it will get slowly and steadily under way.” — ZOLU

The hour of the CP had come because all that stood between the whites of SA and an ANC government was the CP.

“This is what the CP was born for — to take this standpoint and to prevent it.”

Government no longer cared for its people nor knew what went on in their hearts.

“It no longer realises that in the past the Afrikaner nation sacrificed literally everything on the altar for its freedom and its fatherland — and that it will do so again.”

Referring to the Anglo-Boer wars at the beginning of the century and the spirit of Paardekraal, Hartzenberg said a foreign government had never been acceptable to the Afrikaner.

“The fact is, it was not with the joiners and the hewers of wood and the drawers of water that peace was concluded then. It was with the bittersenders.

“And it’s with the bittersenders that you will have to reckon if you want to give away the freedom of the Afrikaner. This nation will not be led to the abattoir.” — Sapa.
Eglin proposes SA reconciliation day

The government should declare the day of Nelson Mandela's release a "day of national reconciliation", Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) proposed yesterday.

The release of Mandela could include an act of reconciliation involving the President and the ANC leader, he told Parliament during the debate on the President's speech. The government should bear in mind that reconciliation was as much an emotional as an intellectual exercise.

Eglin said De Klerk should also have regard to the "strong emotional attachment" that black South Africans have for the prayer and anthem, Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika, and "there should be sympathetic understanding of the constitutional thrust of the Freedom Charter".

Eglin said the President should take the initiative in negotiations on the economic system most suited to SA's needs.
The winds of rhetoric blow long and hard.

The article discusses the American media's portrayal of South Africa as a "land of freedom" and examines the reactions of South African leaders to this imagery. It highlights the contrast between the American media's narrative and the realities faced by South Africans, particularly those involved in the anti-apartheid movement.

Key points:
- The American media's portrayal of South Africa as a "land of freedom".
- The reactions of South African leaders to this imagery.
- The contrast between the American media's narrative and the realities faced by South Africans.
- The role of the American government in supporting South Africa's anti-apartheid movement.
- The impact of sanctions on South Africa's economy and society.

The article raises questions about the accuracy and fairness of the American media's coverage of South Africa and the implications of this coverage for the country's future.
in London

THATCHER REVEALS IN HER ROLE

as F.W.'s most willing suitor

WEA's MRI, Repton to be opened 15 January 1966
Politics blurring gold’s destiny

LONDON — Political uncertainties in the world’s two largest gold producers will cloud investor sentiment for some time, say analysts.

“Gold may be a halfway house at the moment if you’re not sure where to go,” said Andrew Smith of UBS Phillips and Drew here.

The reformist package by President F W de Klerk and the Soviet Union’s move to end monopoly communist rule have blurred perception of future price trends. Furthermore, traders remain concerned about gold loans and possible sales by central banks. SA mining houses believe sweeping concessions to blacks will significantly ease tensions in labour relations with black miners.

“We see De Klerk’s speech as very positive. Hopefully there will now be a climate more conducive to normal industrial relations,” said Gary Maude, head of the gold and uranium division at Gemin.

The speech had raised hopes that dealings with trade unions will now focus more on workplace and wage issues rather than political matters, he added.

Swiss analysts see reforms benefiting SA’s economy by increasing the likelihood of foreign investment, although cheaper capital could lead to increased production and lower prices.

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If “would lead to a rapid decline in gold output… and give an enormous boost to the price”. — Reuters.
Apartheid is not dead, we've only issue

PATRICK LAURENCE

IT TOOK the silver-haired guru of the Cabinet, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to spell out the full implications of President de Klerk's momentous February 2 speech.

Responding to an invitation at a press briefing to look ahead to the end of the century, he said: "In 10 years' time, we won't have a single party of apartheid but some kind of coalition.

Then came the startling admission: "The National Party is not likely to be in control, although I wouldn't rule out a very meaningful future role for it in a future dispensation." These deductions were, of course, implicit in Mr de Klerk's watershed speech; after more than 40 years of NP rule, however, it was hard to envisage the party relinquishing power.

But Dr Viljoen, a former chairman of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond and perhaps the most influential man in the Cabinet after Mr de Klerk, boldly and publicly drew the above conclusions from Mr de Klerk's speech.

Earlier Foreign Minister Pik Botha was asked whether a black man could be elected president under NP policy.

Four years ago, he replied affirmatively to the same question. But now, he narrowly changed his mind and publicly said that he would not be running for himself and not for the Government.

He chose his words carefully this round, even in the inquiring atmosphere of Mr de Klerk's new South Africa; there was, however, no mistaking their drift. They endorsed Dr Viljoen's remarks.

Talking of the pending negotiations for a new constitution, Dr Viljoen pointed to some "crux" cases, as he put it.

For a start, opposition organisations, as those movements which had escaped recognition during South Africa's "dark ages," will have to have majority support of all South Africans. Black matter will be included and government by majority as long as it enjoys majority support and all the people identify with it.

"Dr Viljoen's and Mr Botha's words signalled that the NP was taking the penultimate step in its long retreat from the doctrine of apartheid, which won it a mandate in the general election of 1948."

The final step would have to be a giant one; it would have to include the surrender by the NP of its monopoly of power to a government chosen by the majority of the people and the scrapping of last remaining legislative pillars of apartheid.

The unbanning of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, and the undertaking to free Mr Nelson Mandela "soon" and unconditionally, were in part NP withdrawal from its own doctrinal past.

These organisations were outlawed and Mr Mandela jailed in defence of apartheid, in the sense of a bid to establish white hegemony in all of South Africa.

The retreat from apartheid or what the NP prefers to call "reform" began a long time ago. One important sign in this process was the election of Mr B.J. Vorster as Prime Minister after the assassination of Sept. 1966 of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the "High priest" of apartheid.

Mr de Klerk's speech cleared the path to do four important steps on the way.

First: Disavowal of the belief that coloured and Indian people could be accommodated in separate political institutions, consequently, inclusion of them from 1994 in the tri-racial Parliament.

Second: Repeal of the "Nuremberg" laws, prohibiting inter-racial political association, inter-racial sex and inter-racial marriage.

Third: Scrapping the pass laws, which now control the movement of Blacks from cradle to grave, and more specifically, to corral them in their designated "homelands".

Fourth: Abandonment of the objective of depriving black people of their South African citizenship and bestowing on them, however, in the eyes of the constitution, "homeland." Once its leaders were coerced or coerced into accepting "independence."

But for apartheid to be eliminated completely, the remaining apartheid laws have to be abolished: the Separate Amenities Act, the Land Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, and the matrix of laws providing for compulsory segregation of schools.

Mr de Klerk gave an explicit commitment in his February 2 speech that the Separate Amenities Act, which specifically empowers local authorities to provide separate and unequal public facilities for the different races, would be repealed during the present parliamentary session, the Land Act, which excludes the urban townships, restrictions black ownership to bare more than 10 percent of South Africa — being scrutinised by a Cabinet committee, Mr Herman Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, told journalists at briefing after Mr de Klerk's speech last week.

Mr Kriel, who weighed his words carefully, did not commit himself to abolition of the Land Act. But, Saturday Star learnt reliably, the Land Act is destined for the historical dustbin.

Together with the Land Act, the time targeted by leftists as a prime centricity in black thinking was — summed up in "the Congress Lebih" — is lost.

Mr Kriel offered immediate rejection of the Act and "scrapping the Act at this stage," he added.

The Act, which would put an end to the matter it was put in the.
At dead, we've only issued the death warrant

STADIG OOR DIE KLUPPE: Drawing conclusions this week from the State President's watershed speech, Dr Gerrit Viljoen — the most influential man in the Cabinet after Mr de Klerk — spells out the possible future, after apartheid is dead and buried.

The Land Act — which, excluding the urban townships, restricts black ownership to barely more than 10 percent of South Africa — is being scrutinised by a Cabinet committee, Mr Hermann Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, told journalists at briefing after Mr de Klerk's speech last week.

Mr Kriel, who weighed his words carefully, did not commit himself to abolition of the Land Act. But, Saturday Star learnt reliably, the Land Act is dead for the historical dustbin.

Together with the pass laws, the Land Act was for a long time targeted by black nationalists as a prime grievance; its centrality in black political thinking was — and still is — summed up in the Pan African Congress slogan "Iawe Lebu" — the land is ours.

Mr Kriel offered little hope of immediate repeal of the Group Areas Act. "We do not intend scrapping the Group Areas Act at this stage," he said.

The Act would, however, be put on the agenda at the negotiating table, where its abrogation or modification could be discussed, he added.

In the interim his department would push ahead with plans to introduce "free settlement areas" for people who preferred racially open or mixed areas to segregated "own" areas.

Dr Viljoen expressed essentially the same view. He declared the Group Areas Act would remain on the statute book.

He said, unless a "alternative arrangement to protect community life" had been negotiated.

The Population Registration Act was passed in 1959 as the legislative foundation for the apartheid system. It was — and still is — the bedrock on which apartheid rests.

Its primary purpose was to classify all South Africans by race so that they could be treated differently according to their position in the racial hierarchy. Whites occupied the top tier, blacks the bottom rung, and coloureds and Indians the intermediate echelons.

At the same time the Act tried to prevent upward movement from lower to higher places in the hierarchy by "borderline" controls.

The Act, Dr Viljoen argued, was integral to the present tri-racial constitutional system. Its racially segregated chambers for whites, coloureds and Indians. Its life was, therefore, tied to that of the constitution.

"It is accepted that the Population Registration Act will have to lapse together with the present constitution," Dr Viljoen averred.

"The prescriptive and racially defined descriptions of groups in the Act are not acceptable and, therefore, it has to lapse."

His view was later endorsed by the Reverend Allan Hendricks, leader of the majority Labour Party in the coloured House of Representatives. He called for the immediate unification of the racially segregated chambers into a single house and the abrogation of race classification.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and Training, closed away from the notion of racially integrated schools. He argued that, until the gap between white and black education was closed, the present system was in the interests of everybody.

Noting that the amount spent on a white child was fivefold that spent on a black child, he said: "One acts with the result of the differential between white education and black education."

"If one were to immediately throw the systems open and integrated, it would create tremendous chaos in the total education system."

He hoped, however, that cuts in defence expenditure and an easing of sanctions would enable more money to be spent on education and thus bring parity closer.

By his logic, the ending of segregated schooling would be virtual.

One huge apartheid edifice remained virtually unscathed: the quarter of nominally independent black states, Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatwana and Venda, "the illegitimate property of apartheid" as they have been called.

Mr de Klerk, however, accepted that these four quasi states — which were excised from South Africa during the five years between 1976 and 1981 — might be left to South Africa. It was, he said, "one of many possibilities".

He referred to a possible "larger indaba" between South Africa and its misguided offshoots to determine the consti
tutional status of a truncated South Africa that Bophuthatwana, Ciskei, and Venda — had been finalised.

These parish states were established after the outlawing of the ANC and the PAC in April 1960.

Their legitimacy was therefore challenged right from the word go as apartheid policies which were imposed on blacks without their consent.

By unfettering the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr de Klerk opened the way for an intensification of the struggle to liberate these captive states and consign them to the dustbin of history, alongside the notorious German puppet state of Manchuria.

Mr de Klerk, in summary, signed the death warrant of apartheid, its death, however, might still be some time off.

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The men he betrayed

Williamson writes to Olive Branch to ANC

FORMER SUPREME'S
Superbys

News
NEGOTIATION:

WHO, WHAT, HOW?

30/01

BY MARCUS WICHERS

3/1/2019

0/0/2019

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IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Professor of Constitutional Law
Sentimental installation of the political anti-strike or corporate bodies, as the national patriotism and passion in the name of a corporation or body politic that the national patriotism and passion in the name of a corporation or body politic. The path of the national patriotism and passion in the name of a corporation or body politic. However, it is more probable that the national patriotism and passion will be the key to the success of the national patriotism and passion in the name of a corporation or body politic. Of course, the most crucial aspect of the national patriotism and passion in the name of a corporation or body politic. It will happen, depending on the context.

In the context of the political anti-strike, there is no guarantee of a just outcome. The national patriotism and passion in the name of a corporation or body politic will not guarantee a just outcome. However, the national patriotism and passion in the name of a corporation or body politic will have a significant influence on the outcome.

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If you wish to learn more about the national patriotism and passion in the name of a corporation or body politic, you can contact the author or visit their website.
FW: White power
a recipe for chaos

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

KEEPING power in the hands of a minority was "a sure recipe for revolution", President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

In a wide-ranging attack on the Conservative Party during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly, Mr De Klerk said the CP's bid to keep power solely in white hands would evoke fierce resistance.

Speaking in his capacity of NP leader rather than that of State President, Mr De Klerk said efforts over the past 40 years to find an own fatherland for the Afrikaner had not succeeded.

Mr De Klerk said that after five, 10 or 20 years the NP would still "be there" to effectively look after its supporters' interests. "We will be there playing a decisive role in good and fair government."

The CP's threats to organise strikes and boycotts showed that the party was aligning itself with the methods of the radicals.

"Our 40 years of striving to create a fatherland for whites did not succeed and we decided to change direction, to accept the realities facing us."

The CP was aligning itself with "racist aggression" and if the party came to power it would plunge the country into a "destructive race war".

The NP would not allow anyone or any party to "set the country alight".

Mr De Klerk said that previous methods of fighting communism and the politics of violence had begun to be counter-productive.

"The continuing prohibition on organisations had the effect of drawing attention away from their faults and their indefensible policies. At the same time it was a stumbling block on the path of the politics of negotiation."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said Mr De Klerk's speech to the opening of Parliament had reduced the ANC to "just another political party".

During the past two weeks it had become clear that the ANC did not have a military option any more.

Mr Coetsee said the ANC was now "embarrassed and confused" while the State President was leading them to the negotiating table.

Introducing a motion of no confidence in the cabinet, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said it appeared that the CP's supporters were now regarded not only as the political opponents of the NP but as enemies against whom the police and SADF should act.

Deputy Defence Minister Mr Wynand Breytenbach said yesterday that it was totally untrue that commandos in the Western Cape had been told to regard the Conservative Party and not the ANC as their foe.
Press aborted FW Mandela meeting?

Mr Daniels told a Cape Town newspaper after the visit that Mr Mandela had confirmed that the meeting with Mr de Klerk was due to take place last Thursday. He said Mr Mandela was fetched at Victor Verster at 4.30am, but that when the party reached Tuynhuys "they saw so many reporters waiting outside that the car drove off". A statement issued last Thursday by the State President’s office did not confirm or deny that the Tuynhuys meeting had been planned, but said that it had not taken place.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE scheduled meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela last Thursday was apparently aborted because journalists got wind of plans for the secret meeting.

The meeting was arranged to try to iron out problems about the ANC leader’s release and discuss Mr de Klerk’s opening-of-Parliament speech.

However, the meeting was apparently aborted when Mr Mandela and his party spotted a large contingent of journalists staking out Tuynhuys early on Thursday morning. Mr Mandela later met the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, at another venue.

The text of Mr de Klerk’s speech was apparently finalised after the meeting and senior cabinet ministers received the final draft only in the early hours of Friday morning. The latest disclosures follow the visit by Mr Eddie Daniels, a friend of Mr Mandela, who visited the ANC leader for three hours at Victor Verster Prison earlier this week.

Mr Daniels told a Cape Town newspaper after the visit that Mr Mandela had confirmed that the meeting with Mr de Klerk was due to take place last Thursday. He said Mr Mandela was fetched at Victor Verster at 4.30am, but that when the party reached Tuynhuys “they saw so many reporters waiting outside that the car drove off”. A statement issued last Thursday by the State President’s office did not confirm or deny that the Tuynhuys meeting had been planned, but said that it had not taken place.
THE END of white civilization as we know it is at hand. No matter that it was never very white nor ever very civilised (or that the awful, patronising phrase was largely used in self-mockery) — the truth is that President De Klerk has not only changed the rules of the game: he has changed the game itself.

It was difficult to find "The New South Africa" as one moved about the precincts of Parliament this week. The President has launched a new brand-name, but the product itself has yet to be displayed on the shelves of the political marketplace.

Nevertheless, politicians have taken aboard enough of the meaning of that speech to realise that public affairs — and their lives — have been changed irreversibly.

Government members have vaulted into the new politics with astonishing ease. Visibly relieved at shedding the burden of defending positions which had been the most divisive among them in their hearts to be wholly untenable, the new and unfamiliar language of negotiation and democracy falls from their lips with astounding fluency.

Just as, in Mikhail Gorbachev's Moscow last year, I found it difficult to meet a true believer in communism, so in F W de Klerk's Cape Town this week one had to search very hard to find a true advocate of yesterday's apartheid.

For such recidivism one needed to approach members of the Conservative Party. It was for this moment that they had been circling their aim all these years, the day when parochial Nationalists would lead the Afrikaner nation to the abyss in the faraway metaphor of Dr De Kierkegaard.

Backlash

They'll Huff and they'll Puff.

The moment the tigress Dr Theresa Klein has been awaited and they may even march a little, but somehow one feels a CP-led backlash is unlikely to interfere terminally with the historic process that is only just getting under way.

Among Democrats there are mixed signals on the ground, the sense of satisfaction that comes from vindication for what they have stood for all these long years, on the other, apprehension about finding a place for themselves on the train that is about to leave the station.

How to position themselves in the months ahead remains a problem for individual members, for the DP, and for the NNP, and it can't help feeling that the gifts and experiences which some of them have in the conciliation business could be useful in the months ahead.

MPs in the House of Representatives and Delegates have the most uncertain of futures. As the newest members of the new democracy in which the tripartite Parliament has become, they will probably have to choose sides as best they can as the line-up for negotiations slowly takes shape.

What then, is one to make of events so far?

It is a big penny and it's going to take time to drop. Politicians will not be alone in struggling to get their minds around the idea that political discourse can no longer focus on the exclusive interests of the chosen few.

Henceforth we will all have to talk in terms of South Africa's whole population of 30 million.

The problem is no less pressing for the ANC, whose periphrastic leaders have so far been unable to assemble in one place long enough to formulate a coherent response to the De Klerk initiative, which took them completely by surprise.

Early responses from that quarter suggest that they, too, will take time to adapt to the new dispensation, which the moment requires and that they will have no less difficulty than Nationalists in de-mystifying their adversaries.

So far, a few threads in the arguments ahead are already beginning to emerge:

- One of the most important concerns the ANC and explains its somewhat confused response.

Accustomed, for decades, to being the aggrieved party in a patently unjust system, it has never really been required to compose an agenda for the governance of South Africa.

Now, with the playing field levelled by Mr De Klerk, it will be expected to produce something more than an agenda for protest. Its leaders, as well as the manner in which it is presented, will be closely scrutinised by the international community — a community (including the US) whose support it can no longer take for granted.

All the parties in the South African dispute will henceforth be judged on their merits and, at this early stage, Mr De Klerk has taken the high ground by presenting himself as the reasonable party willing to entertain all proposals at the negotiating table.

In terms of risk-taking, Mr De Klerk has so far shown the least that he is being slender.

LOSE CENTIME SLENDER

WE GUARANTEE REDUCED
EWSPEAK NATS

NOT THE DIFFERENCE: BOERS AND BOLSHEVIKS (from this week's cover of The Spectator)

Nikamu's Swapo in Namibia or Robert Mugabe's Zanu in Zimbabwe, the ANC does not take
time to rise to the role of an international communist movement. The ANC has fought
for its beliefs.
The ostensibly legitimated ANC
will have to spend a long time in
mainstream politics, its every
deal and argument publicly ob-
served and weighed for states-
manship both at home and
abroad according to its merits.
Time will tell whether the ANC
has the ability to adapt to this
new role.

Similarly, questions abound con-
cerning the NP. What is its
full-back position if the present
initiative fails? If the ANC
remains uncompromising, will
it press ahead regardless of
fastening some kind of "allian-
ce of moderates"? If it does,
could real peace ever be
attained?

HEADY

Or, failing the attainment of
an inclusive democracy, are
there plans to address the only
other logical alternative, genu-
ine, equitable, physical par-
tition?

These are early days and
there is really only one thing
one can predict with any certainty.
It is that the mating dance is
likely to last a long time.

It will also be a grave mistake
to assume that the transition to
a new South Africa will be pain-
less. It may even be that the two
main sides are not yet suffi-
ciently scared of each other.

Another punch-up or two may
be necessary before "bottom
lines" are reduced in realistic
terms and the point is finally
driven home that only an ap-
ocalypse awaits us all if there
is real conflict.

For the moment, however, let
us savour this heady moment.
After all, hope is not nothing.
We South Africans have had
plenty of and this is a time for
optimism. I fervently believe
they will yet prevail.

LOSE CENTIMETRES WITH
SLENDER LINE

WE GUARANTEE REDUCED MEASUREMENTS
New light on Stanza's mystery might

By Sport Team

A View
Pretoria
on
Rampage

By E.J. W. explosion

INTERIM

2/34

NEWTON

20

FROM 1/2/1970

FREE TODAY

ANDREA GOES
BY ZB MOLEFE and LEN KALANE

NELSON Mandela, South Africa's world-famous political prisoner, will be freed today, State President FW De Klerk announced yesterday.

A stunned South Africa heard De Klerk announce the release of the man who is often seen as the country's last hope to its road to democracy.

Joining South Africans when the news were broken yesterday were some of the world's biggest television and radio networks, who have been in the country since last week for "the story of the decade."

De Klerk's announcement was made at a snap Press conference called in the HF Verwoerd building next to Parliament.

De Klerk said he had discussions with Mandela on Friday night and as during discussions with him last year he had come to the conclusion that Mandela was committed to a peaceful future and peaceful process.

"Tomorrow will bring us to the end of a long chapter," De Klerk said.

He said Mandela's release was ensured when he had stated his commitment to finding peaceful solutions. He expressed the wish that Mandela's release would be at a dignified manner.

Facing a battery of reporters, photographers and TV cameras, De Klerk started reading off a manuscript. He said he would not be present at the release at Victor Verster Prison today.

Government officials were working out details of Mandela's release with interested parties at the time of the Press conference. One is Adv Dhulile Mncwango, a close friend of Mandela and his legal advisor.

Asked about Mandela's safety, De Klerk said that he would return to his own circle of friends and he was certain they would see to it, just as they had done in the case of Walter Sisulu.

He declined to comment on blacks being given the vote in a one man-one vote political system. More details would be discussed at Press conference to be held sometime next week.

The scene that could be re-enacted today when ANC leader Nelson Mandela is freed from prison after 30 years.

National Reception Committee member Zb Molefe expressed his "absolute pleasure" at De Klerk's announcement.

Reports yesterday said Winnie Mandela, who had obviously heard the press, remained behind closed doors in her Orlando West home in Soweto where a mass media contingent had gathered outside in the street, including TV teams with their own satellite dishes for immediate transmission to the rest of the world.

Sources said Mandela's release had been timed to coincide with the European Economic Community meeting next week.

"What better way of influencing the meeting to lift economic sanctions than presenting a Free Mandela? It almost worked with the Commonwealth Conference when Sisulu and others were released," said one.

Black activists have begun arrangements for a Mass rally to be addressed by Mandela, who was jailed 27 years ago for plotting to topple white rule.

ANC flags have been hoisted on his Soweto home.

"Welcome Home Our Leader Nelson Mandela."

T-shirts and sweaters are already on sale in the townships.

Foreign television networks have organised contingency plans. One of the largest US networks has sent more than 130 staffs to South Africa.

Some networks have reserved chartered jets. Satellite dishes have been erected outside Mandela's Soweto home. One network has booked an entire Cape Town hotel for its production, technical and editorial staff.

Another, some reports say, approached the Mandela family, offering millions of dollars for sole rights to his story. The family rebuffed the approach and the National Reception Committee, formed to coordinate the affair on released prisoners, said it was opposed to money-making making money out of Mandela.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen said earlier in the week the government was worried about Mandela's safety from both the right wing and as people from within his organisation who, he claims, may want to kill him.

Referring to Minister Adrian Vlok told a Bureau for Information Press briefing this week the personal safety of Mandela was a serious consideration which had to be taken into account with his release.

Blind singer fights for hit-song rights

POP STAR Stevie Wonder, on trial for copyright infringement, said this week the idea for his Oscar-winning song "Just Called To Say I Love You" came as he was going home from a visit to his mother in Los Angeles in 1976.

Wonder, blind since birth, testified at the start of the Los Angeles copyright infringement trial stemming from a claim by songwriter Lloyd Chiat who he and a collaborator, Lee Garrett, wrote the song in September 1976.

Chiat has alleged that Wonder sold the song to his own for the 1984 film "The Woman in Red" for which it won a Hollywood Oscar for best original song.

Wonder, said he created enough of a working idea for a song and a chorus to make a recording in 1976.

Wonder said various changes followed through the years. "I never felt it was complete until I recorded it in 1984," Wonder said.

Bodell said in his opening statement that Chiat and Garrett, a friend of Wonder since both were teenagers, wrote the song and that Garrett played it for Wonder in 1976.

Stevie Wonder appears in court for a song.
Maggie’s gung-ho on new SA, but confused by Reds

By Noel Malcolm, writing in the Spectator, analyses the Prime Minister’s responses to events in South Africa and the Soviet Union

Every detail seems to conspire to remind us of these Angela Merkel’s green and yellow newspaper. Printed in the same photograph last weekend of the ANC supporter perched on the head of a giant statue of Josip Broz Tito, was a picture of the now defunct South African government’s billboard campaign urging voters to vote for change and democracy. The billboard shows a happy family of children, parents, and a worker, all smiling and holding hands. The text reads, “Together we can build a better South Africa.”

Germany will not become bellicose just because she is united: you might as well say that if Britain had a stronger navy we would go round the world again. The central areas of Asia and Africa and setting up colonies. Strength is a condition not a cause of action.

And while Mrs Thatcher wavers on Eastern Europe, important opportunities will pass her by. There is the chance to seize the initiative on the future of the EEC by urging the eventual inclusion of the Eastern European countries in what would be a much looser, more purely commercial association — in other words, the sort of Europe she wants.

But assuming that the Soviet Union has halted its plans for expanding its empire, the political future of South Africa is of comparatively little relevance to the vital interest of Britain. What happens in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is 10 times more important.

And here the ultimate reason for Mrs Thatcher’s dithering is her fear of a united Germany. Everyone who talks to her about this goes away with the impression that her underlying concern is the one shared by many ordinary people of her generation — the fear that a united Germany is a Germany which goes to war.

That, we are constantly told, is “the lesson of history”.

History’s real lessons are a bit more complicated, however. History suggests that countries do not go to war just because they are strong; they do so because they estimate that they can obtain a special advantage or redress a special grievance thereby.

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Can Jesse Jackson help to heal our wounds?

After a meeting in 1979 with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Jesse Jackson decided to focus his efforts on civil rights and social justice issues. His campaign for the presidency in 1984 and 1988 highlighted his commitment to these causes.

Jackson's campaign slogan was "Heal our wounds." This phrase has become synonymous with his efforts to bring about reconciliation and healing in American society.

Jackson's influence extended beyond the United States, as he became a respected figure in the global civil rights movement. His work has had a lasting impact on the fight for equality and justice for all.
At last the NP has hit upon the right formula

by Willem de Klerk
former newspaper editor and brother of President F W de Klerk

IN no way is current government policy cosmetic. It is neither a plot nor is it intended to cheat anyone. There is no unholy, obscure agenda.

It is not a flash from out of a clear blue sky, nor is it an about-turn. What happened on February 2 was an unavoidable consequence of the way policy has always evolved in the National Party.

This meant, that NP policy was constantly confronted by a wall of unacceptability and unacceptability. The fact that the party realised this (albeit a little too late), and had the common sense to change direction, counts in its favour.

Changes of direction have nothing to do with instability or opportunism. They reflect healthy realism and a willingness to make responsible choices in order to get around obstructive walls in search of new avenues. After all, the task of government is to seek solutions and not to become bogged down in problems.

When master-and-slave apartheid held failed, a shift was made towards parallel development. When this, too, proved to be white domination, the NP opted for power-sharing in a tricameral Parliament.

Undivided

This also failed, among other things because it eliminated 60 percent of the population from the State's decision-making processes. Then the Government opted for a racial federation in which equal authority was extended to each of the four major groups in common affairs, while each group managed its own affairs.

However, this policy also bumped up against the wall of unacceptability and unacceptability.

It therefore became essential, at the beginning of 1990, to find yet another new direction. The accent must fall increasingly on voting rights for all citizens, an undivided state with one parliament, a representative government reflecting majorities and protecting minorities, and a shift away from racial classification as a building block for political structures.

The situation in South Africa demands that apartheid be replaced by representative government; that race-group definitions in politics be replaced by group formation through free association and common interests and that the State as an instrument of domination must be replaced by a constitutional state founded on a charter of human rights.

This brings the NP in line with the current world movement towards democracy. Another international trend is towards the protection of minority groups, which is primarily a function of democracy.

To travel this road it is essential to stop conflict and that the widest possible space be created for negotiation. The perspective on the ANC therefore also has to change — instead of being the enemy, the ANC must become the partner, otherwise there will not be any progress.

Everything that happened on February 2 was logical. It is not a mutation or a leap out of court. It is merely another step towards a phase of compromise.

It is one-sided to claim that the Government had no choice but to react to international pressure and the exertions of internal extra-parliamentary groups. Naturally, severe and dangerous pressure was exerted on the Government, to which it had to respond. But there were other motives for the change: a way had to be found to cross the obstructive wall.

How is it possible that people who served under Mr F W Botha for so many years could change direction so suddenly? It is because they were clear-headed and admitted that they could not get any further with the old policy.

Of course the ANC, with its current policy, also finds itself facing a wall of unacceptability and unacceptability. Inevitably it will also have to shift — even if, at present, it is trying to pretend not to.

There are no winners or losers now. There is a rearrangement of political forces and policies, so that the steep road towards compromise can be attempted.

The real test, and a significant breakthrough, will only occur once serious negotiations are underway for the achievement of five compromises:

- About protection of groups and minorities;
- About the form which a new state will take;
- About what is understood by democracy;
- About the economic system;
- About the pace of transition and transition measures.

Chess

I am hopeful that we will ultimately find these compromises. We must not allow ourselves to be discouraged by the reaction of the ANC. The political rhetoric of rejection, of threats and new demands, didn't come as a surprise. The ANC was caught offside and needs time to reorientate itself.

In his speech, the President suggested that the ANC is in a process of collapse, which makes it necessary for it to show its hand. This is all part of the chess game. We can expect many more confrontations. Where there is negotiation, parties usually place Plan A on the table and settle for Plan B — even Plan C — later.

It would be unwise for anyone to be impatient. Everyone must now concentrate on keeping the process going. The process itself will take care of many things.
LOCAL reaction to the release of Nelson Mandela:

ARCHBISHOP TUTU, head of the Anglican Church: "P W, you have done well. We want to congratulate you for the things you have done and the things you are going to do. We were hoping there was going to be a general amnesty and all political prisoners would be released. But today is not a day to be churchly. It is a time to say 'Yeah!' It is time to celebrate."

Tutu referred to the announcement as 'mind-boggling', adding that he needed a large dictionary to select words for his joy. "We want to say thank you to our friends in the international community. Your concern has paid off. It looks like we will be able to invite you soon to celebrate a new South Africa."

HELEN SIZIYEN, former MP: "Oh, my God! I'm absolutely delighted. I believe it's long overdue. I thought he should have been released years ago."

I have no doubt that this man is going to play an enormously important part in the whole negotiation process which we all hope will begin shortly.

I have a high regard for the integrity and moderation of this man."

DAVID KELLY, chairman of the Anglo American: "Mr Mandela's return to public life creates opportunities for all parties to engage in reasoned debate about how to structure democratic politics in future SA. We hope his release will also help to create an environment in which political differences do not lead to violence and the loss of lives, as is particularly evident in Natal at present."

ZACH DE BEER, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party: "The stakes are desperately high. If whites are selfish or blacks are vengeful, we shall endure decades of misery. But if whites are generous and blacks are forgiving, the sky is the limit for SA."

"Above all, blacks and whites will stand or swim together. Neither can succeed without the co-operation of the other."

HARRY OPPENHEIM, writer: "How very exciting! I hope it all goes off with peace and dignity." He said the news could mean "a new beginning for SA" and would have a "positive effect" on the economy, but it was unlikely that sanctions would be lifted immediately.

CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, head of Inkatha: "Whatever conflict there was between his organisation and the ANC, the Inkatha leader must now he set aside so that we can put the good of the State before the good of political parties."

He called on Mr Mandela to address the issue of the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC. He said he respected Mr Mandela and had great faith in his leadership qualities. Chief Buthelezi added that he did not fear political conflict between himself and the released ANC leader.

Fatima Meer, author of Nelson Mandela's biography, said his release concluded the Government's fulfillment of the most important remaining condition to negotiations. Mrs Meer said she could see very few problems now facing South African leaders to work towards reconciliation. "There are many who still have misgivings and who do not trust the Nationalists. This is understandable, but we owe it to our people that we give negotiation a try."

KOOS VAN DER MERWE, Conservative Party information spokesman, who attended the Press conference, said: "It's a complete capitulation."

REV FRANK CHIRKANE, SACC general secretary: "I am convinced Mr Mandela's quality of leadership and stature will instantly make it easier to resolve the problems of this country. It is quite clear Mr De Klerk is committed to creating conditions in which he can negotiate a settlement in SA."

KUSH NAIDOO, leader of the National Indian Congress: "This is tremendous news. I am very pleased to hear that he has been released at last."

GEORGE SEWERSAD, president of the Natal Indian Congress: "All oppressed people are overjoyed that Nelson Mandela will be released. He has been a tremendous inspiration to the oppressed, and we hope he will assist in resolving the country's problems."

JN REDDY, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates: "All South Africans must welcome with satisfaction the release of Mr Mandela. He carries on his shoulders an immense responsibility that SA goes forward in a spirit of reconciliation to resolve the political impasse."

LESLIE BOYD, president of the SA Chamber of Business: "This is an important event in South African history and, while many South Africans will want to mark the occasion, the chamber hopes workers will do so in a peaceful and responsible manner."
Let's have Real Radio, Real TV

Perspectives 3

By Donald Woods
The racism battle must still be won

THIRTY years ago some of us formed the old Progressive Party, the first of the streams which ultimately flowed into the Democratic river.

We had a clear vision of a single, democratic nation. We knew then that this would demand policies and structures acceptable to all South Africans. We never made a statement or framed a policy without first considering its impact upon everyone. We operated as though the electorate included all groups.

At that time, politics was fought on the battleground of white loyalties, and the ammunition was very often prejudice and fear.

It cost us a lot of potential support to stick to our non-racial principles, but to the best of our ability we did so.

Now, we have the Nationalist leaders saying that within five years black people must either have full political rights or be in the process of getting them.

In other words, we really shall soon be dealing with a non-racial electorate.

The Democratic Party will at last be able to operate in the kind of atmosphere it has always wanted. That is why we are saying that we are now in our element for the first time.

We have to congratulate the State President on his speech. We welcome the considerable degree of liberalisation, of opening up our society, which he has brought about.

But this speech, and the actions which follow it, represent only the first step on a long, steep road.

Liberalisation is the first step. Democratisation must follow. To put it another way: repression was one side of the apartheid coin, racism the other.

Mr de Klerk has moved a long way towards removing repression; but the task of taking racism out of our society has only just started.

The existing, tricameral Parliament is plainly doomed. There is no way it can meet the requirements of the new South Africa. Yet, ironically, many of the debates which will lead to its demise will take place within its own walls.

Because of our long commitment to non-racial democracy, because of our contacts over many years with extra-parliamentary groups, because of our experience in discussions with black leadership, we are going to be far better equipped for the parliamentary debates than the Nats are.

It is already clear that the Conservative Party is going to do everything in its power to wreck Mr de Klerk's initiative. Chiefly, this will take the form of political agitation and the grassrotts of the white electorate.

To the extent that this succeeds, it will lead to unhappiness among rank-and-file Nationalists, who in turn will exert a retarding pressure on their MPs through the party machine.

**Momentum**

The DP must work very hard to ensure that there is a countervailing pressure on the Nats to keep up the momentum of reform.

I have described the speech of February 2 as the first step on a long steep road. Where does that road lead?

Clearly, if we are to succeed, two great events have to take place.

First, there will have to be a negotiating conference, insula or convention, broadly representative of the people, and, secondly, that conference will have to agree on a constitution.

In regard to the setting up of negotiations, it may be assumed that the parliamentary parties and most homeland leaders will be available, and that Mbeki and Nkomo will participate provided that certain prerequisites are met.

At this stage, it seems likely that the Black Conscious Movement and the Pan-Africanist Congress will decline to take part. This means, of course, that the attendance of the ANC and its allies in force is essential.

**Essential**

There is no doubt that there will be stress and strain within the ANC alliance. Some will want to hold onto what they can extract a higher price for their participation from the Nats. Others will want to get on with the negotiations before the Pan-Africanists can make too much trouble.

The expedition of the whole project.

It is here that the eradication of apartheid measures from our statute book is so essential.

Without wishing to diminish the importance of Mr de Klerk's speech last week, it has surprised us that he was so cagey about unbanning the militant organisations and releasing the prisoners before opening the schools and other institutions, scrapping the Group Areas Act, and before guaranteeing to take race out of the constitution by scrapping the Population Registration Act.

For now he has arranged more meetings so that assorted politicians in the extra-parliamentary movements will have daily grievances and injustices to exploit.

This is not going to make the way ahead any easier for anyone.

As for the Democrats - we campaigned for the release of the Pan-Africanists when most whites regarded them as an essential cornerstone of society.

Similarly, we fought for black workers to get trade union rights, and for the elimination of job reservation; we condemned the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts, and called long ago for the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act.

**Half-hearted**

We have played our part in bringing down all these pillars of apartheid and we have no doubt that the remaining ones will come down too.

But it is a pity that we are going to have to prod and cajole the reluctant Nats into doing what is obviously necessary and urgent.

On Wednesday, evening, Pretoria Press reports quoted Dr Gerrit Viljoen as saying that universal franchise in a unitary state does not mean a common roll. "That would mean black majority rule, and we do not believe in that," he is reported to have said.

There lies the evidence that, despite the ringing phrases of February 2, the Nats remain timid and half-hearted about changing the society to the required extent.

Separate roles have no chance of acceptance at the negotiating table. The Nats will just have to be convinced of that.
Indaba kicks off?

Who will call four

RELEASE: Information

According to the police, four men in the great

During the recent searches and interroga-

The police confirmed that they are still

The exact number of men in the great

The suspects were not identified by name.

The police have not yet released any

The investigation is ongoing.
Violence is not the solution

IN AN apparent effort to restore her image as Mother of the Nation, Mrs Winnie Mandela has found herself recently in the front line of protest marches, writes Beeld in an editorial.

Last Friday she clenched her fist in Cape Town and on Sunday in Alexandra. This is fine.

But on Sunday she went a step further by giving the mayor of Alexandra a choice: join the ANC immediately or resign. This bears testimony of intolerance and the misconception that only people who join the ANC qualify as true and sincere opponents of apartheid. Not only whites but also black people will have to start questioning how democracy can be reconciled with this kind of intimidation.

In another editorial, Beeld says the government’s new reform plans in a wink succeeded in doing what others have tried to do for years — to unite the right and far right under one umbrella.

One’s reaction to this was to hope that this — artificially — united group would have the courage to state their case at the negotiating table, but nothing has come of this hope.

Since Dr AP Treurnicht described the State President’s courageous announcements as “revolutionary”, rightwingers have sung only one tune. For them it is not only protest marches and petitions but stayaway actions and even violence.

In this way South Africa’s problems will not be solved. Violence only postpones the solution, it is not the solution.
Metro says winds of change are blowing

METROPOLITAN Life has expressed "deep concern" that State President F W de Klerk's reform policy had lost momentum, but noted some events which it said were signs of hope for justice in Southern Africa.

In his chairman's report, Mr P J F Scholtz said it was pleasing that key changes in the South African leadership had created real hope on the road to building a more just country.

He noted the following events are particularly relevant in the broader Southern African context:

* An internationally acceptable agreement bringing Namibia to independence.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

* The rapid process of withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola and some prospects of an internal accord in that strife-ridden country.

* A revival of the true spirit of the Nkomati Accord and tentative steps towards internal accommodation in Mozambique.

* Increasing acceptance of the economic and infra-structural interdependence of the countries of Southern Africa.

Internally, he noted the following:

* The Group Areas Act is increasingly shedding its relevance, especially in the major cities of Cape Town and Johannesburg. This trend, he said, could well result in the removal of all racial constraints on the ownership and occupation of land.

* Government is identifying much more land for black housing and a dynamic housing process for blacks is clearly seen as an urgent priority.

* There is an increasing acceptance by white leaders and their constituencies that blacks must be incorporated into political institutions at all levels of decision-making.

* Explicit recognition of the right to peaceful protest.

* The release of key political prisoners, regarded by many as some of the true leaders of the black people, and

* The pro-active economic enablement of black South Africans and their increasing stake in the economy.

Scholtz said a new wind of change was blowing over the region. A climate existed in which real opportunities would arise to move away from the precipice of racial conflict and economic stagnation to reach prosperity for the region as a whole.

As a nation...
More good news from De Klerk

Sunday Times Reporter

THERE'S more good news in the pipeline. President F W de Klerk is scheduled to give a second major Press conference this week and indications are that full citizenship rights for black South Africans will be one of the subjects he will deal with.

However, he has already said: "Our aim is to give full class-A citizenship to all South Africans, regardless of colour.”

Presidential Press liaison officer Casper Venter said Mr De Klerk was planning a "broader" Press conference later this week.

When asked about full citizenship rights for blacks, Mr De Klerk replied that the NP had just won an election stating that as one of its goals.

The President said: "It is no longer a question of whether all South Africans must get full citizenship rights.”

The question was: What structure would accommodate the diversity of SA's society in a non-discriminatory manner?"
First picture
27 years — the Mandela after
Hreekhe!
Mandela rally today

Thousands will be at gathering to welcome Mandela back to freedom

President F W de Klerk personally invited President George Bush to visit the US soon

Secret

Many black leaders have been astonished by the President's tame announcements of political reform. The first step was taken, perhaps, 10 days ago when the State President appointed a commission to study the state of emergency and to report on political prisoners.

The commission is to be led by Mr. de Klerk, who has already been appointed to the new government. Mr. de Klerk told the media that he believes Mr. de Klerk was committed to a peaceful future, and a peaceful process.

"Tomorrow will bring us a fresh start," he said.

"I am very pleased that the revolution will take place in a dignified manner."

President F W de Klerk personally invited President George Bush to visit the US soon.

At the Press conference, Mr. de Klerk said that the revolution would take place in a dignified manner, and that the national government would be committed to a peaceful future, and a peaceful process.

At the Press conference, Mr. de Klerk said that the revolution would take place in a dignified manner, and that the national government would be committed to a peaceful future, and a peaceful process.

Dignified

President F W de Klerk personally invited President George Bush to visit the US soon.

The consequence, the President said, would be a peaceful and progressive future, and a peaceful process.

Mr. de Klerk also said that he believes Mr. de Klerk was committed to a peaceful future, and a peaceful process.

The President said that he believes Mr. de Klerk was committed to a peaceful future, and a peaceful process.

Impact

Reactions inside South Africa to the announcement of political reform were generally positive. The government's response was calculated to keep some emergency powers in place, a body that has already been abolished.

Earlier this week, Mr. de Klerk personally invited President George Bush to visit the US soon.

The consequence, the President said, would be a peaceful and progressive future, and a peaceful process.
F W expected to visit Zaire again

KINSHASA — Mr F W de Klerk is expected to meet Zairese President Mobutu Sese Seko in Kinshasa shortly for talks made possible by Mr Nelson Mandela's release, Zairese officials said yesterday.

The talks could go beyond political issues to cover trade and security, the sources said.
They did not say when Mr de Klerk would arrive.
Mr de Klerk visited Zaire last August shortly after becoming acting president.
The visit was part of a drive to end Pretoria's diplomatic isolation in Africa.
Mr Mandela's release has been the main obstacle to diplomatic links with South Africa.

Dialogue must continue, says Switzerland

BERNE — Switzerland invited Mr Nelson Mandela on an official visit hours after the South African black nationalist leader was released.

The World Gold Commission, an anti-apartheid group that lobbies for an end to gold trading with South Africa, estimates that Swiss banks buy more than half of the 620 tons of gold South Africa produces each year.

"The Foreign Ministry would like to receive Mandela to continue the dialogue it has been having in recent years with the South African Government and representatives of other interested parties," a ministry statement said.

"By his example and the long sacrifice of his freedom, Mandela has made a substantial contribution to the fight against apartheid in South Africa," the ministry said. — Sapa-Reuters.

Man shot dead in Ciskei march

MDANTSANE (Ciskei) — A celebration march for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, by thousands of people in Mdantsane, Ciskei, was marred when a man was reportedly shot dead and several others wounded yesterday afternoon.

The head of the Ciskei Police Community relations, Brigadier Avery Ngaki, said he had no information and would comment when he obtained details today.

COMMIOTION

The medical superintendent of the Cecilia Makiwane hospital, Dr 1 Harris, said he was aware of a commotion which caused people to be admitted, but he was not permitted to give information before he reported to the Ciskei deputy director general of foreign affairs and information, Mr Headman Somtunzi.

Before the alleged incident, thousands of people marched peacefully through the town's main streets with the police at first maintaining a low profile.

Then a disturbance was reported in Zone 14 where a man was allegedly shot dead, several people wounded and teargas used to disperse the large crowd.

Marches in Dimbaza, Zwelitsha and other parts of the Ciskei were reported to have taken place without incident.

During the marches, flags of the ANC, which is still a banned organisation in the homeland, were hoisted aloft. — Sapa.

Passport application to get swift attention

CAPE TOWN — An application by Mr Nelson Mandela for a South African passport would be given "immediate attention", said Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Low.

Mr Low said he had not yet had such an application. Passports were issued to Mr Walter Sisulu and his former prison colleagues "within 24 hours".

Dogs set on airport crowd, says witness

Several people waiting for Mr Mandela to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport last night were injured when police used dogs to disperse a crowd of about 300, an eyewitness told The Star.

A young woman waiting at the airport said police set dogs on the crowd and several people were injured.

She said the crowd was peacefully toy-toying outside the airport when the dogs attacked.
The President's Press conference

(Cont. from page 6)

you have crime and we go to great length to draw the necessary distinction between criminal and political-related instability.

Q: Mr. President, when you talk about a fair and just prejudice to negotiations, will you go beyond the state of emergency and should as well the negotiation process, establishment of full citizenship rights for the black people of South Africa?

A: Thank you for that question. We have just won an election stating that is our goal. That is the mandate that my party gained the electorate and that is the mandate that we received. There is a misconception that we do not want to give full citizenship rights to South Africans, also in black South Africans. As a matter of fact, we have already received such a mandate from the white electorate in the election in 1994. It is no longer a question whether all South Africans must get full citizenship rights. The question is how to structure it, how also to accommodate the diversity in a non-discriminatory manner, of our total population. The fact that we have minorities, but nonetheless that clear commitment is that the system must give full citizenship rights to all South Africans, irrespective of race or colour.

Q: Is it your impression that Mr. Mandela shares with you your view about how you are going to arrange this and does he have a positive attitude to accomplish that?

A: Once again, I do not want to speak on his behalf.

Q: Mr. President, while in custody, Mr. Mandela indicated that he would act as an intermediary or facilitator between the government and the ANC. Do you expect to continue to deal with him now on that basis?

A: I follow an open-door policy and should be forward and should be prepared to play the role of facilitator, to interest himself in promoting a climate of negotiation, and should be interested himself in promoting talks. I open talks with you, yes, that open door is still open to him.

Q: President de Klerk, I was wondering whether the presence of Reverend Jesse Jackson here in South Africa had anything to do with the release of Mandela (Laughter).

A: As far as the release of Mr. Mandela is concerned, his presence is totally irrelevant.

Q: President, can I ask you? Did Mr. Mandela give you any assurance that he would call for peace in this country?

A: I did not ask him.

Q: President, from your last reply, when you said he is prepared to act as a facilitator, does that mean he has not given you his agreement to enter negotiations?

A: His willingness to act as a facilitator has been published widely and over a fairly long period now, I did not discuss it with him as such again last night.

Q: Mr. de Klerk, could you possibly describe Mr. Mandela’s reaction when you told him he would be released tomorrow?

A: I do not think that I would like to try to do that.

Q: Returning to the question of the timing of the state of emergency and the stability required, does this imply that you will wait until there is some peace in the Natal province and do you think that realistically will happen within the few weeks time some of your ministers have given as a time span for that lifting?

A: There is an element of uncles, uncertainty, with regard to everything which lies in the future. None of us can exactly say what will happen tomorrow and the day after. It is really our hope that with the steps which we have taken, that it will make a contribution and that it will bring us sooner to the situation where it can be considered. We will try not to put it on an ongoing basis, almost on a day-to-day basis, and we are not trying to anybody else to have the state of emergency uplifted as soon as possible.

Q: You said that the lifting of the state of emergency would be a matter for negotiations. With whom do you propose to negotiate? Mr. Mandela, the ANC, who?

A: No, I did not say that is a matter for negotiations. I said that the question of political prisoners is a matter for negotiations. The state of emergency was imposed by the government, because of a state of instability throughout the country. It will be a government decision to uplift it, and the test will be whether the stability has been restored sufficiently to see how we can do.

Q: But did you say that you have discussed it with Mr. Mandela, didn’t you?

A: Yes, obviously, because it is a matter which is being raised from many quarters and also being a major issue, and in that sense it was discussed.

Q: Mr. President, may I ask you: Have you already or are you about to inform world leaders, and if so, whom?

A: I have informed our Minister of Foreign Affairs a few hours ago and in all probability he has undertaken an exercise so that they will not just read it in the Press. It is a general consulation, which we adhere to, and that I can turn him to, and I did not get back to anybody.

Q: Are you, sir, concerned at all for the safety of Nelson Mandela, and if so, how?

A: Yes, in my opening address, rather in another statement I indicated that yes, we think there is a genuine concern about his safety. There are all sorts of people who might threaten his life. I think radicals from the very far left might be tempted to do so and I think there is also a risk that it might come from radicals from the right. Many public figures are being threatened throughout the world, all over the world, in all countries, and with him having such a high profile, I think yes, there is a real risk and one must take every precaution to ensure that nothing happens to him. But when he leaves prison, then he will be moved to his own circle of friends, and it is highly improbable, in the case of Mr. Sisulu and the other prisoners who were released, there was no request to the State to give any assistance with regard to their security.

Q: Mr. President, I wonder if I may ask you to define the mandate of the ANC and do you define full constitutional rights in that as man, one vote?

A: Can we save that for the Press conference of the next day. The type of thing I would like to address shall. Thank you very much.

Four killed, 3 hurt in bowling-alley robbery

LAS CRUCES (New Mexico) — Robbers shot seven people in a bowling-alley office at the weekend, killing a man, his two young daughters and another girl, before ending a fire to try to cover up the crime, police said.

"What we have here is a vicious crime, the assassination of kids," said Las Cruces police Captain Fred Robin. "A whole family was massacred."

The three survivors and residents living near the Las Cruces Bowl lanes gave police a description of two men believed to have committed the robbery and shootings — Sapa AP.
Since then, much has changed.
Amandla

Nelson Mandela free after 27 years

Two men who shook the world. President FW de Klerk and the trim Mr Nelson Mandela, photographed at Tugnyhuys on Friday night. More pictures and stories inside.

In recognition of the historic events that gripped the country's imagination yesterday, the Sowetan has postponed the publication of your favourite columns and features. The sports pages also had to be given less prominence for this, your souvenir copy of the Sowetan.

Move to Mildness

Stay with Taste

South Africa's largest selling international mild cigarette.
Viljoen sees ‘black’ future

By FRED BRIDGLAND
of the Sunday Telegraph

SOUTH AFRICA’S Constitutional Development Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is a private man not fond of grabbing easy headlines. But this week he demonstrated in two devastating sentences why he is regarded by many as the second most powerful man in the government after President F W de Klerk.

“De Klerk tells white South Africans what must happen now,” said one Afrikaaner newspaper editor. “But it is Viljoen who is planning the future.”

The future for whites, according to Dr Viljoen, is a black one. By the year 2000, he told them last week, it is doubtful whether the National Party will exercise government control and the Population Registration Act, the legislative pillar of apartheid which classifies citizens by race, will be long dead.

Dr Viljoen was a prominent academic until 53, he was asked to become administrator-general of South-West Africa.

It took him just over a year there to soothe the Afrikaner fears (about the road to Namibian independence) and restore their unity, and he returned home to claim a cabinet post, but was given the poisoned chalice of black education.

At this ministry he realised that the grand apartheid ideal was impossible in South Africa’s highly complex situation. Logically, therefore, it would be necessary to integrate and the role of Afrikaner nationalists would be to secure for themselves an important role in the new society.

Dr Viljoen applied himself to black education with energy and vigour. A cabinet colleague recalls: “He was an intellectual giant . . . P W Botha felt really intimidated by him.”

Between 1982 and 1989 expenditure on black education increased tenfold. Dr Viljoen realised the necessity of educating black people for democracy.

In 1989 Dr Viljoen, with the (now liberalised) Broederbond behind him, was the obvious man to take over the constitution- al affairs portfolio when Mr De Klerk wrested power from Mr P W Botha.

Persuading suspicious black opponents that the National Party is serious about achieving change has brought him into contact with Mr Nelson Mandela, whose directness and constructiveness in argument he admires.

He believes the veteran ANC leader is capable of playing a highly constructive role in designing a new South Africa.

Shrill Boesak keeps it all together

FOR many, after rioting broke out in or near the Grand Parade yesterday, the sole source of information about events in front of the City Hall was the shrill voice of Dr Allan Boesak.

Dr Boesak, standing on the City Hall portico in front of the microphone, could see thousands of us, who had positioned ourselves on the station deck and elsewhere to escape the violence, couldn’t.

We relied on the broadcast commentary of the president of the World Alliance of Churches.

Interpersed with gunshots, the roar of circling helicopters and the sirens of ANC-flag-bedecked minibuses, Dr Boesak pleaded, cajoled, shouted and screamed from about 6pm.

It went like this:

“Please, comrades, get off the car, get off the car, get off the car, move the car. Comrades, Mandela is going to speak to you. Don’t move this car, don’t move this second car . . . Comrades, please don’t do that, please don’t provoke, please don’t do that, don’t provoke. Comrades on the other side, please don’t do that . . .

“Now don’t run round the car, don’t run round the car, keep the road open. Thank you, comrades . . . Oh, my God! Don’t, don’t, don’t. Stop that right now, stop that right now . . .

“Oh dear, my throat has gone . . .

“Comrades, please come back. Comrades, please have patience, where is your discipline? Who is this, who is this? Look here — no, no, no, no one . . .

“All ready, comrades, let’s keep it cool . . .

“This is the last car, this is the last car, get this car out of here. Don’t do that again. Let that car through here . . .

At 6.45pm, when there was still no sign of Mr Mandela, Dr Boesak came on the air again:

“Mr Mandela is coming to speak to you. Amandla! Amandla! Will you please keep quiet. Please listen, please listen to me! Take my word for it, he is coming. We will see Mandela, we will see Mandela, we will see Mandela, that’s right, we will see Mandela.

“Just hear it, let me hear it — we will see him . . .

“Just take my word for it, he is coming. We are bringing him out. When I appear on this platform again, it will be with Mandela. I am not kidding, I am not kidding. It will not be long now, my brothers and sisters . . .

“No, no, no, no, no, please! Please, comrades, don’t push . . .

“The tower is going to fall over in time. It will fall over in time. No, no, no, don’t hurt anybody, please . . .”

At 7.15 pm there was still no sign of Mandela but, thanks to Dr Boesak, we had a shrewd idea of what had been going on in that seething mass outside the City Hall.
UK bells ring out for freed ANC leader

LONDON. — Church bells rang out across Britain yesterday to mark the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela after 27 years in prison.

Thousands of people gathered outside the South African embassy in central London for the biggest of several parties hurriedly planned across the country by Mr Mandela's supporters after President FW de Klerk announced his release on Saturday.

And Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday said the "die is cast" for peace and progress in South Africa and the world should immediately end sanctions which she described as "meaningless."

After attending a church service in London, she said the time had come to encourage, not further damage reform.

"The way is open for peaceable negotiations. What is the use of trying to hit out? Why not help the process?" she said.

But outside the SA embassy, where thousands of people had gathered to celebrate Mr Mandela's release, anti-apartheid leaders, who have maintained a non-stop night-and-day picket for 1,395 days, decried Mrs Thatcher, saying sanctions should continue.

Demonstration leader Mr Andre Schott said sanctions had to remain until apartheid was completely eradicated and all South Africans were free and equal.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement (BAAM), who preached at a special service relayed by the BBC, said Mr Mandela's freedom marked the beginning of a "new stage in the struggle to end apartheid and to secure freedom for all the people of South Africa."

But he added: "We wish to stress that Mandela leaves behind him thousands of prisoners and returns to a country under a state of emergency with a police force that is ready to kill."

Sapa-Reuters and Own Correspondent

Bush phones FW to offer congratulations

CAMP DAVID, Maryland — US President Bush praised President F W de Klerk in a telephone call on Saturday for arranging the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and invited Mr De Klerk to visit the United States, the White House said.

Mr Bush also told Mr De Klerk he intended to keep his earlier promise to invite Mr Mandela separately to the White House "to exchange views on how best to move rapidly toward a negotiated solution" to South Africa's racially segregated policy of apartheid.

Praising Mr De Klerk for "bold and imaginative leadership", Mr Bush said the release of Mr Mandela was "another significant step on the road to the non-racial, democratic South Africa we all desire."

White House spokesman Mr John Herrick said Mr Bush's congratulatory phone call lasted five minutes.

"The two presidents discussed the challenges that face all South Africans in this time of impending transition," Mr Herrick said.

Observers expect Mr Bush's administration to use the meetings with Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela to encourage negotiations on a new constitution.

"We'd like to talk to them before negotiations begin," said a US official who asked not to be named.

The United States was instrumental last year in facilitating the peace settlement that tied an end to Angola's civil war to independence for Namibia and it seems eager to try its hand as a mediator again in South Africa.

Observers believe it will be some time before sanctions are lifted.

Mr Sipo Mzimela, an Episcopal priest in Atlanta who is a former staff member of the ANC office in New York, said that with Mr Mandela's release "the legend ends and the human being comes out."

The ANC would now be transformed from a liberation movement to a political party and he predicted it would split into three ideological wings espousing Marxism, social democratic thought and free-market theories, complicating its role as an opposition force. — Sapa-Reuters and UPI
FW: Mandela is committed to peace

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk said at the weekend that following two discussions with Mr Nelson Mandela he had come to the conclusion that the ANC leader was "committed to a peaceful solution and a peaceful process".

Speaking at his first international press conference to announce Mr Mandela's release, a relaxed and confident Mr De Klerk said the ANC leader's release became "a certainty" the moment he had stated his commitment to finding peaceful solutions.

Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela's release would "bring us to the end of a long chapter" of a process that had been started by his predecessor, Mr P W Botha.

"Since the moment Mr Mandela met him at Tumbyu, and since the moment that Mr Mandela clearly stated his commitment to peaceful solutions, it was a certainty that he would be released."

Mr De Klerk called upon Mr Mandela and all other interested parties to make their contribution towards creating a positive climate for peace and negotiations.

Asked if Mr Mandela now "officially rejects violence", Mr De Klerk said: "I do not intend this afternoon to speak on behalf of Mr Mandela."

Facilitator

Dealing with Mr Mandela's role in negotiations between the government and the ANC, Mr De Klerk said he followed an open-door policy.

"Should he come forward and be prepared to play the role of facilitator... to interest himself in promoting talks about talks, the door is open to him."

Giving his impressions of the ANC leader, based on their two meetings, Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela struck him as a friendly man.

He told journalists that his talks with Mr Mandela had taken place in a very civil atmosphere.

"He's an elderly man, he's a dignified man, he's an interesting man," he said.

Asked to describe Mr Mandela's reaction to the news of his release, Mr De Klerk said he did not think he would like to comment on that.

Mr De Klerk said that during his meeting with Mr Mandela he had stressed the importance of creating conditions which would enable him to lift the state of emergency without jeopardizing the maintenance of law and order.

"Regarding the position of persons involved in politically motivated crimes, I indicated that while this is a matter that should be dealt with in the negotiations, exploratory discussions could take place in the meantime."

Asked by a questioner about full citizenship rights for blacks, Mr De Klerk replied that it was a misconception that the government did not want to give full rights to black South Africans.

The question was how to structure them to accommodate the diversity of SA's total society in a non-discriminatory manner.

Mr De Klerk said his government was committed to bringing about a constitution that was fair and just to all the people of South Africa.

He said he had indicated in his address at the opening of Parliament and in another statement that there was reason for concern about Mr Mandela's safety once he was out of jail.

The state would secure Mr Mandela's safety while he was in the custody "but when is he released he becomes a free man."

"I hope now this chapter is ended that the world and all the people of South Africa will grasp the opportunity and play a supportive role in bringing to a conclusion the process that has started."

Asked whether he believed his announcement would meet United States pre-conditions for lifting sanctions, Mr De Klerk replied: "We are not working against checklists. We are doing what we believe to be in the best interest of South Africa."

 Asked if the presence in SA of US presidential hopeful the Rev Jesse Jackson had anything to do with the timing of the release, he said: "As far as the release of Nelson Mandela is concerned, his presence is totally irrelevant."

Asked if Mr Mandela was unhappy about being released before the lifting of the state of emergency and finally over political offenders had been reached, Mr De Klerk said: "I will not speak on his behalf. I want to speak at length to him on what the situation is with regard to the state of emergency."
All in SA must work 'for common destiny'

CAPE TOWN — Shortly before his release Nelson Mandela called on all South Africans to work towards a common destiny.

Unity, he said in an interview, could be achieved only through a non-racial society and was the 'critical catalyst in resolving the problems in our country'.

He had always been committed to creating harmony in SA and in exploiting any opening that offered hope of a non-racial and democratic country.

"Unfortunately whites fear the reality of democracy," said Mandela.

Any impression that he had now accepted government's concept of freedom and its agenda to end apartheid was a distortion of his desire to work towards justice and peace for all.

He said negotiations would have to address two basic issues: majority rule in a unitary state and the insistence on the protection of the whites' political position.

The protection of individual rights in the ANC Freedom Charter protected everyone without resorting to the protection of group rights.

He said the unbanning of political organisations and their members, freeing of certain political prisoners and the lifting of other restrictions was a positive move towards creating a positive climate but that this was a result of the struggle and international pressure.

The beginning of the end of the liberation struggle, launched by the ANC, was now in sight, but he emphasised: "Not until my people have achieved political equality, economic equality and social equality can we begin to relax the struggle."

He said the youth of today were carrying on the struggle and giving it "fresh impetus, not a new direction".

Promises

He added that "everyone" remained committed to the Freedom Charter and its recent endorsement... represented in the Harare Declaration.

He said to talk of a programme of gradual reform only benefited the white, politically dominant group.

Government should know by now it could no longer impose its ideas of freedom without consulting the authentic leaders of the black people, he said.

"Negotiation cannot be used as just another delaying tactic in the strategy to retain white supremacy."

He added this was a time of reconciliation and not retribution, of pursuing all positive moves and not dwelling on past broken promises, and to concentrate on constructing a new SA.

On the issue of the armed struggle he said this was only one element, albeit an important one, in the overall liberation strategy.

Only after the failure of decades of peaceful demonstrations to demand the repeal of discriminatory laws, which sought to destroy the dignity of black South Africans, did certain members of the ANC resort to the armed struggle.

Concerning violence in Natal, Mandela said it was a glimpse of what could happen in SA if all South Africans did not resolve to work constructively... with commitment and discipline towards a non-racial and democratic SA.

It was absolutely essential that every individual group seeking a solution to the problems in SA, by whichever means, should subordinate themselves to a common aim.

"But as long as whites insist on a preferential political position there can be no peace in our country."

Mandela added he was more hopeful now than he had been for many years, but he warned of the necessity for commitment and a unified thrust."— Sapa.
Bush wants to meet SA leaders

WASHINGTON — President George Bush's administration is expected in the next few months to use separate meetings with newly-freed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk to encourage negotiations on a new constitution.

Repeatedly, the US has expressed willingness to do whatever it can to further a non-racial and democratic SA. (304)

The release of Mandela yesterday after 27 years in jail will test that commitment.

Although Bush hailed as "bold and imaginative" De Klerk's decision to free Mandela, it may be some time before US sanctions against SA are lifted. (304)

Mandela's release still does not satisfy the demands of US law, which calls for freedom for all political prisoners, the repeal of anti-apartheid laws and the lifting of the state of emergency, among other things.

"Certain things have to be done before President Bush can modify or reverse the sanctions legislation; and those things have not happened yet," a US State Department official said.

"I welcome this move and view it as another significant step on the road to the non-racial democratic SA which we all desire," Bush said in a statement from the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, after De Klerk announced his intention to free Mandela.

Bush also reiterated his desire for separate meetings with De Klerk and Mandela "in the coming months as part of my continuing dialogue with the SA leadership".

Policy towards SA has split the US in recent years. The US Congress in 1988 passed economic sanctions against Pretoria over President Ronald Reagan's veto. Bush and his top aides have indicated they would like to avoid such divisiveness and forge a more bipartisan approach to Pretoria.

They seem more willing to work with the anti-apartheid group in Congress and elsewhere. Even with Mandela's release, the anti-apartheid lobby has cautioned against revoking prematurely the sanctions that many view as effective in forcing De Klerk to move towards reform.

Beyond the US reaction to Mandela's release is the question of how the ANC, legalised by De Klerk only last week after a 38-year ban, will handle itself now that the way has been cleared for serious talks with the SA government. — Sapa-Reuters.
African states laud SA struggle

TUNIS — Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat yesterday hailed the release of black nationalist Nelson Mandela and said Palestinians and most South Africans were fighting the same battle.

"The struggle of the people of Palestine and South Africa is a common struggle against racism, colonialism and oppression for one just cause — to win the right to self-determination," Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, said in a message to Mandela.

Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Tunis-based Arab League, said in a statement: "The Arab peoples, who never ceased supporting and admiring him (Mandela), hail his fight for freedom and equality between the races and wish him complete victory over racial discrimination."

The Tunisian newspaper La Presse said that with the release of Mandela, SA's future depended on his and F W De Klerk's ability to persuade whites and blacks to abandon the politics of "all-or-nothing".

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on Saturday also congratulated Mandela. "The decision to release you is a victory for human rights everywhere," Mubarak, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), told Mandela in a telegram.

Mandela's release marked the start of "the total liberation of our brothers in South Africa", Mubarak said. — Sapa-Reuters.
Keep celebrations peaceful, plead business leaders

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS
and ZILLA EFRAN

BUSINESS leaders have unanimously applauded Nelson Mandela's release as a crucial step towards the peaceful creation of a new SA.

SA Chamber of Business (SACB) president Leslie Boyd said it was a major move towards a new political dispensation in SA. The SACB hoped Mandela's public presence would strengthen a climate in which political differences were settled through peaceful negotiation and not violence or coercion, he said.

Workers should celebrate the news in a "peaceful and responsible" manner, and the organisation appealed to employers to facilitate recognition of the occasion. The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut also urged employees to behave in a responsible manner and report for work as its members would adopt a "no work, no pay" approach.

Chairman of Fabco's marketing company Gaby Magomola said Mandela had shown support for black economic empowerment and this was "encouraging from a man who had been isolated from the day-to-day business development". He hoped black businessmen would take their place with other leaders to confer with Mandela to create wealth in the black community.

Barlow Rand vice-chairman and CE Warren Clewlow described Mandela's release as "another major step forward on what I think is the right road. This doesn't mean to say the road's going to be easy, but I'm convinced we're on the road to negotiation and I want to express my strong support!"

Federale Volksbeleggings CE Johan Moolman said: "I've just watched his release on TV and it was a very moving moment to see him being freed. As a white man, I am certainly rejoicing as much as my fellow black South Africans."

SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safoto) GM Anne Moore said all moves which had recently taken place, including Mandela's release, contributed to a "much more" favourable export environment for SA. However, growth in SA's exports did not depend purely on political factors as the commitment of SA exporters and the availability of products played a crucial role.

According to JSE president Tony Norton, Mandela's release—already "substantially discounted" in the market—would lead to more confidence in the country.
By-election will be test of voters' mood

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Attention is already focusing on the pending Umlazi by-election — the first test of white political opinion since President de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP.

The seat falls vacant on April 2 when Mr Con Botha MP becomes Administrator of Natal, and it looks like being a four-way fight to fill it.

Already the National Party has chosen attorney and President's Council member Mr Piet Matthee as its candidate.

Durban city councillor Mr Dave McNaught seems set to stand as an independent, campaigning on local issues.

The Conservative Party will definitely put up a candidate and build its election battle into a countrywide fight to force the Government to resign and call a general election.

The Democratic Party has four people to choose from, and will announce its candidate by the end of the month.

Political observers have pointed out that the outcome of the Umlazi by-election could have a bearing on President de Klerk's plans to consult the electorate on a future constitution forged at the negotiation table.

NP chief director-designate of information Mr Renier Schoeman says the President has gone for a mandate for progress and to bring about total changes in South Africa which are significant and visible.

Secure future

"The international spotlight will be on Umlazi," he said at the weekend. "The most persistent question from foreign journalists today is whether we are taking our voters with us.

"There is a historic responsibility on the voters of Umlazi."

Mr Matthee accused the CP of "selling out the white man". Its policies would bring only anarchy and chaos while the NP was offering a prosperous and secure future for everyone, he said.

DP Natal coastal region chairman Mr Mike Ellis MP said that by the time of the by-election, people would have an indication of the real direction Mr de Klerk was moving.

"We acknowledge the fact that he has made an excellent start."

But President de Klerk still had to say whether he was talking about universal franchise in a unitary state or whether he wanted a fourth chamber, and he had still to reveal the fate of the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act.

The DP was excited because the Government appears to be moving in the direction we have been advocating for years".

This gave the DP greater relevance, Mr Ellis said, and the party would continue to show the way ahead.

It was not clear that the Government was able to get the real leaders to the negotiating table, he said, so the DP could play a vital bridging role between the two groups as it had greater credibility with black leaders than the Government had.

The NP and DP have offices in Umlazi and have already started canvassing voters.
The question SA now asks

By PETER FABRICIOS,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — What political role will Mr Nelson Mandela play as a free man? That must be the largest question in the minds of the country as Mr Mandela steps out of prison after 27 years.

His position looks fraught with uncertainty. Much is expected of him from the white side. He has been built up as a moderate saviour who could in some way ameliorate the worst excesses of ANC policy.

Yet the mostly second-hand opinions that one has thus far been forced to rely upon to fathom his thinking have not made it absolutely clear where he stands, and it will take more than his remarks immediately after his release to get a full picture of his attitudes and approach.

He has not renounced the armed struggle, which he could almost certainly not afford to do if he wanted to retain his constituency.

Yet President F W de Klerk seems confident after two meetings that Mr Mandela is "committed to a peaceful solution".

No firm undertaking

At the same time it emerged from Mr de Klerk's press conference on Saturday that Mr Mandela has given no firm undertaking yet that he will play a role in negotiations.

The indications are, though, that he will be prepared to do so once his remaining conditions are met — the complete lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the return of all exiles.

He has been given part of the responsibility for meeting the first of these conditions.

If his release does not increase unrest, the emergency is likely to be lifted within weeks.

The question of the exiles and prisoners could be more difficult. Mr de Klerk said on Saturday that they were negotiable, although Government sources have suggested the Government may yet make some unilateral concession.

Assuming that these obstacles are cleared away, the big question will be whether Mr Mandela is more prepared than his ANC comrades to compromise on their demands.

Referring to his recent statement of intent to normalise the mines, those who know him say he could do nothing but stick to the party line while in prison and they believe he will be precluded to budge at the negotiation table.

On the larger question of majority rule there is no uncertainty.

Unconfirmed reports have it that he presented 10-point plan to Mr de Klerk at their December 9 meeting, expressing his readiness to accept transitional period of power-sharing with the National Party before full majority rule.

If this is so then the question must arise whether he can take his constituency with him.

It might be unrealistic to expect him to carry the ANC with him into any constitutional arrangement that is based on group representation.

ANC-watchers suggest this is as unrealistic as to expect Mr de Klerk to lead his National Party voters into black majority rule.

And they point out that both leaders have uncompromising extremists breathing down their necks to mop up any disaffected supporters.

Mr de Klerk's spectre is, of course, the Conservative Party. The ANC's is the PAC.

Yet it is clear that both leaders will have to make compromises. Mr de Klerk's Cabinet colleague Dr Gerrit Viljoen has already conceded that the NP will not control the Government in 10 years' time. Is the ANC prepared to make a similar commitment and will Mr Mandela help them to do it?

Fellow Rivonia trialists caution that not too much should be expected of him. They point out that he was actually junior to Mr Walter Sisulu in the ANC hierarchy at the time of their arrest.

And it is clear Mr Sisulu and the others released last October have virtually been swallowed by the MDM.

Yet there is little doubt that Mr Mandela has grown larger than anyone else since then.

He also has by all accounts an independent streak which will not allow him easily to submit to the party line.
‘Government sincere about creating just dispensation’

FW’s faith in Mandela to be tested

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk released ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela from jail, convinced Mr Mandela was committed to “a peaceful solution and a peaceful process”.

This belief will be tested in the coming weeks as Mr Mandela gets opportunities to speak publicly and to consult ANC colleagues on future tactics and strategy.

Mr de Klerk told a press conference on Saturday, in which he announced the release, that the Government had “addressed the most important stumbling blocks in the way of negotiations”.

Asked if he thought Mr Mandela could play the role of facilitator between the Government and the ANC, Mr de Klerk said he followed an open door policy.

“Should he come forward and should he be prepared to play the role of facilitator to interest himself in promoting a climate for negotiations in promoting talks, or even talks about talks, yes, that open door is also open to him,” he said.

Final test

Mr de Klerk said Mr Mandela’s willingness to act as a facilitator was widely known. But he had not discussed it with him at their Friday meeting.

The final test for lifting the state of emergency would be the situation on the ground and everything would depend on whether there was an increase or decrease in unrest.

Asked if it was realistic to expect the Natal violence to subside soon, to allow the emergency to be lifted, Mr de Klerk said there was “an element of uncertainty”.

“Regarding the position of persons involved in politically-motivated crimes, I indicated that while this is a matter that should be dealt with in negotiations, exploratory discussions could take place in the meantime.”

“I want to emphasize that there can no longer be any doubt about the Government’s sincerity to create a just dispensation based on negotiations.”

Mr de Klerk stressed that Mr Mandela had not been released to ease international sanctions pressure, but because it was “in the best interests of South Africa”.

“The Government is committed to negotiations, the Government is committed to bringing about through negotiations a new constitution which is fair and just to all the people of South Africa.”

“I hope now that this chapter has ended, the world and more especially all the people of South Africa, will grasp the opportunity and play whatever supportive role can be played towards a peaceful conclusion to the process which has started.”

De Klerk has been knocked out, says CP’s info boss

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela had “won a knockout victory and President de Klerk has been carried away on a stretcher”, the Conservative Party said.

CP information chief Mr Koos van der Merwe, speaking after attending Mr de Klerk’s announcement on Saturday — he was the only other politician at the news conference — said the release of Mr Mandela proved that it was he who was really governing the country.

“What he wants, goes. He has got everything he wanted and Mr de Klerk has got nothing.”

Mr van der Merwe said he thought the state of emergency would be lifted when Mr Mandela wanted it lifted.

He said it was clear that Mr Mandela had not renounced violence before being released.

Mr van der Merwe said he was sure that Mr Mandela would not abandon his demands such as for a one-man, one-vote system and the nationalisation of mines, monopolies and banks.

Asked if he would call on CP members not to react violently, Mr van der Merwe said of course he would.

“We are absolutely against violence. Our bullet is the ballot.”

Time’s up . . . For Conservative Party MP, Mr Koos van der Merwe (top right, looking at his watch) time was obviously of the essence at Saturday’s press conference called by President de Klerk to announce Mr Nelson Mandela’s release.
MANDELA: Free at last

Orlando West celebrations over Mandela's release

He will work for peace, says FW

STATE PRESIDENT
FW de Klerk said he freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela doubt-
lessly convinced that he
was committed to a peace for South Af-
rica.

This was his impres-
sion of the world's most
legendary prisoner after two meetings, the first in
December and the second on Friday night in Cape
Town.

Dr Klerk was speak-
ing at a packed press con-
ference at Parliament. Looking calm and as-
sured, he answered ques-
tions easily but very care-
fully after making his
memorandum on the release
awarded around the globe.

Mandela's freedom after 28 years had become a
constant after his meet-
ing last year with former
President PW Botha who
was in the process of his
release.

There Mandela had commuted himself to a
perceived solution for the
country.

Describing Mandela as
"an elderly man, a dig-
ested man, an enigmatic
man", Dr Klerk said
there had been a positive
dynamics in his own
meetings with him.

"Yes, the discussion
cratically took place in a very
civil atmosphere, and he
is a friendly man. In fact,
I am also a friendly
man. Yes, the discussions
took place in a friendly
spirit", he said.

Dr Klerk said his
release was open to
Mandela, and
Diaspora, if the ANC leader
wished to place himself in
a confounding 'atmosphere' for
diplomacy negotiations, or even
talks about a new
peace agreement

Yesterday's release
brought South Africa to
the end of a long chapter.

Dr Klerk said by this
move and those 10 days
ago, he believed the most
important task for the
released had been

On foreign do-
ments for reform including those
from the US, he noted the
Government was not
working toward
a solution. "We are doing what
we sincerely think is in
the best interests of South
Africa."

Turning to the state
of emergency, Dr Klerk said
the first test of how the
Government had
the situation on
the ground.

"Everything will
depend on the question of
whether we get an in-
crease in crime or whether
we get a decrease in
crime."

The State President
had said the Government was
reviewing the emergency
situation almost daily.

But it was not an
issue for negotiation.
The Government had imposed
because of the lack of
stability. "It will be a
Government decision to
stop it. We are not
hearing why stability
should be restored sufficiently,"
he added.

Stability meant a con-
dition where people could
feel safe, go to work if
they wanted, a normal life
without threat or Insti-
lation, fear of crime,
where political strife did
not cost lives.

The Government went
to great lengths to draw
down the climate between
gangs and crime
and politically-related
violence, he added.

Dr Klerk asked whether the end of the
emergency would have to
wait until
conditions had

"Many public figures
are moving around
throughout the world
as a result of their
"And with him having
such a high profile, I
think you should take
one of these..."
East Germany considers re-establishing ties with SA

East Berlin — East Germany, pleased at the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison, said yesterday it might consider ties with South Africa.

"The dismantling of apartheid opens the possibility of ties in several areas between East Germany and a changed South Africa," according to a Foreign Ministry spokesman.

East Germany and the other East bloc states have no ties with Pretoria.

Acting head of state Mr Manfred Gerlach sent a telegram to South African President F W de Klerk, saying Mandela's release was "a step towards a discrimination-free world".

In Poland, Solidarity leader Mr Lech Walesa said in a telegram to the veteran black nationalist: "Your release is an act of justice long awaited by the international community."

Referring to political upheavals in Eastern Europe, he said: "The experience of recent months has shown there is no room in the world for regimes that hold human rights in contempt."

Mr Walesa, a tireless campaigner for political reforms and trade union rights, spent 11 months in detention after martial law was declared in Poland in 1981 and the free trade union he helped to found was outlawed for eight years.
JOHANNESBURG. — When Mr Nelson Mandela went to jail in 1962 blacks were expected to call whites “baaa” (boss). South Africa had no television service and no black policeman would have dared arrest a white.

He was imprisoned in a land where it would have been illegal for him to marry a white woman and almost impossible to eat out with white friends.

Prime Minister Mr Hendrik Verwoerd, the high priest of apartheid, was pressing for further racial segregation.

Now, reform-minded President F W de Klerk says he is committed to scrapping apartheid and has pledged to give blacks some say in national government.

But reform has a long way to go. The black majority still has no parliamentary vote and Pretoria shows no sign of getting rid of its ideological cornerstone policies of residential apartheid and birth registration by race.

Pitiful erosion of petty apartheid began in the late 1960s but it was in the early 1980s that a tide of change occurred.

Mr de Klerk’s election as president to replace Mr P W Botha after September 1989 parliamen- tary elections, which saw a rise in the fortunes of the Democratic Party, triggered further moves away from petty apartheid.

Speculation over Mr Mandela’s release, which reached a crescendo when eight political prisoners were unconditionally released from jail last October, ended on Saturday when Mr De Klerk announced he would go free yesterday.

Here are major events Mr Mandela missed during his captivity:

1966 — Mr Verwoerd is assassinated in Parliament by a white messenger.

1975 — Portugal pulls out of Angola and Mozambique. New, radical governments in both countries change the balance of power in Southern Africa.

1976 — More than 600 blacks killed in Soweto uprising. It begins as a protest against use of Afrikaners in black schools and develops into bitter national protest.

1977 — Black leader Mr Steve Biko dies of brain injuries while in police custody.

1978 — "Muldergate" scandal rocks the government, with revelations that public money was used to buy influence over the South African press. Mr John Vorster resigns the presidency in disgrace and is replaced by Prime Minister P W Botha.

1979 — Government lifts ban on black trade unions.

1980 — Mr Robert Mugabe wins elections in neighbouring Rhodesia-Zimbabwe and leads the country to black majority rule.

1983 — Non-whites gain place in Parliament with the creation of chambers for coloured and Indian representatives.

1984-86 — Black insurrection leaves more than 3,000 dead, victims of white security forces and black against-black violence.

1985 — United Nations draws up convention against apartheid in sport, which prohibits sporting contacts with South Africa.

1985 — Government repeals laws forbidding mixed marriages and sex across the colour line.

1986 — Declaration for seven months of a partial state of emergency.

1986 to date — National state of emergency imposed. Police given sweeping new powers, thousands detained, 22 anti-apartheid groups banned and press restricted.

1986 — Abolition of Pass Laws, one of the mainstays of apartheid.

February 1988 — Government tightens grip, banning 17 organisations including the UDF, the main anti-apartheid coalition with close links to the ANC.

December 1988 — South Africa signs accord with Angola and Cuba, under which Pretoria agrees to grant Namibia its independence in exchange for the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola.

January 1989 — Mr P W Botha suffers mild stroke, signalling the end of his political career.

July 1989 — Mr Botha summons Mr Mandela for a 45-minute meeting over tea at the presidential offices in Cape Town, prompting speculation that his release was imminent.

September 1989 — Mr De Klerk is elected president to succeed Mr Botha after leading the National Party to victory in parliamentary elections on a platform of apartheid reform.

October 1989 — Mr De Klerk releases the eight political prisoners, including former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu, in a move seen as a dry run for Mr Mandela’s own release.

December 1989 — Mr Mandela requests, and is granted, an interview with Mr De Klerk at presidential offices in Cape Town.

February 1990 — Mr De Klerk lifts 30-year ban on ANC and 40-year ban on its close ally, the South African Communist Party. The stage was set for Mr Mandela’s release. — Sapa-Reuters
JOHANNESBURG. — The ultra-right-wing Boerestaat Party (BP) yesterday said it granted ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela his freedom as a Xhosa.

BP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said Mr Mandela would be making a “deadly mistake” if he thought he could “rob” the “Boerevolk” of their rightful land and freedom, by involving himself in President F W de Klerk’s government.

“It also follows logically that (convicted Wit Wolf killer) Barend Strydom should be immediately released because Mr Mandela’s ANC organisation has killed many more people than Strydom ever could have dreamed of killing,” Mr Van Tonder said.

The chief information officer of the Conservative Party, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said that by taking this step the government had capitulated, because Mr Mandela had not acceded to a single demand. — Sapa

CROSS KOOS ... CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe accuses President F W de Klerk of capitulation following the announcement that Mr Nelson Mandela was to be freed.
Release is a double payout

THE release of Nelson Mandela is a high-stakes gamble by President FW de Klerk for a double payout - giving voiceless blacks a say in Government while assuring the rights of South Africa's white minority. (B)

"If the ANC pulls back from negotiations now, it will damage the image of the anti-apartheid movement. The process must go forward," said Professor John Barrett, political scientist with the University of the Witwatersrand's Institute of International Affairs.

"The release of the ANC leader after 27 years behind bars ensures that, after only five months in office, de Klerk has done more to resolve the apartheid deadlock than predecessor PW Botha did in over a decade.

"This time, the Government sees itself as having crossed the Rubicon. But whether or not they have depends on the reaction of the forces on the other side - the anti-apartheid movement," said political analyst Mike Hough.

Reaction

Hough, of the University of Pretoria, said neither the Government nor anti-apartheid leaders were likely to halt the political momentum created by Mandela's release and the release without restrictions last October of seven of his comrades.

Barrett said a lot was riding on the reaction of the anti-apartheid movement to the long-awaited liberation of the world's most famous political prisoner. (304)

"Much will depend on the ANC's and the UDF's reactions. How will they respond?" he asked.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has a fluid and often cumbersome leadership which has made it difficult for it to respond quickly to de Klerk's rapid-fire reform programme.

If Mandela manages to crystallise an effective leadership, readily identified abroad, the anti-apartheid forces may be better able to offer a cohesive reaction to de Klerk, analysts said.

Max Coleman, a veteran anti-apartheid campaigner who headed a group monitoring detentions without trial until it was banned by Pretoria, forecasts a huge outpouring of emotion that could become explosive.

"Pretoria's problem is to show that it is moving forward and at the same time maintain control," Coleman said. - Sapa- Reuter.

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He will work for peace, says FW

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said he freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela doubtfully convinced that he was committed to a peace for South Africa.

This was his impression of the world's most legendary prisoner after two meetings, the first in December and the second

positions easily but very carefully after making his momentous 5pm announcement of the release awaited around the globe.

Mandela's freedom after 28 years had become a certainty after his meeting last year with former President PW Botha who had started the process of his release.

There Mandela had committed himself to a chemistry in his own meetings with him.

"Yes, the discussions really took place in a very civil atmosphere, and he is a friendly man. I like to think I also am a friendly man. "Yes, the discussions really took place in a good spirit," he said.

De Klerk said his door was open to Mandela, and others, if the ANC leader wanted to involve himself
Press Conference

The President's
Lone CP hits out at Mandela speech

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party was the only strident voice in Parliament yesterday about the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and his speech to thousands on the Grand Parade on Sunday.

Several speakers during the Part Appropriation debate referred to the momentous events but, as was expected, only the CP was critical, attacking the government for having sold out the Afrikaner.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said events surrounding Mr Mandela’s release — “and on a Sunday” — showed he had not given an inch and that he wanted to carry out the full programme of classic Marxism.

“Mandela does not promise peace, but the intensification of the struggle,” said Dr Treurnicht.

He had promised the typical Marxist reconstruction of the economy and demanded majority government even before negotiations had taken place.

“His so-called non-racial election is an arrogant rejection of the Afrikaner volk, and all other people. It spells the destruction of all the rights of our nation.”

The government was capitulating and would not achieve anything at the negotiation table.

Dr Zach de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, hit out at the right-wing demonstration in Pretoria at the weekend against government reforms at which a Star of David flag was burned.

The country could no longer tolerate racism, and especially not anti-Semitism.

Referring to Mr Mandela’s speech on Sunday, he said there could have been more flexibility and a willingness to recognise the changes that had taken place in South Africa and the rest of the world in the past 30 years.

“I think however, the speech must be seen as a move by Mr Mandela to ensure that he has the loyalty of members of his movement.

“I think he was in fact a part in the middle of that movement,” Dr De Beer said.

“I believe that with yesterday’s events we concluded one phase of our history and started with another.”
CP charges Mandela, Sisulu with treason

By CLIVE SAWYER
Tygerberg Bureau

THE Conservative Party has laid charges of treason against ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Mr Seph Mothopeng at the start of its "Action One Million To Save SA" campaign.

Announcing this at a packed rally in Parow last night, party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the campaign was directed at gaining more CP seats, founding a newspaper, and putting the CP’s case to “leaders of other peoples”.

“We will form an almighty front of conservatives,” Dr Treurnicht said to cheers.

A national rally of mobilised Afrikaners would be held in Pretoria on May 26.

“We will give F W de Klerk a friendly but firm message — your days are numbered,” he said.

“Simple people”

“We are simple people, but will not be oppressed and we refuse to accept Mandela. Who would think we live in a Christian country when F W de Klerk chose a Sunday to free Mandela?” he said.

Mr De Klerk had allowed a communist flag to fly on a Sunday, over chaos and plundering.

The State President had released a “display picture” showing the two leaders of South Africa.

“F W de Klerk talks of Mandela as a friendly old man — a man who talks of armed struggle and smirks as if he is already ruling the country,” Dr Treurnicht said.

Since Mr Mandela had been released, there had been an increase in ideological and ethnic conflict.

There had been “Mandela fever and an orgy of capitulation”.

Dr Treurnicht said the government had no mandate for the “revolutionary unbanning of the ANC, SACP, and PAC and does not represent the majority of our people”.

Indignant crowd

The government had “thieved” from whites by scrapping separate amenities.

“It seems public indecency on beaches is the new South Africa,” he said.

He told the indignant crowd that a Boland army commando had been told the ANC was no longer the enemy but the right wing was.

He quoted extracts from speeches by Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu, and Mr Mothopeng that were allegedly treasonous.

“We demand urgent investigation of criminal charges we laid this afternoon,” Dr Treurnicht said.

He accused the National Party of trying to sell a “policy of suicide” to whites.

Reforms to date had been a softening process before the Group Areas Act would be scrapped, he said.
Classic Marxism — CP

CAPE TOWN — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday that events surrounding the release of Mr Nelson Mandela showed that he had not given in one inch, but wanted to execute the full programme of classical Marxism.

He added in a statement that Mr Mandela had already made distressing progress in advancing the communist programme. Referring to events since Mr Mandela’s release, he said a ideological and ethnic unrest and conflict had already started to escalate.

Mr Mandela did not promise moderation, but intensifying the violent struggle.

His purported commitment to peace was a transparent deception: he promised typical Marxist reconstruction of the economy, he demanded acceptance of majority rule even before negotiations started, therefore wanting cowardly surrender to intimidation, his so-called non-racial election was a presumptuous negation of the Afrikaner nation.

The Government was beset with a psychosis of capitulating before the revolution, said Mr Treurnicht.

The CP was determined to prove that the Government had no mandate for its legalisation of the ANC, PAC and SACP.
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa must become a multi-party democracy — and the chaos caused by Eastern Europe's "dive" into nationalising and land-grabbing socialism will not happen, says Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Interviewed by BBC radio's Africa Service, Mr Slovo dismissed fears that some form of mindless communism would try to impose itself on the country.

"No single party, communist or not, has a right to rule, except under the processes of democracy for the South African people," he said.

Dismissing panic as unnecessary, he said: "I don't believe that nationalisation, or a change in legal ownership, changes anything."

He said the SACP had learnt from the hard lessons of Eastern Europe's economic chaos.

"You have had in South Africa for a long time state ownership of some very basic sectors of the economy which has by no means meant an advantage for the people or socialism."

He said the SACP alliance with the ANC had grown firmer over the years and will continue into the future.

"Of course, as a party, we stand for an ultimately socialist South Africa (although the ANC does not embrace that as an ideology.)"

"It (the ANC) is a sort of multi-class organisation which welcomes all within its ranks whether communist, non-communist or socialist."

"But in the immediate perspectives for a post-apartheid society, there is hardly anything which divides the SACP from the ANC."

On land, he said the present position of law was that blacks could buy land in only 15% of the land area. "That has to go," he said.

"That does not mean necessarily that every piece of land that a white man has owned will be confiscated, or that there will be no compensation if redistribution takes place. These things have to be worked out."
Stoffel sees future govt with ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa's Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, was asked on British TV yesterday about the possibility of a coalition between the ANC and the National Party some time in the future.

Speaking on the BBC programme "Newshour", he said: "We believe that the future government of SA should be composed in such a way that all the parties that make a difference to the future of the country, should be represented in such a government.

"Now if that includes the ANC and that includes the NP, then one hopes that a future government will be so composed."

On whether a black election would be held prior to negotiations starting, he said: "What is clear is that at the negotiating table, all the people of SA will have to be represented.

"What the right way is to select those leaders, whether it should be done through a universal black franchise or through whatever means, that is something that should be negotiated before the time. But the point is that eventually all the people must be represented and must feel themselves represented.''

He said negotiations would still "take some time" to get under way.

Speaking on the same BBC programme, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's support for the lifting of sanctions has been slammed by Mr Thabo Mbeki, international secretary for the ANC.

Mr Mbeki backed Mr Mandela's call for international pressure to be retained till apartheid had been completely eradicated.

Mrs Thatcher, who has written to European and Commonwealth leaders calling for a "more positive" approach to encourage the ending of apartheid, yesterday released a statement reaffirming this standpoint.

Britain's voluntary ban on new investment in SA has already been ended.

Mr Mbeki said Mrs Thatcher had "always been opposed to any struggle against apartheid. It is therefore not surprising that she has wanted to remove even those little sanctions that this country has imposed."

"I don't know if she has any respect at all for the ANC — for the leadership of our people."

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd yesterday acknowledged that sanctions had played a significant part in Mr Mandela's release but added that British support for positive moves had also been beneficial.

While US President George Bush was not prepared to discuss sanctions yesterday, White House sources quoted here said Congress was unlikely to be an exception of reinstating landing rights for SA Airways in recognition of Mr Mandela's release.

In the same programme, AWA en leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche verbalised ripwing threats after footage was shown of the march in Pretoria on Saturday, including a white man who had badly beaten up for opposing the AWB. Mr TerreBlanche said the "capitulation" of the government would result in war.
Masses against Bantustan concept

Protest to FW over homeland threats

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Several communities under threat of being incorporated into homelands have called on President de Klerk to intervene.

A delegation from the Stop Incorporation Campaign delivered a memorandum setting out their demands to President de Klerk yesterday. The campaign is co-ordinating resistance to legislation which will strengthen the hand of those advocating incorporation — the Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Bill.

A national petition representing all the communities involved in the campaign, and containing about 43,000 signatures, mostly from those affected communities, has been presented to the President. Smaller petitions from the majority of the people of Hanover and Silverdale in the East London/Ciskei area have also been presented.

Communities under threat of incorporation into homelands include East Peelton, Thorndale, Hanover, Silverdale and Needs Camp in the Border/Ciskei region, Braklaagte, Leeuwfontein, Hartebeesfontein and Thokola in the Transvaal, and Botshapel in the Free State.

Harassment claims

The campaign had been launched against a background of turmoil in the affected communities, said a spokesman for the delegation, Mr Banhe Shishe.

"Many have been detained, assaulted, subjected to harassment and oppression," he said.

Claiming that they were never consulted about the planned moves, they demand the immediate ending of incorporation; the return to South Africa of those, communities already incorporated; compensation for those who suffered loss as a result of incorporation; and the withdrawal of the proposed legislation.

They also demand the removal of security forces from the areas affected, the provision of pensions and other services by South Africa and the scrapping of the Bantustan policy.

Asked what the group would do in the event of their demands being rejected, Mr Shishe said it would not be in the interests of the Government to respond negatively, especially in the present political climate.

Contingency plans would be discussed, according to another member of the delegation.

Police chief’s wide command

Brigadier Floris Mostert, commander of Johannesburg’s Brixton murder and robbery squad, has been promoted to command all special police units on the Reef.

Brigadier Mostert confirmed this yesterday.

He now commands all the murder and robbery squads on the Reef, the narcotics bureau, vehicle theft branches and the robbery reaction unit.

However, Brigadier Mostert said he would still personally investigate Dr David Webster’s murder.

Dutton ‘had control of a R100-m trust’

By Anna Louw, East Rand Bureau

Former Interboard managing director, Mr Edward Isaac Dutton (34), had the ability to control the Mary Gibbs Trust, the assets of which amount to about R100 million, with a further R13 million available in ready cash, a Germiston magistrate heard yesterday.

A chartered accountant, Mr Caspar Venter, gave evidence before Mr J J B van Zyl in a bail application by Mr Dutton’s defence counsel.

Mr Venter said he was requested by the police and the Reserve Bank to investigate foreign currency contraventions.

He said during his investigation it came to light that the trustees administering the Mary Gibbs Trust acted in terms of a letter of wishes from the settler.

After inspecting the letter of wishes and other documentation Mr Venter deduced that the trustees acted on direct instructions from Mr Dutton.

Mr Venter said the person nominated in the letter of wishes was Mr Dutton.

He said Mr Dutton had the ability to transfer assets. He had control over the actions of the trustees and could make and withdraw investments, transfer funds and act on bank accounts.

He said the trust was formed in 1980/81 allegedly on the instructions of Mr Dutton.

The hearing continues.
Zac sad but not surprised

The parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, yesterday expressed disappointment at the reference to the armed struggle and support for sanctions in the speech made by Mr Nelson Mandela in Cape Town on Sunday night.

Reacting to the speech, Dr de Beer said he was not, however, surprised because it was the standpoint of the ANC.

He said there was reason to believe there was not much capacity to continue the armed struggle.

The tone of the rest of the speech was favourable and Dr de Beer said he was pleased Mr Mandela had insisted white South Africans had an important role to play in a new South Africa. — Sapa.
I've done so as part and parcel of the decisions and campaigns which have been taken and launched by the ANC. There is no conflict whatsoever.

"There is not a single political organisation in this country inside and outside Parliament which can ever compare with the ANC in its total commitment to peace."

"The armed struggle is merely defensive — it is a defensive act against the violence of apartheid, but we remain committed to peace."

"If the government gives us the opportunity — if they normalise the situation — we are ready to make a positive contribution towards a peaceful settlement of the problems of this country."

Other points made by Mr Mandela yesterday were that:

- "It is still too early to expect us to call for the lifting of sanctions," SA was still "very far" from the demand that the country become a non-racial society.
- "Nothing would please the ANC more than for the homelands to "join us in the struggle"."

Yesterday in Johannesburg, hundreds of people had to be treated for heat exhaustion and minor injuries as people padding for FNB Stadium waiting in vain for several hours for the arrival of Mr Mandela.

The crowd, which eventually numbered about 60,000, began gathering from early morning.

Early in the day, dozens of young schoolchildren were crushed against fences ringing the field and trampled on as thousands more tried to enter the stadium.

Thousands of Soshanguve high school pupils, under the impression that Mr Mandela would arrive at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday afternoon, hijacked busses, taxis and trucks leaving the township in an effort to get to the airport.

All high schools in Soshanguve closed early to allow pupils to be at the airport to welcome Mr Mandela.

Schools in Soweto and Alexandra townships near Johannesburg were deserted, the regional director of the Department of Education and Training, Mr. Peet Struwig, confirmed yesterday. — Political Correspondent, Sapa and UPI.
Mandela's views are 'balanced', says Pik

LONDON. — The speech and Press conference given by Mr. Nelson Mandela subsequent to his release on Sunday amounted to a "moderate and balanced statement for a man who has not had freedom for 27 years", said Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha.

Speaking in a live BBC television panel discussion last night, beamed to London from Johannesburg, he was giving the government's first unofficial reaction to Mr Mandela's pronouncements so far.

Acknowledging the different standpoints of his National Party government, the African National Congress and others at this stage, Mr Botha said he accepted that the ANC needed time to formulate strategies.

But "we will eventually establish a framework for negotiations".

GREY AREAS

"That framework will have grey areas, such as the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners... to be negotiated within the framework."

"I believe that reality will dawn on all of us — the blacks will have to learn that there are genuine white fears as a result of the mess in Africa to the north where there is no apartheid, and whites will have to get rid of their prejudices."

Mr Botha said he had not been disappointed at Mr Mandela's words or expected more concessions.

He had "basically committed himself to a peaceful solution" and was "against white, as well as black domination."

A white businessman said Mr Kathrada's statement was the "first ray of hope" he had seen in the whole argument about nationalisation.

He interpreted Mr Kathrada as having clearly indicated that the ANC's stance on nationalisation now was a negotiating standpoint to be dealt with at the talks table.

Mrs Helen Suzman, former Democratic Party MP and veteran anti-apartheid and human rights campaigner since the early 50s, disputed Mr Kathrada's claim that nothing had changed in South Africa, despite the removal of some petty apartheid.

STARTLING MOVES

The NP government had made "startling" moves in the last few weeks, and removed many apartheid laws since the late 70s. Black trade unions had been a "major advancement for black empowerment".

Mr Jeff Masemola, a senior PAC leader also released from jail last year, said his organisation was not interested in "negotiations" but in a "taking over of the country by the people who own it."

Mr Kathrada, Mr Popo Molefe, and other panelists representing the ANC or its affiliated organisations maintained steadfastly throughout the discussion that the government's reform moves so far were still "not adequate" for negotiations on a new South Africa to start.

Mr Botha said President de Klerk had removed "almost all" of the obstacles. — Sapa.
How can a constructive negotiating process begin?

Since the announcement of the unbanning of the African National Congress, the SA Communist Party, the United Democratic Front and other political organisations last week, many people, especially whites, are experiencing the rather euphoric feeling that it is now a case of "all systems go".

The buzzword is "negotiations". Our all constitutional problems, so it is thought, are going to be solved and indeed our whole future constitutional dispensation is ready to be settled by negotiations.

It's as if everybody is all dressed up for negotiation — not only in the austere halls of Parliament and the high offices of government, but also on the streets where the protest marches and peaceful demonstrations have for many become the heralding signs of a new dawn.

Yet, when the issue of negotiations is viewed dispassionately and objectively, many worrying thoughts creep in.

How is the process to be initiated? By whom and with which party?

Unlike states in Eastern Europe, where regimes have been toppled or have had to resign and transitional governments of national reconstruction have been hastily formed to call for elections and the adoption of new constitutions, our Government is still very much in place.

Also, nothing has changed as far as the basic tenets of our constitutional structures are concerned.

What is more, the security situation is still tenuous and extra-parliamentary politics are still in the hands of groups wielding well-organised resistance and defiance and displaying very little sign of constructive thinking about the actual mechanics and processes of negotiation.

One has the distinct feeling that all the rejoicing might just have been a little premature.

In Namibia, long years of constitutional bargaining came to an end only this week with the adoption of the final independence constitution.

Those years have been marked by elecetions, referendums, interim governments, prolonged constitutional debate and planning and massive international supervision.

It is hoped that we in South Africa will be spared the agony and strife of Namibia before we finally arrive at the stage where a fully representative and legitimate constituent assembly can work out and adopt our future constitution.

However, even though our constitutional restructuring may be much smoother, one should not be too over-optimistic and believe that the ultimate phase of constitution-making is just around the corner.

The fact of the matter is that political forces are at present still too disparate, political leadership too diffuse and institutions of government so severe in their positions of control that it is simply unrealistic to hope for an immediate, decisive event from which our new constitution and a restructured government will emerge.

How then, is it possible to start a constructive process of negotiation?

In this regard, the central role of government and that of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk cannot be overlooked.

Constitutionally, it is only the Government that can give a start and effect to negotiations.

Crucial point

For that reason, it is illusory to demand that government should at this crucial point take a back seat and leave it to major political parties to undertake the bargaining themselves.

As a starting point, the Government will have to conduct general discussions with parties and leaders on the topic of negotiations.

From these discussions, the Government will have to host a meeting of eminent leaders and influential persons to debate the course and procedures of the negotiation processes.

It will simply not be enough, as in the past, to pass an Act of Parliament and prescribe the composition and powers of a national negotiating body.

What will be necessary, first of all, is to persuade eminent leaders across the whole political spectrum to form a kind of steering body to plan the process of negotiation.

A planning or steering body of that nature will have to reach consensuses on issues such as parties to the actual negotiation forum, the way in which these parties will be elected, nominated or appointed, the manner in which the forum will be convened and, most important, how the forum will implement its decisions and proposals.

Of course, the most crucial aspect of this process will be to ensure that the members of the initial steering or planning body are such leaders and persons of influence as to persuade all relevant political parties to join the actual negotiation forum.

It is only when the national negotiation forum has been established through the influence and persuasion of the initial steering body that true negotiation will commence.

Furthermore, it is foreseeable that only at that stage will the full array of party political views, options and models for constitutional reform and a new dispensation be put on the table, discussed and implemented.

It may happen, depending on its representativeness and general support, that the national negotiation forum will assume the character of a true constituent assembly carrying the ultimate task of writing a new constitution.

However, it is more probable that the national negotiation forum will be more in the nature of an advisory body which will pave the way for the final installation of a constitution-making assembly via the adoption of its proposals for various intermediate phases of restructuring.

It would be naive to think that any negotiation process will be conducted in a political vacuum or in an environment in which the status quo simply prevails.

The very fact of negotiation will create new circumstances and bring about new political groupings and alliances. New government institutions will be created as a result of negotiation, which, in turn, may deeply influence further negotiations.

Also, it is certain that the path of negotiation is not going to be free of obstacles.

Indeed, it may happen that the process of negotiation will seem to break down at a given stage, since it is an undeniable fact that there are still a number of groups and leaders who want to push their demands for reform or increase their support through popular uprising and intensify pressure so that they will be prepared to commit themselves to meaningful negotiation.

Anarchist elements

Other leaders, especially those with right-wing ideologies, resent the very idea of negotiation and reject out of hand any implication of sharing or transferring of power implicit in the outcome of negotiations.

They, together with other anarchist elements, may instead of merely slowing down or postponing negotiations, set themselves the task of wrecking the process.

The path of negotiation is not going to be strewn with roses.

On the other hand negotiations, and even negotiations about negotiations, create their own dynamics.

What remains vitally important at this stage is that political leaders of all persuasions should be given full support in coming together and starting to plan the process of negotiation.
Land Acts are destined for the historical dustbin

By Helen Grange

State President Mr de Klerk is preparing to scrap two of the most hated apartheid laws remaining on the South African statute book — the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, it was reported in London recently.

According to Mr Stephen Robinson, correspondent for London’s Daily Telegraph, a senior National Party source said the Cabinet was examining the land issue and was now discreetly approaching farmers’ organisations to prepare them for the shift in policy.

SCRUTINY

Although Government has not explicitly stated this reform, The Star has learnt reliably that the Land Act is destined for the historical dustbin.

Mr Henno Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, said last week that the Land Act was being scrutinised by a Cabinet committee.

Although this issue was not addressed by Mr de Klerk in his watershed announcements at the opening of parliament this month, a formal announcement was expected sometime during this parliamentary session, according to Mr Robinson’s report.

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 essentially provide for only 10 percent of South Africa’s land to be made available to blacks — in the form of homelands and national states.

However, blacks living outside of these land blocks in urban areas have in recent years been granted freehold rights for housing.

"If private land ownership is going to be the basis of a new South Africa, then the Land Acts will have to go," the NP source is reported as saying.

According to the report, the Cabinet is hoping that, by addressing the issue of land now, it would weaken black nationalists’ enthusiasm for wholesale land nationalisation and redistribution in the post-apartheid era.

Mr Richard Clacey, co-ordinator of the Association for Rural Advancement (Afra), has cautioned that a simple repeal of the Land Acts would not radically alter the present position.

WORSEN SITUATION

"Some whites would sell to blacks, especially the homeland elite, but there would not be a significant shift of land into the hands of the poor."

Mr Clacey added that a free market on the land may worsen the situation. "Large-scale corporations would buy up land sold off cheaply. For instance, Anglo American and Sappi have recently shown a strong interest in consolidating their land position in the bantustans."

"The land question will have to go far beyond a repeal of the Land Acts and be dealt with on a political level at the negotiating table in order for there to be a significant change in the present distribution," said Mr Clacey.
'Courageous step' gives hope for SA

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE mutual trust and respect between President F W De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela had established the basis for a bridge in a society that had been torn apart by fear, the Rev Jesse Jackson said yesterday.

He also praised Mr De Klerk for taking "a courageous step" in releasing Mr Mandela and compared it with President Abraham Lincoln’s decision to do away with slavery.

"There comes those rare moments in time when one person by sheer force of their will or will to make difference, a sense of human dignity or love for their country, can rise above the politics of the status quo or do some magnificent, courageous thing to save a country, save a people," Mr Jackson told the Cape Town Press Club.

Abraham Lincoln had such a moment and Mr De Klerk now had a similar moment.

The relationship between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had to be built on.

"It seems they have agreed to agree, and agreed to disagree but with mutual trust and respect."

In his first speech, Mr Mandela had referred to Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity and in doing so had shown his character and courage, and this was building material in South Africa, Mr Jackson said.

Yesterday afternoon, Mr Jackson met President De Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

A spokesman for the president’s office described the meeting between the two leaders as "a courtesy visit" and said no statement would be issued.

Mr Botha, who held discussions for 45 minutes with Mr Jackson, said they talked about the removal of discrimination and the future of all South Africans.

They had agreed South Africa could have "a very bright future".

Mr Jackson said there had been some hopeful steps but although Mr Mandela was out of jail, he was not free.

The vote was still restricted, and the Population Registration Act and Group Areas Act had not been abolished, he said.

"Beyond these, South Africa will have its brightest days," he said.

Mr Jackson added that he supported Mr Mandela’s position on sanctions.

COURTESY VISIT ... Mr Pik Botha and the Rev Jesse Jackson met yesterday to discuss the removal of discrimination in the land. South Africa could have a "very bright future", they agreed.

CAP. THURS 13/2/90

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Urbanisation to be reform's 'testing ground'

TANIA LEVY

The high rate of urbanisation and deep-rooted politicisation of SA's urban communities would make the urban question the testing ground and central focus for reform, Education and Development Aid Deputy Minister Piet Marais said in Pretoria yesterday.

Opening a symposium on Developing Urban Environments, Marais said urbanisation was the most dominant force shaping the social, economic and political structure of SA.

He said the urban population was expected to increase to 38 million by the year 2000. In 1985 it was about 19 million.

Marais said about 88% of the increase would be the urbanisation of black people.

President F W de Klerk's recent political initiatives added a new dimension to the concept of positive urbanisation, he said.

New urbanisation strategies would be based upon a participatory, planning process underpinned by a wide-ranging debate about challenges facing urban communities.

Marais said rational negotiations about a new constitution could not be divorced from underlying developmental realities.

Areas which would have to be addressed would be:

- Allocation and ownership of land and funds for housing and infrastructure;
- Establishment of structures for participation in the planning and development of urban areas;
- Promotion of private sector involvement; and
- The resolution of conflict, which had become endemic among sectors of urban communities.

On the local level, debate would centre around access to social amenities and facilities such as schools and clinics, provision of land and financing for development and sharing of human, physical and financial resources, Marais said.

He said SA was still dealing with the consequences of the decision in the late 1970s to allow blacks to own land outside the self-governing territories.

The decision represented a turning point in government's approach to urban development but also its approach to shaping the country's socio-economic and political future.

Marais said SA's urban structure was already established and most urbanisation would take place in the metropolitan areas. In 1986, SA's four metropolitan areas already housed 70% of the black urban population.
"Out of jail but still in chains"

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela is not free, he is simply out of jail, says US civil rights leader the Rev Jesse
Jackson.

He told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday: "Unless Mr. Mandela is free to live where he wants, can send
his children to a school of his choice and is free to run for office in this
country, he is not free.

"Until he is free, the struggle to end apartheid will continue," he said.

Jackson said many white leaders had "denounced" blacks with disin-
formation. "These lies have led to fear, hatred, violence and the rebellion which
is now taking place.

"It is up to the white leaders and churches to lead their people away
from these misconceptions."

He said blacks had access to neither privatization nor nationalization —
they did not have access to banks or equity. But he appealed to whites to stay
in the country as they would "reap the benefit."

Responding to a question about his thoughts on a one-man-one-vote sys-
tem in S. Africa where the blacks were in majority, he said: "One person is one
vote. If you are going to make a black less than a whole person then it is not
a moral formula.

"Democracy is majority rule that has laws to protect minorities from
the tyranny of majorities. The formula should not be altered just because
the majority of democrats are blacks.

"All these fears must be overcome with courage. I would urge people to
precede the government by making friends across the colour line. The
more people communicate in dialogue, the less the fear will become," he said. — Sapa.
"Rules for meetings" change

CAPE TOWN — The rules governing Nelson Mandela's meetings with President F W de Klerk would change now that Mandela was free, senior UNP official Murphy Morobe said yesterday, 6172

Morobe was answering questions before Mandela's Press conference at Bishop's Court.

Asked if any arrangements had been made for Mandela to see the State President before he left Cape Town, Morobe first jokingly replied: "Which State President?"

"Inside prison he had to deal with the situation as it came, but the rules will change a little bit now," said Morobe. 3047

Mandela would first have to consult the ANC leadership in Lusaka before such a meeting.

He said he did not think the picture of Mandela and De Klerk, which appeared in weekend newspapers, had been published with Mandela's permission.

There was uncertainty about Mandela's movements when Morobe spoke to reporters.

"Our main concern is where he sleeps tonight," said Morobe. "Our information is that his Soweto house is surrounded by thousands. We must devise a means of relieving the pressure on the house if possible." — Sapa.
Barend asks joint sitting for R20,8-bn to tide State over

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, presented a R20,8 billion part appropriation budget to a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday.

The mini-budget is to tide over State financing from April 1 until the main Budget comes into operation about July.

The R20,8 billion was broken down as follows: Central Government (including Administration for Own Affairs) R17.9 billion; Transvaal Provincial Administration R1.4 billion; Cape R1.05 billion; Natal R700 million; and Free State R350 million.

Mr du Plessis said the amount for Central Government and administrations for Own Affairs exceeded last year's part appropriation by R2.1 billion (13.8 percent). The total amount for the provinces had risen by about 12.9 percent.

Mr du Plessis said the part appropriation budget was merely an interim measure to provide for State spending in the first months of the new financial year.

It furnished no basis on which to forecast the possible course of the main budget.

A full review of the present state of the economy and the prospects for the coming year would be given when the main budget was delivered to Parliament (in March).

Mr du Plessis said, in terms of Section 4 of the Exchequer Act of 1973, funds voted in the Part Appropriation Bill had to be used only for services for which expenditure during the previous financial year was authorised by an Appropriation Act or Act of Parliament. — Sapa.

'A new phase of history'

The strengthening of SA's reserves and the good performances on the Stock Exchange during the last few weeks could only, to a limited extent, be attributed to economic reasons, Dr Zach de Beer, Parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said yesterday.

Speaking in debate in the Part Appropriation Bill, he said it was due to political factors and the impression gained by investors that SA was eventually on the road to normalising its political rules and structures.

'Thirty years ago, after the Sharpeville tragedy, Dr Paul Safer said the South African history books should be closed and a new one started. It did not happen, but today things are different.

'I believe that yesterday's release of Mr Nelson Mandela has closed one phase of our history and we have started, with another.'
"Parliament now just a spectator"

CAPE TOWN — The perception was developing rapidly outside Parliament that Parliament was becoming merely a spectator to events in SA, chief CP finance spokesman Casper Uys said yesterday.

Speaking during the mini-budget debate, he said proof of this was that MPs had to accept that State President F W de Klerk had accepted other engagements as more important than being present at the "most important debate" of the session on Friday — on a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet.

Uys said De Klerk had said Nelson Mandela was a man of peace, yet on Sunday Mandela had said at the Grand Parade rally the armed struggle was continuing and would be intensified.

Uys said that after the weekend's events, the NP was going to negotiate from a position of weakness and Mandela from one of strength. — Sapa.

Nurses to attend debate on health crisis

CAPE TOWN — A hundred off-duty nurses will attend the debate on the nursing crisis in the House of Assembly today, to focus attention on the serious situation in nursing and health services. WP branch chairman of the SA Nursing Association (Sana) Sheilla Clow said the nursing situation had worsened since being brought to the public's attention by Sana in July 1988, and "realistic solutions must be found and implemented urgently".

A proposed gathering at Parliament was called off as it was not permitted while Parliament was in session. Clow said Sana would distance itself from any such action. — Sapa.
ANC must change its positions, says Constitution Minister Viljoen

THE Government disagreed with certain views enunciated by ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela since his release on Sunday but felt, overall, that they should have been made known to the public. In the first top-level Government reaction to Mandela's release speech and other utterances, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, told an international news conference yesterday afternoon that Mandela had also made statements which the Government welcomed.

It was, however, awaiting an authoritative response from the ANC to adjust their positions.

Viljoen said the Government welcomed Mandela's description of President F.W. de Klerk as a man of integrity; that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement should be established so that there should be no more need for the armed struggle; and his rejection of black and white domination.

Sanctions

Viljoen said the Government felt the aptness of sanctions should be seen in a new light following the Government's recent actions and should be systematically withdrawn.

The unbanning of an organisation was not equal to supporting the policies of that organisation.
Clase explains why blacks attend white school

It was in the interests of education that the Department of Education and Culture had granted permission for three black American children to be admitted to white schools, the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying in an interpellation debate on a question from Mr Andrew Gerber (CP Brits), Mr Clase said it was the first time an exception to the rule had been made. He had used his discretion on the merits of the case.

GROUP RIGHTS

Mr Brits, referring to the admission of the children who were not members of the diplomatic corps, said it was a flagrant violation of the National Party's election promises of group rights being protected.

"Is the Minister guilty of political dishonesty?"

"What moral right does he have now to prohibit children of South African coloureds or blacks from admission to white schools?"

"It is comical, but also tragic, how the Minister has been wrestled, shocked and beaten into drinking the water of the so-called new South Africa."

"Now that his head is under water, he still refuses to drink."

Mr Gerber asked whether Mr Clase was aware of the consequences of the new South Africa.

He said if the Population Registration Act was to be repealed, it would not be possible to distinguish the race of applicants to white schools.

"The admission of a few blacks to white schools will not be sufficient. Once this act goes, there will be only one education department which means the department will disappear, as will the Minister's job.

"I predict the handing over of Afrikaner whites to the masses, and that will be looking for serious problems."

Mr Clase said his department wanted to handle education in the light of specific circumstances.

"According to the five-point plan set out before the election, it is clear that the Government's standpoint is still on the basis of own education, and is still convinced this is the best basis from which to work."

"We are, however, not deaf or blind and are working in the direction of parental choice."

"This was the first time an exception had been made and I used my discretion on the merits of the application. I did so in the interests of education and of the children." — Sapa.
SADF can’t trace origin of radio tapes

Despite an SADF departmental inquiry into the origin of last year’s controversial radio messages on the massing of Swapo troops on Namibia’s northern border, there had been no positive confirmation on their origin, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, told the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying in an interpellation debate to a question from Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point), he said the tape of the intercepted messages had been destroyed after a transcript had been made.

A team of experts had conducted an intensive investigation into the origin of the messages, and established that they had not originated from the SADF.

He said SADF regulations stipulated that all tapes of intercepted messages be transcribed within 24 hours. The tapes were then re-used.

Asked by Mr Roger Huil (DP Constantia) whether in this particular case it had not been possible to keep the tapes, he replied: “This is history. I’m sorry I can’t reply any further to this question.” — Sapa.
ANC policy needs revision — Viljoen

Enough common ground for peace

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SUFFICIENT common ground existed between the ANC and the government for the two parties to reach a peaceful settlement, the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

However, the ANC's "naivete and irresponsibility" of advocating for a new South Africa economic and political ideologies that had proved "utter failures" elsewhere in the world had to be clearly exposed, he said.

Speaking at a press conference, Dr Viljoen welcomed what he called "positive points" and "important issues of agreement" in Mr Nelson Mandela's remarks — but emphasized that the government found his views on sanctions, nationalisation and the armed struggle "unacceptable."

Dr Viljoen said that Mr Mandela's speech on the day of his release and his subsequent statements were clearly made "within the confines and discipline of existing ANC policy."

"Much of this policy dated from "a few decades" ago, he said. "The idea that a black African was not built to stand in need of "urgent revision" in the light of recent developments in the country and the government was still awaiting a "considered reaction" from the ANC executive on Mr F W de Klerk's announcements."

Dr Viljoen said he welcomed the "positive points" made by Mr Mandela:

- The statement that the ANC was concerned to address the problem of white concerns with regard to a one person, one vote system and finding a formula that would suit both blacks and whites.

- Dr Viljoen said the government was in agreement with Mr Mandela on two important issues.:
  - That the remain of apartheid must be removed.
  - Universal suffrage in a united, democratic South Africa.

- Dr Viljoen said he did not believe there would be another general election in which blacks would be excluded.

- It was unlikely that the National Party would be in control of government in the new constitutional dispensation but he believed that the NP would still be playing a meaningful role.

- Dr Viljoen said the government "specifically finds unacceptable" Mr Mandela's views on sanctions, nationalisation and the armed struggle.

- Mr De Klerk had taken a number of major steps towards creating a climate for negotiations which called for a thorough-going re-evaluation of the whole situation by all potential participants in negotiations.

- "It has become incumbent on all of them to reconsider and adjust their own position."
Reforms in SA positive, says Sebina

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The measures so far taken by the State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk, were positive and showed him as a man of "serious consciousness" who had visualised that the future of South Africa depended on equal participation by all, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said.

Speaking on the eve of a meeting of the ANC leadership, Mr Sebina said although Mr de Klerk's measures had been expected, the timing had been "more than dramatic". He also praised Mr de Klerk for warning the right wing that they could not derail the process of democratising South Africa.

Mr Sebina said Mr Nelson Mandela was expected in Lusaka early next week.

Today's meeting of the ANC's national executive committee would study the reply of the ANC to the Government moves.
No built-in white domination
such a system, said AL Green
when the domination, in which
my country, church and business
would have an equal role
in the world, was the right one
toward which we are striving.

President de Klerk said this year:

"Group Areas Act"

"I cannot face the..."
Viljoen says Government is confident...

'Mandela will play a positive role'

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government is confident ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela will play an "important positive role in developing the ANC's policies".

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen — who had several meetings with Mr Mandela while he was still in prison — said this yesterday.

He was responding to Mr Mandela's first speech and press conference since his release on Sunday.

Dr Viljoen said the Government found several "positive points" in Mr Mandela's statements though it rejected support of sanctions, nationalisation and the continuation of the armed struggle.

He said it was clear Mr Mandela had been speaking "within the confines and discipline of ANC policy".

Dr Viljoen said he still felt there was enough common ground between the ANC and the Government for negotiations to start.

The Government was still awaiting the "considered" response from the ANC national executive to President de Klerk's initiatives to create a climate for negotiations.

Mr de Klerk had also gone far enough for the world to abandon sanctions.

Personal preference

Dr Viljoen said that though Mr Mandela had reiterated the ANC policy of the armed struggle, he had shown a clear personal preference for peaceful solutions.

Dr Viljoen said he believed he would promote this view within the ANC if he was given the chance.

He said he had been particularly impressed by Mr Mandela's statement that the ANC would address white fears of domination by blacks.

"This bodes well for the possibility of frank and reasonable discussions in the negotiation process." Dr Viljoen welcomed other "important positive points" in Mr Mandela's statements:

○ His affirmation that President de Klerk was a man of integrity.
○ Mr Mandela's hope that a climate conducive to negotiated settlement would be created so that there would no longer be the need for the so-called armed struggle.
○ His reiterated rejection of white domination as well as black domination.

Dr Viljoen said on two important issues the Government agreed with Mr Mandela:

○ The remains of apartheid had to be removed, and
○ Universal suffrage in a united democratic South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said it was time now for the ANC to abandon the armed struggle and come forward for talks about the obstacles to negotiation.
State hits back at CP in pamphlet campaign

BY MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

THOUSANDS of pamphlets setting out the government's commitment to negotiations are being distributed this week in the first round of a counter-attack against the Conservative Party.

The campaign is aimed at justifying and explaining the rapid initiatives undertaken by President F W de Klerk and his Cabinet in the search for a negotiated settlement.

The counter-attack follows nearly two weeks of bitter allegations from the CP that Mr De Klerk is turning his back on his people; that the government has no mandate from the white electorate; and that it "crooked" its way to victory in last September's elections by failing to tell voters precisely what its plans were.

The CP wants to force the government to call a general election.

The pamphlet, which has a photograph of President De Klerk, says the government committed itself in the last election to a negotiated settlement and the creation of a new South Africa.

It was the key element of the NP's five-year plan and there was no turning back from this path.

"In order to win, you need the initiative ... the NP has it," says the pamphlet.

It argues that the ideological base of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party is in tatters and that the government could go ahead and negotiate.

"Remember, the ANC's responsibility to act peacefully will be carefully monitored by the international community."
Time needed to let the changes sink in

TOS WENTEL on the Presidency

To come out of jail after so many years under such circums -
stances must be some -
thing of a culture shock to mention some of the poten-
tially stressful conditions he is being subjected to.

Seasoned political observers are dismissing Mr Mandela's remarks on the
armed struggle as being largely aimed at his ANC constituency.

Escalate

In Luanshya the movement has acknowledged that it
could not escalate the armed struggle. Following the Ango-
lan-compiled peace agreement it has had to shift bases to
Tanzania and Uganda.

Prof Willie Breytenbach of the Department of African
Studies at the University of Stellenbosch said every ex-
pert in South Africa and overseas knew that the armed
struggle had large scope to expand. What Mr Mandela had
said was largely a slogan at this stage, but unfortunately it
sounded defiant and seductive to many whites. It
would be better for whites to remain calm and not to
overreact.

This so-called armed struggle had never reached guer-
illa-war proportions but had largely been confined to ter-
rorist-type bomb, limpet mine and land mine explo-
sions.

While soft as well as mili-
tary targets had at one stage been attacked the ANC had had also messages from the
outside world that this could not be condoned.

Preconditions

Professor Breytenbach said it was surprising that Mr
Mandela appeared to be re-
turning to the aim of nation-
alisation after the ANC had
removed away from this by
referring to a mixed economy in
its recent constitutional guidelines, a draft Bill of
Rights and the Harare Declaration.

On the other hand it was to be expected that the ANC
would not indicate its own

bottom line in negotiations right at the start.

South Africa had largely moved past the preconditions stage and could now start moving to the prenegotiations stage.

There would have to be deci-
sions by exiles on when to return as the negotiations
would take place inside South Africa.

There was also the question of how the negotiations would be structured and who would take part. Here the position of groups in between the government and the ANC who were willing to participate - such as the parliamen-
tary parties and Inkatha - would have to be taken into account.

It would probably be next year before there could be any start to negotiations.

Professor Robert Schrire of the Department of Political
Science at UCT said that be-
cause Sotho Africans had no experience of what real politi-
cs was about it was easy to lapse into a kind of fantasy
world.

The radio and television
had for many years pre-
sented system blacks on the
one hand and white looters
and arsonists on the other.

Articulating

Now it came as shock that people like Mandela were artic-
ulating a sense of black in-
justice and a very ambitious black claim to participate in
the running of the country.

What had happened in the
last few days was the recog-
nition that Mandela was not a "tame black" as some were
making him out to be but that
he was an authentic African leader with a radical agenda.

Professor Schrire said that
in the ANC, and also in the
government, there were go-
ing to be some tough and dif-
ficult decisions on how to get negotiations going, on who
were to do the negotiating, and
on what the bottom line positions on power sharing, group rights, if any, and pri-
vatety would be.
The real SA game — with abundance in the goals

Many see South Africa as a global game, pitting “system” v “struggle”. The “system” side, wearing blue, orange, and white, is playing by rugby rules. “Struggle”, clothed in green, yellow, and black, thinks the game is soccer.

Western experts and critics believe the players all have on blindfolds. They must help the hapless and confused players by shouting instructions from the stands. Occasionally, they throw down nartjes in the form of sanctions or boycotts. Maybe the experts have on blindfolds, too.

Conventional wisdom says it’s Captain de Klerk v Captain Mandela. The sides “scrum” over competing economic or political systems, slogans, scenarios, and Utopias. The world’s media hovers above the veld awaiting the inevitable clash. The future of Africa tips in the balance.

Well, maybe it’s time for an entirely different dimension of thinking.

Integrates

Call it synthesis — the higher and richer order that blends and integrates the best from all views with new insights and discoveries from the rapidly changing environment. System works to preserve or reform the status quo. Struggle seeks to transform society into a new order. Synthesis rejects conflict in favour of creating abundance, the real agenda for all South Africans. If you play the synthesis game, everybody wins.

So, how can greater abundance be created in South Africa — not just of a material nature, but in the quality of thinking, education, problem solving, and nation building? How can the standard of living and quality of life be enhanced for all South Africans? Why couldn’t the Saps conflict have been resolved before the loss of life and destruction of property? The answer is to replace scarcity management with abundance creation.

South Africa is one of the rare places on the planet Earth where abundance can be created with relative ease. The size of the collective cake can increase in quantum leaps.

What kind of thinking, however, will it take to create abundance? How can this approach replace fear and distrust?

First, maybe I suggest that South Africans consider co-operative planning of an entire decade of development. Leaders should sit side-by-side in identifying the key issues and problems in the Republic.

Negotiating constitutional models should come after the problems are clearly understood. The gaps between the haves, have nots and have no’s are simply too wide to bridge with absolutist thinking from either collective camps of free-market segments.

Economic and political pulses should be in frequency with the evolutionary nature of the society itself, The Great Indaba will be a long Indaba.

Second, it’s critical that positive thinking South Africans re-evaluate the entire litany of economic, cultural, literary, sports, and technological boycotts and sanctions. The South African Government is not going to come to its knees. To use this leverage as a bargaining chip is to play the struggle game when only synthesis thinking can produce abundance.

Society has quite enough internal pressure on perturbations to keep the Third Trek in motion. It will take a long, long time for the supply lines to impact the society in its quest to maximise abundance. There is not time to waste, not if you’re serious about the quality of health care and education.

The world community needs to find other scapegoats for its own internal problems. Moral poses lose their persuasive appeal when they conceal trade advantages and other forms of exploitation of South Africa resulting from sanctions.

Finally, maybe it’s time for everybody involved to call “timeout” and consider other approaches.

Jesse Jackson demonstrated his depth of insight when he suggested, during the presidential debates in 1988 in Houston, a novel and creative approach to the problems in the Middle East.

Mr Jackson made two essential points. First, he insisted that the safety and longevity of the Israeli culture, traditions, religion and language be guaranteed. Second, he believed this would release the energy, insight, and flexibility for the Israelis to create a semantic “Hong Kong” in the Middle East.

The same is true with the Afrikaner Volk. In fact, I’ve never thought the struggle industry was being clever by threatening the Volk in its safety and sacred zone. All could benefit from a new and creative initiative. Your children and grandchildren will rise up and call you blessed if you seriously pursue abundance, not power.

The people I know who have met Nelson Mandela report he is in the best tradition of a synthesis thinker. He and other enlightened UDF and ANC leaders face a serious threat from their own revolutionary wing.

Congruence

They understand far too well that enlightened leaders are often replaced by generals, then sergeants until congruence is reached with the bulk of the population.

It’s quite natural for developing societies to opt for one-party states. The massive needs of the “have nots” must be met, quickly. It’s in everybody’s interest to do so. An abundance-based development and distribution system has the potential to enhance the First World component while uplifting those still suffering from searing poverty and hopelessness.

Synthesis is the best game in town. Nothing else can produce abundance. Everybody can play by the same rules. Western spectators can find another game to watch.
explore

Conclusions

The key findings are as follows:

- The NPS plan to manage the transition process.
- The NPS plan to manage the transition process.
- The NPS plan to manage the transition process.
- The NPS plan to manage the transition process.
- The NPS plan to manage the transition process.
- The NPS plan to manage the transition process.
Goft delivers first response to Mandela

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela's comments on nationalising mines and other sectors of the economy were naive and irresponsible, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

However, delivering government's first consideration response to Mandela's pronouncements since his release, Viljoen also welcomed the ANC leader's commitment to find a solution that addressed white fears of black domination.

That, in addition to the warmth and generosity Mandela had displayed towards President F W de Klerk, Viljoen said, boded well for future negotiations.

Viljoen said that despite Mandela's reaffirmation of support for the armed struggle, he believed it was clear the ANC leader was in favour of peaceful solutions.

He cited Mandela's speech on the day of his release and subsequent statements had clearly been made within the confines of existing ANC policy.

"Much of ANC policy dates from a few decades ago and stands in need of urgent revision in the light of recent developments in SA."

On the eve of the ANC executive's meeting to discuss a response to recent actions by government, Viljoen said there was need for the organisation to match the large strides government had taken with meaningful steps.

He called on the ANC to re-assess its position on sanctions as well as to display a willingness to enter discussions with government to remove remaining obstacles to negotiations.

Viljoen said he believed the violence at Sunday's rally on the Grand Parade here resulted from problems with crowd control rather than any willful action on the part of the ANC.

Asked if there was common ground between government and the ANC, Viljoen said: "I would say yes. I was particularly impressed by the formulation which Mandela used to convey his reply regarding concerns of whites... That statement was well put for frank and reasonable discussion in the negotiation process.

But, attacking Mandela's statements on nationalisation, Viljoen said the NP would use the political terrain to pillory the ANC's economic policies.

See Pages 3, 4 and 12
Comment Page 12

He believed the debate on economic policies was strongly loaded in favour of those who believed in a market-oriented system which took into account the need to improve the quality of life of disadvantaged sections of the community.

Government accepted the need to expand services provided to communities that had been disadvantaged in the past. But, this could only be achieved by a strong economic framework to create the additional wealth needed for such advancement.

Nationalisation would result in a one-off redistribution. Thereafter those industries would run at a loss and the state would be distributing poverty rather than wealth.

Asked to explain what form minority guarantees could take, Viljoen said the NP

To Page 2
Goal of social and economic upliftment

HISTORY had shown that apartheid stifled growth, created mass unemployment and led to a situation that undermined living standards of the majority of people, both black and white, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told more than 128 000 people packed into Soccer City in Johannesburg that only a participatory democracy involving all the people in the structures of decision-making at all levels of society could ensure that this was corrected.

"We will certainly introduce policies that address the economic problem that we face."

He said the ANC was just as committed to economic growth as present employers \(\text{claimed to be, but was also committed to ensuring that a democratic government addressed the inequalities caused by apartheid.}\)

Much debate had been sparked off by the ANC policies on the economy relating to nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth, he said.

"We believe that apartheid has created a heinous exploitation in which a racist minority monopolises economic wealth while the vast majority of oppressed black people are condemned to poverty."

Expressing his alarm at the high crime rate, he said he was disturbed that there were those who say they are part of our movement, who black- and fast-sleight vehicles as they are criminals.

He said SA was a wealthy country which had been built up by the labour of black workers who could not be excluded from sharing in the wealth.

"Our people need proper housing not ghettos like Soweto. Workers need a living wage and the right to join unions of their own choice and to participate in determining policies that affect their lives."

He called on employers to recognise the fundamental rights of workers and added that SA was marching to a new future based on foundations of mutual respect achieved through bona fide negotiations.

The ANC patriarch went on to urge all workers, black and white, to join hands in Cosatu.

On the issue of education, he said: "The crisis in education that affects us demands..."

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Upliftment 8/10/90

special attention. The education crisis in black schools is a political crisis, it arises out of the fact that our people have no vote.

"Education is an area that needs attention from all our people, students, parents, teachers, workers and all other organised sectors of our community. Let us build a united teachers' organisation, parents and inter-student organisations and the National Education Crisis Committee."

Mandela also condemned harassment of innocent people in the name of the struggle. "Our victory must be celebrated in peace and joy. I call on our people to take decisive action to end the mindless violence."

Mandela again addressed the issue of white fears, saying: "I am as opposed to black domination as I am to white domination. We must clearly demonstrate our goodwill to our white compatriots."

"A new SA has to eliminate racial hatred and suspicion and secure for all, peace, security and prosperity."

He called on whites to join the struggle for one man, one vote, based on a common voters' roll."
Govt to clarify rules for protest marches

CAPE TOWN — Government planned to put before Parliament proposals which would legally clarify the requirements for peaceful protest marches, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during an interpellation debate proposed by Chris de Jager (CP, Bethal) about who had arranged various protest marches in Cape Town between January 23 and February 2 this year, and whether permission had been sought for them, Coetsee welcomed the speech by DP Law and Order spokesman Denis Worrall who had pointed out certain shortcomings and suggested improvements.

Our Political Staff reports that the DP is to propose a number of amendments to security laws to guarantee the right to peaceful protest marches, but at the same time give the authorities the right to prohibit or limit them.

If the DP amendments are accepted, the authorities will have to give "clear and specific reasons" when it prohibits a march or limits the right to march as, for example, when it prescribes the time, route or the numbers involved.

In a statement yesterday Worrall said the DP proposals were aimed at a practical arrangement which avoided the kind of deadlock which occurred at the end of January and early February.

The problems centred on the insistence of the state that permission had to be sought for the marches, and the unwillingness of the organisers to request permission.

The DP said it was not the intention to argue the correctness or otherwise of the view that permission should not be necessary, but to suggest a practical arrangement which avoided deadlock.

"However, as it is, the arrangement suggested has the virtue of recognising the interests of both public authorities and the organisers of protest marches."

The right to organise peaceful marches would be granted, but organisers would be required to give timely notice of the event to a designated official, such as a magistrate.

The notice would include details of the intended march, such as the purpose, the route, date and time, projected numbers, speakers and other details.

"An onus will also rest on the organisers to ensure, as far as this is practically possible, that the protest will be peaceful."
A message from the people who work at Mobil.
IDASA REJOICES THAT NELSON MANDELA IS FINALLY FREE TO PLAY HIS LEADING ROLE IN BUILDING DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY

(Issued by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray 7700)
Privileged

Read with the
understanding that the
information contained herein is
confidential and is intended for
the use of the recipient only.

To the ANC...
The ANC has been
harassed and intimidated.

At times, we must
remember that under
these circumstances, the
ANC's position is
under threat.

To the ANC...

Conclusion

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Everyone must have vote, FW tells US

Political Staff

EVERYONE must have a vote and the vote must be equal but there had to be checks and balances in the new constitution for the protection of the many minority groups, President F W de Klerk has told US television viewers.

"Everybody must have a vote and the vote must be equal," he said in an interview with Mr Ted Koppel on ABC's Nightline programme.

"There must not be discrimination built into the voting system."

But, simultaneously, there was a need in South Africa, because of the diversity of the society, for checks and balances to protect minority groups.

Various other countries had handled this problem in different ways.

"The system in which a vote is weighted in America differs from the British system. It differs totally from the Swiss system.

"Special accommodation has been made in Belgium to accommodate each fairly simplified diversity."

Mr De Klerk said: "We want to move to a dispensation which is fair, which is just, in which white domination, in whatever way it exists, must go, in which there must not be built-in, even in a disguised form, continued white domination."

Mr De Klerk also said 95% of all measures, which through the decades had been regarded as apartheid measures, had been repealed.

"A few basic Acts remain—the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act."

"The Separate Amenities Act will be repealed during this parliamentary session.

"The other two are fundamentally inter-related to the constitutional situation.

"And I've said time and again, and I say it again now, that is on the agenda. That must be addressed in conjunction with the constitution," Mr De Klerk said.
Nat caucus applauds FW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE PARTY members are pessimistic about the prospects of National Party MPs crossing the floor to join them despite the sweeping changes announced by President F W de Klerk in recent weeks.

Counting in Mr De Klerk's favour is the fact that there were no dissenting voices from within the parliamentary caucus to the package presented on February 2.

Indeed, NP members say that the bold measures received spontaneous applause and overwhelming support from the caucus.

Although a number of NP politicians would find the CP a more comfortable ideological home, following Mr De Klerk's announcement, CP sources said they did not expect any major defections in the coming weeks.

Nationalist members on the other hand are concerned about the hostile reception many of the changes announced by Mr De Klerk are getting among rank-and-file party members.

There is the feeling that the reform package Mr De Klerk has introduced must be a demonstrable success within the next few years - or the ruling party will be in big trouble.

However, none of the parties in Parliament expects another whites-only election which would allow the NP to be voted out of office.
CP demands a general election

BLOEMFONTEIN — A demand that President de Klerk and his Government resign so that a general election could be called, was made at a mass meeting organised by the Conservative Party in the Bloemfontein City Hall last night.

The meeting, addressed by the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was attended by more than 2,000 people, who jammed the hall, aisles, foyers and passages.

At the end of his address of more than an hour, Dr Treurnicht was given a standing ovation reminiscent of that which shook the same hall the night a former Prime Minister announced many years ago that "Basil d'Oliviera will never play cricket in South Africa".

The crowd had diminished to about 1,500 when the meeting made the demand for Mr de Klerk to resign, and expressed full confidence in Dr Treurnicht and the CP as the only bastion against the ANC.

Earlier, in answer to a request by an INP member that the CP should use its power and resign its parliamentary seats, Dr Treurnicht pointed out that if the CP's 39 MPs did resign, the Government could "play with us like a fish in water".

Dr Treurnicht said the Government did not have to let its MPs resign, nor did it have to put up candidates in by-elections, which would mean that the CP candidates would be re-elected.

If the NP decided there were seats it could win, it would cost the party between R1 million and R2 million.

The CP was more than ever determined to show the present Government had no mandate and did not represent the majority of the Afrikaner nation, Dr Treurnicht said.

The CP wanted a majority of the seats in the Free State, and a majority for the CP "is around the corner".

Many people in Parliament and many old Nationalists had said, since the opening of the beaches and Mr de Klerk's speech on "Red Friday", that that was not what they had voted for.

Dr Treurnicht said there were many people who felt betrayed and their road would be with the Conservative Party.

"If they talk about the tiger in the Afrikaner, we say it is a friendly tiger, but don't mess around with him," said Dr Treurnicht.

"Our people have kept a low profile up to now, but we have fought for our own fatherland and that fatherland you will not take away from us."

The nation would not be lost for the sake of invitations from President Bush and Mrs Thatcher, he said. — Sapa.
Coetsee asks A-G for probe on security guard

EAST LONDON — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kolie Coetsee, has asked the Attorney-General to supervise personally an investigation into a security guard here, Mr Louis van Schoor, who has shot dead more than 34 burglary suspects.

And the Democratic Party's spokesman on justice, Mr Dave Dalling, has tabled a question in Parliament about Mr van Schoor's career.

The question, put to Mr Coetsee, reads: "Whether Mr Louis van Schoor... has ever been charged with any offences; if so, with what offence and with what result?"

"Whether he has ever been the subject of any inquiry regarding the deaths of any persons; if so, how many persons and what were the circumstances of their deaths?"

"Whether his firearm licence has ever been revoked; if not, why not; if so, when?"

The National Party MP for East London City, Mr Billy Nel, said this week the "unnecessary use of force in the daily duties of Mr van Schoor" posed a "large question, but stressed not all the facts on the cases were available to him "at this stage".

Mr Nel said he would discuss with Mr Coetsee the provisions of Section 49(2) of the Criminal Procedures Act, which makes it justifiable homicide to kill a person while attempting to flee lawful arrest after committing a schedule one offence, including burglary.

"The judiciary in South Africa is an autonomous body, but any concerned citizen has the right to question any facets that seem to be out of line," Mr Nel said.

Mr Dalling said yesterday he would also raise the issue of the Criminal Procedures Act when the justice vote came up for discussion.

The Cape Law Society and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) have called for an urgent review of the law. — Sapa.
**Venter ‘was bombastic’**

**Political Staff**

CAPE TOWN — Health Minister Dr Rita Venter’s response to the nursing crisis was bitterly disappointing, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He had received letters from 47 nurses showing dignity and restraint. “But they depict a crisis of frightening proportions in which nurse and women are being forced by financial need” to seek jobs elsewhere.

Meanwhile, hundreds of hospital beds stood empty and patients suffered and sometimes died for lack of treatment, he said.

Venter’s speech in the House of Assembly had “lapsed into bombast (I shall not be pressured)” and abuse (the opposition parties are playing politics). No worder the nurses who had come to listen to her were distressed. The government must act now, and stop wriggling.”

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**DP warning against dune mining ‘barter’**

**Political Staff**

CAPE TOWN — There would be cause for serious concern if dune mining was allowed at St Lucia in return for the establishment of the new conservation area in Zululand, DP environmental spokesman Rob Haswell said yesterday.

Welcoming the creation of a large new conservation area in Natal, which will link St Lucia and Mkuze, Haswell said: “If this good news for conservation is to be tempered by approval of the dune mining at St Lucia, then there is real cause for concern.”

Environmental gains such as St Lucia are priceless and should be sacrosanct. They should never be part of any barter.

“The creation of this new park will only strengthen the conviction that mining in close proximity to it should not be permitted.”

Haswell said the DP fully supported this view and would continue to raise its voice on the St Lucia mining issue.

Sapa reports from Durban that when he announced the new conservation area, Kotze said too many of the country’s ecologically sensitive areas had been lost. Thus, the creation of the 275 000ha great-

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**CP’s march against ANC**

**EDITH BULBRING**

A CP organised march to protest against the release of Nelson Mandela and the ANC’s unbanning is to be held in Pretoria tonight.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht and his deputy Ferdi Hartsenbergh would address the gathering, a CP spokesman said.

More than 3 000 people attended a meeting addressed by Treurnicht in Parow on Monday and thousands were expected tonight, the spokesman said.

Permission for the march had been granted by the chief magistrate, he said.

A special Pretoria City Council meeting will take place this afternoon in which the CP caucus will ask the NP to rescind its decision to open Pretoria’s amenities to all races on the basis that the NP did not seek this mandate in the September election.
New law on marches mooted

Permits may be unnecessary

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The law on protest marches is expected to be changed to make it unnecessary for organisers of protests to apply for permission from a magistrate. Instead, organisers will merely have to "give notice" of the protest to an official — who could be a magistrate.

It is hoped this will get around the State's insistence that permission should be sought — and the refusal by most organisers to ask permission to protest because they feel this is a right.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee told Parliament this week that there were shortcomings in the protest legislation which would be addressed.

Though he gave no detail it is understood that the need to apply for permission will be done away with.

Sources said the proposed changes would be similar to proposals made in Parliament this week by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall suggested a practical compromise to solve the deadlock that had occurred between police and protesters recently.

Protest organisers would have to give "timely notice" of the event to a designated official.

Onus on organisers

The notice would include details such as the purpose of the march, route, date, time, projected numbers, speakers, etc.

"The onus would rest on the organisers to ensure the protest would be peaceful, as far as possible. The State would still have the authority to prohibit or limit a protest. But the onus rested on it to give clear and specific reasons for doing so."

"We therefore propose amendments to the Internal Security Act, Riotous Assembly Act and other legislation to bring them into line with the new reality," he said.

Mr. Coetsee welcomed his suggestions and sources said the changes to the law would be similar to Dr Worrall's ideas.
'Distorted picture of police'

Political Correspondent

The foreign media had been responsible for "deliberate lies and distortions" which could not be allowed to continue unchallenged, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the Part Appropriation Bill debate, Mr Vlok said that while most of the foreign media had been responsible in their recent reporting, there was also an element which willfully presented a distorted picture of police actions.

An example of this was a report which claimed that all was quiet at Mr Nelson Mandela's rally at The Parade on Sunday till police began shooting at spectators.

Even the organisers of the event had praised the police action.

He appealed to foreign media to refrain from "slanted" reporting.

SOUTH AFRICA was already reaping the benefits of releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told Parliament yesterday.

"We dare not become scared or back down. It would have unacceptable and frightening consequences for the country."

All aspects of the decision had been considered, Mr Vlok said.

"We looked at the detrimental effect on South Africa and where the country would be through confrontation and isolation."

There had also been concern about the impoverishment of the people as well as the continuing wave of violence. It was decided to resort to the proved anti-revolutionary strategy which had worked in other parts of the world.

"It rests on three pillars: Security action, good governance and finding a constitutional/political solution. And we are busy with that," he said.

The government had been strong on security in the past but not as successful in finding a constitutional solution acceptable to the people.

"We could have continued as we were doing but this would not have brought a permanent solution to the problem. We would eventually have become involved in an 80-year-war."

'Moral shift in SA's politics'

Political Correspondent

A MORAL shift was taking place in South African politics, the Democratic Party MP for Groote Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, said last night.

She was opening the first Groote Schuur Forum, a "think tank", attended by MPs and academics.

Ms Smuts said it had taken the "incipient normalisation" of South African politics by two men who rose above the traditional restraints of their constituencies — Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela — to restore the kind of politics in which people's bona fides were not necessarily questioned.

'No licence for chaos'

Political Correspondent

IT was understandable that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela had created excitement, but his freedom was not a licence for violence and chaos in the country, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Part Appropriation Bill, Mr Vlok said: "Lawlessness and anarchy are unacceptable. We will not hesitate to use the state of emergency regulations to maintain order."
Release not 'free pass' to violence

Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok has warned that he will not hesitate to use emergency regulations to stop any violence accompanying the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

He told Parliament yesterday the release of Mr Mandela was not a "free pass" to violence and chaos. Excitement over the release of Mr Mandela was understandable, but unbridled murder and destruction of property were completely unacceptable.

Mr Vlok said the number of unrest incidents from February 1 (the day before the ANC was unbanned) until February 13 was 455, which was "far too high". During the past two weeks, 101 people had been killed and 135 hurt. Most of the violence had taken place in Natal.

Mr Vlok said the unbanning of organisations and the release of Mr. Mandela had already brought visible advantages.

FRIGHTENING

"We must carry through with the steps we have taken. We dare not take fright and recoil. This will have unacceptable and frightening consequences for our country."

Mr Vlok said the Government had made its decisions after carefully considering all available facts.

It had carefully weighed up the advantages and dangers.

It took into account that South Africa had been the target of a revolutionary threat for many years and had considered where the road of confrontation and isolation with the world might end.

"We noted with concern the increasing impoverishment of our people and of a continuing wave of unrest and violence."

This had to be brought to an end. Strong security action to maintain law and order and stability was now needed more than ever.
No quick fix for SA

Du Plessis

The Government would be doing a great disfavour if it began following soft options in the economy now, the Minister of Finance, Mr Brent du Plessis, said yesterday.

He said in reply to debate on the Part Appropriation Bill that Mr Cecil Herandien (DRP Macassar) had complained that house payments, food prices and GST were too high, and that the State's ledgers should not operate to the detriment of the man in the street.

This was, however, the most shortsighted policy one could follow.

Governments elsewhere in the world which had gone for the soft option and did not apply monetary and fiscal discipline had inflation rates of several hundred percent.

The process of removing that which was bad from the economy would unavoidably be painful, Mr du Plessis said. — Sapa.
GOVERNMENT was ready to begin talks with the ANC immediately, President F W de Klerk said during an interview with ABC's Nightline anchor Ted Koppel on Tuesday.

De Klerk said he hoped "they would come and talk" as soon as the excitement of recent weeks wore down.

He would also be willing to talk to ANC representatives about what was needed to end the state of emergency. "They must walk across the threshold and start talking. I have an open-door policy and I will talk to anyone who is interested in bringing the situation — which is the foundation for the state of emergency — to an end. It doesn’t matter who they are or where they are," he said.

 Asked specifically whether this invitation included ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki and SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo, De Klerk said "in their case further discussion might be necessary."

He went on: "I have declared myself willing to discuss how to handle the return of people outside SA who may be guilty in terms of the law because there is fear among some of them that they might be arrested on their return.

"We want to solve that. One will have to work out structures as to how people can clear their positions. One will have to decide exactly what will be pardoned and what can’t be pardoned. It is a question for negotiation. "Everything in SA is crying out for people to drop their pretences, to stop making excuses and to start talking to us," De Klerk said.

He said the state of emergency could be lifted "within days, within weeks" if there was stability.

Powers

"We are monitoring each and every corner of SA. We know what happens. We know how many unrest situations occur. We know how many stone-throwing incidents occur. We know how many houses have been set on fire. "An improvement in the position in Natal and a few other selected areas would really bring us to the point where we can lift the state of emergency. I don’t want a crime-free SA before that is done. It is there to give special powers so as to enable security forces to move quickly to quell unrest and to prevent loss of life and damage to property," he said.

Speaking on economic matters, De Klerk said government had committed itself to dynamic programmes to improve the quality of life for all South Africans, especially those who were not as privileged as others.

"But it takes money, which is why socialist policies don’t make sense for SA. Nationalisation of mines and other industries doesn’t make sense. That would kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. We have to have growth to create money to finance it (development). This is the one point where sanctions have hit us."

De Klerk said South Africans were overtaxed and people were leaving because of it.

"The real solution lies in bringing down taxes, in giving incentives to the private sector to invest, in creating a stable climate within which they can invest."

To this end, it was important that negotiations began, he said.

"We sincerely believe that all parties must be free to put their proposals on the table."

"We must work for consensus on a model which is acceptable to all participants or at least to the majority of all participants."

In this constitutional model everyone would have to have an equal vote and white domination would have to cease.
**CP's march against ANC**

**EDYTH BULBRING**

A CP-organised march to protest against the release of Nelson Mandela and the ANC's unbanning is to be held in Pretoria tonight.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht and his deputy Ferdi Hartzenberg would address the gathering, a CP spokesman said.

More than 3000 people attended a meeting addressed by Treurnicht in Parow on Monday and thousands were expected tonight, the spokesman said.

Permission for the march had been granted by the chief magistrate, he said.

A special Pretoria City Council meeting will take place this afternoon in which the CP caucus will ask the NP to rescind its decision to open Pretoria's amenities to all races on the basis that the NP did not seek this mandate in the September election.
Government was clearly disappointed and edgy at Nelson Mandela's first public comments after his release on Sunday. It is hoping for a more conciliatory response to President FW de Klerk's initiatives from the ANC executive committee in Lusaka.

At a press briefing in Cape Town on Tuesday the normally bland and unemotional Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen deviated from what has been an ultra-consolidatory approach in recent weeks to describe Mandela's recommitment to the armed struggle as "unhelpful" and his unqualified support for nationalisation of key industries as "naive and irresponsible." Viljoen also called for the ANC's economic policies to be "exposed" in debate.

However, he accepts Mandela's initial statements were made within the confines of an ANC policy not revised for decades. "We are confident that Mr Mandela will play an important role in further policy development within the ANC." 

Viljoen believes there is "confusion and contradiction" in ANC leadership ranks on the issue of an appropriate response. For that reason, government can't "reach out" to particular leaders, no matter how important they may be, until the organisation has formulated an official response.

He sees hope for the future in Mandela's affirmation of De Klerk's integrity; his support for the creation of a climate for negotiation, which will obviate the need for armed struggle; his rejection of political domination by whites or blacks; and his awareness of the concerns of whites for one-man, one-vote.

He says another "meaningful step" would be a clear willingness to enter discussions with government about remaining obstacles towards negotiation, instead of "continuing harping on preconditions."

Viljoen says government agrees with Mandela that the remnants of apartheid must go and all people must be politically accommodated. But it finds "unacceptable" his view on sanctions and the armed struggle.

De Klerk's "large strides" towards bridging the gap of mistrust needs a similar response — such as a softening of sanctions.

In an apparent effort to bolster government's stance on key issues, Viljoen says the debate on constitutional change has started and needs input not only from politicians, but also from other interest groups including academics, economists and business leaders.

He says the sort of economic policies the ANC propounds have been discredited throughout the world.
Still in the game

The Conservative Party's response to President F W de Klerk's latest initiatives was immediate and predictable. The Democratic Party's is taking time to find form.

In essence, when the rhetoric of junior spokesmen begins moving away, government is saying that everything is negotiable — including group rights. But current Nat policy is the platform from which it will enter talks about a new constitution.

Co-leader Wynand Malan urges the reconciliation of conflicting interests. "The DP believes that while interests and values cannot be contained by the borders of race, culture and religion, the supposed or real interests of race, culture or religion can likewise not be ignored."

Negotiation places as much pressure on the DP as on the Nats. Unless it can offer a clear and valid contribution the debate will leave it as far behind as it has the CP.

party is in a favourable position to establish alliances and become a part of "bigger SA politics."

He says the DP rejects both the Nats' claim to manage the negotiation process simply because it is the government of the day, and the ANC's call for an interim government and a constituent assembly to oversee the writing of a new constitution. The DP believes an independent process is needed to lay all choices on the table. An "independent facilitator," such as the Chief Justice, needs to steer the process.

What can the DP bring to this process? Worrall says it stands for a commitment to democracy and free enterprise, a clear statement of constitutional principles based on universal franchise, proportional representation, a federal system and a Bill of Rights.

The party also sees the need for a softer approach by political opponents. Sandton DP MP David Dalling says: "In the months that lie ahead many good people will come forward with suggestions, demands, ideas and criticism. The course of a new SA will be advanced by attacking the speakers, but rather by considering their thoughts."

Negotiation places as much pressure on the DP as on the Nats. Unless it can offer a clear and valid contribution the debate will leave it as far behind as it has the CP.
NELSON MANDELA AND NEGOTIATIONS

Staying in front

Mandela is merely trudging the party line — debate must focus on the economy

Too much obviously rested on the shoulders of the frail, physically beleaguered figure who emerged from Victor Verster Prison last Sunday. His inadequate performance on Cape Town's Grand Parade — accompanied by the chaotic delays attendant on his release — dashed the widely-held hope that he would seize the historic moment and emerge as a national leader of stature. Reading a prepared speech, he showed himself as almost wholly a party functionary with little awareness of the creative possibilities of a personal role. The emphasis was on discipline.

On Monday the markets reacted gloomily to the reiteration of the rhetoric of nationalisation; and the realisation that a settlement of SA's problems was, if anything, further off than a week before sent the financial rand plunging. By Tuesday moderation came from a surprising source: Joe Slovo, the exiled communist and one-time leader of Umkonto we Sizwe, indicated that ANC economic policy was in the process of revision. But a lot of damage had been done and the Nelson Mandela National Reception Committee continued to botch the arrangements it was meant to facilitate.

Government reaction (see Current Affairs) put the best construction it could on matters, but the Conservatives laid a charge of treason against Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the Pan-Africanist Congress's Zeph Mothopeng. The violence in Natal reached ghastly heights.

After his release, Mandela made plain that he was aware of the need to allay white fears of domination. But this was his position in the dock at the trial of the Rivonia — and the effect was not of magnanimity but of ossification.

Mandela could do nothing else. As a loyal member of the ANC — and of no other organisation — he was bound by the commitment to socialism and the armed struggle. Until there is a change in the party line he cannot unilaterally deviate from party policy as it stands — any more than F.W. de Klerk could have seized the initiative until he was officially State President. Mandela has no official position in the liberation movement.

Nonetheless, his speech was more cramped than it need have been. Many of those — including distinguished liberals — who have visited him over the years spoke of his humour, dignity and qualities of leadership. These were not much in evidence after his release. Even the nonracialism was contingent on whites joining the ANC, and was, again, party policy which has its roots in the historic links between the black nationalists and communists. Expectations of those who believe in free enterprise were certainly not going to be met.

And what of black youth, faced with another old man? In Soweto, schoolchildren again vacated classrooms to greet their leader. As some had hoped, Mandela did at least stress to them the importance of education. One way or another, the swelling mass of the uneducated and unemployed is going to be the responsibility of a wide range of leaders for at least a generation.

Because he so firmly refused to deviate from the party line — its economic framework outlined in the Freedom Charter — Mandela actually deferred a decision on substantive negotiations between government and the ANC, though he was confident they would occur soon. In fact, he merely placed the responsibility for fresh initiative where De Klerk had placed it by his sweeping moves on February 2: with the external mission of the ANC. Since that body has a leadership crisis on its hands, comparable to that which faced the National Party when P.W. Botha had his stroke, a period of stagnation must be expected.

The role Mandela comes to play within the ANC may, in the end, not be that of a "facilitator," but of a foreign emissary. He is expected to travel to Sweden to be reunited with his old friend, ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo, but many invitations flooded in throughout the week from national leaders, notably in the West, which may prove salutary to Mandela. Nonetheless, he seems keenest to visit India, the strongest international supporter of the Congress movement in the Fifties and the spearhead of sanctions in the UN.

The prospect of a continued armed struggle — which, along with intensified sanctions, was a key element in Mandela's Cape Town speech — depends, again, on the external mission's intentions and capability. A major sponsor, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, feels the time has come for the ANC to lay down arms and, if this desire is translated into reality, the pressure will really be on to negotiate. As it is, the armed struggle appears to have been suspended from Lusaka as much as it has been contained locally.

Whether an exchange of views between Mandela and the exiles will be of any significance is moot: direction must come from a unified ANC and that unification has not yet happened. The internal mass democratic movement — in its broadest sense — is entirely in touch with the external mission.

The all-important position of Inkatha (which also claims historic links to the ANC) was grudgingly conceded by Mandela, but this has obviously not affected the bloody fratricidal situation on the ground.

With notable, though expected, exceptions, many world leaders took their cue from Mandela's initial utterances on sanctions and the armed struggle. Both had to continue until the whites capitulated — a damaging misperception of the mood which may itself defer peace. In a sense, these leaders did exactly what the Conservatives said they would: make further preconditions once some had been met, and so on and on until the final abolition of apartheid and the institution of a unitary, democratic State. That the Nationalists have indicated they are prepared to move towards this —
Tuesday’s rally at Soccer City ... mass emotion tempered by discipline

Through negotiation — was simply not sufficiently recognised.

Obviously, some believed that all the good things would suddenly come about with Mandela’s release. This might be called the Hollywood view of history. They made the same mistake as those who believe that it was “the people” who released the man, whereas, in fact, it was De Klerk and his team.

The major exceptions were British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who wishes to lift sanctions, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President George Bush — though he has made a coherent stance contingent on his assessing Mandela man-to-man. He is in any case bound by the law and the wishes of Congress.

Thatcher found herself in a familiar position — isolated but courageously arguing that De Klerk needed both reward and support for his stance. The dangers of a right-wing backlash were pointed out in the Commons but Mandelaamandia had taken hold and the familiar and ugly postures of hatred for Thatcher were visible.

Since so many expectations were built into Mandela’s release — an event in many respects subsidiary to the freeing of the political process — De Klerk’s critics had a field day. This was, of course, to miss the point. De Klerk and his aides — in particular Pik Botha and Gerrit Viljoen — have stressed that the steps they have taken have been in the interests of equity; and that any important political decision has an element of risk.

The major risk — that there would be an overwhelming tide of revolutionary fervour, a familiar modern phenomenon — does not look as if it is capable of fulfilment.

Therefore, the unbannings and the release must be accounted a remarkable success, notwithstanding incidents of violence. They have dealt, in one sense, with a residue of old work left over from the previous administration. This suggests that De Klerk is still ahead of the game. It would have been pleasant if the world had been more supportive of the courage which it took to break free of past restraints — with no precise mandate to do so from the white electorate — but not essential to the continuance of the process.

The process — of which the next step is that substantive meeting between Pretoria and the ANC — remains intact, barring major folly by the ANC. Government appears to be convinced that such a folly will not happen, though it has doubtless been perturbed by some events surrounding the release.

With old business dealt with, the focus of debate, as the FM has noted, shifts to the economic front. The black entrepreneur Richard Maponya — who figured largely in Mandela’s reception — recently made some widely publicised remarks about Mandela’s economic views, suggesting they did indeed deviate from official ANC policy; that the lessons of eastern Europe had been assimilated; and that Mandela’s democratic-mindedness was matched by a tolerance of private enterprise.

If this is so, Mandela obviously does not feel himself free to express such beliefs. In fact, he believes the economy is in ruins — which may indicate the effects of so long and morally unacceptable a sojourn in jail.

The debate is likely to come down in the end to precisely what is meant by the restructuring of the economy to which Mandela also referred in Cape Town. If it means the nationalisation of banks, mines and “monopoly enterprises,” then substantial foreign investment will never return, fixed investment will be choked off and the emigration of skilled whites will accelerate. It is difficult to believe that after the experiences of Zambia, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique wide-scale expropriation of wealth is a serious option in SA. But it would be a mistake to believe that the lessons of even the recent past have necessarily been learnt by ideologues.

Even the progress of Namibia to what at this stage looks like a promising independence, with nationalisation very much yesterday’s idea, need not apply in an economy as sophisticated as ours — one in which the birthrate and alarming educational statistics indicate plainly the potential for a revolution, or endemic instability, which would overtake the ANC itself.

These matters need to be thoroughly considered in advance of negotiations. Negotiations, in any case, can only establish a broad framework for a political and economic system which is fair and just. Such matters as land availability for rapidly urbanising populations, the provision of schools and hospitals out of general revenue, and for that matter the denationalisation (or privatisation) of concerns occur in the constitutional fine print.

This means that the parties to the negotiations need to elucidate well in advance what their intentions are. If the ANC is to persist with socialism, this must be clarified soon — along with the leadership structure — so that, for example, businessmen have real data on which to base decisions. Before that happens, it is inevitable that the markets will react convulsively and serve to predict the outcome of failure.

It is, therefore, fortunate that the Nationalists have laid the requisite stress on privatisation and deregulation — of creating an enterprise economy. The ANC’s economic policies remain unclear — shrouded as they are in the interpretations of academics of a document devised in the Fifties.

Whatever bias towards socialism the years of National Party rule have left the economy, it would be folly to make or even attempt a transition back to doctrinaire socialism, especially if the economy had to carry the cost of more social services — such as education, health and housing. Businessmen have a role in persuading the ANC that this is so; and the debates, thanks to De Klerk, can be public and not clouded by prevarication and rhetoric.

We remain marginally optimistic.
Pik’s ways and means

The battle against sanctions knows no ideological or political barriers. This was evident when Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha called on old political foes and captains of industry — some of them long-sword opponents of National Party rule — to influence public opinion in Western capitals against the continuation of punitive sanctions against SA.

Next Tuesday, February 20, the 12 foreign ministers of the EEC countries meet in Dublin to discuss sanctions. The worst-case scenario would be intensified sanctions — not impossible, given some of the comments by Nelson Mandela and Jesse Jackson this week.

Last week, Pik Botha appealed to a broad spectrum of important South Africans to join him in the fight against sanctions. In personal phone calls from his parliamentary office in Cape Town, Botha lobbied the support of leading industrialists, such as former Anglo chairman Harry Oppenheimer and veteran politician Helen Suzman, to use their good offices to influence overseas contacts, in order to swing the crucial vote. It is understood that Botha also made personal calls to Rembrandt’s Anton Rupert, Anglo’s Gavin Kelly, the leaders of various European communities living in SA and black South Africans.

On Monday night in a live TV broadcast on the BBC’s Panorama programme, Botha and Suzman joined the UDF’s Murphy Morobe and released ANC member Ahmed Kathrada in debate. Suzman, known for many years as a strong opponent of sanctions, reiterated her position on the issue.

On the diplomatic side, Botha may also have scored by the private visit to SA last week of Jean Lorgeaux, a leading French socialist and close confidante of President Mitterrand. On invitation from Botha, Lorgeaux attended a cocktail party hosted by President De Klerk for the foreign correspondents. It is felt in government circles that Lorgeaux’s visit could not have come at a more opportune time and that he may report back favourably to Mitterrand.

In an interview with the FM — after he had made the telephone calls — Botha said that the sanctions issue was one which all South Africans have to engage in. In the light of rightwing and conservative resistance to De Klerk’s reforms, said Botha, it is imperative that De Klerk can show some thing tangible in exchange for the dramatic steps he has taken. Among some Nat supporters there is a feeling of “too much, too suddenly.”

“Increased sanctions or even the continuation of sanctions would be short-sighted on the part of the West. We can only move ahead with reforms if we stay in power,” Botha told the FM.

Mandela’s release and other reform steps by De Klerk have already been hailed by some multinationals which have remained in SA, but under enormous pressure to disinvest. Among them is Shell SA, whose CE, John Kilroe, has welcomed the release. “It is symbolic of the new hope being offered for a rapid and peaceful transition to a free, democratic and nonracial SA.”

The relaxation of sanctions, as recommended by Margaret Thatcher, would be an important gesture of encouragement to De Klerk. He has vindicated her carrot-and-stick approach.

NATAL VIOLENCE

Hard times

As Natal and KwaZulu reel after the worst weekend of violence in the politically volatile region, community leaders are asking: why now?

Nelson Mandela’s release was expected to bring mass rallies, marches and celebrations. Instead, more than 50 people were killed in clashes between political groups and in mob violence.

Hundreds of houses have been looted and gutted. Refugees were still streaming from the townships by the mid-week and, despite more police and army patrols, townships from Maritzburg to Durban were tense.

Unlike violence associated with Mandela’s release in other parts of the country — mainly due to massive crowds, bad planning and criminals — the bloodshed in Natal has taken the old pattern: “comrades” versus “vigilantes” which, broadly, translates into the UDF-ANC against Inkatha.
ASSESSING THE RELEASE

Social costs, indeed

Nelson Mandela’s release, despite the needless deaths and violence it has entailed, cannot be anything else but the best of news for this country. He was incarcerated for far too long; he and his supporters’ exclusion from political involvement has not been to all our benefit; and the material deprivations caused by the social policies under which his imprisonment occurred will have to be addressed with repairation.

That, however, is common cause among the majority of people in this country. But the harsh reality is that, if the outdated and discreditied policy to which he stubbornly adheres — the nationalisation of the mines, banks and “monopolies” — is applied here, social wrongs cannot be righted nor adequate reparations made.

There is overwhelming evidence to show from OECD countries that the lower the share of governments’ spending as a proportion of the value of total output (GDP), the better able those governments are to finance consistently — and to sustain — a high level of social spending.

In some European social democratic countries, where government spending has risen and nationalisation has been actively pursued, national debt is in consequence roughly equal to GDP. Consequently, there is a danger, in countries like Italy, that in the years ahead the cost of servicing national debt alone will spiral out of control.

But, to be more specific: according to the JSE Actuaries index, the market capitalisation of shares listed in Johannesburg exceeds R150bn — of which 28% represents gold mines, 14% other mines and 19% mining houses and mining holding companies. Banks, financial service companies and insurance companies amount to 6%. The combination accounts for two-thirds of the total amount of shares.

If the mines were nationalised, the mining financial companies, if not included, will in any event probably disappear. The size of the JSE would shrink to a fraction of what it is now. The ability of insurance companies, pension funds and unit trusts to meet the expected needs of their policyholders and members — let alone shareholders — will be drastically curtailed.

Foreign investors would disinvest. The rand would be devalued to a fraction of what it is now. And foreign banks would press for repayment of their loans more rapidly than in the current standstill agreement allows.

This country’s financial services industry, which provides not only pensions and other forms of savings but millions of jobs for blacks as well as whites, would virtually collapse. It would, indeed, be ruined.

Without foreign capital or the savings mobilised by the financial services industry, with skilled labour in shorter supply and wage costs rising, the outlook for the gold mining industry is indeed grim. The average life of existing gold mines is relatively short.

It is essential to open new mines so that they come into production by the year 2000 if the closure of existing mines is to be offset. Most new mines are expected to be very deep and cost between R2bn and R3bn at today’s prices. They will cost much more as time goes on, at a 15% annual rate of inflation, just about doubling in five years.

There is no time for us here to just muddle through and relearn the lessons of the Sixties and Seventies. The population of this country is expanding rapidly and we have one of the fastest rates of urbanisation in the world. If the wrong economic decisions are made over the next few years, the abject poverty that ubuntu has brought to central Africa is a certainty, not just a possibility.

Moreover, in order to foster prosperity, this country needs substantial and continuing investment in such social needs as education, health and housing. Without re-investment in mining and banking, there is no hope of the economic growth that alone will provide the ‘whereith’ for that social expenditure.

Whatever Mandela has been doing for the past 27 years, he has not been studying either elementary economics or the SA economy. To stand on the Grand Parade in Cape Town on Sunday and say that our economy has collapsed is nothing short of ignorance. Mining and banking are the cornerstones of this economy; they are the creation of free enterprise and they have transcended the constraints of apartheid. Let him nationalise them and then see what economic collapse really means.

The sooner Mandela gets to eastern Europe and central Africa to see the consequences of the policies he advocates, the better for South Africans of all races. Indeed, India, where poverty today is probably, in relative terms, worse than it was under the British Raj and where the growth of nationalised industries has not led to a remotely adequate system of social services (if they exist at all), would be a good place to start.

But perhaps the most depressing point of all is what Mandela’s statements on nationalisation indicate for his strength of character, intellectual vigour and quality of leadership, a subject on which we dwell in the next article. It took a hoary old Marxist like Joe Slovo to qualify the remarks of a man from whom so much had been expected for so long.

Mandela is right in one respect. He is certainly no messiah. Maybe he is, as he says, no more than the servant of his own party — and captive to his own ideology. But if he adheres to the views he expressed this week, which appear not to have advanced since he was jailed in the Sixties, he is certainly not the servant of all the people of this country, which is no more than we had modestly hoped from him.

No wonder there was a sharp reaction in the price of the financial rand as foreign investors weighed up what he had to say. There will be many who will argue that we are insufficiently understanding of the man after his long incarceration. That may be so. But it was Mandela himself who, in his first public speech, referred to harsh realities.
'My kombers and jou matras' as they marched to Pretoria

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — About 25,000 people converged on the Pretoria City Hall in a strong show of rightwing defiance yesterday.

They came in buses, cars and combis from platteland towns all over the Transvaal, and as far afield as Oudtshoorn, to listen to the fiery oratory of their "volk" leader, Dr. ANDRIES TREURNICH.

Within an hour a deomarr crowd of about 3,000 swelled to proportions never seen in the city before as a sea of humanity spilled over into Paul Kruger Street.

Khaki-clad AWB storm-troopers carried guns, batons and sjamboks. In spite of organizer's appeals, Nazi flags and banners were displayed prominently.

Children in school uniforms and uniformed security guards joined in the hubbub.

Also marching were supporters of the Transvaal Separatist movement and the Orange workers, who had been agitating for their own white homeland.

At last, the government turned out, but did not the all the CP members of the Pretoria city council. Other people brought their MPs and town councillors.

Many banners, some derogatory to the State President as well as to Mr. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, and to black people in general, were held aloft.

Organisers appealed for some derogatory posters to be removed, including one calling President de Klerk a "dagga-lop" (dopehead).


An effigy of the ANC flag bearing the face of Mr Nelson Mandela was burned.

Emotions ran high but after the proceedings at the city hall people drifted away without causing any serious incidents.

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Treurnicht calls for partition

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — There would be no peace in South Africa until the principles of partition and separate development were realised, Conservative Party leader Dr. ANDRIES TREURNICH has told a crowd of thousands in Pretoria.

Kicking off the CP's One Million Signature protest against the government's reforms, Dr. Treurnicht said last night that the National Party had betrayed the Afrikaner volk and the white man.

President de Klerk was govern ing without the support of the majority of Afrikaners and — after the opening of the beaches and "red Friday" when organisations such as the ANC were unbanned — without white majority support.

"CAPITULATION"

Huge numbers of coloureds, Indians and blacks too were upset about the government's "capitulation."

He said it was was a sad day when the NP was prepared to negotiate with the ANC "even looking in the direction" of the CP.

"If the NP chooses to regard the CP as its enemy, it should know that it is dealing with a formidable enemy," he added to loud applause from an emotional crowd.

PROTEST: A swastika and a Star of David with a hammer and sickle were among the many flags waved at the rightwing protest march.

CROWD: Part of the crowd around Paul Kruger's statue on Church Square in Pretoria.
The Human Rights Commission welcomes the release of Nelson Mandela and urges the South African Government to implement all the measures considered essential for creating the climate necessary for the commencement of negotiations which would lead to the dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a democratic South Africa. These measures are set forth in the United Nations Declaration, reproduced here, which was adopted by consensus on December 14, 1989 by the General Assembly Special Session on Apartheid.

DECLARATION ON APARTHEID AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (A/RES/S-16/1)

PREAMBLE

We, the States Members of the United Nations, assembled at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, a special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, guided by the fundamental and universal principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the context of our efforts to establish peace throughout the world by ending all conflicts through negotiations, and desirous of making serious efforts to bring an end to the unacceptable situation prevailing in southern Africa, which is a result of the policies and practices of apartheid, through negotiations based on the principles of justice and peace for all:

Reaffirming our conviction, which history confirms, that where there are racial domination and apartheid exist, there can be neither peace nor justice;

Reiterating accordingly, that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of Africa as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of the continent;

Recognising that, with regard to southern Africa, the entire world is vitally interested in the processes in which that region is involved, leading to the genuine national independence of Namibia and peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time, and equally recognise that the world is deeply concerned that destabilisation by South Africa of the countries of the region, whether, including direct aggression, sponsorship of subversives, economic subversion or other means, is unacceptable in all its forms and must not occur;

Also recognizing the reality that persistent peace and stability in southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been eradicated and South Africa has been transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, and therefore reiterating that all the necessary measures should be adopted now to bring to a speedy end to the apartheid system in the interest of all the people of southern Africa, the continent and the world at large;

Believing that, as a result of the legitimate struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid, and of international pressure against that system, as well as global efforts to resolve regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa;

Reaffirming the right of all peoples, including the people of South Africa, to determine their own destiny and to work for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society, and remaining committed to doing everything possible and necessary to bring about a new, non-racist and democratic society in South Africa, in such ways as they may, through their genuine representatives, determine to achieve this objective;

Making these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect regardless of colour, race, sex or creed, that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society, and that no external group of individuals has any right to govern others without their democratic consent, and recognizing that the apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles;

Affirming that apartheid, characterised as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa, has sought to demoralise entire peoples, and has imposed a brutal war on the region of southern Africa, which has resulted in the loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children and which is a scourge and affront to humanity that must be fought and eradicated in its totality;

Therefore we support and continue to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective. We believe this to be our duty and our interest of all humanity.

While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racist and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our objective of a solution arrived at by peaceful means; we note that the people of South Af-rica, and their liberation movements who felt compelled to take up arms and have also upheld their preference for this position for many decades and continue to do so;

Welcoming the Declaration of the Ad-Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa, adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989, and subsequently endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at its Ninth Summit Conference held in Belgrade in September 1989, as a reaffirmation of resolve to resolve the problems of South Africa through negotiations. The Declaration is consistent with the positions contained in the Lusaka Manifesto of two decades ago, in particular regarding the preference of the African people for peace;

Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to increase support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people, including maintaining international pressure against that system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens;

In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder, convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end to the apartheid system and heralding the dawn of a new era of peace for all the people of Africa, in a continent finally free from racism, white minority rule and colonial domination;
**Molefe**
Gabriel Shaku Molefe (64) of 6643 Sharpeville will be buried tomorrow at Sharpeville Cemetery. A service will be held at St. Luke Methodist Church from 12. The cortege will proceed to the cemetery at 12.30.

**Kubheka**
Johannes Kubheka (60) of 326 Jabulani will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery. A service will be held at his home from 10am. The cortege will proceed to the cemetery at 1pm.

**Mooi**
George Magome Mooi, who died on February 10, will be buried tomorrow. A service will be held at the Methodist Church, Thabebon, from 11am. The cortege will proceed to the local cemetery at 1pm.

**Maluka**
Enywe Maluka (73) of 1897 Thedi will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery. A service will be held at his home from 12. The cortege leaves for the cemetery at 1pm.

**Memorial**
The Mendi Memorial Service will be held at Tshagaba Resort, Tshidengwile, at 10am on Sunday. The South African Legion (Swartbooi branch) is requested to attend.

**Meeting**
The Dodgers Burial Society will hold a meeting at 4020 Stoynwenn Street, Katlehong on Sunday at 6pm.

**Ntshingile Khanga**
(3) has been lost by social workers. His parents are requested to contact Miss E Kgome at: 331-071 extension 246. The parents of Mbugeni are requested to contact the neasburg Child Welfare office at: 331-071 extension 246. He says he is from the Hillbrow flats.
DECLARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. A conjunction of circumstances exists, which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the South African regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, given the repeated expressions of the majority of the people of South Africa of their long-standing preference to arrive at a political settlement, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations.

2. We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa as a whole, in its legitimate struggle, to join together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reforms of the apartheid system, should be the goals of the negotiations.

3. We are at one with the people of South Africa that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order determined by them and based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We hold therefore the following fundamental principles to be of importance:

(a) South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic State;
(b) All its people shall enjoy human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;
(c) South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law;
(d) All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism;
(e) All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;
(f) South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary.

4. We believe that acceptance of these fundamental principles would constitute the basis for an internationally acceptable solution that will enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the world community of nations.

A. CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS

5. We believe that it is essential that the necessary climate be created for negotiations. There is an urgent need to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.

6. Accordingly, the present South African regime should, at the least:

(a) Release all political prisoners unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;
(b) Lift all bans and restrictions on all political prisoners and organisations and persons;
(c) Remove all troops from the townsships;
(d) End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity;
(e) Cease all political trials and political executions.

7. These measures would help create the necessary climate in which free political discussion can take place - an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country.

B. GUIDELINES TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS

8. We are of the view that the parties concerned should, in the context of the necessary climate, negotiate the future of their country and lift people in good faith and in an atmosphere which, by mutual agreement between the liberation movements and the South African regime, would be free of violence. The process could commence in the following guidelines:

(a) Agreement on the mechanism for the drawing up of a new constitution, based on, amongst others, the principles enunciated above, and the basis for its adoption;
(b) Agreement on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order;
(c) Agreed transitional arrangements and modalities on the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution, and of the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections;

C. PROGRAMME OF ACTION

9. In pursuance of the objectives stated in this Declaration, we hereby decide:

(a) To remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question;
(b) To step up all-round support for the opposition to apartheid and to campaign internationally in pursuance of this objective;
(c) To use concerted and effective measures, including the full observance by all countries of the mandatory arms embargo, aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid;
(d) To render all possible assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States to enable them to rebuild their economies, which have been adversely affected by South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilisation; to withstand any further such acts; and to continue to support the peoples of Namibia and South Africa;
(e) To extend such assistance to the Governments of Angola and Mozambique as they may request in order to secure peace for their peoples, and to encourage and support peace initiatives undertaken by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique aimed at bringing about peace and normalisation of life in their countries;
(f) The new South Africa shall, upon adoption of the new constitution, participate fully in relevant organs and specialised agencies of the United Nations;

10. We request the Secretary-General to transmit copies of the present Declaration to the South African Government and the representative of the oppressed people of South Africa and also request the Secretary-General to prepare a report and submit it to the General Assembly by 1 July 1990 on the progress made in the implementation of the present Declaration.

The Special Committee against Apartheid welcomes the significant measures announced today in Parliament by F W De Klerk, the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other anti-apartheid organisations, the release of certain political prisoners, the suspension of the imposition of the death penalty and the relaxation of media restrictions, as well as the announcement of the imminent release of Nelson Mandela.

Nevertheless, the appropriate climate for negotiations can only be created when the following measures are also implemented as set forth in the United Nations General Assembly Declaratory Resolution on South Africa adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989: the end of the state of emergency; the repeal of all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; the removal of all troops from the townsships; and the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

We expect that the international community, recognising the importance of the decisions announced by Mr De Klerk, will, none the less, remain fully aware that the system of apartheid, which cannot be reformed, remains fully intact. So long as the principles and objectives for negotiations as set out in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa are not met, the Special Committee against Apartheid demands the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, as well as the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees.

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Vital to show that capitalism does not equal apartheid

RAYMOND PARSONS

T
THE Conservative Party has abandoned plans for a mass stayaway but still believes it will force the government to another white election by the end of the year.

"We will stir the white people into action by exposing the political fraud of the National Party," CP representative Koos van der Merwe told the Weekly Mail.

"Neither (State President FW) De Klerk nor any of those people with him will be in any position to stop us from having an election, and it will be before the end of the year."

For now however, the only method being suggested by the CP for bringing the government to its knees is a series of political meetings culminating in a "mass rally" in Pretoria on May 26.

"We'll be holding hundreds of them all over the country, De Klerk will have to concede when he sees that there are hundreds of thousands of whites prepared to take to the streets."

He made it clear that his party had backed off the call for 900,000 people to join a stayaway, and said he "hoped it will never happen."

Van der Merwe, who is the MP for Overvaal and the CP's Defence representative, said that a stayaway was "not being seriously considered", because De Klerk would agree to an election before such moves were necessary.

"What we say to De Klerk is that it doesn't sit in your pants to strip the Afrikaner people of their right to hold an election."

He said he was not sure what Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen meant when he said on Tuesday that the 1989 general election was "the last in which blacks did not participate."

"I don't think he means there will not be a white election again," said Van der Merwe, who stressed that the party now had the basis of mass support to force a white general election before 1991.

At this stage the CP has made no plans to join the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in a programme of militant extra-parliamentary action or to heed their call to try to force an election by resigning their seats.

"The fact that the rightwingers are now calling on us to resign I think is a sign of the negative mood in the country as a result of moves made by De Klerk."

Asked about his opinion of the events following the release of Nelson Mandela, he said it had "incensed the black community and created the most unbelievable expectations."

"The black people think that heaven will dawn on South Africa now that Mandela has been released, and that thousands of jobs and houses and schools will suddenly appear."

"They think it's going to be heaven on earth now, and I can tell you it's just not going to happen."

Van der Merwe said "at this stage" they were not prepared to enter any negotiations in which the ANC was included.

Meanwhile the CP is pressing ahead with its decision to press charges of high treason against Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Anti-Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng.

The charges were laid at Caledon Square Police Station on Monday by CP law and order representative and Ermelo MP Moelman Mentz and two colleagues.

Mentz said documents handed to the police included all published statements and speeches by the three men, including Mandela's speech in Cape Town on Sunday, "in which he supported the armed struggle."

The basis of the treason charges is that in terms of the Internal Security Act it is illegal to bring about constitutional or economic disruptions in the country, or to incite people to bring about such ends.
CP march against FW's reform

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — About 30,000 Conservative Party supporters yesterday demonstrated against President FW De Klerk's reforms.

About 6,000 people swamped Church Square about 6pm and sang liedjies for two hours before marching to the City Hall where the crowd swelled to 30,000. Many were bussed to the meeting.

Deputy CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg warned that the CP would mobilise the majority of whites in the country before the end of the year.

Shouts of "Hang Mandela" and placards saying "Reform Stinks" and Vierkleur, CP, SA and AWB flags were in evidence among the crowd at the square. One man held a miniature black plastic doll hanging from a piece of string.

"This is Mandela," he shouted.

Banners declaring "President Mandela" "Welfare Minister Winnie Mandela" and "Minister of Slums Helen Suzman" were hung near the square.

At the City Hall, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told a cheering crowd the NP was forcing the Afrikaner volk to live dangerously.

"This tiger is a friendly tiger, but don't look for trouble," he said.

"We say to Mandela, you will never have peace in this country unless the principles of partition and separate freedoms are applied."

Yesterday Conservative Party spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe walked out midway through an ABC "Nightline" TV programme at Wits University when ANC spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki began speaking via satellite from Lusaka. Mr Van der Merwe was one of a panel of six on the programme.
More finesse

Rumours are buzzing in the corridors of the Verwoerd Building in Cape Town that President F W de Klerk will soon appoint Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden as his special adviser. Our most successful career diplomat could be of great help to De Klerk as he embarks on negotiations.

A possible switch for Van Heerden was raised by the *FM* last year. Dealing with De Klerk’s new style of leadership and the obvious influence of Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Van Heerden, we wrote at the time: “De Klerk can be expected to spread his wings further as he gains confidence. Insiders believe, for example, that Van Heerden may assume duties as De Klerk’s chief adviser in Tuynhuys.” (*Leader* October 20 1989)

The contract of Jennie “JR” Roux, now D-G in the office of the State President, expires soon. De Klerk may take this chance to pull in Van Heerden. Roux, a former deputy commissioner of the prisons department, had been a personal appointee of P W Botha and enjoyed a high profile.

While no one would expect Van Heerden to do administrative work in Tuynhuys, he may keep the civil service rank of D-G in the President’s Office.

This would be similar to the position of Gerrit Viljoen, the Constitutional Development Minister. Whereas Viljoen heads the massive department created by Chris Heunis, he leaves most of the routine work to his deputy, Roelf Meyer. This leaves Viljoen free to concentrate — at the request of De Klerk — to head the negotiating team. Viljoen is chairman of the seven-minister committee dealing with negotiations. (The *FM* first revealed the abbreviated name of the committee, MKO, which in Afrikaans is the *Ministeriële Komitee vir Onderhandelinge* — ministerial committee for negotiations).
In the wake of De Klerk’s speech... Afrikaners clash with Afrikaners

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

Mr Koornhof... ‘nothing contradictory’
Mr Van der Merwe... ‘NP was not honest’

24 HOURS NEWS WATCH

Having embraced the “moral values of the world”...
“We have had a taste of success; we are getting support from all over the world and I think that will work its way through the electorate.”

The Conservative Party, he believed, had a major problem on its hands.

“They are pinning their hopes on an election because otherwise they will have to come to the negotiation table with a vague, unworkable proposal for cutting the country up into separate racial states. They know that won’t get anywhere. ‘I can assure you there will be no election...’

‘Radicals’

Dismissing “right-wing radicals” as a “small, irrelevant minority”, Mr Koornhof added: “Radicals who do not want to support us are makin-...”

Changes

“The changes have occurred because the NP had been doing the wrong thing in the past and they are now doing the right thing.”

Mr Koornhof tactfully acknowledged Mr Van der Merwe’s point about past mistakes when he says there is now a sense that South Af-...
Council looks back with Desai

Upper Constantia, but it was home to many of us.

Mr Desai said he was listening to the radio in Harare when he heard President F.W. de Klerk's announcement that exiles would be allowed to return.

"I telephoned my travel agent immediately and then my legal representatives in Pretoria to inform the minister that I was coming home."

"In a matter of hours I was told I would not be arrested, but that they would like to interview me." The interview has still not materialised."

Commenting on the present "political situation", he said: "The country must become democratic and fast. Any recipe designed to protect one group against another is a recipe for disaster."

Mr Desai said he intended to live in South Africa: "This is my home, I did not leave by choice." His wife Rose will join him from Harare in March.

He arrived from Harare on Saturday with his daughter Ziviz, 33, out of the country since the age of nine, and son Hardy, who was born here in 1963 two weeks after Mr. Desai smuggled himself out of the country in a cargo liner.

His son Rustin, 33, was also at yesterday's mayoral meeting after arriving from London.

All three children had not been back to South Africa as they had been denied visas.

WELCOME BACK ... Mr Barney Desai, exiled from South Africa for 27 years, meets the Mayor of Cape Town yesterday at Mr Gordon Oliver's invitation.
CP MP walks out of ABC interview

A senior Conservative Party Member of Parliament, Mr Koos van der Merwe, yesterday walked out in the middle of an interview with Nightline anchorman Mr Ted Koppel of ABC News because leaders of the African National Congress were going to be interviewed on the same programme.

A member of a six-man panel of interviewees on Koppel's programme, broadcast from the University of the Witwatersrand's Great Hall yesterday, Van der Merwe said he had made it clear to Koppel before the interview he would leave if ANC representatives were interviewed at the same time.

Koppel asked Van der Merwe why he was afraid of exchanging views with his political adversaries.

"If you are implying that I am frightened, then you are wrong. I am not nervous. I am a soldier of the South African Defence Force, among other things. I am not afraid of anybody, including you," Van der Merwe told Koppel.
THE Conservative Party would not allow itself to be intimidated by the government or security police, the CP spokesman on finance, Mr Casper Uys, said yesterday. He said the chairman of the CP branch in Lindley had told the police the party was concerned about a protest by blacks in the Free State town. The next day a security policeman "threatened him that the security police were watching the CP", Mr Uys claimed.
Counting the benefits of FW’s changes

President de Klerk has reason to be happy about the reception his bold moves have had throughout the world.

A Bureau of Information source who has monitored the avalanche of publicity and reaction following Mr De Klerk’s speech on February 2, when he announced the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, and his announcement of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela last weekend, describes it as the most positive publicity South Africa has had since the Second World War.

At this week’s Cabinet meeting a preliminary assessment could no doubt be made of the reaction.

Further

The impression in government circles is that the African National Congress was caught off guard by Mr De Klerk’s bold moves, and by the fact that he went much further than any one had expected at this stage.

The feeling is that the implications of these moves must now be allowed to sink in and that there must be too much crowing about the way in which Mr de Klerk has, for the present, seized the initiative.

It is now over to the ANC to digest this, as its national executive was trying to do in Lusaka this week.

With some tact, Mr De Klerk is avoiding dismissing the ANC’s commitment to the armed struggle as something that does not amount to all that much.

The fact is that it has never reached the guerilla war stage and that the ANC earlier on acknowledged that it would be difficult to maintain or escalate the armed struggle.

Struggle

Instead, Mr de Klerk is now telling the ANC that the need for the armed struggle no longer exists and that it must face the realities of a new situation where it should be a political party taking part in negotiations.

According to him the ANC must now stop the “war talk”, as the reason it has advanced to justify violence has fallen away.

There remains some grey area about whether some of the ANC exiles can return. A sticking point is the position of ANC people who were involved in crimes of violence.

While the government insists on the release of only those serving sentences merely because of their membership of banned organisations, and that exiles involved in violence could land in trouble, the ANC is insisting on a general amnesty.

When he announced the release of Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk said that, regarding the position of people involved in politically motivated crimes, he had previously indicated that while this was a matter that should be dealt with in negotiations, especially of communism and socialism being promoted by the ANC have been discredited in Eastern Europe, Russia and in Africa.

He said the naivety and irresponsibility of advocating such failures for the new South Africa should be clearly exposed.

The need for socio-economic advancement and an improved quality of life for all South Africans was generally accepted.

The new South Africa needed a viable and proven economic system to produce the growth and wealth needed for such advancement and improvement.

From Mr Mandela’s first statements after his release the government has distilled a number of “positive” points.

He has described Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity and a flexible man.

Flexible

The advantage of dealing with a man who is flexible and who knew what was going on, he said, was that the possibility of a settlement was always there.

Mr De Klerk in turn has described Mr Mandela as a dignified and interesting man.

The two men obviously got along well and this bodes well for the future.

The official picture of the two taken in the President’s office in Tshwenyana shows them looking relaxed and smiling.

Climate

Other hopeful features the government has latched on to at this stage are Mr Mandela’s hopes that a climate for a negotiated settlement would be created so that there would no longer be the need for the so-called armed struggle; his rejection of white as well as black domination, and his statement that the ANC was concerned to
The ANC will have to take a decision on at least some of the exiles returning to South Africa. The movement may well pick up trouble among its internal supporters if this does not happen soon.

Meanwhile Mr. Mandela is due to go to Lusaka and further afield shortly to meet exiled ANC leaders.

Mr. De Klerk is clearly intent on attacking the ANC on the one point on which he thinks it is particularly vulnerable, especially in view of the events in Eastern Europe.

This is its commitment to socialism and nationalisation.

As his chief negotiator, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, put it this week, the ideologies and political and economic address white fears with regard to a one-man, one-vote system and wanted to suit both blacks and whites.

Mr. De Klerk is in agreement with Mr. Mandela on two issues - that the remains of apartheid must be removed and that there must be universal suffrage in a united, democratic South Africa.

Hangover

The attempts to get negotiation going, and the negotiation process itself, will be a slow process and a political hangover may well develop among young ANC supporters when there are no dramatic changes affecting them in the near future.

We are in for a long period of political foreplay.

In top government circles there is the belief that the prenegotiations, the "talks about talks", could take up the rest of the year.

Following what the government hopes will be a positive ANC reaction to Mr. Mandela's initial statement, the governing party can do for the present is to batten down the hatches and hope that feelings will die down.

Speech

More details of how hard Mr. De Klerk worked on the February 2 speech now come out.

After having inputs from ministers he completed the final draft of the speech at 2 am.

He does not have speech writers as some foreign statesmen do.

Last Saturday evening, after he had made the Mandela announcement, he spoke to President Bush on the telephone for 11 minutes.

When he heard that Mr. Bush was trying to contact him he telephoned him from a farm in the Stellenbosch district where, along with some friends, including Cabinet ministers, he was relaxing for the first time in days.

Mr. Bush expressed his delight about Mr. De Klerk's steps and invited him to Washington.
Bills blocked to prod farm labour law

Political Correspondent

LABOUR Party MPs have decided to block all agricultural and manpower legislation until the government comes up with measures to protect farm workers from exploitation.

The move, decided by the party's parliamentary caucus yesterday, will have an immediate effect. Five Bills on manpower and agricultural matters are due before parliament's public committees today.

Labour spokesman Mr. Peter Hendriks said that for hundreds of thousands of workers there were no statutory regulations governing hours of work, wages, pension, medical aid or unemployment benefits.

Treurnicht's 'veiled threat' shocks Nats

By MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

SHOCK and concern have been expressed by the National Party at Conservative Party leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht's "veiled threat of radical resistance" at a rally in Bloemfontein.

Dr. Treurnicht told a capacity crowd at the rally that the CP would promote the "serious form of protest" if President De Klerk refused to test white opinion in an election or referendum.

The National Party's chief information spokesman, Mr. Renier Schoeman, said in a statement yesterday that it was "difficult to draw any other conclusion than that Dr. Treurnicht was referring to armed resistance when he spoke of 'the most serious form of protest'.

"This forms part of the increasingly evident pattern of violence rhetoric in CP ranks."

Mr. Schoeman said that while the government and other moderate leaders had committed themselves to peaceful negotiations, it was noteworthy that it was now only the CP and the ANC "who are still busy with talk of conflict and violence".

"Radicalism and militant rhetoric from the ranks of both the radical left and the radical right interferes with the prospect of progress and peace."
De Klerk ‘has opened door for real equality’

Economy faced ruin, Cape chamber claims

CAPE TOWN — The South African economic situation had come “very close to a disaster for industry, business and the country”, the Cape Chamber of Industries said in a statement yesterday.

Past economic policies had not been to the best advantage of the “current players” in the economy and had been “even worse for those excluded from the political system”, CCI president Mr Pat Collins said.

Bureaucratic regulations and political policies superimposed on the economy had revealed a near-disaster situation.

He called on all parties “to be involved in the negotiations, to review their economic policies as the Government appears to be currently doing, in the light of economic and not ideological principles”.

Bill of rights

The CCI congratulated President de Klerk on the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and “wholeheartedly welcomes his (Mr de Klerk’s) actions and their implications for real equality — politically, socially and economically — for all”.

Mr Collins called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Land Act, saying they were unnecessary, discriminatory and humiliating to the majority of South Africans, and said a future constitution had to incorporate a bill of rights.

The new constitution should have “strong elements of social support in the form of medical services, education and housing” and an economic system that would sustain current economic activities profitably and attract new investment capital.

[End of text]
Door seems open on one man, one vote issue

CAPE TOWN — Mr. Nelson Mandela's statement that the ANC was prepared to negotiate about its one man, one vote demand is being viewed in Government circles as his most positive remark yet.

National Party sources said this was the first time somebody from the ANC had indicated that the demand was open to debate.

It was a cardinal point, the source said: "That has always been the number one issue as far as the Government is concerned."

The NP reaction was the latest in a series of conciliatory remarks and responses between it and Mr. Mandela.

Speaking on BBC television, Mr. Mandela said the Government's concept of group rights meant it was not ready to accept the principle of one man, one vote.

"We are determined to negotiate on the basis of this demand, but at the same time we are consciously aware of the concern of whites over this demand."

Mr. Mandela said the ANC wanted to address white fears of being swamped. "We won't go into specifics just now, except to assure you that we realise how important it is to reach a settlement."

An NP spokesman said Mr. Mandela's comments had mellowed markedly since his release on Sunday.

"This suggests two things: either Mr. Mandela is seeing the world around him to be different in South Africa 1990 from what he had been led to believe, or the ANC itself is moving closer to a negotiating stance."

The tone of Mr. Mandela's words since his release speech in Cape Town on Sunday, suggest he did not write that address.

"Either that, or it must be seen against 27 years out of circulation. The sentiments in it were really old hat."
Before its longer-term objectives, the ANC is also facing immediate economic issues. The ANC's policies and programs need to be re-examined and revised to address the growing concern about the ANC's economic sputtering.

De Klerk’s men gamble

A number of ANC leaders have been arrested or charged with corruption. This has led to speculation about the ANC's internal workings. The ANC's success in the past has been built on its ability to attract and retain members from various walks of life. However, the current situation may be causing some members to question the ANC's effectiveness.

Edith Khoza reports

The ANC's leadership and the South African government are working to find a solution to the current crisis. Both sides are aware of the importance of maintaining stability in the country. The ANC is committed to continuing its work towards a better South Africa.

All on ex-prisoner Mandela

Mandela's release has been a major symbol of hope for many South Africans. His work in prison was seen as a demonstration of his commitment to the cause of freedom. Mandela's message of reconciliation and unity has resonated with many people.

If you liked this article, please read more articles on Africa Focus.
Nelson's next step: a truce meeting with FW

By Shawn Johnson

I never had a long enough chance to examine fully the ANC's political iniquity. How could I have? The ANC is a party that has been in power for too long. They have been able to manipulate the system to their advantage. Their political iniquity is well known, and yet they have been able to maintain their grip on power. This is a key element of the ANC's political iniquity.

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Time running out in race for a new South Africa

Reaching the "new South Africa" may develop into a race against time, with the present life of Parliament setting the deadline.

This is the impression left from discussions with parliamentary groupings at the start of this year's session, as they look somewhat anxiously at the rapidly changing extra-parliamentary scene.

Neither the Government nor the various opposition parties delude themselves over the difficulties lying ahead for negotiations between the ANC, the Government and other groups. Many believe it could be months before the talks-about-talks stage can be reached, let alone the far more formidable discussions on a new constitution.

The deadline is being seen as the end of the life of this Parliament, for several reasons. Most important of these is the need for the Government to have a continuing mandate for its rule until a new dispensation can be created. It is that mandate which is under attack by the Conservative Party.

With some point, the CP argues that the Government already has no mandate for what it has been doing, especially as the Government is now willing to consider negotiations with the ANC in spite of telling the voters at the last election that it would not deal with the ANC while it continued its support for the apartheid regime.

But regardless of the CP's claim, there have been no defections from Nationalist ranks, even if some loss of Nationalist voters to the CP is regarded as inevitable.

It is the CP's consistent belief that it can bring the Government down at the polls. That is the reason for its continued espousal of parliamentary opposition.

There may be marches in the streets (as in Pretoria last night), and talk of a stayaway to demonstrate the weight of white concern, but there is an admission also that these activist methods are not part of the CP style.

Bringing the Government down at the polls is recognised by the CP as possible only if it can be done at the next elections. Elections after that might be too late. A new constitutive system would almost certainly reduce their political clout to nothing. So the deadline is vital to CP hopes, and fears.

On the Democratic Party side, there is a conviction that South Africa will never see another tria-

JoHN PATTEN, who recently spoke to leading personalities from the major political parties during a visit to Parliament, details his impressions.

minal election.

Even if the Government felt obliged by CP pressure to call an election under the present system (for lack of progress on a new deal), the DP view is that the Government could no longer expect the co-operation of any coloured or Indian groupings to participate again in trienminal elections.

If the negotiations for a new system bog down, the DP believes the life of the present Parliament will have to be extended so that a new system can be agreed.

Extending the life of Parliament beyond its term, however, poses a major problem and may not be easily achieved. Former president Mr P W Botha did so in the case of the House of Assembly in the mid-Eighties, but CP pressure forced the 1987 elections at an inopportune time by arguing effectively that the Government had exceeded its mandate.

The deadline, then, becomes a powerful reason for the Government and parties eager for a negotiated settlement to press ahead for a new deal.

Participation

There is every indication that the Government this time has accepted in its heart that full participation of all groups is the only moral basis for a new political system now that apartheid has proved unworkable.

That acceptance, however, does not remove the suspicions of its more radical opponents, that the Government may wish to foist apartheid-in-disguise on them. This suspicion will add greatly to the hard line taken in approaching negotiations, and could prevent any quick settlement.

Furthermore, some groupings do not seek a settlement at all, and actively oppose compromise. The CP falls in that category on the Right, and the Pan Africanist Congress does so on the Left. But there are also suspicions that the ANC is no convert to negotiations, in spite of the lip service paid to that principle.

Some see the ANC as having made such notable political head-

way in the last few years without conceding any principles that there is no need for it to do so now. Especially with the Government under pressure from a mandate deadline that could bring it down at the polls, there are fears the ANC might force the Government to the wall.

A CP victory, it could be argued, might be the last doomed stand of the whites, whereas a compromise solution with the Nationalist Government might only deny black Nationalists their dreams.

The position of the ANC toward real negotiations will become clearer after this week's meeting of its national executive in Lusaka. The hard line is by no means its only option. Nor is it in all respects in a stronger bargaining position than the Government.

A look into the minds of certain influential Cabinet Ministers reveals that they are still hoping for some group protection to be devised, enabling them to concede power to a coalition of parties.

Race representation, or even minority vetoes, are being recognised as proposals unlikely to persuade the ANC to a more tolerant stance. Instead, Nationalist thinking is turning towards the principle of equality between unequal groups as the way to seek consensus solutions.

Groups would not necessarily be racial groups, and there would be an effort to get away from majority voting or vetoes as methods to resolve differences.

The President, Mr F W de Klerk, in his interview with Mr Ted Koppel on ABC television "Nightline" this week, used the example of equality of representation in the US Senate between different-sized states.

Human rights

On top of this theory of group equality regardless of size, the Nationalists believe protection of individual rights will provide the other guarantee of human rights for the man in the street.

The combination of guaranteed group recognition and individual rights would be enough for them to surrender white power to a coalition of interests (including white interests).

There is nothing inherently undemocratic in that solution, except that the ANC has long been committed to a system of universal franchise within an undivided South Africa, a formula that would throw power undiluted and unrestricted into the hands of the majority.

The Government fears the ANC formula would result in tyranny of the majority, and opposes it for that reason. ANC, MDM and UDF methods of networking discussion on problems, to arrive at decisions, is also frowned on by Government because it is seen as more suitable for opposition than for bargaining with opposition groups.

The ANC (through Mr Nelson Mandela) is already acknowledging that it must concern itself to allay white fears, but it is unclear yet whether this will extend to making concessions on a constitutional structure, taking a softer line towards nationalisation of assets or giving recognition to white cultural and other values.

White politicians wait with some apprehension for greater clarity on what the ANC line will turn out to be on real negotiations.

Though the ANC cannot call all the shots, and the whites still retain power, there is no doubt that the ANC approach has a considerable effect on the relative strengths of rival white parties.

They are all conscious that time is running out.
Nationalisation fears 'must be assessed'

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

FEAR of the unknown was primarily responsible for the brake applied to the strong advance in share prices over the past few weeks, say V H Simmons's analysts.

What is now needed, following Nelson Mandela's statements on nationalisation, is a "cool and objective" assessment of whether or not such fears are justified, they say in the stockbroking firm's latest newsletter.

"We suggest that while we shall witness labour problems on an almost unprecedented scale, they will not cause widespread and insoluble disruption. The ANC believes it will rule SA in the not-too-distant future and we contend it is pragmatic and level-headed enough to ensure a sound economic infrastructure is intact on the day it expects to climb into the driver's seat."

Further, for the ANC to grow in strength and credibility it must keep its foreign options open, they say. If it is perceived by those abroad to be a destructive force in SA, the support of Western leaders may evaporate quickly.

However, the influence of the ANC over labour union leaders is, at the same time, "questionable", with the result that strike action will be unavoidable.

"Investors would therefore be well advised to steer clear, as far as possible, of shares in labour-intensive industries. The gold mines could prove to be an exception, because the heightened prosperity flowing from an advancing gold price should help the mines to stave off threatened labour unrest."

The analysis says government's deregulation and privatisation moves are essentially part of a denationalisation phase. Viewed in its correct perspective, then, ANC nationalisation "noises" are not very different from what the NP has been doing for the past 40 years.

"The essential difference is that the ANC wishes to nationalise precipitously; the Nationalist government did it insidiously," they add.
A minister irony as the Right takes to the streets
FW’s reforms ‘not a result of sanctions’

Sanctions had not brought South Africa to its knees and it was a misconception to think that the State President had been forced in any way by sanctions to make concessions, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

Replying to debate on the Appropriation Bill, Mr. Du Plessis said it was arrogant of the ANC to think it held the trump cards on whether or not sanctions should be applied.

"The facts are that the US is providing aid to countries which are moving away from communism, socialism and other unsuccessful systems and the ANC will not be able to rely on them for too much longer.

"They are making a fatal mistake if they think the West has helped them to win."

Now that the opportunity is being given for arguments between policies, the outdated policies of the ANC have evoked strong criticism worldwide.

"Overseas television showed an incident in Soweto at which a red flag was present. This 10-15 seconds of international TV time has enabled us to buy things we have not been able to do for many years. This exposure showed the outside world the close bond between the ANC and the SA Communist Party."

Trade sanctions had succeeded momentarily until the country was able to come to grips with the situation and found new markets. Many jobs and much wealth had been lost, but this had brought the best out of exporters.

A ceiling had been placed on economic growth.

"During the last decade we had an average economic growth rate of 1.6 percent, which was hopelessly too low. During the first eight years of the decade we had a 12 percent growth rate and experienced a growth rate of 2.9 percent during the last two years."

Mr. Du Plessis said South Africa had signed contracts with foreign banks which it could honour and was not affected by sanctions. — Sapa.
Mandela comments on market fall

THE adverse reaction to the issue of nationalisation showed that whites were reluctant to achieve a real settlement in this country, Nelson Mandela told SA journalists during a media briefing at his Soweto home yesterday.

He was responding to the flurry of activity on the stock markets caused by his statements earlier in the week that he still believed in nationalisation of the key mining and industrial industries.

"Nationalisation has formed part of the history of this country. Nationalisation exists."

"That's why the government is into privatisation now."

He said government moves to privatise would deprive a future black government of the resources to address the issues of poverty and housing shortages.

"Where do we get capital if we don't nationalise?"

Sapa reported he emphatically rejected government's new attitude towards the economy.

"We have already begun the process. "Whites in this country are a very important section of the community and without them, without their co-operation, we will have immense problems."

"That is why we are so keen to ensure that the changes we are demanding are not going to mean domination of whites by blacks," he said.

See Pages 10 and 11
Comment: Page 10
No policy to nationalise ANC official

LUSAKA — Nationalisation of the economy was not ANC policy, a senior ANC source said yesterday, apparently contradicting views expressed recently by colleagues as senior as Nelson Mandela.

Amidst indications that the organisation was poised to announce a largely positive response to President FW de Klerk's political initiatives, the source added the ANC was prepared to negotiate a cessation of violence between government and the ANC.

He was speaking during a break in the proceedings of the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) meeting, scheduled to end here today.

The meeting has resolved all the important matters and will take a few hours today to polish up its statement before meeting US civil rights campaigner the Rev Jesse Jackson at noon and the Press at 2pm today.

The source said the ANC's main economic priority was to address the historical injustices and distortions of racism.

"There are many reasons why we cannot nationalise even if we wanted to. We do not want our economy to collapse into nothing," he said.

"There is nothing in our constitutional guidelines which make nationalisation mandatory," he added.

The guidelines state the economy shall consist of public, private, co-operative and small business sectors.

The source expressed the view that the guidelines were a modern interpretation of the Freedom Charter (which talks of nationalising the heights of the economy), and thus superceded it.

Another ANC source said the nationalisation issue would become "irrelevant" when the NEC announced its decisions today.

On the question of the armed struggle, a number of NEC members reaffirmed that the ANC would not "unilaterally" abandon it.

But the first-mentioned source indicated he was willing to talk to government about a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Issues that could be addressed in such a process would be the Harare Declaration demands not yet met by De Klerk, including the position of exiles, political prisoners, emergency regulations and security legislation.

But he did not indicate that exiled NEC members would participate in talks with government on these matters.

He said the ANC felt strongly that sanctions should remain in place as long as the apartheid question is not resolved.

"We need them as a guarantee that negotiations do not stop in the middle of nowhere."

The source conceded certain ANC positions were there in order to have something with which to compromise in the negotiations.

Another prominent NEC member took a slightly less bullish view of the situation.

Nationalisation

"We will definitely announce something new which we think is important. But whether it goes far enough to satisfy everyone, we will have to wait and see," he said.

Delegates have remained extremely tightlipped about details of the proceedings at the meeting, where the future role of Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other freed prisoners is also being discussed.

These leaders, and also President Oliver Tambo recuperating in Stockholm, have conveyed their views on the crucial issues to the meeting.

By yesterday it appeared that any serious strategic divisions among NEC members had been ironed out, and the meeting was now discussing detail.

Sources stressed that disagreements were not along simplistic political versus military lines.

Rather, they were based on differing assessments of whether De Klerk and the NP were genuinely committed to real change.

Former US presidential hopeful Jackson is due to arrive in Lusaka today from SA, to meet the ANC leadership.

Sisulu said yesterday that Mandela had been in contact with the authorities on Wednesday regarding a passport to allow him to travel to Lusaka.

Final details for the planned trip would only be made once Mandela had his passport.
30 000 CP supporters
march against reform

About 30 000 CP supporters from as far afield as Richards Bay, Maseru, Boksburg and Louie Trichardt converged on Pretoria yesterday to reaffirm their opposition to President F W De Klerk's reforms.

During the late afternoon 6 000 people gathered in Church Square and sang songs for about two hours before marching to the City Hall, where the crowd swelled to 30 000. Many people were bused to the meeting.

Addressing the crowd at the square, deputy CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg warned the CP would mobilise most of SA's whites before the end of the year.

Shouts of "Hang Mandela" rang out over placards saying "Reform Stinks". Vierkleur, SA and AWB flags were in evidence in the crowd. One man dangled a black doll from a piece of string.

"This is Mandela," he shouted.

Supporters were told not to display flags with swastikas.

At the City Hall, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the NP was forcing Afrikaners to live dangerously.

"This tiger is a friendly tiger, but don't look for trouble. We say to Mandela: you will never have peace in this country unless the principles of apartheid and separate freedoms are applied."

He said US President George Bush's invitation to De Klerk was a humiliation because Mandela had also been invited as an alternative president.

Treurnicht praised the SAP and security forces' fight against the ANC.

"De Klerk", he said, was governing the country and implementing reform without the majority support of the Afrikaner.
Koppel believes FW is serious

ABC Nightline anchor Ted Koppel said yesterday he believed President FW de Klerk was very serious about his reforms and was not creating merely surface changes.

The comments were made to Business Day following the taping of a Nightline programme at Wits University yesterday morning and beamed live to the US in which Education and Training Minister Staffel-van der Merwe discussed issues with, among others, ANC leaders Walter Sisulu and Thabo Mbeki, who joined the discussion via satellite from Leuska.

CP Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe left because he refused to debate with ANC panellists.

Koppel said he did not believe De Klerk was ready to sacrifice his government to create change.

Nor did he see fundamental long-term changes becoming visible in areas such as education and economic dispensation for decades.

Koppel pointed out that negotiations might be difficult to commence because the ANC refused to disassociate itself from violence until the state of emergency ended, and the NP refused to lift the state of emergency until violence ended.

Comment Page 10
Negotiations within Grassp

One person, one vote and nationalization are likely to be the main issues to be tossed about.
nationalised in contrast to the governing National Party's strong commitment to a market economy.

At one level there is, paradoxically, no conflict over universal adult suffrage. Like motherhood, everyone believes in it.

In its document "Constitutional Guidelines", the ANC says: "In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on one person, one vote."

In his public speeches since his release from prison last Sunday, Mr Mandela implicitly endorses that principle; he describes himself as a "loyal and disciplined member of the ANC" and speaks of the demands of "our people for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa".

Mr de Klerk, however, does not quarrel with one person, one vote; he agrees that all South Africans should have "an equal vote" and talks of "class A citizenship" for everyone.

But Mr de Klerk adds a corollary: minorities should be protected by in-built "checks and balances" in a system not based on the British winner-take-all model.

The NP's "Action Plan" — which it put to the voters in the September 6 general election last year — details some of the checks and balances which are under consideration in NP and government circles.

It mentions consensus, saying "all groups should agree before an important decision can be taken"; to that it adds the power of minority veto, entrenched

ensure that the realisation of this demand does not result in the domination of whites by blacks.

"We understand those fears and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the blacks and the whites of this country."

He declines to go into details but it is clear that he — and the ANC — are thinking of structural guarantees. The nature of compromise, he says, involves "compromise on fundamental issues".

It is relevant to recall that in his evidence in the treason trial of 1966-67 Mr Mandela spoke of accepting 60 seats for black representatives in Parliament as an interim measure, a step towards a non-racial future.

Of course, a lot has happened since then but his statement reflects a pragmatic state of mind which augurs well for deliberations at the negotiating table.

Nationalisation may be a more difficult issue on which to negotiate a compromise.

The ANC has reaffirmed its commitment over and over again to the nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly" industry. Hopes that Mr Mandela, having had time to reflect on the "folly" of nationalisation, might act to modify or even reverse that commitment have been dashed since his release.

Mr Mandela says bluntly that a change of our views is "inconceivable" and nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industry "unavoidable".

His speech to 100,000 people at the rally in Soweto requires no deciphering: "We believe that apartheid has created a heinous system of exploitation in which a racist minority monopolises economic wealth while the vast majority of black people are condemned to poverty... We shall certainly introduce policies that address the economic problems that we face."

A central feature of those policies will be nationalisation, unless the government can persuade that the nationalisation is a recipe for economic disaster and impoverishment of all.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, minces no words in his opposition to nationalisation. It is theft, he says.

Since many black nationalists of all hues believe that big business acquired its wealth through expropriation and exploitation — which amount to theft by another name — a bitter and acrimonious debate can be expected at the negotiating table.

Judging by statements made by Mr de Klerk, Mr du Plessis and the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Government believes that, in the long run, it can win the debate.

The rejection of communism in Eastern Europe means, they contend, that the ANC is peddling an outdated ideology which it will not be able to sell. The collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe was a prime factor in the decision to unbend the ANC, Mr du Plessis says.

An intriguing question arises from the conflicting views on government and the ANC on nationalisation: whose side will the Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, take?

Chief Buthelezi is a staunch proponent of free enterprise and a market economy, a conviction which would theoretically place him on the side of government and big business on that issue (on one-man-one-vote his views coincide with those of the ANC).

But Mr Mandela, judging from his letter to Chief Buthelezi while he was still in jail and from his remarks since his release, is anxious to end the quarrel between Inkatha and the ANC and restore the cordial relations which existed in the late 1970s.

The ANC, he says, has differences with Chief Buthelezi; violence, participation in government-established structures and sanctions. He labels them "fundamental differences."

But, Mr Mandela adds, "there is a following and it seems to me correct to try to settle prob
ANC to send team with FW

for talks with FW

'Suspension of hostilities' a key item on agenda

LUSAKA — In a major breakthrough, welcomed by National Party and Democratic Party sources, the exiled leadership of the African National Congress said yesterday it would send a delegation "as soon as possible" to South Africa for a meeting with President FW de Klerk.

The announcement came after a three-day meeting of the ANC's policy-making national executive committee.

The meeting would be the first between the movement's exiled leaders and a South African head of state...

Mr. Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC, also said the movement was prepared to negotiate a "suspension of hostilities" once Mr. de Klerk met the group's remaining pre-conditions for formal talks.

The ANC said "it resolved to meet Mr. de Klerk as soon as possible to discuss with him the need to address these issues so that a climate conducive to negotiations is created."

The movement said the delegation would include exiled members as well as leaders inside South Africa. That could include recently released ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela, although Mr. Nzo did not specify anyone by name.

The Lusaka announcement followed three days of meetings to evaluate recent reforms announced by Mr. de Klerk on February 2. These included legalising more than 60 opposition groups, among them the ANC, the release of Mr. Mandela; the easing of press restrictions; and a moratorium on executions.

Mr. Nzo said the ANC viewed these reforms "in a positive light."

The ANC reiterated that the Government had to release all political prisoners, lift the State of Emergency and allow exiles to return before formal negotiations began.

Mr. de Klerk has said he plans to take these steps.

The ANC, which was banned for 30 years, also said it would open offices in South Africa.

In an interview yesterday, Mr. Mandela said he would be willing to meet Mr. de Klerk to discuss the prospect of negotiations.

"I have found him to be a man of integrity with whom I can do business," Mr. Mandela said.

"But I must establish that the Government had no of-
ANC

Official response last night. But National Party sources described the ANC move as a "start".

The Government reaction was expected to be positive, as the ANC's move to send a delegation was a direct response to an invitation by Mr de Klerk a week ago.

Speaking at a press conference to announce the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk said that "exploratory talks" could be held to discuss problems hindering negotiations.

Although he was specifically referring only to the issue of political prisoners, Mr de Klerk indicated in a later interview that the lifting of the State of Emergency could also be negotiated.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said: "We have taken note of the statement. We are studying it and we will probably respond to it early next week."

Senior NP sources said: "It is an encouraging sign that they are coming to talks. Our attitude all along has been that the ball is in the ANC court. They must make some gesture.

"But it seems as if they try to play it both ways. They stick to their familiar rhetoric about violence and sanctions, but on the other hand they want to get clarity.

"It's the smallest possible start they could take, but it is at least a start."

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "I'm delighted to hear this news. It confirms that the ANC is looking towards genuine negotiations and by implication, that its intentions are peaceful.

"The proposed talks with Mr de Klerk represent the most important step so far in the 'talks about talks' to which all of us have been referring."

"The re-establishment of the ANC as a political organisation within South Africa is entirely to be welcomed and is something we have long campaigned for.

"As one of the handful of members of Parliament who voted against the banning of the ANC three decades ago, I shall be particularly pleased to welcome them back in the political scene."

On the likely right-wing reaction, Mr de Beer said: "I don't think it adds anything to the fury they are exhibiting. The action of unbanning the ANC was already enough to raise the Conservative Party's anger to maximum levels.

"It simply is not physically possible for them to become any angrier."
NP will continue to protect white interests — F.W.

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk has told the National Party that it will continue to look after white interests and will play a key role in any future constitutional dispensation.

At no time was the NP's role more important than now, he told a meeting of the NP federal council here yesterday.

The meeting of the NP's most important body was attended by the four provincial leaders and six senior representatives from each of the four provinces. Enthusiastic support was given to the Government's initiatives, the NP said in a statement.

The information committee of the federal council, meeting for the first time under its new chairman Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, decided to appoint a task force to put across the party's message.
It's full speed ahead on talks

From Page 1

A source close to the ANC said the acting president, Mr Oliver Tambo, would urge the ANC executive to formally recognize Mr. Mandela's role as Father of the Liberation movement.

Mr Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC, has acted as president since Mr. Tambo took ill.

It was understood that with the experience of almost three years of negotiations with members of the Government, while he was impressionable, Mr. Mandela would be well equipped to lead the ANC's negotiating team.

Eager

At its meeting in Lusaka this week, the ANC took a decision about Mr. Mandela's future role, but an official statement, afterwards, contained no reference to him — presumably to preserve an element of surprise about his new appointment.

Meanwhile, ANC leaders in Lusaka are forming a delegation to return to SA — some for the first time in 30 years — to discuss with President De Klerk the remaining obstacles to formal negotiations.

Late yesterday, President De Klerk said he had not yet responded officially to the ANC's announced intention to meet him for talks — but it was taken for granted in senior Government circles that he would be eager to meet the delegation as soon as possible.

Ready

Although senior sources have called the ANC's response "cautious", and "barely the minimum" they were pleased that it conveyed acceptance of Mr. De Klerk's assertion that the time for talks had arrived.

The ANC leadership did not indicate on Friday when its delegation would be ready to leave for SA — but Government sources indicated there were no impediments.

The delegation would be received as soon as it was ready — possibly within three weeks.

Obstacles

From South Africa, the team would be supplemented by high-profile ministers like Mr Walter Sisulu as well as leaders of the United Democratic Front.

Mr. Sisulu was this week appointed by the ANC's National Executive to lead a committee to re-establish dormant ANC-structures inside South Africa.

ANC leaders stressed that the expected talks would not be "negotiations on a future constitution".

They would be exploratory discussions aimed at removing the remaining obstacles to full-scale negotiations.

For Mr Nzo, 64, a former health inspector in Alexandra, it will be his first visit to South Africa since he went into exile 25 years ago.

Tough talking will mark the first meeting. The ANC
It's time to untie SA from the burning stake

NOW that the State President has set South Africa on a new course it is worth examining the ways in which others may attempt to influence that course. The question, quite simply, is how governments and other political powers try to influence other governments.

The first way is to impose the cost of "undesirable" behaviour. The second is to reward "desirable" behaviour. The third is to attempt a genuine understanding of the anxieties of those one is attempting to influence. Finally, and very rarely, there may be an attempt to structure choices so that real improvements are achieved.

Let us look at these processes. Governments dream of being able to make offers that can't be refused. The Mafia is the ideal in foreign policy.

**Baddies**

To this end governments build up their military strength, impose sanctions, disinvest and attempt to strangle rivals. A corpse is preferable to a recalcitrant opponent. In the process of opposition we see the categorisations of international apartheid at work. As this struggle continues all Commissars, Germans or South Africans become baddies until they bow the knee.

Moralists love sanctions. They enable them to be really wicked in the service of goodness. Not only can they preach at you, but they can strew your at the same time. What could give greater pleasure? They re-enact the performances of priests reading the Bible to heathens at the stake. The more virtuous the opposing government, the longer it will continue trying to get South Africans to repent at the stake.

The second method of exerting influence is to reward good behaviour. The way most governments interpret this is that they will release the thumbscrews when you agree to do what they say. That's reward enough, surely.

Then, sanctions and other punitive measures will cease when you have satisfied their demands. Most people find it difficult to reward those they don't like, and this is why punishment is much more common in international relations than substantial assistance.

There can be no doubt that punishment and relief are effective in many cases. We in South Africa should be grateful that they have been applied to us; they have saved us from great evil. We should also be grateful that we are not a major power, of the size of the Soviet Union or Germany. If we had been I'm sure we would have taken the route of totalitarian apartheid in the 60s and 70's. As it was, we started out on that way and then stalled as the costs began to rise. If we follow the De Klerk course the thumbscrews might be loosened.

What about the third method of exerting influence, which is to understand the genuine anxieties and fears of those one is negotiating with?

**Afraid**

Let me use an example. Suppose one is faced with a person who persists in using drugs in spite of all the rewards and punishments one has administered. How can one understand such stubbornness? Is the person just plain obstinate? It might be that there is a simple explanation.

If the addict were to give up drugs he might find he is without friends, without skills and without a job. So he goes on with his drugs. Similarly, the NP clings to power because it is afraid of black domination. This is a genuine fear that needs to be addressed by diplomacy. Those who understand this fear and do not attempt to wish it away will have the greatest effect on the conduct of the NP.

It is easy enough, given overwhelming power, to break a government. The real problem is to lay the foundations for building a future state. History is littered with the wrecks of fallen governments and broken states. This is the usual achievement of international statecraft.

This brings us to the final point, which is that problems can be solved only if we frame our choices in the right way.

**Tyranny**

Generally, the source of the greatest error is misunderstanding the alternatives before us. In Europe, the choice is not between capitalism and communism, but between liberal democracy and totalitarianism.

In South Africa, the fruitful choice is not between white domination and black domination, it is between tyranny and liberal democracy. A change of actors in the same play will bring us as surely to the same dreary end of conflict and decay.

If we set aside the black/white distinction as irrelevant, we can begin to think. There is no reason why the ANC and the NP should not be totally united in the quest for freedom and justice, because it is in the interest of all that all should be treated justly and should be free.

If we discard the black/white distinction as relevant only in an unjust, unfree system, we can think about important principles of statecraft and about the most important problems facing us.

The principles I wish to raise here are subsidiarisation and empiricism. The problem I wish to identify is that of mass poverty.

If we are to design a free state, one that is more equal, in addition to ensuring free elections, a bill of rights and all the other liberal principles of government which I shall have to take for granted here is the reduction of central power by subsidiarisation. This means as much local and institutional autonomy as possible. Decisions should be taken at the lowest level required for their implementation. This ensures variety, experimentation and vitality in public life which, in turn, ensures a highly adaptive system in a competitive world.

Closely related to this is a change in style of government. Governments, if they are to be responsive to problems and facts, should adopt an experimental approach as opposed to utopian attitude. The experimental attitude implies that even our most cherished ideas are open to criticism and revision when tested against the facts. A utopian (or totalitarian) attitude implies that the facts must be revised when they conflict with our most cherished ideas.

**Poverty**

I have no doubt which of these approaches will foster justice and liberty. It is the experimental approach, which is the way of humility. One of the major features of our education ought to be education in the experimental attitude to all problems, including political problems.

Finally, we have got to find a way to eradicate massive and increasing poverty. This is a problem which requires all our resources. If it is to succeed, the war against poverty should involve the poor themselves. It should also involve the international community, a form of Marshall Aid for a democratic South Africa would be a really constructive move.

This will give us enough to think about. We can then forget to notice whether the government is black or white.
Equity

The achievement of equity requires the full cooperation and participation of all stakeholders in the education system. This includes not only students and educators, but also parents, government, and the broader community. The goal is to ensure that every student has access to a high-quality education that prepares them for success in life.

The importance of equity cannot be overstated. It is essential for ensuring that all students have the opportunity to reach their full potential. By addressing disparities in access, resources, and outcomes, we can create a more inclusive and equitable education system for all.


dated notes
Tony Leon

To be agreed future
Bill of Rights Draft
DP ponders its future

THE Democratic Party is holding a series of regional strategy meetings to decide on its future in the rapidly changing order of South African politics.

The meetings began soon after President F W de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC earlier this month.

Sentiment

Findings of the meetings will soon be discussed by the party's strategy committee, which will make recommendations to the DP management on what identity the DP should adopt.

Discussions in the party have been focusing on the "Gastrow options"—named after four proposals largely drawn up by the party's young Durban Central MP, Mr Peter Gastrow.

These options are that:

- The DP can move closer to the Government in an overtly supportive role;
- The party can move closer to the ANC;
- The DP should seek a formal alliance with the ANC and other groups within the Mass Democratic Movement;
- The party can retain an independent identity in the traditional opposition role of watchdog.

DP MPs say the main opinion emerging from the regional meetings point either to the party retaining its identity, but intensifying interaction with the ANC, civic organisations and the MDM, or a more assertive move to closer alignment with the ANC, now that the organisation is legal.

It appears there is no sympathy in party ranks for moving closer to the Government.

However, some DP members say there is likely to be a difference of sentiment between the party's official members and its base of supporters whose involvement is relevant only at the polls.

Some suspect that the mood among DP supporters may be far more sympathetic to the Government's dramatic reform moves than the mood in the party's hierarchy.
Treason charges hold no fear

By CHARLES MOGAE

NELSON Mandela is not bothered by treason charges laid against him by Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht.

He told a Press conference this week: "When Treurnicht is in government, we may worry about him. Not now."

Last week Treurnicht laid charges of treason against Mandela and PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, following the "two leaders' pro-armed struggle pronouncements.

In response to a question, Mandela said although the armed struggle would continue, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda was calling for its suspension.

"It is understandable Kaunda should make that call because he is a non-violent person, but the issue here is not the armed struggle. It is apartheid."
ANC youth leader recalls a long and tortuous road

TALKS about talks between the ANC and the Government did not just fall out of the blue.

Crucial spadework was done over many years in meetings between ANC members and groups of academics, students and professional people.

One man who can today feel justifiedly proud about the role he played in creating the climate for negotiations is ANC youth leader Jackie Selebe.

In Lusaka this week Mr Selebe — he is the youngest member of the ANC's 25-person executive — told how these exploratory meetings helped to prepare the ground for the main event that is to follow.

"There was great opposition from both sides when we started reaching out to youth groups inside South Africa," said Mr Selebe. "But we persevered — and we have been vindicated."

In South Africa the first tentative moves to establish contacts were harshly slapped down. Matric students had to cancel a visit when Mr PW Botha threatened to withdraw their passports.

Businessmen, including Anglo chairman Gavin Rally, were severely reprimanded by the Government. Groups like Iduma and the Five Freedom's Forum were called "meelopers" and "fifth columnists".

Even journalists who ventured north in search of quotes ended up on the receiving end of government tongue-lashings.

A mere five months ago the NP launched an all-out campaign to unseat DP co-leader Wynand Malan in the election in Randburg — with the main bone of contention being his contacts with the ANC. A picture of him sitting next to ANC leaders was used in a NP propaganda blitz.

And within ANC ranks people who spoke to "the Boere" were treated with suspicion by hardliners who preferred "war-war" to "jaw-jaw".

"It was very difficult in the beginning," recalled Mr Selebe whose Youth League pioneered the talks with student groups. "But we persisted, often meeting in the utmost secrecy — and our efforts are now bearing fruit."

"Through the years we have managed to destroy major preconceptions and stereotypes that have existed about 'the other side.'"

Only last month a Youth League delegation met with the establishment-connected youth movement Jangwani in Harare. The contrasts in views were sharply etched and they agreed to differ on a number of issues, but at least a basis of understanding was established.

The result of all these contacts, said Mr Selebe, was that there were now a number of highly influential people inside South Africa who had already had exposure to ANC views.

They range from dominos to businessmen and from lawyers to teachers.

Mr Selebe said he hoped these contacts could be continued even when real negotiations at the leadership level got going.

"The youth have always been in the front trenches of political warfare and they are going to play a vital role in determining the future of South Africa."
Brigadiers walk out of mayor’s service

Staff Reporter

TWO Defence Force brigadiers caused a stir in mayoral circles yesterday when the Officer Commanding Western Province Command, and the Officer Commanding Southern Air Command arrived for the mayoral Sunday service—and then walked out before proceedings began.

Both Brigadier A K de Jager, OC Western Province Command, and Brigadier Theo de Munnink, OC Southern Air Command, refused to comment on whether they had left the service because Nkosi Sikele’iAfrika was to be sung.

The mayoral service is an annual traditional church service attended by top city dignitaries and diplomats. The service is conducted in the denomination of the incumbent mayor.

According to one witness the two brigadiers arrived in full uniform about 10 minutes before the service was due to start at 10am in the Grand Hall, City Hall.

They took their seats but then left within five minutes before the mayoral entourage entered.

During the hour-long service the choir sang the African hymn Nkosi Sikele’iAfrika. The hymn is seen as an alternative to the SA national anthem.

Brigadier De’ Jager last night refused to comment.

Brigadier De Munnink confirmed that he and Brigadier De Jager had left the service.

When asked whether they had left because of the singing of the hymn, Brigadier De Munnink said he would “like to discuss the matter with the people concerned before talking to the press”.

19/12/90
DP examines its role, dismisses rift reports

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has dismissed suggestions that there are deep divisions within the party over its future role in the new South African politics.

He confirmed that the DP was assessing a range of options for future strategy and was now consulting the "grass-roots" level of the party for reaction.

But he rejected as "nonsensical" suggestions in weekend newspaper reports that there were divisions in the party and its parliamentary caucus.

"In fact, old hands say they have never experienced a caucus so coherent and purposeful as the DP caucus," he said.

"Introspection within the party has arisen because of President F.W. de Klerk's far-reaching initiatives in the past few weeks. Broadly, speculation has focused on the possibility that some in the party would favour a closer alliance with forces outside parliament - including, for instance, the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front - while others would favour a closer relationship with the government. Now that it has committed itself to normalising politics and getting negotiations going, "

"Dr Worrall said: "The DP takes credit for the sudden change in our politics because all the things Mr De Klerk has instituted were part of our manifesto and it is proof of our relevance."

"But clearly, with these things being implemented, we have entered a whole new politics, not just of five- to eight-million people, but of close on 40 million."

"This means we have to look at our strategies. We are taking them to our grassroot to get the reactions of our supporters and will be drawing conclusions shortly."

"But suggestions that there are divisions in the party and the caucus are quite nonsensical."

""
ANC hopes to meet FW within weeks

LUSAKA - THIS ANC's national executive committee (NEC) could send a delegation to SA to meet President F W de Klerk before the end of this month, NEC sources said at the weekend.

The ANC, which suggested the visit in a statement on Friday, expects government to respond after this week's Cabinet meeting. Should De Klerk welcome the idea of a meeting to discuss remaining obstacles to negotiations, the delegation would be ready to leave Lusaka in a matter of days.

"We want to keep this thing moving," an ANC source said.

Government ministers said they wanted to study the statement before commenting, but see it as a satisfactory initial response to get negotiations underway.

The ANC group, which would probably include one or two top leaders, is to form a joint delegation with internal leaders likely to include Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela.

The ANC's initial general view was that since these were to be merely "talks about talks" they did not really call for participation by top-level leaders.

However, a source said: "We cannot afford not to send (acting president) Alfred Nzo on this trip."

The ANC did not want to give government the impression that it was not taking the process seriously.

The NEC delegation would probably also include members from the second-level leadership.

Another source said the group was not concerned that any of their number would be arrested. Nevertheless, it was unlikely the ANC would try to test the waters too vigorously by sending known Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders at this stage.

By Saturday there were the beginnings of frantic activity at ANC headquarters in Lusaka as officials began making arrangements for carrying out the decisions announced by the NEC on Friday.

It appeared the serious work in Lusaka from today would revolve around devising positions on the matters to be discussed with De Klerk.

One NEC member said the ANC would continue to demand the lifting of the emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the other familiar points.

But the ANC would also be ready to offer something in exchange, for example, an undertaking that the ANC would do its utmost to see that law and order is maintained, as exemplified in Mandela's appeals at rallies for order.

As far as political prisoners were concerned, the ANC, with its Frontline states allies, may be willing to investigate a prisoner swap involving SA agents.

The ANC, too, is said to be holding spies. Meanwhile, uncertainty regarding Mandela's date of arrival in Lusaka continues.

The most likely date according to local ANC sources in February 28th.

Mandela's planned address to a Natal rally this weekend is seen fitting in with the NEC statement expressing concern at the Natal violence.

Further factors which may delay Mandela's arrival is that he is seen as almost a head of state, and diplomatic protocol involving mainly the Zambian state but also other Frontline states would have to be followed, and Frontline heads of state have a meeting scheduled for February 27 in Lusaka.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from Cape Town that government sources said yesterday although senior cabinet ministers were still studying the ANC response they expected talks to take place soon.

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said government had taken note of the ANC's response and a formal reaction could be expected early this week.

Viljoen said in an earlier interview with Business Day that what government expected from the ANC was for the organisation to commit itself to pre-negotiations about any further preconditions.

The ANC now having met the minimum requirement, the focus of talks will now shift to ending the state of emergency and clarifying the position of political prisoners and exiles.

While some ministers believe the emergency can be lifted soon, others, particularly Adriaan Vlok, believe it has to remain in place at least in Natal where violence has escalated in past weeks.

Government at this stage is still insisting that those prisoners and exiles who have committed serious common law crimes will have to be excluded from an amnesty.

Any relaxation of this stand will require either a suspension or preferably an abandonment of the armed struggle on the part of the ANC.
PRETORIA — The NP plans a propaganda blast to counter the CP’s latest strategy.

Although no details of the plan have been revealed, the issue is regarded as extremely urgent as an erosion of NP support to the CP is feared unless the NP fights back, a source said.

Observers here say there is little alternative but to launch a campaign similar to the CP’s.

CP national secretary Andries Beyers said at the weekend that the offensive against government’s ‘sell out’ policies had just begun.

By the year’s end, he said, up to two thirds of white voters could be on the side of the CP.

He said the policies generated a fear of a loss of control and a black socialist government. The CP planned nationwide mass protests in the next three months.

Also being arranged in the next few weeks were regional closed party meetings in all provinces for planning further tactics. A manifesto demanding a general election would soon be distributed in the campaign to collect a million protest signatures, he said.
Top Indaba staff axed to save on costs

DURBAN — Numerous top management figures in the KwaZulu Natal Indaba have lost their jobs after shock disclosures of financial cuts — which places a question mark over the future of the Indaba.

Retrenchments included associate director Peter Badcock-Walters, deputy chairman Prof Dawid van Wyk, political lobbyist Mari Botha and director of communications Wanda Henag, who recently left as Cosmopolitan magazine’s Natal bureau chief to join the Indaba.

Others who also lost their jobs include Dari Crockett (fundraising), Mark Woolley (project development), Welcome Shange (communications), and Alan Jarvis (resources).

It is understood that a committee was recently appointed to restructure the Indaba in terms of its current financial position. The committee, which included leading members from the commercial and industrial sectors, apparently recommended that there should be staff cuts and rationalisation.

The retrenchment package terms have not yet been decided, but it is believed they will be substantial. Sources also speculated that overseas funding had slowly dried up with the realisation that the present political situation in SA needed a national solution, and not a regional solution.

Not all of the Indaba’s work was directed at finding a political solution. Much of their work involved community projects, and there is concern that much of this work will suffer. (S04A)

Confirming the retrenchments, Indaba executive director Peter Mainsfield last night said the organisation would be completely restructured.

"As SA moves through a rapid process of change it is vital to be planning ahead and facilitating the change. The most difficult change is in the reduced flow of funds, the projects are both vital to SA and financially viable."
SINNAM BARBER in Washington

Form of Denigration and the Sinister Crimes of Thought

Crime of Denigration
30th June 2018
CP calls for govt to quit over alleged cover-up

CAPE TOWN — Government should resign immediately for trying to cover up the so-called hit squad known as the Civil Co-operation Bureau, CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said yesterday.

He told a media conference many countries established bodies relating to State security and the CP would have had no objection to the CCB if it had been legitimately constituted.

The CCB was clearly a government body and it was “unthinkable” that the whole government did not know about it.

He also objected strongly to people who knew about it not coming forward with the information, which could shorten the work of the Harms Commission into political murders, and for doing nothing to counter suggestions that it was a right-wing body aimed at frustrating the reform programme.

Mentz said it was thought the commission would take a year or more to report because of its wide terms of reference.

**Political Staff**

Facts which have come to light about the existence of a secret organisation called the CCB now necessitate immediate action apart from the activities of the commission,” he said.

The Defence Force had confirmed the existence of the CCB.

“In this statement the SADF disclosed that the purpose of this unit is to infiltrate the ranks of identified so-called aggressors for the purpose of action against them in the interest of State security,” said Mentz.

**False Image**

“It is disturbing that this statement was issued only after members of the CCB, who had also been SAP members, had suffered the humiliation of detention, interrogation and accusation over a period of several months.

“During this period a false image was created that the action against left-wingers was undertaken by persons from the right-wing who wanted to frustrate, the reform initiatives of the government,” he said.

He said people aware of the true facts throughout this period helped to spread this image by remaining silent.

“People who apparently executed the orders of their superiors are now being hunted relentlessly while the relevant CCB superiors watch comfortably from their armchairs.”

He said it was clear that the CCB was exclusively a government vehicle for achieving political aims and it was therefore unthinkable that the responsible political heads were not involved in the decisions about its actions.

“Due to the fact that, according to police spokesmen such as Brig Floris Mostert of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit, sufficient evidence of a crime or crimes exist to arrest and detain members of the CCB, and because the Cabinet is responsible for the CCB as a government institution, the CP demands the immediate resignation of the government,” he said.

CP media spokesman Koos van der Merwe said the party was acting against the political chiefs, not members of the security force.”
Minister imposes clamp on 21 firms

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Twenty-one companies and their principals have been forbidden by Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism Mr Kent Durr to supply financial services until an investigation into the firms is completed.

In a notice in the latest Government Gazette, Mr Durr says he has reason to believe that a harmful business practice is being conducted.

The people concerned are Mr Louis Johannes van Wyk, Mrs Nellie van Wyk, Mr Daniel Brink Ferreira, Mr Cornelius Petrus Hattingh, Mr Jeremias Senegal, Mr David Adrian van Schalkwyk and Mr Cornelius Francois van der Post.

COMPANY NAMES

THE Administrator-General of South West Africa and the State President of South Africa have withdrawn the appeal against a decision that a certificate issued by the former State President, Mr F W Botha, was invalid.

The certificate stopped the trial of four SA Defence Force members for the death of Mr Frans Uapona, who died of severe injuries on November 25 1985 after soldiers entered a shop near his home.

The State President has also withdrawn the appeal that was to be heard on Thursday against the Supreme Court of South West Africa's judgment that invalidated the certificate of immunity from prosecution of six members of the SADF and SWA Territory Force for the death of veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi.

Mr Shifidi was stabbed to death at a Swapo political rally in Katutura, outside Windhoek on November 30 1986.

In the notice of withdrawal the Administrator-General and State President have tendered to pay the costs of the appeals.

In December 1988 a full bench of the SWA court found the State President was not legally able to instruct the interim government of SWA on July 27 1986 to end the trials of CJ Harmse, FJ Horps, DF Esselen and J Fernando.

Ordered

In the Shifidi case a full bench of the SWA court on March 20 1988 invalidated the certificate of March 18 1988 and ordered that Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolas Prinsloo, Corporal Eric Schiutt Kashimba and Private Steven Festus should stand trial for Mr Shifidi's murder.
Parliamentary briefs

The September 1989 election had cost R19 million, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday. Replying to debate on the Additional Appropriation Bill, he said it had been the first time an election had been held on such a large scale. All three Houses of Parliament had held elections on the same day. Salaries for staff had made up R10 million, R2.3 million had gone to administrative costs, R3.3 million had been spent on stock and R2.4 million on equipment. The balance had been spent on rentals and leasing of buildings.

The South African Government spent R655,000 monitoring the Namibian elections, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday. Replying to debate on the Home Affairs vote of the Additional Appropriation Bill, he said it had been necessary to monitor the elections to ensure that they were free and fair. Considering the way the elections were conducted and the result, the costs involved had been a bargain.

Trips between Victor Verster Prison and Tuynhuyse had contributed 0.00000015 percent towards increases in the Prison Services’ special transport budget, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday in reply to a question by Mr Chris de Jager (CP Bethal) in a joint debate on his department’s vote under the Additional Appropriation Bill.

While the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act was very much in operation, the ANC had not been given notice that it was being investigated under the Act, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday. Replying to a question by Mr Tony Leon during joint debate on his department’s vote on the Joint Appropriation Bill, Mr Coetsee said there had been no reason to give notice to the ANC, SAPC or PAC, but if necessary it would be done. The Act was not intended to curtail political life in the country, but related to ulterior motives involving foreign funding entering the country. — Sapa.
Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert will meet President F.W. de Klerk at Tuynhuys this morning, according to a spokesman for the Idea's policy director. However, a spokesman for the State President's office yesterday declined to confirm the meeting. The meeting had been requested by Dr. Slabbert, a former leader of the opposition in Parliament and currently doing research at Oxford University. Dr. Slabbert was not available for comment.
Diplomatic breakthrough for SA

African heads to meet FW in major talks

EDYTH BULRING

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will meet at least five African heads of state in Zaire on Saturday in what government sources have described as an important diplomatic breakthrough.

Heads of state who have already confirmed their attendance to Zairian host President Mobutu Sese Seke are Chad's President Hissen Habre; Rwanda's President Maj-Gen Juvenal Habyarimana; Burundi's President Pierre Buyoya; and the Central African Republic's President Gen Andre Kolela.

It is understood Togo's President Gnassingbe Eyadema and Gabon's President Omar Bongo are still considering their attendance.

This is the first time African heads of state have initiated a multi-lateral meeting with a South African head of state.

While De Klerk met Mobutu in November last year, he has not met the other heads of state before.

The announcement of the meeting came as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) began meeting in Addis Ababa yesterday. Sources said several African countries, including Zaire, Ivory Coast, Congo and Gabon were expected to suggest a review of the OAU policy on SA.

It was unlikely the Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso would attend Saturday's meeting, but overtures to SA on a state-to-state basis were in the pipeline, government sources said.

Saturday's meeting is expected to deal with economic co-operation between SA and other countries in the Southern African region.

Government sources said yesterday SA expected to establish diplomatic relations with some African countries before the end of the year.

SA has full diplomatic relations on an ambassadorial level with Malawi, and trade missions in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho.

However, the opening of channels of communication through increased economic links is seen as taking priority over diplomatic ties.

The reforms announced by De Klerk during his opening speech to Parliament on February 2/90 reflected the desire of Nelson Mandela, sources said.

"They said SA would have to carefully choose which countries it would build closer economic ties with, as the poverty of Africa was creating a honeymoon effect," a source said.

He said acceptance of SA by Africa would allow business to more easily become involved in World Bank aid projects where payment was certain, and possibly in African Bank development projects at a later stage.

Premier International chairman Albert Nelissen said the multi-lateral meeting on Saturday and the opening of doors for SA was a positive development. He expected SA to establish diplomatic relations with a number of African countries within the next six months.

Premier International had exported primarily food worth hundreds of millions of rand to African countries for eight years, he said.

It had spent millions on setting up offshore companies in order to facilitate its interests in countries sensitive to overt links with SA.

Diplomatic links would not only open up a huge market but would make it a lot easier for SA to conduct business in the open, Nelissen said.

SA had established projects in a number of African countries over the past 20 years, and Saturday's meeting in Zaire could see a pay-off for its efforts, the sources said.

SA Foreign Trade Organisation African Business Development Group MD Paul Runge said the business implications inherent in the establishment of diplomatic links with sub-Saharan African countries were "phenomenal".

The need for off-shore companies representing SA's interests in Africa, and the laundering of documents, could be abolished to realise a major saving in costs, he said.

Diplomatic links would give a green light to business, as they represented security and confidence. One of the most important areas of business involvement in Africa would be participation in major development projects.

Runge said there was an insatiable need in Africa for infrastructure, expertise, pharmaceuticals and food.

"But the bottom line is how we are going to be paid."
Don't expect big tax cuts this year, warns Barnett

In brief

The government has said there will be no big tax cuts this year, despite pressure from opposition parties and some economists.

The government plans to introduce modest tax cuts in the future, but says they will be gradual and carefully managed.

The opposition argues that the economy is too weak to support bigger tax cuts at this time.

In an interview with The Age, Finance Minister Paul Keating said the government was taking a responsible approach to taxation.

"We are not going to be throwing money around," Keating said.

"We are going to make sure that any tax cuts we do are well thought through and carefully managed."
Chain of command leads to Malan

Several generals behind secret 'civilians'

A chain of command involving several generals, and leading directly to the office of the Minister of Defence, controlled the activities of a secret SA Defence Force unit allegedly linked to death squad operations.

The Minister, General Magnus Malan, was aware of the existence of the Shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) since its inception in 1987, according to an investigation by The Star.

The investigation shows that far from being purely a civilian intelligence-gathering operation, the CCB was directed by a military high command.

It is understood that the use of civilians was calculated to conceal the SAPF's involvement in operations that would normally be carried out by the Security Police, Military Intelligence (MI) and the National Intelligence Service (NIS).

In addition, the CCB was funded by secret SAPF budgetary allocations and little or no control was exerted over sums of money running into millions of rands that flowed through the network to cover salaries, expenses and travelling costs.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, head of the Branton Murder and Robbery Squad, said in court papers last week that he suspected the CCB was involved in the murders of Johannesburg academic Dr. Anton Lubwedi and Judge Advocate Mr. Anton Lubwedi. Investigations by The Star show that the CCB's formal military line of command reported upwards to the Minister of Defence. The chain of command was:

- General Malan.
- General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the SADF.
- General Witkop Badenhorst, Chief of Staff, Military Intelligence.
- Major-General Eddie Webb.
- A General Joubert (not to be confused with the SAP's General Jaap Joubert).
- Colonel Johan (Joe) Verster, commanding officer of the CCB, who answered to General Webb and General Joubert.
- The regional directors of the CCB, such as former Branton Murder and Robbery Squad commander, Mr. Staal Burger. Mr. Burger was the head of a Johannesburg cell believed to be one of 10 across the country.

The CCB's day-to-day activities were orchestrated by a special 'operations committee' which consisted of various SADF generals, who in turn were advised by independent experts.

It also set up a 'trade union squad' to monitor developments in the volatile black labour movement, in addition to shadowing the movements of political activists intensively - and recommending action against others externally.

General Malan, sources told The Star, had been aware of the existence of the CCB, along with the National Security Council, since the unit was set up in 1987.

The Minister, in a statement yesterday, made it clear that he had never given orders to murder anyone, and that included Dr. Webster and Mr. Lubwedi.

The Sunday Star disclosed on February 11 that the cell operated by Mr. Burger and based at the Park Lane Hotel in Hillbrow consisted of former policemen Mr. Chappie Maree, Mr. Abraham 'Slang' van Zyl and Mr. Calla Botha.

Further investigations show that before moving the hotel, all were based at the Matthias Burgersvoer Company at Magwatsi Park, Rivonia. The only exception was Mr. van Zyl, who was later recruited from Braddon.

There they worked under cover as CCB members along with at least four other white agents and a group of black and coloured collaborators.

More disclosures on the CCB tomorrow.

While with the bus company, they purportedly worked as security officers investigating thefts at the company.

They became so good at clamping down on illegibilities that they upset black employees and labour difficulties arose. As a result, they had to leave.

Also connected with Mr. Burger was a known hitman for the Hillbrow underworld called Nigel.

It is understood that among those subsequently linked to the Burger cell were businessmen Mr. Tobias de Toit and Mr. Thomas Viljoen, both formerly connected to NIS and Mr. John Birch of Military Intelligence.

The Star established that Mr. Viljoen and Mr. Birch, along with four or five other people, were arrested and held on serious charges in Mozambique while on secret business for the CCB.

Others linked to the CCB included:
- ex-Recce Mr. Louis Klipper; Mr. Victor van Wyk, formerly of NIS and Mr. Henry Langeveld, ex-SADF, ex-Mr. Jan van Schalkwyk, formerly involved with the SWA Police counter-intelligence unit, ex-NIS and Mr. Adrian den Dulk, a security manager with a

To Page 2
Generals

Secret 'civilian' unit

General Magnus Malan (Minister of Defence).

General Jannie Geldenhuys (Chief of the SADF).

General Witkop Badenhorst (Chief of Staff, Military Intelligence).

Other generals including: General Joubert, Major-General Eddie Webb

Colonel Johan (Joe) Verster (Commanding officer CCB).

Staal Burger (Regional director), Cheppie Maree, Callie Botha, Slang van Zyl.

Ferdie Barnard's cell.

Pick 'n Pay
Southern Transvaal Discount Supermarkets

Good-to-Eat Dinner-Treat

To Page 2
De Klerk in bid to pave the way towards redemption in Africa

Exploiting diplomatic opportunities opened by his domestic reform initiatives, President de Klerk goes to Zaire on Saturday for a historic summit meeting that could open even wider prospects in Africa. GERALD L'ANGE, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service, reports.

The proposed mini-summit in Zaire comes of as planned on Saturday, it will be the biggest step South Africa has yet made towards redemption in Africa.

However, it will still be a long way short of general acceptance in the continent.

The importance of the meeting with President de Klerk of South Africa is not so much in the status of the participants as in the symbolism attached to what will be the first summit meeting between heads of state from South Africa and some other African countries.

Some of the leaders who are reported to have accepted invitations to attend the meeting can hardly be considered to be among the more influential states in Africa.

Rwanda and Burundi are among the continent's smallest and poorest countries. Like the Central African Republic, they border on Zaire, while promoting the summit, and to some extent, can be considered to come under Kinshasa's influence.

The CAR is also desperately impoverished. During the regime of former president Bokassa, whose brutality was legendary even in Africa, the CAR had some informal relations with South Africa but given Bokassa's reputation this is something Pretoria might rather forget.

Chad, whose president is also expected to attend, is another of Africa's basket cases, with a poor or meagre gross national product of only 150 dollars compared to South Africa's 1.875 trillion. It has, however, received much international attention because of President Hissene Habre's stubborn fight against being swallowed by Muammar Gaddafi's Libya. For this reason alone President Habre's presence across a meeting table from M de Klerk would attract notice in Africa, especially among the Saharan Arabic states that have long been firmly closed to South Africa.

The Zaire summit demonstrates that South Africa is moving out of the era when it was forced to seek entry into the countries of Africa through back doors and when it had to grab any relationship it could get, no matter how distasteful. This was the era when Pretoria found itself befriending the monstrous Bokassa, secretly trying to overthrow the Seychelles government to get a friendlier government in its place and indirectly supporting the mercenaries running the Comoros.

It was a time when some African states' need for South African trade made them swallow their loathing of apartheid and deal with the country, but then only secretly.

The summit is still a long way from the acceptance that would be denoted by membership in the Organisation of African Unity and the obstacle to attaining that status remains apartheid.

But the fact that four African heads of state, no matter how insignificant some may be, are now prepared to meet openly with the South African president demonstrates the increasing acceptance that Pretoria is gaining, mainly through four factors:

- The good faith it has shown in allowing Namibia to become independent.
- The reforms implemented by the Government.
- The mounting evidence that it has stopped trying to destabilise neighbouring countries.
- The growing need of African countries for South African goods and services.

There are hopes in South African Government circles that these factors will lead not only to open meetings of the Zaire kind but also to formal diplomatic relations that would allow all dealings, including trade, to be done in the open.

The improvement of South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent began before Mr de Klerk became president and was evident in the visits by his predecessor, Mr P W Botha, to Mozambique, the Ivory Coast and elsewhere. But it was Mr de Klerk's relatively dramatic initiatives that have given the trend real impetus.

It has long been a dream in the Union Buildings in Pretoria that one or more of the African states would break through the united front demanded by the OAU against South Africa and start dealing openly with the Republic. It was hoped that this would start a snowball effect, encouraging more and more states to follow suit.

Whether Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, the Central African Republic and Zaire are enough to form the nucleus of a snowball remains to be seen. It may be that the snowball will start rolling only if it picks up one or more of the states that have been openly hostile to Pretoria.

Snowball or not, the summit represents a major and perhaps historic advance towards what the politicians in Cape Town would describe as the normalisation of South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent.
Generals knew about secret unit
Unconventional warfare is in order, says Jaap.

Political Reporter

The Government should recognise the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) as a legitimate defence mechanism, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said yesterday.

Efforts to link the CCB to "hit squads" were aimed at besmirching the country's defence forces and undermining the authority of the state, he said.

"The HNP is upset that the Cabinet is apparently prepared to unashamedly portray and hunt these people as criminals. The Government should handle the hunt on the CCB men as a leftist political tactic to put representatives of the security forces in the dock."

Mr Marais said unconventional warfare had first been applied by "communists" against South Africa. The state thus had the duty to use the same methods in self-defence.

Regarding allegations that the CCB had killed Government opponents, Mr Marais said those deaths should be regarded as war casualties.
De Klerk meets with Slabbert

ALL parties and groupings would now have to place increasing emphasis on the development of a democratic culture in South Africa, former leader of the Opposition Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

Talking to a group of journalists after an hour-long meeting with President PW de Klerk in TuyiHuys, he said he had asked for the meeting to congratulate De Klerk on his reform moves and to discuss the enormity of events since the President’s opening-of-Parliament address.

He had wanted to see De Klerk as an old friend and Parliamentary colleague.

South Africa and now been pulled into a new political orbit and the whole style of our politics is going to change,” Slabbert said De Klerk created the image of a man acting with confidence and conviction.
HARARE — President Robert Mugabe may not yet be willing to shake hands with F W de Klerk's hand at Saturday's planned summit meeting in Zaire, diplomatic sources here suggested yesterday.

There has been no comment from the Zimbabwean government on its attitude to the planned meeting of heads of state to be hosted by Zairean leader Mobuto Sese Seko, which is expected to discuss the civil wars in Angola and Mozambique, and developments within SA since the unbanning of the ANC and Nelson Mandela's release.

Only last week Mugabe asserted that he "saw no point" in relaxing his 18-year ban on government contacts with SA. (source)

The Zimbabwean leader was at last year's Gadhafi summit when Mobuto stunned hard-line guests by introducing UDF leader Jonas Savimbi, but Mugabe moved swiftly thereafter to deny Savimbi any further diplomatic respectability. (source)

At a news conference in Harare on February 12, Mugabe said he would not normalise relations with Pretoria until De Klerk negotiated the end of apartheid with SA's own black leaders. He said the only other pretext for a meeting would be if Zimbabwe was invited by black SA leaders to assist in the process of "democratisation".

Sapa-AP reports from Lusaka that President Kenneth Kaunda is not expected to attend Saturday's meeting in Zaire.

Kaunda received no invitation and Zambian authorities were "completely in the dark" about the gathering. De Klerk reportedly agreed to attend, said Milimo Punabantu, Kaunda's political advisor.

Zambian authorities felt an early meeting on stalled Angolan peace initiatives or political reforms in SA was inopportune.
Can the Right join forces to create a volkstaat?

WILL the new mood of the political Right prompt various splinter groups to bury the hatchet and march unitedly towards an Afrikaner volkstaat? The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg examines the possibilities.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht’s emotional address to thousands of whites at the Pretoria City Hall last week was the vocal support for its “Action One Million” campaign against sweeping government reforms. He accepted that the bitter battle to retain white domination in South Africa as a whole has been lost.

“Everyone now seems to agree on the ideal of a volkstaat,” one prominent right-winger commented this week. “The only remaining issue is the size.”

Recent reforms such as the unbanning of the African National Congress and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela have unleashed unprecedented anger among many whites. Demonstrating their ”Now or never” attitude, they are taking to the streets and flocking to city halls to demand the toppling of the De Klerk government.

Despite emotional appeals to rowdy crowds, including ominous threats of violence, right-wing leaders concede that there are only two options: forcing a white general election on the government, which they believe they would win, or starting to draw up proposals for a volkstaat which can be put on the negotiating table.

These leaders agree that united action is vital to muster white support against reform. But true to the Afrikaner’s proud history, the Afrikaner organisation insist they should lead the last battle for survival.

Said the CP’s Transvaal chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers: “The Afrikaner struggle has been completed. Various organisations still have their own role to play, but everyone recognises the CP as the driving force in the struggle for our own fatherland and Dr Treurnicht as the leader of that struggle. The organisations who don’t are so small that they should not even have been taken into account.”

Boerestaart Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the CP was hijacking the volkstaat ideology as support- ed by his organisation, the HNP, the AWP and the Transvaal Separatists.

Despite the differences between many right-wing organisations, they could achieve unity on the principal aim: to defeat the government.

“Politics makes strange bedfellows,” he says. “Reinstate the original Boer Republics.” For this aim we will co-operate with the devil. But the CP has always hankered on that principle.”

He said the CP would have to accept the mood of the people, and the people wanted the reinstatement of the Boer Republics.

“If they accept that ideology — and we are working on them all the time — we will be prepared to form some sort of a pact.”

Mr Beyers singled out the HNP as one organisation with which the CP would achieve closer cooperation in future, and added: “We basically have good relations with all the other groups, except perhaps the AWP, which has to sort out its own problems in the wake of its split.”

In the meantime, the HNP, a parliamentary party which has only had one MP since its inception in 1989, seems to be forging closer ties with the extra-parliamentary AWP. The two organisations are staging a series of joint public meetings against National Party reforms.

Commented HNP chief secretary Mr Louis van der Schyff: “There is no sense in unity if we need unity in public action.”

The CP, which claims it is leading the struggle for white self-determination, is also organizing rallies countrywide to demonstrate voters’ opposition to reform. It believes this will force President de Klerk to the ballot box.

Pretoria march

The CP as the largest right-wing group drew support from a range of organisations, including the AWP and Boerestaart Party, for its Pretoria march last week. But the CP has dismissed the HNP/AWP suggestion that it should force by-elections through mass resignations from serving MPs and municipal councillors.

Mr van der Schyff, however, remained adamant that this strategy had been proved since 1984 to be the best recipe for toppling a government. He said: “There are nearly 500 wards held by CP and HNP councillors. If they resign, municipal elections will have to be held in nearly 500 parliamentary constituencies within a maximum period of 11 weeks.”

“We don’t want the CP MPs to resign. They should intensify the campaign in parlia- ment while municipal elections are being fought.”

“The NP says it will not contest such elections. But that attitude says it all. It simply illustrates that we have already achieved a moral victory.”
Public Violence

It's time to increase the number of public protests and for the government to listen to the people. This is the only way to bring about change. We are all human beings and deserve to be treated as such. Let's stand together and demand our rights. If we don't, who will?
Union recognised

The SA Nursing Association (Sana) will be recognised as a staff association to negotiate conditions of service for nurses, the Minister of Administration and Privatisation, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying to a question by Mr Mike Ellis (DP Durban North), he said the Commission for Administration had recently made this recommendation after receiving an application from Sana.
Ministers pick up negotiation pace

Political Staff

THE presence of four senior cabinet ministers in a delegation to the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba has been interpreted to indicate government interest in parallel regional and national political settlements.

Political sources said the seniority of the government delegation which met Indaba representatives yesterday was significant, showing that the whole pace of negotiations had picked up.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen was accompanied to the meeting by Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Development Aid; Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

FURTHER DISCUSSIONS

Also in the delegation were Mr Hoefn Meyer, Deputy Minister, of Constitutional Development, senior Natal National Party MP Mr Jurie Mont and Mr Renier Schoeman, the NP's chief director of information.

The Indaba was represented by its chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo, executive director Mr Peter Mansfield and its former executive director Professor David van Wyk.

A statement after the meeting said they had agreed to have further discussions to try to find greater agreement on issues raised by Indaba proposals.

The political sources said that, a few years ago, the government had considered these proposals premature, but now thought their time had come so was keen to explore them in parallel with other initiatives.

FEAR OF KILLING

Yesterday's meeting stemmed from a meeting last July between Mr Stoffel Botha, then Natal leader of the NP, and Dr Dhlomo. A decision taken then, to set up a forum to discuss differences between the Indaba and the government, had simply been overtaken by events, the sources said.

They felt that white interest in the Indaba had waned in light of the political violence in Natal and KwaZulu which has claimed 3,000 lives since 1987. There was a fear that introducing a regional political settlement could up the stakes in the violence, and hence up the killing rate.

Meanwhile, members of and lawyers acting for the United Democratic Front and Cosatu met with Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok in Cape Town yesterday to discuss the Natal violence. They made several suggestions to Mr Vlok on how it could best be combated.
LONG WAY TO GO . . . The Black Sash held a placard protest at St George's Cathedral at lunchtime yesterday. They stated that while President F W de Klerk had initiated the politics of negotiation, they were very concerned about existing apartheid laws.

Picture: BENNY GOOL
Minister should get the boot, says DP

Political Staff

The very existence of the SADF's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) was a "travesty" and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan should "get the boot" for the activities in his department, said Mr Tian van der Merwe, a Democratic Party spokesman on law and order.

And DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said General Malan had not answered the "right question" by denying he had ordered political murders. "The question he should have answered is whether he knew if any political assassinations or murders had been committed by the CCB."

Mr van der Merwe said: "The existence of this CCB is a travesty in itself. It appears to be an organisation designed to spy against and undermine organisations and persons inside South Africa irrespective of whether they are operating within the law or not.

"In the process, it has been suggested they have even been spying on the police. This has all been done under the pretext of operating in the interests of South Africa."

ARROGANCE

Mr van der Merwe said the developments arising from the existence of the CCB were "sinister to say the least".

He said General Malan's denial that he had ordered acts of murder "is of little value since he has proven himself to be an expert at making very suggestive and sweeping political threats and then turning a blind eye to the consequences".

"Finally, General Malan once again shows his arrogance and contempt for democracy by suggesting that he was only prepared to co-operate with official inquiries by the State and was not prepared to react to what he terms questions, rumours and allegations about the bureau.

"It would be a disgrace if any members of the CCB ended up being prosecuted for acts committed in the course of their duties while their Minister got away scot free."
Slabbert denies he is to play mediation role

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday dismissed suggestions that he would be playing a mediating role between the SA Government and the ANC.

He was speaking after an hour-long meeting with President de Klerk.

"It doesn't really arise. If the Government is dealing directly with the ANC they can facilitate themselves."

Dr Slabbert said he had merely met Mr de Klerk to discuss the magnitude of events between February 2 and 12 and to congratulate Mr de Klerk on his "bold and courageous moves".

"I think we have been pulled into a new political orbit in South Africa. Obviously the whole style of politics is going to change."

He said he had no hidden agenda for the meeting and there was no question of him playing a pivotal role.

One of his reasons for coming out to South Africa now from Oxford University where he is on a sabbatical was to attend meetings this week of Idasa — the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Idasa's board would meet on Friday and its directors tomorrow. The main issue would be Idasa's future role in South Africa's changed political circumstances.

Idasa had been created to get the ANC and the Government talking, but now that was happening he would like to see it focusing on creating a democratic culture.

This would include a respect for multiparty democracy and for civil liberties and a tolerance for diversity of views.

He said his own future political role would depend upon the circumstances which arose.
DP spells out its future strategy

CAPE TOWN — The DP said in a statement yesterday it was not folding up and was in fact aiming to grow and would remain in a state of election readiness.

DP national council chairman Dave Gant countered NP speculation that the party had been left with an identity crisis by President F W de Klerk’s recent reform moves.

“The party’s philosophy remains one of growth and expanded influence in all spheres of political, social and economic life,” Gant said after senior national and regional officials of the DP met in Cape Town to discuss the party’s plans for 1990.

“The party will continue to expand . . . and will place specific emphasis on recruiting and mobilising youth groups.”

The party would also concentrate heavily on environmental issues. All committees had been asked to form environmental groups to monitor local issues.

“There are fundamental differences between the DP vision of a post-apartheid SA and those of the NP and the ANC/MDM. These differences give the party a persona of its own and we believe it will become more and more attractive to South Africans of all races and to the international community at large,” the DP statement said.
FW De Klerk's not kosher yet - paper

DAKAR - Senegal's official newspaper said an invitation to President F W de Klerk to attend a summit with black African leaders was shocking and short-sighted.

The daily Le Soleil said it was too early to invite the "leader of a white minority which oppresses millions of Africans".

"Inviting de Klerk is shocking because it is billed as a breakthrough for South Africa's efforts to uproot apartheid when in fact there is a long way to go," it said.

The Saturday meeting in Zaire, announced by de Klerk's office on Monday, would be the first time independent African states have allowed a South African leader to attend one of their summits.

"This is going too far unless involving de Klerk in African affairs manages to speed up changes. But that seems short-sighted," the paper said.
Mike Robertson

CAPE TOWN — Idasa director and former FPF leader Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday he would not act as facilitator between government and the ANC in any future negotiations.

Speaking after he met President F W de Klerk at Tuyshuys, Slabbert said government and the ANC did not need some kind of middle-man or go-between as they were already talking to each other.

He and De Klerk had held an off-the-record, informal discussion centring on recent changes. They had also “looked into the future”.

Slabbert said he congratulated De Klerk on his courage and said he had created new space in the SA political arena which the ANC seemed willing to occupy.

The Idasa director said he wanted to make it quite clear that he did not see himself as a facilitator. “I have a personal interest in promoting democratic alternatives without trying to be some kind of middle man. It’s not necessary any more.”

Slabbert said that in future Idasa’s role would change and would probably centre on arranging discussions on how to act democratically and tolerate the views of others.

The organisation, he said, was a victim of its own success. Its role would now shift towards broadening and supporting the growth of a democratic culture in SA.

Asked if he had any intention of getting involved in a particular party-political organisation, Slabbert said that while he did not wish to rule out the possibility, he had no such plans at present.

At the moment he did not want to get pinned down into constituency politics, but, at the same time, would continue to be politically active.
CP lashed over Nazi flags

CAPE TOWN — By not repudiating its followers who carried Nazi flags, the CP was bringing itself into disrepute in SA and the world, DP MP Harry Schwarz said yesterday.

He was reacting to an interjection in Parliament from Daan van der Merwe (CP nominated) during debate on the first reading of the Own Affairs Part Appropriation Bill.

As Schwarz was speaking on inequities in black and white education, Van der Merwe made a comment about Jews and Arabs.

"I knew you would come up with the Jews," Schwarz said. "The reality is that you and your people burned the flag of the state of Israel in Church Square."

Van der Merwe replied: "That is untrue."

Schwarz said he thanked the chairman of the CP meeting last week who appealed to people not to display banners offensive to others.

"The question that must be asked is why people who carry the Nazi flag are not repudiated by Mr Van der Merwe?"

"The best way of dealing with it is to say to those people who carry Nazi flags that you don't want them in your party. That's the issue. That's what I want to hear," Schwarz said.

Chris de Jager (CP Bethal) interjected that the CP did not want Nazis or communists in its ranks.

In the same debate, Van der Merwe said President F W de Klerk reminded him of murderess Daisy de Melker, "because each assurance he gives on preserving the self-determination of the white man is poisoned."

De Klerk deviated completely from his principles, he said.

His entire public life bore the stamp of untrustworthiness. Everyone knew the Own Affairs dispensation was only a temporary situation.

— Sapa.
Afrikaner rights to be protected in the new SA, says Kathrada

ANC leader Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday the rights of Afrikaners would be protected in the new SA.

Addressing more than 1,000 students at Wits University, Kathrada said the language, religion, and cultural rights of all people would be fully protected, including those of Afrikaners.

"All of SA's people must enjoy full democratic rights," he said.

Kathrada said it was a complete lie that the ANC had ever called for "liberation before education".

A more accurate view of the ANC would be "liberation through education", he said.

But the ANC also believed that syllabuses must not reflect only Euro-centric views, but the history of all the people of SA.

While he welcomed and appreciated the steps that President F.W. de Klerk had made, Kathrada called on him "for more action and less words", because there were only a "few cracks in the apartheid wall".

Kathrada said that wrong ideas about the ANC had circulated for decades in the media, primarily due to the fact that its members could not be quoted.

He added that the ANC had always wanted a peaceful solution to SA's problems. It acted from its inception in 1912 in non-violent ways, and only resorted to a violent struggle when all other means had failed.

He said the ANC was still "totally committed to a political solution, but a proper climate for fruitful dialogue" must first be established.

Regarding the issue of education, Kathrada said it was a complete lie that the ANC had ever called for "liberation before education".

A more accurate view of the ANC would be "liberation through education", he said.

But the ANC also believed that syllabuses must not reflect only Euro-centric views, but the history of all the people of SA.

While he welcomed and appreciated the steps that President F.W. de Klerk had made, Kathrada called on him "for more action and less words", because there were only a "few cracks in the apartheid wall".

He said only one of the six Harare Declaration points had been met so far, and though the NP spoke of reform, it was still wed to group rights.

"It has only white interest and white privilege at heart," he said.

To help create change, Kathrada called on the students to involve themselves in the historic events that were occurring in the country.

Kathrada joined the SACP at the age of 14, and was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia Trial. He was released in October 1989.
Mrs Margaret Thatcher...needed to be thanked for stand on sanctions.

Thatcher ‘needs to be thanked’

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher needed to be thanked for the stand she was taking on the issue of sanctions against South Africa, Mr Harry Schwarz (DP, Yeoville), said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Part Appropriation Bill for the administration of the House of Assembly, he said this was especially so in view of the hostile climate in which she was operating.

Mr Schwarz said there was some lack of morality in pro-sanctions people shifting the goal-posts continuously.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was quite genuine in his desire to get negotiations going, and this should be accepted both inside and outside South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said the Government’s failure to put a constitutional plan on the table was a disturbing feature to many people in South Africa.

Mr WA Botha (CP, Uitenhage) said in his maiden speech that it should not be allowed that South Africa be impoverished by a small group of people influencing the masses to strike.

Mr Karel Swanepoel (NP, Gezina) said own affairs and its budget was a smaller part of a greater whole. — Sapa.
An intriguing mystery of political survival

Nobody in the Cabinet is more deserving of a boot into political oblivion than General Magnus Malan - and how he continues to survive in office is a phenomenon which renders some intriguing insights into the forces that would seem to be at work in President De Klerk's Cabinet.

The evidence points to a deep and fundamental chasm between General Malan, the man for the military establishment in the Cabinet, and President De Klerk, the champion of civilian power and authority. It is a chasm which gives every indication of becoming politically unmanageable.

To get an idea of the nature and dimensions of the chasm, it is helpful to briefly ignore all the hit squad excitement which has focused on General Malan in the past few days and take a close look at another event this week which went off almost unnoticed: the decision by President De Klerk to contradict his predecessor and take legal steps in the Appeal Court which will open the way for several SADF and SW South African Territorial Force officers to be prosecuted for murder.

They are alleged to have murdered two civilians - Mr. and Mrs. Larapana, who died from injuries sustained after encounters with SADF personnel in 1985.

and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr. Immanuel Shifidi, who was stabbed to death at a lawful political rally near Windhoek in 1986. Presumably on the advice of General Malan, former President Botha attempted to cover up the SADF's alleged involvement in these killings by issuing certificates stating he was satisfied that the accused were combating terrorism when the alleged murderers took place. Under the sweeping powers of the Defence Act, that was enough to terminate both prosecutions.

Appealed

But the Supreme Court rejected President Botha's certificates and he promptly appealed against these decisions - again, presumably, on the advice of Magnus Malan. The appeals were about to be heard by the Appeal Court this week when President De Klerk abruptly withdrew them, opening the way at last for the prosecution of the military officers.

It would seem reasonable to conclude that there must have been a profound difference of opinion on this matter. Yet General Malan remains in the Cabinet.

The scene now advances to 1988 when the Supreme Court ruled that a unit of the SADF had acted unlawfully by conducting a secret campaign aimed at destabilising the Anti Conscription Campaign - illegal acts for which not a word of remorse has ever come from General Malan.

Jurisdiction

In fact, the SADF's arrogant court defence was that such clandestine operations were lawful and that the court had no jurisdiction in the matter, all of which led the EC's counsel, Mr. Sydney Kenridge, to remark: "There could seldom have been a more dangerous assertion of power than made here by the army."

Yet when he took over the government, President De Klerk kept on his predecessor's discredited old chum.

Then, last year, without General Malan having taken back a single word of the extensive bald-faced lie he invoked in support of the Total Strategy

President De Klerk announced the reorganisation of the chief instrument of the Total Strategy - the National Security Management System.

In effect it amounted to the dismantling of much of the system. Power was restored to the Cabinet in an arrangement where previously power was exercised by the military and the police. Again, there must have been hurt feelings, for the step clearly was another sign of President De Klerk's displeasure at the exercising of power by the military.

Potentate

Yet Magnus Malan stayed on.

This year, of course, there was the halving of national service, and the massive cutbacks in the defence budget, all of which must have been a bitter experience for the man who seemed almost to be an independent potentate within the ruling concilae. Yet he stayed on.

And this week Magnus Malan was forced to admit to the existence of a secret SADF unit, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, an outfit apparently used to harass political opponents and which has been linked to the police to the killings of Swapp lawyer Mr. Anton Lubwokazi, and the Wits academic Dr. David Webster.

The country apparently is expected to be satisfied that ministerial responsibility has been acquitted simply because General Malan has declared in a statement that at no stage did he give any order to any person to carry out acts of murder!

Hugh Roberton

ISSUES

Property

President De Klerk is far too astute not to recognise the inherent political implications of the Magnus Malan saga.

If a black government somewhere in Africa were to set up a hit squad branch of its defence force to harass and, according to its police force, even be involved in the murder of its political opponents, the reaction of perhaps a majority of white South Africans would include such familiar comments as "how typical", "what did you expect?", "these are the instincts of a people" - they actually want the violence", "that's what would happen here", if...", "over my dead body" and so forth ad nauseam.

What do Black South Africans say when the same sort of thing is perceived as having been perpetrated by a white government?

And ultimately, what security can either white or black have in the future if the threat of precedent is not roundly and cleanly denounced and a serious attempt made to entrenched respect for the rule of law in the few years left before black majority rule must come?
Police accused of standing back

Natal blacks 'left to kill each other'

There was evidence of the police standing back and allowing the violence and the killing in Natal to escalate and run its full course before stepping in, Mr Luwellyn Landers (LP Durban Suburbs) said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

He asked whether this was as a result of a political decision handed down to them — 'a case of 'let the blacks kill one another off'.'

Mr Landers was speaking during an interpellation debate in which he asked the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Viljoen, whether in the light of the current crisis in Natal, he or the Government had taken steps to bring the violence and loss of life in this province to an end.

Since 1987 between 2,000 and 3,000 people had died in Natal.

'This, in spite of the fact that SA was governed under a state of emergency and in spite of the enormous powers granted to the authorities and the police in terms of security laws.'

Many affected communities and their leaders had lost confidence in the police.

Replying to the debate, the Minister said mobile police stations had already been established and he asked all responsible leaders to exercise control.

"It was not the first time steps like these have been taken," Mr Viljoen said, after repeating the steps taken to help control the violence in Natal, announced earlier this month.

"We make a mistake by accusing the SAP of the situation," he said.

The call for an independent judicial commission of inquiry to look into the causes of the violence, to examine the role of the police and to examine the socio-economic conditions of the affected areas was supported and endorsed by the Labour Party. Mr Landers said, asking if the Government would do the same. — Sapa.
Churches monitor change

THE World Council of Churches (WCC) is to establish a "visible mechanism" to mobilise international support for, and monitor, the process of change in South Africa.

Some 50 representatives of churches and anti-apartheid movements in South Africa, the Frontline States and overseas countries requested this at a WCC conference held in Harare last weekend, according to a statement released by the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The new developments since the unbanning of various organisations and Nelson Mandela's release provided "some light at the end of the tunnel, and vindicate the people's faith against faith and hope against hope", said WCC general secretary Emilio Castro.

However, the conference warned "the present euphoria should not blind us to the unchanged realities which continue to exist".

"The churches, both in South Africa and abroad, will need to exercise maximum vigilance in this critical period to ensure the early and rapid transformation of South Africa into a united, non-racial and democratic state."

Other aspects which would necessitate vigilance on the part of the churches were the mechanisms for the drawing up of a new constitution, and the agreements about arrangements for a transitional government and the holding of elections.

German solidarity

CHRISTIANS could not celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela without re-dedicating themselves to the struggle of the South African majority as long as all the conditions of the Harare Document had not been met.

This was said by South African

Robert Kriger when almost 200 people met at the Protestant Academy Bad Boll in West Germany to celebrate Mandela's release last weekend.

The Rev Manfred Fisher, the academy's first director, said it would assist "to keep up international pressure for especially financial sanctions against the South African government and to continue informing the general public of the political machinations and brutal killings perpetrated by the Inkatha movement - which enjoys respectability among especially business circles here in West Germany".

A group of young church and trade union members who had been to South Africa at the invitation of members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) made an audio-visual report.

The academy, in partnership with Diakonia, the ecumenical institution in Durban, will host a South Africa Week in October. Issues dealing with labour, education and culture will be addressed.

The academy said it would look at ways in which it could support these issues.
MP says existing SA constitution is totally flawed

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The present constitutional system is fatally flawed, MP for Pinelands Jasper Walsh said yesterday.

Walsh told Parliament that President F W de Klerk had promised in his opening speech to Parliament this year that his aim was to have “a totally new and just constitutional dispensation.”

However, the current system was based on race “with built-in inequalities in terms of money and opportunity.”

In addition, it excluded the majority of South Africans who had no effective say over matters of concern to them, he said.

Self-interest

Walsh said the broader SA was not interested in the argument between members of the NP and the CP about who would do most for the whites in SA.

“Will such self-interest contribute to the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations? “Should we not ask ourselves whether the example we are setting the disenfranchised millions will be followed by them when they have the vote?”

“Will we legitimately be able to exert then that they act in the interest of all South Africans when we as whites have so often done precisely the opposite?” Walsh asked.

He said it was far more important that parliamentarians should debate the kind of issues that would concern all South Africans.
NP leader hails court’s decision on Fauresmith

CAPE TOWN — The Chairman of the Minister’s Council in the House of Assembly and Justice Minister, C. Coetsee yesterday lauded the decision which gave Fauresmith to the NP in a recount. Coetsee is also Free State NP leader.

Fauresmith was a dead heat between the NP and the Conservative Party in last year’s general election.

In a recount yesterday, the seat was declared as having been won by the NP with a five-vote majority.

Replying to the second reading debate on the House of Assembly’s Part Appropriation Bill, Coetsee said the SA Bench was held in the highest regard all over the world.

 Jasper Walsh (DP, Pinelands) said most of the issues raised in the debate showed the “total irrelevance” of Own Affairs. It was based on race and excluded the majority of South Africans.

From Bloemfontein, it was reported that the NP now has eight seats in the Free State and the CP six.

The NP candidate declared elected was Inas Aucamp, with Alex Danzuss of the CP the loser.

The electoral officer in Fauresmith had declared “no election” on September 7 when the votes had been counted to show that Aucamp and Danzuss had each polled 4,619 votes, with HNP candidate N. J. Saunderson receiving 1,130 votes. There were 23 spoilt papers.

The new figures are 5,551 (NP), 5,514 (CP), 120 (HNP) and 26 spoilt papers respectively. — Sapa.
Why build on shifting sand, asks Schwarz.

CAPE TOWN — It was quite remarkable that when everyone knew the tricameral system was on the way out, its building blocks continued to be piled on top of one another on a foundation of shifting sand, DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said yesterday. 20/3/72

In a vote declaration on the first reading of the Part Appropriation Bill (House of Assembly), he said that departments were being shifted from own affairs to general affairs and provincial administrations were being burdened with services they could not handle.

Services being provided were in many instances collapsing or being provided in an ineffective and inefficient manner.

The DP would vote against the Bill, he said.

C H Piemar (CP Heilbron) said own affairs had been reduced to an accounting exercise.

The Part Appropriation would not be supported by the CP, he said.

The Bill was passed with the CP and DP opposing government. — Sapa.
Calls for Defence Minister’s dismissal

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk last night was called upon to dismiss Defence Minister Magnus Malan because of his links with an alleged death squad unit.

DP co-leader Wynand Malan said the Defence Minister should be dismissed because of his links with the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

His co-leader Denis Worrall said the Minister should stand down while inquiries into the activities of the alleged unit, the CCB, were under way.

Speaking in Sea Point, Malan said statements made about death squads by the NP’s defence spokesman Boy Goldenhuys were disturbing to the point of repugnance.

His viewpoint that the existence of death squads should be seen against the background of the time frame they operated in was not just an admission that they existed, but had further implications. (30/4/89)

In the manner in which the NP worked, Goldenhuys would either have been speaking on behalf of Malan or with his sanction, the DP co-leader said.

Unless De Klerk acted now to dismiss Malan and repudiate Goldenhuys’s statement, he would be seen to be supporting the NP defence spokesman’s standpoint.

Without these actions from De Klerk, the CP’s call for government to resign would become a justifiable one.

Worrall said newspaper reports had put beyond all doubt allegations that persons employed by the State had engaged in the calculated killing of leading government opponents. (3/4/89)

He said it was now clear that De Klerk’s initial reluctance to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into death squads was because they involved Malan and possibly other members of government.

Worrall said it had to be concluded from the fact that Malan admitted he knew of the existence of the CCB that he knew what its purpose was and what it did.

“Both logically and in terms of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, Malan is responsible for the existence and operation of the CCB. Malan has also not denied newspaper reports that the CCB’s chain of command reached up to him.

ALAN FINE and ANDREW GILL report that OFS Attorney General Tim McNally and other officials of the Harms Commission is to meet today with legal representatives of interested parties to map out a time schedule for hearings, legal sources said.

A source close to the David Webster Trust (DWT) said a crucial point to be investigated was the nature of the link between the alleged SAP death squad, to which former captain Dirk Coetsee belonged, and the CCB.

A strongly-held view that is emerging — although there is no firm evidence to support it — is that the security apparatus recently downgraded or dismantled by de Klerk played a key role in co-ordinating the activities of the SAP and SADF units.

These include the State Security Council and the National Security Management System.

This view was expressed by the DWT yesterday and by Coetzee who was interviewed by Business Day in Lusaka at the weekend.

Malan said in parliament this week he had never given orders to murder. He pledged his department’s full co-operation into the investigation.
FORWARD TO DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

The following undersigned members of the West German solidarity movement and public celebrate the release of comrade

NELSON MANDELA

and other political prisoners as the beginning of the process of peace in South Africa.

We welcome the recent unbanning of liberation organisations as well as the few political concessions that have been made.

We recognise this political move by De Klerk as being the result of the unfailing resistance by the struggling people of South Africa against that crime against humanity — the apartheid system.

We are aware, however, that the conditions for negotiations for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa have not yet been fully met.

We demand, therefore, that the South African government demonstrate a genuine willingness for democratic change by fulfilling the requirements of the Harare Declaration.

We pledge for our part to continue supporting the liberatory struggle in South Africa by among others applying pressure on the West German government not to back down at this historic juncture on the sanctions issue.

Sunday, 18 February 1990, Bad Boll, FRG

Karin Gonsor
Meinhard Reichel
Nadine Cooper
Charly Trautwein
Dorothee Kamphausen
Joerg Fischer
Gottfried Rothermundt
Irmgard Reid
Godlind Bigalke

Marlis Rehm
Charlotte Reichel
Dietmar Merling
Wolfgang Krieger
Susanne Englert
Hans-Beat Motel
Sigrid Hermann
Angela Mai
Guenther Metzger

Erika Reinhoel
Martin Stark
Ute Fischer
Sigrun Krieger
Iise Knahe
Annette Feller
Gudrun Vetter
Manfred Fischer
Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk, is expected to announce today or tomorrow that he is prepared to meet a delegation from the African National Congress to discuss obstacles to negotiation.

A Tuyhuys spokesman said today there would be a statement soon.

Although no official communication has yet been received by President de Klerk after the statement by the ANC executive in Lusaka last Friday, the matter was considered at yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

The ANC has said its internal leadership would send a letter to Mr de Klerk.

Among the obstacles mentioned by the ANC is the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners, the repeal of all repressive legislation, the halting of all political trials and the removal of all troops from the townships.

The SACP also said it would soon announce a leadership core within the country and would send members into the country to strengthen this core.
CAPE TOWN — The mystery of how SA funds were used to finance the controversial president's guard in the Comores islands deepened yesterday after Foreign Minister Pik Botha effectively denied his department had been used for this purpose.

Botha said in Parliament loans had been granted to the Comores to purchase petroleum, housing, the building of a road, the infrastructure for a hotel and export credit for the development of the hotel.

But, in his reply to a question tabled by DP foreign affairs spokesmen Colin Eglin, he made no reference to the mercenary-led president's guard.

After former president Abdallah was assassinated last year by members of the president's guard, the SA government admitted that it had supported the unit for about 10 years.

In the wake of his death and the revolt on the Comores against the president's guard, its commander Col Bob Denard was granted a temporary residence permit, which was later extended, to stay in SA.

As Botha said yesterday that his department did not support the guard, the SA support could only have come from another departmental vote.

Channelled

According to informed sources, these funds were channelled to the guard by the SA Defence Force, probably using the secret special defence account.

It has also been reported that the Comores was one of the major channels for the supply of weapons and arms to the rebel Renamo movement in Mozambique.

Botha said yesterday that loans of R3.5m for the purchase of petroleum products in SA for resale on the islands, R1.9m for the construction of houses, R1.8m for the construction of a road, R3.2m for the provision of infrastructure for the building of the Le Galawa Hotel and R20.7m to enable the capital and interest on an export credit loan for the development of the Le Galawa Hotel were granted.
economic policy inconsistency, denying charges of PW supporters being in cahoots with PW's financial backers.

Impala

Facebook: PW's death and my ongoing quest for the 1989 National Party
SACP says it wants talks with govt

LUSAKA — The SACP announced yesterday that it would send a delegation to SA for talks with government, but not as part of the ANC’s negotiating team.

The SACP made the announcement after a meeting of its central committee in Lusaka, Sapo-AP reports.

"We shall be announcing a public SACP leadership core within our country and we shall also be despatching Communist Party members into the country to strengthen this core as soon as possible," the committee said.

Nelson Mandela is due to arrive in Lusaka next Tuesday for consultations with the exiled leadership.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that government plans to respond this week to the ANC’s proposals released at its Lusaka conference last week, a spokesman for the President’s Office said yesterday.

The spokesman said government had not yet formally received the ANC’s proposals or its request for a meeting with F W de Klerk but the President would nevertheless react by the end of the week.

However, it appeared last night that the press conference that De Klerk had been expected to hold for the past two weeks might not materialise.

The spokesman said that De Klerk would "most probably" react to the ANC’s proposals in a statement.
Nats win seat that was tied

BLOEMFONTEIN. - The National Party in the Free State retained the majority of House of Assembly seats in the province when Mr Inaus Aucamp (NP) was yesterday declared elected with a majority of five votes over Mr Alex Dansfuss (CP) in the Fauresmith constituency.

The National Party now has eight seats and the CP six.

In terms of a court order issued last week, the votes cast in the general election last September 6 were yesterday recounted.

The electoral officer in Fauresmith had declared "no election" on September 7 when the votes were counted to show that Mr Aucamp and Mr Dansfuss had each polled 4,312 votes, with Mr N J Saunderson (HNP) receiving 130 votes and 22 spoilt papers.

Mr Aucamp yesterday won with 4,351 votes.

It is understood that three counts were made to assure Mr Dansfuss that Mr Aucamp was indeed the winner. - Sapa
Zaire summit SA’s ‘biggest step into black Africa’

EXPLOITING diplomatic opportunities opened by his domestic reform initiatives, President F W de Klerk goes to Zaire on Saturday for a historic summit meeting that could open even wider prospects in Africa.

By GERALD L’ANGE, Editor, Argus Africa News Service in Johannesburg

If the proposed mini-summit in Zaire comes off as planned on Saturday it will be the biggest step South Africa has yet made towards re-direction in black Africa.

It will still be a long way short of general acceptance in the continent, however.

The importance of the meeting with President de Klerk of South Africa is not so much for the participants as in the symbolism attached to what will be the first summit meeting between heads of state from South Africa and a group of African states.

Some of the leaders who are reported to have accepted invitations to attend the meeting could be considered to be among the more influential states in Africa.

Rwanda and Burundi are among the continent’s smallest and poorest countries. Like the Central African Republic, they border on Zaire which is promoting the summit, and to some extent can be considered to come under Kinshasa’s influence.

Impoverished

The CAR is also desperately impoverished. During the regime of former president Bokassa, whose brutality was legendary even in Africa, the CAR had some informal relations with South Africa but given Bokassa’s reputation this is something Pretoria might rather forget.

Chad, whose president is also expected to attend, is another of Africa’s basket cases, with a per capita gross national product of only 150 dollars compared to South Africa’s $900.

It has, however, received much international attention because of President Hissene Habre’s stubborn fight against being swallowed by Muammar Gaddafi’s Libya.

For this reason alone President Habre’s presence across a meeting table from Mr de Klerk would attract notice in Africa, especially among the Saharan Arabic states that have long been firmly closed to South Africa.

None of these countries or the host, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, have so far confirmed their attendance.

There is even less certainty about the rumoured attendance of the Congo, which also borders on Zaire, and Gabon.

Gabon has been mentioned as a possible participant because it is known to be somewhat more amenable to dealing with South Africa than most African states.

Speculation about Congolese participation stems in part from the belief that President Denis Sassou Nguesso was impressed with the way South Africa cooperated in the Angola-Namibia peace negotiations that were held in his capital, Brazzaville, in 1988.

Mercenaries

The Zaire summit demonstrates that South Africa is moving out of the era when it was forced to seek entry into the countries of Africa through the back door and when it had to grab any relationship it could get, no matter how distasteful.

This was the era when Pretoria found itself befriending the monstrous Bokassa, secretly trying to overthrow the Seychelles government to get a friendlier government in its place and indirectly supporting the mercenaries running the Comoros.

It was a time when some African states’ need for South African trade made them swallow their loathing of apartheid and deal with the Republic, but then only secretly.

The summit is still a long way from the acceptance that would be denoted by membership in the Organisation of African Unity and the obstacle to attaining that status remains apartheid.

But the fact that four African heads of state, no matter how insignificant some may be, are now prepared to meet openly with the South African president demonstrates the increasing acceptance that Pretoria is gaining, mainly through four factors:

- The good faith it has shown in allowing Namibia to become independent.
- The reforms implemented by the government.
- The mounting evidence that it has stopped trying to destabilise neighbouring countries.
- The growing need of African countries for South African goods and services.

There are hopes in South Africa’s permanent circles that these factors will lead not only to open meetings of the Zaire kind but also to formal diplomatic relations that would allow all dealings, including trade, to be done in the open.

Improvement

The improvement of South Africa’s relations with the rest of the continent began before Mr de Klerk became president and was evident in the visits by his predecessor, Mr PW Botha, to Mozambique, Ivory Coast and elsewhere.

But it was Mr de Klerk’s relatively dramatic initiatives that have given the trend real impetus.

It has long been a dream in the Union Buildings in Pretoria that one or more of the African states would break through the united front demanded by the OAU against South Africa and start dealing openly with the Republic.

It was hoped that this would start a snowball effect, encouraging more and more states to follow suit.

Snowball

Whether Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, the Central African Republic and Zaire are enough to form the nucleus of a snowball remains to be seen.

It may be that the snowball will start rolling only if it picks up one or more of the states that have been more openly hostile to Pretoria.

Snowball or not, the summit represents a major and perhaps historic advance towards what the politicians in Cape Town would describe as the normalisation of South Africa’s relations with the rest of the continent.
CP unhappy after re-count

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

A re-count of the votes cast in Fauresmith in last year's general election has given the National Party a five-vote majority over the Conservative Party — but the CP seems set to continue the bitter battle by taking further court action.

NP candidate Mr Inus Aucamp gained two votes and CP candidate Mr Alex Danzfuss lost three in a re-count of votes in Bloemfontein's Supreme Court yesterday. On election day there was a 4518-vote draw.

A disappointed Mr Danzfuss yesterday rejected the NP's proposal that the two parties should jointly request the Supreme Court to endorse the re-count.

He challenged Mr Aucamp to fight a new election.

Mr Aucamp, the NP's chief secretary in the Free State, said it would be premature to accept that he had won the protracted battle. The Registrar first had to submit the result of the re-count to the court whereafter it would decide whether or not to endorse it.

The Conservative Party candidate in Vereeniging, Mr Barend Frederik Koet, who lost by five votes in last year's election, yesterday asked the Pretoria Supreme Court to declare the election null and void. He alleged irregularities took place.
FW 'almost resigned from Cabinet in 1988'

By Peter Fabricius

CAPE TOWN — In September 1988 Mr F W de Klerk seriously considered resigning from the Cabinet after a confrontation with the then State President, Mr P W Botha, according to a book published yesterday.

The book, "Leierstryd" by Alf Ries, the political correspondent of the Cape Nationalist mouthpiece Die Bürger, and Ebbie Domizae, the newspaper's editor, also deals with President Botha's public repudiation of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Parliament in 1986 after he had said South Africa could have a black State President.

The authors say two senior Cabinet Ministers pressed President Botha to repudiate Mr Botha, but do not name the Ministers.

However, sources close to Mr P W Botha said yesterday that the Ministers were Mr F W de Klerk — then Minister of National Education — and Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development.

The sources said that Mr de Klerk had objected to Mr Pik Botha's remark "because he didn't like the implications in it".

Mr Heunis had objected to a Minister "meddling in his portfolio".

Sources in the F W Botha camp yesterday confirmed another disclosure in the book — that Mr F W de Klerk narrowly resigned from the Cabinet in August 1988 after a row with President Botha.

The row blew up when Mr Botha said he had not been informed about a caucus meeting arranged by Mr de Klerk to discuss the clash between the Government and the Labour Party over the proposed trilogy of group areas Bills.

"Mr Botha's camp has also reacted to criticism of him in an interview given by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis to the magazine Executive," Mr du Plessis criticised Mr Botha for inconsistent economic policy, citing the 1988 teachers' pay rise which came after Mr Botha had promised that there would not be an annual pay rise for public servants.

The sources close to Mr Botha said that Mr du Plessis had omitted to mention that the person who pushed hardest for the teachers' pay rise was the former Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk."
Sanlam chief optimistic at govt moves

THE steps taken by government to confront the country's political and economic problems gave cause for optimism, Sanlam chairman Able van den Berg said at the life assurance's AGM in Cape Town yesterday.

"However, he expressed concern at the "drastic weakening" in the level of personal saving, estimated to be 2% of personal disposable income, in 1989.

"Inflation and high taxes affect real savings returns so adversely that it is often not worthwhile to save in the short term."

Van den Berg said the pursuit of real interest rates should contribute significantly towards improving this trend, adding that action to lower inflation and decrease the impact of taxation on the willingness to save would also be decisive.

Government could be assured, he said, of Sanlam's support in its economic strategy and he called for the "wholehearted cooperation" of the private sector.

He said President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech and subsequent steps taken were of major importance. "Obstacles in the way of the political accommodation of the various interest groups in our country have been removed. "This will no doubt make a major contribution to a more stable and relaxed domestic situation and the normalisation of SA's foreign relations."

Van den Berg called on the private sector to co-operate with government to achieve a reduction in the economic role of the public sector, the reallocation of state funds and stricter control over their use; a decrease in the tax burden, particularly of individuals; the promotion of deregulation and privatisation and the lowering of the inflation rate.

The goals could be reached only if pursued within the framework of a comprehensive strategic plan, he said.
Finding a role

In keeping with democratic tradition, the Democratic Party is going on the road to ask party formations to help decide where it goes from here. President F.W. de Klerk's initiative has seriously eroded DP ground. Politically it sounds fine to say the National Party has hijacked DP policy and thereby proved its worth, but it leaves the party groaning for a new relevance. MPs are certainly aware of their situation. There have been intense discussions on which line the party should take (Current Affairs February 9 and 16) and deep soul-searching is under way.

Truika leader Denis Worrall has denied reports of "deep divisions" (and labelled the FM's February 16 report of possible defections as "misguided"), but he confirms a strategic reassessment at grassroots level.

The reassessment will centre on discussion of a series of options produced by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle. His four areas of possible movement for the DP are:

- Closer ties with government in a supportive role;
- Closer ties with the ANC;
- An alliance with the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups in the MDM; and
- An independent "watchdog" role over the government of the day.

Meanwhile, the DP is organising a pro-reform demonstration to be held in Johannesburg on Friday February 23. Party spokesman and MP for Johannesburg North, Peter Soal, says there will be a march from the Harrison Street bridge to the city hall starting at 1pm.

Participants will include academics, businessmen, politicians, students and workers who favour a non-racial democratic society. A meeting in the city hall at the end of the march will be addressed by DP parliamentary leader, Zach de Beer. Permission for the march has been granted.
One Nat paper not happily following FW
A PAGE four headline in Wednesday's
Citizen reads "ANC are excited about
talks with FW-Shabert!
It was probably not intended to be a
slight on the state president (or on the
leader, P.J. Botha), but from reading the editorials of the National Party's English-language mouthpiece, one can be
offended for mistaking it as such.
Ever since its questionable 1976 con-
ception through illegal Info Department
funding, the Citizen has been fiercely
NP. And even though it has never
achieved the prestige of its Afrikaans
cousins, Die Burger and Beeld, it has
flourished and now boasts a circulation
of over 150,000.
Over the last two months, however, the
NP's fast-moving mainstream and the
daily's editorial line seems to be finding each
other's company increasingly irksome.
Conservative Party mouthpiece Die Pa-
riot last week wrote a special feature
commending the Citizen and its editor
Johnny Johnson for having the "courage
to warn the government that it has gone
too far!
It noted the Citizen "had not been privy
to the confabs which the Afrikaners press
obviously hold with their NP control-
ers," and called the paper a "weather
vane of what the public feels!"
Die Patriot added that the Citizen had
"clearly seen the writing on the wall for
the NP," mentioning its warnings of the
"domino effect in the capitulation proc-
есса.
Some have noted that it is perhaps no
coincidence that the CP's Pretoria represen-
tative, Arthur Kemp, was a Citizen
reporter last year.
But while the tone of the paper's letter
pages has long been extreme right
despite the Citizen's predominantly
black readership), it is only recently that
the paper's maverick but generally faith-
ful editor has positioned his vehicle to the
right of the party.
Johnson has made it clear that he is not
about to follow Kemp and his letter-
writers into the CP.

Only one newspaper in the
National Party stable seems
unhappy with reform ... the
English-language Citizen
GAVIN EVANS reports

"Not that we agree in any way with the
CP," he cautions in a Saturday editorial.
"That there is no way in which whites
can continue to maintain their exclusive
privileges is obvious." But his repeated concern is that
"everyone needs to tread carefully," and
he makes it clear that some in the NP are
not doing this.
Nothing last weekend's "huge rightwing
protest march," he cautions that "the
government has lost the support of many
Africans, probably the majority."
And he goes on to warn that the
"rightwing backlash, which some mem-
bers of the government and others reg-
arded as being of little significance, is
increasingly powerful!"
He also warns that the notion of the
ANC as an alternative government, "has
captured the living daylights out of many
whites!"
Johnson suggests that this situation has
not been helped by the ANC's "selling
the country a blind!" that the last election
was the last in which only whites would
participate and that, indeed, the NP
would "create a new South Africa in
which whites would not only share pow-
er, but would no longer be the govern-
ment!"
In another editorial, he notes that after
the "stunning" announcements by De
Klerk, "some of his Ministers are equally
stunning in their candour — or perhaps
unawareness— of the effect of their re-
marks on the electorate, especially the
National Party's own supporters!"
Mentioned specifically is Frik Roos's
comment that it made no real difference
what colour the future state president
was.

The day before "The Speech," Johnson
FW to the ANC: Let's talk

THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT

SYDNEY EVANS

Wednesday, 23rd July 1993

Continued to set preconditions

for intra-party and inter-party negotiations

of the ANC. The ANC leadership

expressed disappointment that the ANC leadership

had not listened to their expressed concerns.

The ANC leadership was concerned that the ANC leadership

had not been consulted on the removal of troops from the

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Attention to legal uncertainties

FW moves to clear way for ANC talks

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk yesterday paved the way for government's first formal talks with the ANC by welcoming its recent decision to send a delegation to meet with him as positive step.

De Klerk, in a statement, also disclosed that arrangements for the first meeting between the two leading political adversaries in SA were well underway.

Legal uncertainties which some ANC executive members might have about entering SA were receiving attention.

De Klerk is likely to be accompanied by his chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Robie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Fik Botha at initial talks with the ANC.

De Klerk said it was disappointing that the ANC leadership continued to list preconditions despite the climate created by recent decisions by government.

This attitude, he said, was in stark contrast to the enthusiasm, if not impatience, on the part of all others leaders in SA to get negotiations going.

He added: "It is also disappointing that the ANC leadership continues to talk about an armed struggle and hostilities at a time when most South Africans, supported by the rest of the world, want peace."

De Klerk added government would continue to act firmly against violence "from whichever source and against any effort to destabilise our country."

Besides a commitment to peaceful solutions, the maintenance of stability and good order was of crucial importance to the right climate for successful negotiations, De Klerk said.

He said in an interview on television last night that as long as unrest such as that in Natal continued government could not lift the state of emergency.

De Klerk said certain arrangements had to be completed before he would be in a position to announce a date for the meeting with the ANC delegation.

He said the talks with the ANC did not constitute negotiations but were preliminary discussions to improve the climate for negotiations and to address valid problems impeding people from participating.

De Klerk stressed that negotiations would not take place just between the ANC and government, but between all leaders committed to peaceful solutions.

FW's Africa summit postponed: says Mobutu

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk's postponed summit meeting with African leaders in Zaire will take place very soon, according to the host President Mobutu Sese Seko.

In an official statement the Zairean government said: "The African summit meeting has been postponed to a later date for technical reasons and will take place very soon in Kinshasa."

The summit was postponed after the ANC pressured the leaders of Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, Central African Republic, Congo Brazzaville, Cameroon and Gabon, who were to have attended to summit at Mobutu's summer palace at Goma.

In an appeal to the OAU earlier this week the ANC called on it to block the summit meeting.
De Klerk's Zaire meeting postponed

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's summit with African leaders has been postponed for several weeks.

The summit's host, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, said yesterday that the meeting would take place "very soon" in Kinshasa.

The seven-nation summit was originally scheduled to take place in Goma tomorrow, but was delayed following pressure from the frontline states and the ANC.

The timing of the Goma summit also sparked controversy because it had been arranged just ahead of the massive welcome home celebration for Mr Nelson Mandela in Lusaka on Tuesday.

The Lusaka event is to be attended by frontline heads of state and politicians from a number of Commonwealth countries — many of whom remain committed to the isolation of Pretoria in line with ANC policy.

In his response to the postponement, Mr De Klerk hinted that the issue was a sensitive one by noting that "now is not the time to create further divisions".

He then added: "Africa cannot afford more controversy within its own ranks."

Mr De Klerk said he had no doubt that Mr Mobutu had arranged the meeting "in good faith and in line with public statements by several African leaders to the effect that the time has come to normalise relations with South Africa."

"I agree with these statements. Moreover, I agree with the reported warning recently sounded by the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity concerning the necessity for African states to unite on a joint strategy to address the implications for Africa of European economic unity in 1992, as well as the consequences of the events in Eastern Europe."

Mr Mobutu offered "technical reasons" as the explanation for the postponement of the talks which should have been attended by Zaire, South Africa, Rwanda, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Togo and Gabon.

SA government sources said last night that it appeared that "a couple" of the countries had at the last minute withdrawn from the summit, increasing pressure on the others to do likewise.

However, there was confidence that the next summit could be "bigger and better."

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has postponed visits to Kenya and Angola set for this week, but would travel to the two countries at another time, a spokesman said yesterday. — UPI
Breyten unlikely to settle in SA

By PETER DENNING

Poet and author Breyten Breytenbach said he might never settle permanently in South Africa again, although he would like to spend time here and take part in debate about the future.

Mr Breytenbach, who spent seven years in jail after a Terrorism Act conviction in 1975, told students at Stellenbosch University this week that he had become "too used to the cosmopolitan character of Europe".

Mr Breytenbach was on a brief visit to South Africa with the British Channel Four television network, who were making a programme on a post-apartheid South Africa.

He addressed about 200 students and academics in the students' union amphitheatre during a break in filming on Wednesday.

He urged everyone to become involved in the process of change. By becoming involved, he said, Afrikaners would lose their fears and find that the building blocks for the new South Africa already existed.

He supported the ANC's line on sanctions remaining in place, but said it was important that the international community be given a clear cut-off point on when to lift them.

Mr Breytenbach said he wanted to see a future system which was as representative as possible, with guarantees of political and economic freedom.
3,000 angry Vaal teachers burn work books at DET

By Melody McDougall, Vereeniging Bureau

Angry teachers hurled hundreds of green work books on to a heap in front of the Department of Education and Training's (DET) regional offices in Vereeniging yesterday during a protest march.

About 3,000 defiant teachers briefly disrupted traffic when they marched through the main street of Vereeniging to the DET's offices.

The peaceful march, organised by the Vaal Progress Teachers Organisation (Vapto) to demand better working conditions, was monitored by a large police contingent, but no incidents were reported.

The crowds arrived in buses and taxis from as far afield as Parys and Heilbron.

They sang freedom songs, raised clenched fists and carried placards with messages such as "A hungry teacher is an angry teacher", "Do away with white teachers in our schools" and "Away with the green work book".

At the DET offices the protesters angrily hurled hundreds of green work books on to a heap in front of the building.

The Vapto delegation, headed by Mr Jimmy Sithole, met behind closed doors with officials, where a memorandum of about 18 grievances was presented to Mr Gert Steyn, deputy director of the department's Orange Vaal region.

A letter from the chief director of the region, Mr F H Vorster, was presented to Mr Sithole. After reading it he refused to accept it.

The letter apparently urged teachers to return to their schools and encourage pupils to attend classes. Mr Sithole said the protesting teachers were not wasting time as suggested.

Mr Sithole said the complaints in the memorandum included unsatisfactory working conditions, poor salaries, harassment and ill-treatment of teachers and dissatisfaction over the work book system.

See Page 10.
Professor of talks

It's said that former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger regards Gerrit Viljoen as the only truly intellectual Afrikaner leader he's met. Some regard that as high praise, others as an indictment of Afrikanerdom.

The latter view, however, would be cynical. There's no doubt that Viljoen (63), the seemingly bland and excessively polite constitutional development minister, is a thinker of great depth. As government's chief negotiator in talks about SA's constitutional future, he will be a formidable opponent.

Though he has long been regarded as a force behind the scenes in the Nat Cabinet, it's only since F W de Klerk became president that Viljoen has moved into the limelight. If De Klerk is the general directing the reform campaign, then Viljoen is his frontline commander on whose shoulders rests the important and immediate task of engaging his adversaries.

The fact that Viljoen is a fairly colourless politician makes him well-suited to his task. A short-fused grandstander is the last person De Klerk needs in the hot seat. Viljoen speaks well, but unemotionally; he's no flamboyant soapbox orator.

But his intellect is widely respected among political opponents, diplomats and the press. He's an unusually straight talker, for a politician; he prefers to confirm the accuracy of sound analysis — such as the inevitability of black rule and the waning of Nat power.

Viljoen was appointed to his present post (which includes national education) after last year's election in which he unexpectedly whipped his CP opponent in Vanderbijlpark.

His Cabinet experience has been troubled. He struggled for five years to manage an unwieldy black education portfolio which was being white-anted by some senior officials. It was an unfortunate episode for Viljoen — and it suggested an inadequacy in administrative ability.

But as a negotiator Viljoen is expected to shine, even though he lacks the experience of, say, P J Botha in this field.

He studied law and classical languages at Tukkies and went on to read for an MA at Cambridge and a doctorate at Leiden. He was appointed the first rector of RAU in 1967. In 1979, in a surprise move, he was made Administrator-General of SWA. This was his first public appearance in politics. At the same time, he quit the chair of the Afrikaner Broederbond.

But his move to Windhoek was no political initiation. In the early Seventies he was regarded as a leading verkrampte intellectual and he clashed with PM John Vorster, whose policies he said would lead to political integration or political domination. Ironically, 10 years earlier he had made verlig noises, criticising laws on mixed marriages, separate amenities and population registration.

But just as his pendulum swung from verlig to verkrampt between 1960 and 1970, it swung back again over the next 10 years. After only a year in SWA, he was appointed to P W Botha's Cabinet as minister of national education, where he was considered to be "enlightened".

In the mid-Eighties, Viljoen was regarded as a strong contender for party leadership in the wake of suggestions that P W was to retire. He seemed well clear of the field.

But it wasn't to be, and probably a good thing too. The charisma and courage of De Klerk reap bigger dividends in the public eye than Viljoen's personal style could ever hope to.

But in the engine room of reform, his intellect and understanding will cut far more ice than a winning smile.
CONCENTRATION OF OWNERSHIP

Learning from history?

There has without doubt been a concentration of ownership of quoted shares in this country over the past 40 years — and, accordingly, growing disparities in the distribution of wealth. It is a situation that will have to be changed in a fairer and more egalitarian post-apartheid society.

No new negotiated political dispensation can ignore this fact. So it would be well now to consider the policies that will change this situation without threatening economic growth. The ANC’s solution is simply to nationalise the towering heights — the mines, banks and monopolies — and no doubt use them to create jobs for disadvantaged blacks.

This after all is how the National Party used the railways, Post Office, police, defence force, Iscor and, to a lesser degree, Eskom and some IDC-owned companies in the late Forties and early Fifties. By doing so, they actually didn’t have to nationalise anything.

Presumably, this is what Nelson Mandela meant when he referred to nationalisation being part of the history of this country. In that respect, he was quite right.

It is a beguiling argument — one especially attractive to politicians seeking policies of mass appeal and more power. But there are several things that those who espouse it must keep in mind.

First, as it was introduced into the social circumstances of SA some three decades ago, it was the manifestation of the authoritarian and collectivist ethic of apartheid. If Mandela wants to perpetuate apartheid for the benefit, this time, of blacks, it is of course the road to take.

Second, when apartheid was being increased in the Fifties, the gold mining industry was booming. It is not in that happy position today. It has been overtaxed, is facing cost increases that are eroding its international competitiveness and the depths at which gold is found nowadays demands greater ingenuity both in financing and the technologies required more than 30 years ago.

Third, the concentration of ownership has taken place precisely because of authoritarian and socialist policies that apartheid itself has fostered. Exchange controls are a socialist device that assumes the State has some claim on where and in what form private wealth may be held. They are designed as a means of physically constraining those who might wish to vote with their money or their feet for a different system.

By restricting the inflow and outflow of wealth, government forces a greater share of private savings into the hands of the most efficient corporations operating in a circumscribed market. Where else can they invest?

Likewise, for many years, the authorities in Pretoria took it upon themselves to decide how many banks and financial institutions there should be in this country. This was done in the name of an orderly market. It provided a great deal of protection for the established banks and institutions. This meant that, very quickly, most of the approximately 55 independent banks were absorbed into five main banking groups. By the time this policy changed a few years ago, there were less than five independent banks left. This was a massive concentration of ownership.

The fastest way to widen ownership of productive assets would be to reverse these apartheid-spawned policies. Banking and insurance legislation is being altered now to achieve this and the authorities have been far less restrictive.

More impetus could be given to the process, too, by changing government’s attitude to privatisation. The emphasis has been too strongly on raising funds for government rather than to create a share-owning democracy.

The ownership of residential land could be widened quickly by removing the Group Areas Act and giving township land, on which blacks have been resident for some time, to them, or selling it to them for a nominal sum. Precedents already exist. After World War 2, some local authorities sold land to returning servicemen at one pound sterling per plot.

Deregulation and immigration, if only from the rural to the urban areas, are important ways of spreading wealth and creating jobs. Successive waves of immigrants revitalised the economy of the United States over numerous years.

However, exchange controls are by far the greatest cause of a concentration of ownership. They are an anomaly among the policies of a government that increasingly claims to be free-market orientated.

Their justification is sought on political grounds, when both the basis of policy has altered and the results have invalidated their efficacy.

Nationalisation does not redistribute wealth. It merely places control of more assets in the hands of a few politicians and bureaucrats. And they can be guaranteed to make decisions about them by strictly political, rather than economic, lights. Therein lies impoverishment.
Magnus Malan — career forged in era of conflict

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

Magnus Malan, General machismo as some see him, or the political misfit, as others do, is on the warpath again, but in a rearguard action to save his own neck ... his credibility, his political career.

Forecasts vary on how — if, some would have it — the Defence Minister is likely to survive the current crisis over the secretly funded, secretly run Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) and allegations of complicity in alleged hit squad activities.

There is consensus that his political career was forged in an era of conflict that suited his apparently pugnacious and unrelentingly soldiery style of politics, but that the subtleties of the new season have strained his capacity for delicacy.

Even now, the concept of enemy underpins his strategy.

The grand total onslaught is a thing of the past, but the "them-and-us" rationale persists.

Second arm

General Malan's denial of having ordered political killings is a pincer movement, the second arm of which is an attack on his critics for failing to call his old enemy, the ANC, to task for its "atrocities".

24 HOURS

News Watch

was entrusted with the political control of one of the most powerful institutions of modern South Africa's administration: P W Botha appointed him Minister of Defence.

The partnership between the two went back a long time: Mr Botha was Minister of Defence when General Malan became Chief of the Army and later Chief of the SADF.

War talk

The affinity remained strong through the latter years of Mr Botha's career and they collaborated on the intricate, burgeoning security apparatus that fortified the State in the past decade.

The war in Angola and Namibia, the ANC's armed struggle and mounting, increasingly violent, resistance ten fearfully ironic, predictions about the future, but few have been quite as politically indecent and defiant in their outlook as the Minister of Defence.

As recently as September 1986 he asserted that democracy was "not a relevant factor" among South Africa's black masses.

A year later, in September 1987, he boldly judged that the ANC was "not a part of the future plan for South Africa".

Earlier this month, however, he pledged his support for the De Klerk initiatives, saying the defence family recognised the need for realism and sober-mindedness and a shift in priorities.

Nevertheless observers detect in his response to the CCB controversy much the same gut rationale as he has always deployed.

As one of parliament's most experienced political observers put it: "He has an abrasive style with none of the polish other politicians have at least tried to effect. A disturbing feature of many of his statements has been the philosophy that South Africa is at war and that the end justifies the means."

Harsh

Political opponents are harsh in their judgment. One
General Magnus Wann, on the warpath again, but this time to save
hisency and his political career.

On September 10, 1970, General Wann, suddenly elevated to the
position of South Africa's Defence Force, was appointed as the

Defence

The appointment of Wann was seen as a bold move by the new
government, who had long been frustrated with the slow pace of
reform and modernisation in the defence forces.

However, Wann quickly proved to be a controversial figure, with
his aggressive approach to military matters and his perceived
autocratic style.

Despite initial enthusiasm, Wann's tenure was marked by a series
of controversies, including allegations of financial irregularities
and human rights abuses.

Wann was eventually forced to resign in 1973, after a series of
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scandals and accusations of corruption.
Breytenbach keen to participate in the debate on SA's future

CAPE TOWN — Poet and author Breyten Breytenbach says he would like to spend time in SA and take part in debate about the future although he might never settle permanently here again.

Breytenbach, who spent seven years in jail after a Terrorism Act conviction in 1975, told students at Stellenbosch University this week that he had become "too used to the cosmopolitan character of Europe".

Breytenbach is on a brief visit to SA with the British Channel Four television network, with which he is making a programme on a post-apartheid SA.

He addressed about 200 students and academics in the students union amphitheatre at Stellenbosch University during a break in the filming on Wednesday.

He said it was likely he would come back to SA once more this year.
FW agrees to meet the ANC

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has agreed to meet a delegation from the African National Congress, clearing the way for the first formal talks between the South African Government and the ANC.

He announced yesterday that he welcomed last Friday's decision by the ANC's National Executive to send a delegation to meet him.

The ANC said then the aim of the talks would be to discuss the remaining obstacles to formal negotiations, including the state of emergency, the continued holding of political prisoners, troops in the townships and remaining "repressive" legislation.

Positive

Mr de Klerk said the ANC's "commitment to talks with the South African Government on ways and means of getting negotiations off the ground is a positive step and appears to be consistent with an attitude to search for solutions through peaceful means."

"I sincerely believe that direct communication is the best way to attain this."

"Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will bring us nowhere."

"Obviously legal uncertainties which members of the National Exec..."
Outcry over trampling of flag

Staff Reporter

Representatives of the Jewish community reacted angrily yesterday to members of the HNF and AWB's trampling on an Israeli flag at a Boksburg meeting on Wednesday.

Israili ambassador Mr. Zvi Gov-Ari condemned the recent increase in anti-Semitic statements and activities by the far right wing, and said in a statement yesterday it was sad to realize that "at the end of the 20th Century this kind of ideological and irrational hatred is still with us."

Racism

Only the ideology of racism, condemned worldwide, could be blamed for the situation in this country today, he said.

He asked all right-wing anti-Semitics to have second thoughts and to "accept the new opportunity for peace and harmony" recently afforded South Africans.

Mr. Joe Finkle, chairman of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies, said the desecration of flags bearing the sacred Star of David symbol was not the only offensive act to occur in the Transvaal lately.

Angered

He said the display of the abhorrent swastika flag and the carrying of insulting banners of virulent anti-Semitic expressions at recent political rallies had also angered and deeply offended the Jewish community.

"Instead of inciting one against the other, all South Africans... should work towards greater harmony and the promotion of peace," he said.

It is understood that advertisements bearing the board's message are to be placed in Transvaal newspapers soon.
FW’s safari is postponed

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk’s African summit in Zaire tomorrow - which was “postponed” yesterday - might not take place at all, senior Government sources conceded last night.

They admitted that the meeting might have been a mistake and that it would probably not have achieved much.

They felt that a “rebels’” meeting - held despite opposition from the African National Congress and the Organisation of African Unity - would have been unnecessarily divisive at a time when the Government was seeking reconciliation with the ANC and Africa.

“We don’t want to force ourselves on anyone and get people up in arms,” the source said.

“We are not seeking confrontation with the ANC.”

These sentiments were hinted at by De Klerk in his announcement yesterday that Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko - the host - had asked for the meeting to be postponed until a later date.

Sowetan Correspondent.
Will the ANC ever pardon the hit squads?
It may find that it has no option

AN amnesty for African National Congress fighters as well as security force members involved in death squads is likely to be a major issue on a difficult agenda when the ANC meets President FW de Klerk.

All indications are that the African National Congress and the government will have to hammer out an amnesty before all exiled members of the recently unbanned liberation movement can come home.

It seems likely that if the ANC raises this demand, de Klerk will ask for a quid pro quo in which death-squad members who took part in covert actions against ANC activists be granted immunity from prosecution.

Recent press reports on alleged South African Defence Force involvement in death squads are likely to place the issue squarely on the table when the two sides get together after 50 years of conflict.

A date for the meeting has not been set but it seems certain that the two parties will meet at the ANC’s request within weeks.

It is also certain that both sides will have to overcome a number of difficulties in order to clear the way for the return of exiles and the normalisation of the political climate.

Can the ANC afford to pardon those involved in the killing of some of its members, like Ruth First, whose husband Joe Slovo could well be talking at the table?

What will be the supporters of the ANC think of a free Barend Strydom?

Can the government afford a blanket clemency to all those involved in armed acts against the state?

What would white South Africans feel if they bumped into Robert MacBride at a shopping centre?

One of the ironies of negotiations is that the ANC may provide FW de Klerk with a pretext to slip out of the ‘hit-squads’ fiasco. If the ANC calls for amnesty for its guerrillas, De Klerk may insist on a deal in return: clemency for policemen accused of murder.

By THANDEKA GGBUPELE

One of the ironies of negotiations is that the ANC may provide FW de Klerk with a pretext to slip out of the ‘hit-squads’ fiasco. If the ANC calls for amnesty for its guerrillas, De Klerk may insist on a deal in return: clemency for policemen accused of murder.

By THANDEKA GGBUPELE

Communist Party chief Joe Slovo may land at Jan Smuts Airport as part of the ANC delegation.

If he can meet with FW and then climb on to South African Airways plane back to Lusaka, will this mean a blanket clemency for all? What would become of the Yengeni and other political trials?

If the political climate is to be normalised along the lines proposed by the Harare Declaration, all political trials and executions will have to cease.

The declaration firmly holds that such measures are essential for creating a climate in which free negotiations can take place, despite the difficulties that may arise.

But South Africans of all persuasions seem to have jumped the gun and are due to meet before the government has satisfied the demands of the Harare Declaration — the State of Emergency is still in force, political prisoners are still in detention and political trials continue. Troops are still deployed in the townships, as in Gyani this week.

The government has raised the possibility of releasing political prisoners and amnesty as bait to get the ANC under pressure at home and abroad to make some gesture and join the negotiating process.

According to the Harare Declaration, the first step towards negotiations is an agreement on a ceasefire.

But although the question of hostilities may arise in the forthcoming talks, it is unlikely that a mutually binding ceasefire will be agreed upon at this stage.

What is certain is that preliminary negotiations will not strictly follow the programme outlined in the Harare Declaration as each move towards a political settlement creates problems of its own.

But despite the difficulties and contradictions, the ANC is nevertheless expected to stick to the declaration as its guideline in dealing with government pressure to drop the sanctions campaign and at least suspend the armed struggle.

While the declaration provides some clarity on what an end to hostilities could mean for the ANC, it is more difficult to determine what this would mean for the police force, the SADF and other state instruments.

For the ANC, it may mean the suspension of armed attacks on government installations and other acts of sabotage.

It will not mean the denunciation of armed struggle as a political strategy. It will also not include disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC’s military wing.

Slovo summed up his attitude up when he said in Lusaka last week: “You can not go to a negotiating table pointing a gun, but you’ve got to keep it over your shoulder.”

According to the Harare Declaration, armed hostilities will only be deemed to have formally ended after the adoption of a new constitution by all parties.

The ANC is now likely to ask De Klerk for a timetable for further initiatives and, with its huge constituency accustomed to discussing all issues at the most local level, it will need all the time it can get.
Rightwingers want talks with FW

Political Reporter

Six right-wing organisations will seek a meeting with President de Klerk to warn him that the ANC's increasing provocation of Afrikaner sentiments and contempt for Afrikaner values would inevitably lead to confrontation.

The organisations said in a statement that Afrikaner sentiments were deliberately being provoked by repeated ANC statements that Afrikaans would lose its official status under a new government and that the ANC would hold its next national conference in South Africa on December 16 — the Day of the Vow.

The six leaders requesting a meeting with Mr de Klerk include Mr Jaap Marais of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and Mr Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party.

They said in a statement that force was being used to push Afrikaner nationalism from the central position it had achieved and replace it with "the communist-controlled ANC".
Govt shifts focus to crucial future summit with ANC

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The South African Government appears to have abandoned attempts to break through into Africa until it can strike a deal with the ANC and other black groupings internally.

There were indications that this crucial policy shift was made yesterday in two important announcements by President de Klerk. He welcomed the ANC national executive’s decision to send a delegation to discuss obstacles to negotiation with him.

He also announced that the mini-summit with African leaders in Zaire had been postponed.

Government sources said the summit was unlikely to take place at all as it was unnecessarily provocative to the ANC and to Africa at a time when South Africa was seeking reconciliation.

The “postponement” is seen as a blow to SA’s attempts to revive African diplomacy, but it also suggests the Government has finally accepted that the route back to Africa and the world lies through first addressing issues in SA.

The sources made it clear that a mixture of political pressure from the ANC and OAU, and technical and economic considerations and over-confidence on the part of Zaire’s President Mobutu Sese Seko had led to the meeting being called off.

On SABC’s “Network” programme last night, Mr de Klerk conceded that ANC pressure could have played a part in the meeting being called off. The Government had accepted the need to seek a broader consensus within the country before undertaking such ventures.

The Government is now focusing its attention on the all-important impending summit with the ANC inside South Africa.

It is likely that the ANC will meet at least a delegation consisting of the Government’s seven-man negotiation committee — Mr de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy Mr Roelf Meyer, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Development Aid and Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Mr de Klerk has stressed that these will not be negotiations, but talks about negotiations.

The ANC will discuss the composition of its delegation at a special meeting of the national executive committee in Lusaka next Thursday which Mr Nelson Mandela will attend.

Other probable ANC delegates will be acting president Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the director of international affairs, Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Pallo Jordan, the director of information, senior NEC member Mr John Nkabinde, as well as internal leaders such as Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the NUM.

Manela to talk to Relly and Bloom

By Michael Chester

Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to hold talks in Soweto on Monday with two key South African business leaders to exchange views on possible new economic scenarios.

The first session will be with Anglo American’s chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, who has reacted with alarm to Mandela’s suggestions that such business sectors as the mines and banks should be nationalised.

Most businessmen are also disturbed by Mr Relly’s suggestion that sanctions be maintained to continue pressures for faster reform.

The second round of discussions will be with the Premier Group’s former chairman, Mr Tony Bloom, an ardent supporter of reform who left South Africa last year to settle in Britain.

He is expected to arrive at the weekend.
Hit squads: FW distances himself

President de Klerk, last night praised the security forces, saying they had enabled the Government to take initiatives for a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

Asked in an interview on SABC-TV about the Civilian Co-operation Bureau, an alleged assassins unit believed to have been under the control of the security forces, Mr de Klerk said:

"I want to distance myself from this trial by the media, and by gossip. The Government has the greatest appreciation for what the security forces have done for this country.

"If it were not for them, we would not have been able to take initiatives now towards peaceful solutions. If it were not for them, we would have had chaos and anarchy in South Africa." — Sapà.
LONDON. — Two years ago, Tony Bloom woke up to the fact that he was almost 50 and looked likely to be doing the same things, in the same company, in the same country, for the rest of his life.

In spite of the fact that the company, Premier Group Holdings, happened to be one of South Africa's most successful and Bloom himself a progressive and pioneering businessman, he decided to leave.

Predictably, because of his own outspoken opposition to apartheid, there was much speculation about the reasons behind that decision.

"I said at the time, and I've kept saying since, that I didn't leave for purely political reasons," he says. "But of course nobody would believe me. I remain devotedly and passionately South African, but where you live depends on what you enjoy doing. I enjoy living in London, but I go back to South Africa, or at least five times a year, so I have the best of both worlds."

"Best" is undoubtedly the operative word. Lean, fit and relaxed, Bloom comes over as a man who has made all the right decisions.

His office, tucked away in London's quietly elegant Ely Place, is modest by comparison, his situation a lot less fulsome than when he was still Premier in South Africa, and he describes the business he started in Britain as "not very newsworthy."

A committed thorn in the Botha government's side and one of the pioneers of white talks with the ANC, Bloom now back on his experiences in South Africa with mixed feelings. There were times, he says, when he was a minority of one, even in his own company, "times when I felt I was out of step with the rest of the South African business world, or that I was on a different planet."

It's with some wryness, then, that he now looks on at the pronouncements being made in various quarters — not least among his fellow businessmen — welcoming recent developments in South Africa.

Bloom was widely vilified in some quarters for advocating the very changes that are now being embraced as delivering the country from the edge of disaster — including the release of Nelson Mandela, and the unbanning and official acceptance of the ANC.

But he is "delighted and flabbergasted" at the changes now underway, and gives full credit to both F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela for their courage.

"I could never see anything of substance being accomplished under Botha. In fact, I think he did the country immeasurably harm. Now, at last we have a President who is facing political and demographic realities, and I think he should be rewarded for his courage."

Tony Bloom, former chairman of Premier Group Holdings now living in London, talks to Garner Thomson of Weekend Argus Foreign Service about how he sees recent developments in the political arena impacting on the South African economy.

"As far as Nelson Mandela is concerned, I think everybody has been impressed with his extraordinary personal dignity and sure-footedness. In political terms, too, he hasn't put a foot wrong. He has an extremely demanding task, keeping a number of constituents interested — including the whites — and he has done this very effectively so far.

"Bloom sees the way forward as optimistic and exciting — but he also believes there will be 'a lot of pain' ahead.

"I do worry about certain things," he says. "The right-wing is an obvious and very real worry, and it's something the government will have to deal with. More than anything else, internecine warfare between the blacks will impede any move towards peaceful settlement.

Bloom also fears "unrealistic expectations" in the black community about the timescale of change. "Already there is the feeling: Mandela is out, we're free, but it's going to be a long haul."

"In spite of what he regards simply as 'pre-negotiation rhetoric', Bloom believes the ultimate direction events will take is now inevitable.

"It's clear to anyone who looks that there will be universal suffrage in South Africa," he says. "One lesson that has to be learned is that Mandela is very deeply principled, so some things are not negotiable, and I'm sure that universal suffrage is one of them."

At the same time, Bloom thinks the South African business community is unduly downcast by talk of nationalisation. "I don't see it happening like that," he says. "I have too much respect for the intelligence of the ANC leadership to think they won't take heed of what is happening in eastern Europe. Many of them have lived in exile in countries where wholesale nationalisation has taken place and could see for them-"
MEETING:

Bradley Trew de Manning interviewed by SATY after.

The meeting with the Mayor, Mr. Gordon Oliver (middle).

Bradley explains walk-out.

There was no water.

On the other case to the other.

# April 15, 2018
Exiles hitch in FW talks?

LUSAKA. — The ANC yesterday said it was pleased with President PW de Klerk’s readiness to hold talks but that it would not allow him to dictate who should represent the organisation.

National executive committee member Mr Pallo Jordan described as unreasonable a suggestion by Mr De Klerk that he would look into the legal aspects of who among the exiled ANC leaders should participate in talks.

“We are pleased he has promised to meet us,” Mr Jordan said, commenting to reporters on a statement and TV interview by Mr De Klerk.

“The ANC has the right to choose its own delegation to meet Mr De Klerk ... It is totally unreasonable for him to choose a delegation for us, just as we don’t presume to choose his delegation,” Mr Jordan said.

The ANC’s media spokesman, Mr Tom Sebinha, yesterday said its executive committee would UDF still separate

JOHANNESBURG. — The UDF is not due to amalgamate with the ANC within the next few months, the UDF’s general secretary said yesterday.

Mr Popo Molefe said both the UDF and the MDM still recognised the leadership of the ANC and there was “no conflict” between the movements.

Although the South African government had given indications of a future political settlement “it has continued to retain repressive laws in its statutes” which would still enable it to outlaw various organisations.

The UDF would be very cautious about speeding up its disbandment, he said. — Sapa

next week appoint delegates.

The delegation would be decided on in consultation with Mr Nelson Mandela, who is expected in Lusaka on Tuesday.

It was probable that Mr Mandela would be one of the South African-based delegates, but there was no indication as yet when a meeting with Mr De Klerk might take place.

He said there had been no communications with the government regarding “clearance” for exiles.

Mr De Klerk criticised the ANC for refusing to renounce armed struggle and for sticking to its conditions for taking part in full-scale negotiations with the government.

Mr Jordan said the ANC’s conditions — including ending the state of emergency — were important in creating a normal political climate in the country which would lead to the start of negotiations.

“We cannot talk about moving towards peaceful resolution in a situation where one side of the quarrel has freedom of speech and the rest of us enjoy that at their discretion. We must be on the same plane,” Mr Jordan said. — Sapa-Reuters
Blacks support DP's march for democracy

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party (DP) received a rare show of black support yesterday when about 1,000 black people joined its march through central Johannesburg in support of democracy, peace and negotiation.

About 3,500 people participated in the march.

The party also received a glowing tribute from the UDF when the organisation's Transvaal secretary, Mr Jackson Tembu, said the DP had been "the only voice of reason" in white politics in recent years.

At one stage the crowd changed their chant of "ANC, ANC" to "DP, DP" before entering the Johannesburg City Hall to hear DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Tembu share a platform.

The scenes contrasted to those at a meeting at Wits University last year when the presence of Dr De Beer, among other "white" political leaders, prompted a black political student group allied to the UDF to prevent proceedings by singing and chanting loudly.

Mr Tembu, congratulating the DP on the liberal stance the party had taken in Parliament which, he said, had contributed to the recent unbanning of the ANC, said the future of blacks was interlinked with the future of whites.

He added that the nature of the liberation struggle was against oppression and domination and assured white compatriots the future South Africa belonged to all — "where all will be proud to be Zulu, Jewish, whatever..."

DP MP Mr Peter Soal later said he was "delighted" at the black participation in the march.

Several banners displayed by participants in the march were aimed at the rightist Conservative Party (CP). One said: "The CP is a banana peel on the doorstep of progress." — Sapa
Politicians are to get double salary increases

CAPE TOWN — Politicians are to get a double salary increase on April 1 — a total of about 56 percent more for MPs and 17 percent for Cabinet Ministers.

This will push MPs salaries up from R75,000 to about R94,000 a year while the R156,000 a year now earned by Cabinet Ministers will rise to over R181,000.

The double increase was confirmed by sources, including one in the Cabinet, last night, although no one wished to be quoted by name.

The Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr. Alex van Breda, said by knowing nothing about it.

President de Klerk announced yesterday that all politicians — from Cabinet Ministers to ordinary MPs — would get a “structural salary adjustment” of R12,000 from April 1.

This would represent a 15.8 percent increase for MPs and a 7.6 percent increase for Cabinet Ministers.

It was generally assumed that this increase was the only one politicians would get this year.

But other sources confirmed that it was in fact a “special occupation increase” and that politicians would also get the general 10 percent increase for public servants from April 1 which the Government announced earlier in the day. Most MPs and

*TO PAGE 2.*
LONDON — The non-stop picket by anti-apartheid campaigners outside the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square in London has ended this afternoon after 1406 days.

Arguably one of the longest ever political demonstrations, it started on April 9, 1986 to bring public awareness to the campaign for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who was freed on February 11.

A spokesman for the organisations said the picket would end with a planned mass rally and march down Whitehall to Margaret Thatcher’s Downing Street office to demand sanctions against SA.

The “Free Nelson Mandela” banners will be rolled up to become collector’s items among anti-apartheid campaigners, but the protests will continue at regular intervals.

The call will be ultimately for black majority rule in South Africa, but will in the interim include calls for increased sanctions, the release of all political prisoners and a lifting of the state of emergency.

Pickets will be mounted, with the usual accoutrements of soapbox, banners, posters, pamphlets, petitions and loudhailer, every weekend.

A fact little known outside the hard core of activists in London is that the marathon picket was run by the maverick City of London Anti-Apartheid Movement, which was expelled as a branch from the Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1984 for operating outside the boundaries of London.

Differences of opinion among leading activists in both groups as to how the protest movement should conduct itself were the real reason for the dispute.

Scotland Yard, which has had to mount extra police guards round the clock outside the embassy over the last four years at a cost recently estimated at R6 million, will be welcoming the picket’s ending.

The traditional “Bobbies on the beat” from Cannon Row police station might however feel the change in their wallets as standing guard at the embassy was a handy source of overtime income.

Mr Justice de Goede, Minister at the SA Embassy, said the protests’ political effect has been “absolute zero”. — Sapa.
Four Steps to Bridge a Gap
Weeks closing in an empty, deserted school

BROOKLYN.

Many parents are concerned about the future of their children's education as schools remain closed due to the ongoing pandemic. With the start of the new school year just around the corner, there is a growing sense of uncertainty among families. The lack of in-person instruction has raised questions about how children will continue to learn and whether the quality of education will be maintained.

The closure of schools has also had a significant impact on the mental health of children and adolescents. Many students have struggled with feelings of isolation and anxiety, as well as a lack of structure and routine.

As schools prepare to reopen, there are concerns about the safety of students and staff. The implementation of new protocols and measures to prevent the spread of the virus will be crucial in ensuring a safe learning environment.

Despite the challenges, there is a sense of hope among educators and parents, as they look forward to a return to normalcy. The focus will be on rebuilding trust and creating a positive learning experience for all students.
The greatest obstacle to negotiation

By DAVID BREIER
Political Correspondent

THE government believes the African National Congress demand for the release of all political prisoners is developing into the greatest obstacle to negotiation.

This week President F W de Klerk welcomed the ANC proposal to send a delegation to South Africa to discuss obstacles to negotiation. The pioneering visit could take place within weeks. But he criticised the demand for preconditions and talk of armed struggle.

The ANC hopes that the state of emergency could be lifted within weeks in line with the ANC's other major precondition for negotiation.

**Consternation**

Other preconditions in its Harare Declaration appear to be negotiable, such as the scrapping of the Internal Security Act.

But the ANC stated in London this week that the release of all political prisoners was an absolute pre-requisite for negotiations. The government's current position is that it is releasing only those prisoners jailed purely because their organisations had been banned.

There was consternation in the government this week over the implications of this demand, including the release of "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom, ending the Harms Commission investigation into police and army hit-squads and releasing ANC cadres convicted of murderous attacks on soft targets.

Several solutions to the impasse over political prisoners are now being debated in parliamentary circles.

These include a suggestion that a committee of senior jurists be appointed to investigate the precise definition of a political prisoner and who would qualify under the definition.

This committee would have to be acceptable to both the government and the ANC and could include one or more judges as well as eminent senior counsel who have credibility with the ANC.

The final definition would have to include reciprocity applying to people with leftwing as well as rightwing sympathies, according to current debate.

**Ceasefire**

It could also necessitate the release of South African agents jailed in Zimbabwe and Botswana for taking part in attacks or espionage on the ANC.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, national chairman of the Democratic Party and a law and order spokesman, said a general amnesty for political prisoners and people still sought for political crimes, would probably go hand-in-hand with a ceasefire.

He said that even the hit squads and Strydom could be part of the equation, however much that stuck in the throat.

"Amnesty will involve a degree of generosity asked for in very unusual circumstances. Political horse-trading may also play a major role," he said.
What was going through Dr Andrews Trenouth's mind?

I tried to figure this out while he restlessly tried to make himself comfortable on the aeroplane as we returned from Cape Town.

Scores of other people who noticed the Conservative Party leader trying to keep to himself by burying his head in a book might probably have been thinking the same.

Sitting four rows away and at an adjacent angle, I had all the time in the world to study the man.

I found this exercise fascinating, as it was unusual to come so close to the man who in my book rains number three among the politicians who could determine our destiny.

The other two are Nelson Mandela and President F.W de Klerk.

Whether we like him or not, Dr No is an interesting man.

He makes this country a talking point in the rest of the world.

He is not just official opposition leader in Parliament, but a dominate in churchs.

At one stage, as a leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, he came close to being Prime Minister of this country.

The man is going to be with us as we strive towards a new South Africa. He will also be there, one assumes, in a post-apartheid era.

After a few hours of study, I could not figure out what was going through Dr No's mind.

But a lot was going through mine.

As a man who takes delight in whipping up white emotions everyday he opens his mouth, whether it be on public platforms, or in Parliament, was he aware as he sat on that plane that the South African Transport Services would soon be privatized — and who knows — some blacks could be major shareholders?

Would he use the same aircraft if the pilot and his captain were black?

Would he accept a cup of tea from a black air hostess?

I may be unfair to the man, his party and right-wing elements, but these questions ran amok in my mind.

Dr No will present a "Freedom Manifesto" to whites at a mass rally in Pretoria on May 26.

We know his party is looking at the public service as a battleground to fight the government or anybody who is talking about change.

What the CP should know is that the winds of change can no longer be diverted to suit it.

Democracy and anti-racism is now on the move and there is no stopping it.

My advice to people like Dr No and those on the far left is that they should team up with Nelson Mandela and F.W de Klerk and work out a system that would be acceptable to all the peoples of this country.

In the two weeks since he was released from prison, Mandela has met and shared ideas with almost every political group in this country.

That is something that has yet to be matched by other politicians.

That man has proved beyond reasonable doubt that he is a leader of all the people.

He has moved from the position of being a facilitator or only a leader of the ANC.

He is above party politics.

In the past we dismissed homeland leaders, community councillors and those serving in the tri-cameral parliament as stooges working against the interests of the majority of the people.

Mandela has welcomed them all with open arms.

The reason?

If you want unity and peace, talk to everybody, including your enemy.

Today's peace rally in Durban will be the most important political test for Mandela.

If he succeeds in stopping violence and unifying the people of Natal he will go down in history as a great man.

Should he fail, we must brace ourselves for a prolonged battle in Natal that is likely to spill over into other areas.
THE unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela have changed the face of South African politics for ever — and no one knows better than the political parties within the parliamentary system.

There are frequent news reports — and speculation — about the Democratic Party. Will it form a coalition with the National Party? Will its members simply join the NP? Will some of its MPs join the ANC?

What is the future of the DP? But, of course, the same questions ought to be asked of all parliamentary parties.

What is the future of Solidarity, of the Labour Party, of the Conservative Party, and yes, the National Party?

Frankly, bleak, if they carry on as before.

You cannot say, as Mr Gerrit Viljoen has done, that you believe in universal franchise, admit that you will no longer be running the country in five years' time and then blithely add you expect to be part of the Government thereafter — if you haven't done something about your support base.

Why should any future government take account of the NP? It only represents just over six percent of the total vote in the country. Incidentally, for the CP that figure is three and for the DP, two.

All political parties are asking themselves the question — where to now?

It is not in official forums, not in the caucus, not in committee, but late at night the truth is admitted: "We have to do something."

Suddenly everybody looks to the DTA in Namibia and says: "It managed to forge an alliance based on political ideals which transcend race, colour and language."

"Then it went ahead and drew some 30 percent of the vote in the Namibian constituent election. That was enough to make it such a major force that it acted as a brake on Swapo's radical intentions."

Should we not be doing the same, all political parties are asking themselves. Or something similar.

Just sticking to the present power base is clearly not going to be enough.

The implications are quite fascinating: will the NP, the party of apartheid, open its doors to all races? Will it go into coalition with other parliamentary parties and perhaps even some extra-parliamentary ones?

The same for the DP, the LP and the others: where to now — and how?

Adapt

Take the LP, for example. Its leadership might be very proud of the positive response it has had from ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, but by no means can that be said of all its MPs and a substantial part of the coloured population.

They would rather join the NP than the ANC.

The rapidity of change — and the desire to adapt to it realistically — is a positive sign.
STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE

By Peter Vnale

EAST-FORWARD

FUTURE TRENDS
NP split on 'open party' debate

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE possibility of a racially-open National Party is emerging as an interesting possibility in internal discussions among NP members on the party's future role and structures. The debate has been sparked by President F.W. de Klerk's drive for a "new South Africa" - and the assertion by his chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, that the NP may have a diminished role in future government.

Along with the Democratic Party to its left, NP strategists are examining what identity will suit it best in the emerging new deal. The NP faces a fundamental dilemma: how to reconcile its basic philosophy of ethnic group identities with an image of more inclusive South Africans.

Secure

In the euphoria after President de Klerk's epochal opening of Parliament speech this month, some Nationalist MPs believed the party was positioning itself to move away from strict adherence to "group" structures.

But senior NP figures quickly dampened this tendency.

The debate is being spurred, nevertheless, by the fact that, over recent years, the NP has changed its make-up but has not adapted its structures and image.

Since the rise of the Conservative Party, the NP has lost its secure base in Afrikanerdom - and gained what may yet prove to be the majority of English-speaking white voters.

But even this, as reform accelerates, is not enough to guarantee the NP first post status in white politics.
By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE most tantalising and most frustrating thing about the first book on former President P W Botha's demise is that its authors cannot uncover and yet fail to explain one of the leading political intrigues of our time.

Like all absorbing political intrigues, it involves the flashing of knives behind closed doors and the hand-to-hand combat between powerful personalities that manifests its eventual consequences in the pages of history books.

These are the intrigues that absolve those students of politics who subscribe to the dictum that you will never fully understand the policies without really knowing the personalities who make them. This particular mystery is who are the two Ministers — probably (some say definitely) still in the Cabinet — who provoked President Botha into repudiating his Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, thereby setting the cantankerous President on a collision course with his own projected intention of reforming South African politics?

It was a day early in February, 1986, recounted the authors of Leiferstry (Leadership Struggle), Ebbie Domnissie, editor of the National Party newspaper Die Burger, and its long-time political correspondent Alf Ries.

Mr Pik Botha made a remark at an international news conference that was to dog him and white politics in the years to follow. Yes, he said, he foresaw a day when SA would have a black president.

Ries and Domnissie quoted Mr Botha directly on an account of the subsequent events.

On the day of what could be counted as an indiscretion only in the arcane politics of the time, President Botha paused in the corridors of Parliament to tell his Foreign Minister good-humoredly that he would have to correct the false impression.

Later, and to the shocked amazement of all, the President rose in Parliament and delivered a stinging rebuke of the Foreign Minister and his remark. This was such an extraordinary event that Mr Botha's political confidants told him he could only rescue his integrity by resigning.

Then, in August last year when President Botha's liminient fall was apparent even to himself, a contrite head of state called Mr Botha to his Tuinehuis office.

There, in gestures of pathos, the President-in-decline presented Mr Botha with a letter opener, washed up to the gold presidential seal kept in a glass case and said he had wished to hand it over to his successor in more pleasant circumstances.

Then he told Mr Botha that he had repudiated him three years before against his will.

Two Ministers had come to him, the President said, and "threatened" him that if there was no rebate they would raise the issue in Cabinet and the Government could be made to fall.

The authors stop coyly short of even speculating who the two Ministers were — although they leave hints that they are fully conversant with the whispers in inner circles on the identities of the two.

And that's where both the strength and the weakness of the book lies. Ries and Domnissie are the political commissioners of an organ officially designated by the NP as a mouthpiece. Their intention is definitely not to see that any harm comes to the party.

But the peculiarities of their insiders' view allow them to expose it with tasty political bon mots.

Read it if you're interested in how President Botha came to be known as the Groot Kraksolli, blame a former editor of Die Burger, Professor Piet Cillie, why Pik Botha, until just recently the country's most popular white politician, could only get 16 votes in the presidential race — he disliked socialising with lesser colleagues; how Pik got his nickname — a black-and-white baby suit made the infant Botha resemble a pengula ("pikewya" in Afrikaans); and why Pik doesn't like black stockings.

When it comes to the awesome, final days of the fall of P W, however, the book tends to tell the true story almost by default.

Tuinehuis had become a "Knynhuis" (Gunpowder House), a heavily-guarded political arsenal, and even the influential Ries and Domnissie had long since been denied the access traditionally their prerogative.

So the account contains little that wasn't read at the time.

Of the great anguish that undoubtedly accompanied the playing out of the great drama in Windhoek and Tuinehuis, much is suggested but little recounted.

It is, finally, perhaps, a measure of the extraordinary powers of P W Botha that he has retained the fierce and silent loyalty of the unconventional circle of faithful officers of his deceased Tuinehuis empire.

Leon by Alf Ries and Ebbie Domnissie (Tuinehuis), R34.95.
NGK chief and mayor defend 'political' black hymn

By ALAN DUGGAN

WHITE South Africans this week defended the Xhosa hymn Nkosi Sikelel’iAfrika after a new controversy erupted over its "political implications".

Long regarded as an "alternative" South African anthem, the hymn has been sung countless times at church services, political rallies and other events — but mostly by blacks.

Now it is heard increasingly in white circles — and took two senior SADF officers by surprise last week when they turned up for the annual mayoral Sunday church service in Cape Town's city hall. Brigadier Theo de Munck, OC Southern Air Command, and Brigadier A K de Jager, OC Western Province Command, caused a stir when they walked out. Brig De Munck said later that it would have been inappropriate for them to remain at the service in uniform as the hymn had "definite political implications".

The mayor said he accepted this explanation but added that he did not agree with the brigadier's viewpoint. He said he regarded Nkosi Sikelel’iAfrika (God Bless Africa) as a beautiful hymn.

Prayer

Adopted as the national anthem of several African countries, the hymn has become associated in the minds of many whites with political defiance and the black struggle. But churchmen, politicians and many others have defended it as "a form of prayer".

Professor Johan Heiyns, moderator of the NG Church, said there was no reason to fear the hymn. Nkosi Sikelel’iAfrika was penned in Xhosa by a mission school teacher, Enoch Sontonga, and first sung publicly in 1899.

Sixty-six years later, the African National Congress adopted the soul-stirring hymn and began singing it at the close of meetings.
Mr Nelson Mandela, who confirmed his commitment to nationalisation soon after his release, rapidly softened his line by adding the qualification that nationalisation would have to be negotiated and discussed with industrialists.

While this slight retraction is unlikely to restore business confidence in him, it at least points to a learning curve.

There is, however, still serious cause for concern about what policy might be likely under a representative government in the future and the potential consequences are such that present policy signals must be firmly and intensively debated.

A discussion of detail would fill this journal's entire centre section. In any case, the major policy traps which lie hidden in the green grass of "restructuring" are forged on the basis of a few major assumptions about how societies, economies and policies work.

This is the proper level to begin to think about policy.

The first faulty assumption or

Throughout the world, most tangled webs of regulations which another initiative, most bloated bureaucracies that soak up capital resources, cause inflation and chronic budget deficits and survive on levels of taxation which chase away investment, are built on good intentions on the part of governments.

The fallacy of transformation

Each new control division or planning agency is perfectly defensible in the light of some problem or need.

The real pathology develops when, virtually inevitably, the initial regulation or allocation of administrative resources does not work or work well enough.

This is followed by the typical response of adding more staff or regulations to bolster the programme. Economic distortions and bureaucratic rigidities multiply like bacteria in the swarm of good intentions. Perhaps the

In South and Central America, notwithstanding all its revolutions or other political convulsions, the descendants of the indigenous Indians or imported slaves still tend to be on the lower social rungs and the descendants of the Spanish-Portuguese settlers still tend to be the elite.

The US civil rights movement induced a transformation in US race policy, but 30 years later the black inner-city ghettos persist and the gap between poor black people and the great American middle class has hardly closed.

After the revolution in the Soviet Union, official policy was deliberately directed at equalising the status and rewards of differ-
THE DP and the Labour Party (LP) achieved common
ground last week in separate talks with the ANC's Nelson
Mandela on the need for greater co-operation among
political groups in forging a non-racial democracy.

Further meetings between the two parliamentary par-
ties and the ANC are planned following their exploratory
talks in Johannesburg.

LP leader Allan Hendrickse said after a 40-minute
meeting that Mandela had "acknowledged our past dif-
ferences but indicated the time has arrived for these to
be forgotten. He emphasized the need for a greater
togetherness in striving for the creation of a new non-
racial and democratic SA."

It was agreed to meet again to discuss "various strate-
gies and options for achieving social justice".

Earlier, an ANC and MDM delegation met a DP dele-
gation consisting of DP co-leaders Zach de Beer, Denis
Worrall and Wynand Malan, and Peter Gastrow.

Worrall said in a statement afterwards that they dis-
cussed their relative positions "and talked more on the
basis of future co-operation than on policy matters".

A discussion on policy matters would come with a
"more fully representative delegation" of the ANC.
MPs’ salary bill is R30m

CAPE TOWN — The R12 000 a year across-the-board salary increase, plus 10%, granted to MPs and Cabinet Ministers at the weekend will raise the annual amount paid to parliamentarians to more than R30m.

It was confirmed at the weekend that in addition to the increases announced by President F W de Klerk on Friday, the parliamentarians would also qualify for the 10% non-pensionable allowance granted to all public servants.

This means the 31 Cabinet Ministers receive a total salary package of R185 000 a year which includes an allowance of R36 000 — equivalent to an 18% increase.

The 12 deputy Ministers will receive a package of R134 100, including an allowance of R28 110. Ordinary MPs will receive a salary of R94 500 a year, equivalent to a 20% increase.

In addition they are entitled to participate in a car scheme which effectively provides a free medium-sized vehicle over four years. They receive 18 free return flights a year and thereafter pay 20% of the cost of a flight. They also receive cheap housing while Parliament is in session.

De Klerk also announced that the amount that directly elected MPs could claim for running constituency offices would be increased from R10 000 to R16 000 a year.

The increases announced by De Klerk amount to a 7.6% increase for Ministers and a 15.9% increase for ordinary MPs.

De Klerk said the increases were in line with a report of the Schlebusch commission of inquiry into the remuneration of political office-bearers.

Government, he said, was giving attention to the creation of a statutory body which would determine the remuneration of political office-bearers in future.

He wished to draw attention to the fact that MPs had to incur abnormally high costs to earn their salaries.

MPs did not receive an annual increment, a 13th cheque or housing loans.
ACHMED KARIEM

The possibility existed that the DP and the ANC could work together, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said on Friday. But it was "still too early to talk of an alliance," De Beer said in an interview after the march by 1,500 people for democracy, peace and negotiation through Johannesburg on Friday received strong black support.

The DP was praised by UDF Transvaal secretary Jackson Tembu when he said the party had been "the only voice of reason" in white politics in recent years.

At one stage, the nonracial crowd changed their chant of "ANC, ANC" to "DP, DP" before entering the Johannesburg City Hall to hear De Beer and Tembu, who shared a platform.

Tembu said it was a pleasure for the UDF to be part of the march.

Paying tribute to the DP for its position in Parliament which, he said, had led to the ANC's unbanning, Tembu said the future of blacks was interlinked with that of whites.

"It's now up to all of us to see that the negotiation process that we have cried for proceeds and brings about a democratic SA," he said.

He added that the liberation struggle was against oppression and domination and he assured whites that the future SA belonged to all.

De Beer told the crowd that his meeting on Friday morning with Nelson Mandela meant that the "foundations have been laid of a friendship which bodes well for all." The DP delegation to Mandela consisted of De Beer, Denis Worrall, Wynand Malan and Peter Gastic.
Most SA whites back FW poll

TOS WENZEL

PRESIDENT De Klerk's latest initiatives have the support of most white voters, but the Conservative Party has also increased its support.

An opinion poll by the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport showed that it was the Democratic Party which had lost support since November last year.

Support for the DP seemed to be drifting to the National Party. The poll also indicated a shift of English-speaking support to the National Party.

ELECTION

The nationwide poll showed that the various parties would receive the following percentages of the vote if an election were held now (the figures for November 1989 appear in brackets): National Party 46.3 (41.6) percent; CP 31.0 (27.6) percent; DP 18.3 (24.6) percent; HNP 0.6 (0.8) percent; and abstainers 3.8 (5.4) percent.

Questioned on among other things the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the poll showed that 57 percent of the voters unconditionally supported his release while 32 opposed it with the rest uncertain.

Since November the National Party's English-speaking support has increased from 29.6 percent to 42.1 percent, while 41.1 percent supported the DP.

The NP is also ahead among Afrikanders but here the CP is much closer to it. In all, 49 percent of the Afrikanders said they still supported the NP while 42.3 percent said they supported the CP.

MAKING PROGRESS

Another interesting development was the CP was suddenly making progress among English-speakers — 12.7 percent of this language group now support the CP, an increase of more than five percentage points in hardly three months.

If to this was added the 0.5 percent of the English-speaking group which supported the HNP, this meant that more than 55 percent of this language group now supported the largely Afrikaans political parties.

More of the voters were more optimistic than a year ago. At present 40 percent felt optimistic while 50 percent said they were optimistic last year. Last year the pessimists came to 35 percent, but now they were 29 percent.
DP is the big loser in new shifts

SOUTH AFRICA

Political Correspondent

SUPPORT for both the National Party and the Conservative Party has grown significantly among white voters in the past three months — but the Democratic Party has shed about 23% of its support.

The shifts are largely attributable to the migration of English-speaking white voters to the two Afrikaner-dominated parties, according to the latest Mark en Meningsopnames survey published in Rapport yesterday.

The nationwide telephone survey conducted earlier this month found that the support levels for the NP had grown from 41.8% in November to 46.3% despite a right-wing backlash against the reforms announced by President P.W. de Klerk.

The NP's increased popularity has taken place at the expense of the DP, which has shrunk in popular support among whites from 24.6% to 11.9%.

In the past three months support for Mr De Klerk's party among English-speaking whites has grown from 29.6% to 42.1%. Indeed, the NP is now the most popular party among English-speakers, with only 21.1% still supporting the DP.

The Conservative Party has also grown appreciably in its support levels since November — from 27.6% to 31.9%. English-speaking support for the CP has grown by more than five percentage points in the past three months and now stands at 12.7%.

This means that nearly 55% of this language group now supports parties dominated by Afrikaners.

Among Afrikaners, the NP (49%) remains more popular than the CP (42%).

DP 'most coherent' party in S Africa

The Democratic Party was the most politically coherent organisation in the country, DP national chairman Mr Tian van der Merwe said at the weekend.

"This means we can promote the new South Africa and a non-racial constitutional system more effectively," Mr Van der Merwe told a fund-raising meeting in Worcester.

"The DP can interpret events likely to take place in the current political climate because we have been contemplating such events for many years."

Mr Van der Merwe said it was crucial that the DP participated independently in the negotiation process itself, "because it is the DP more than any other organisation that will be negotiating for human rights, for democratic values and for freedom."
All CCB operations suspended, says Malan

General Magnus Malan... refuses to resign and won’t answer further questions on the activities of the CCB until the official probe is over.

All activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau had been suspended pending the outcome of judicial investigations, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said.

He also said, in the snap debate on hit-squad allegations, that slain Swapo activist Mr. Anton Lubowski was a paid Military Information agent.

He said he would not resign, and repeated an earlier statement that he gave no orders or authorisation that crimes be committed.

“I announce here that the Chief of the SADF has done the following: all activities of the CCB have been suspended pending the outcome of judicial investigations.”

NO ACTION

“This necessarily means that neither I nor the SADF will in future react to any direct or indirect questions on the whole matter. This could prejudice the entire official investigation.”

General Malan said allegations had been made of SADF involvement in the murder of Mr. Lubowski.

“I reveal today here that Mr. Lubowski was a paid agent of Military Intelligence. I am assured that he did good work for the SADF.”

The Head of Staff, Information, General Witkop Badenhorst, would thus in no way have approved action against Mr. Lubowski.

He said allegations had been made about the spending and handling of money in the CCB.

The head of the SADF, as accounting officer of the department, had issued a statement about this on Saturday and he had nothing to add except that he was satisfied that this was in accordance with Treasury approved policy and that procedures for financial accountability and control of special operations were adequate.

Such transactions were subject to the Auditor General’s audit.

Covert actions of the SADF’s Special Forces were authorised. Authorisation occurred according to command structure and procedures.

“The SADF’s case is healthy, as also now when it is protecting the climate in which the new South Africa is to grow to maturity.”

“Against this background I will not resign over the pressure on myself and the Defence Forces.”

“I have no intention of bowing to the witchhunt against me, which is now also coming suddenly from the ANC.”

“The Government of which I am a team member therefor can and will not allow that the will, morale and ability of the SADF to defend South Africa and to protect peace, be thrown onto the bonfire of untested investigations and private trials.”

“Therefore I regard the so-called Katzin investigations of the Star and alternative press as in no way an extension of official investigations.”

“The role of the SADF in serving the country and combating terrorism is healthy to the core. I therefore stand by my news release of February 19 that I gave no orders and no authorisation that crimes be committed.”

“Neither did the Chief of the SADF.”

General Malan said he had discussed the sensitive nature of covert SADF operations repeatedly in Parliament.

“I state clearly that where official investigations, on grounds of proven and tested evidence, bring to light malpractices in the CCB, a surgical cut will be made to remove the problem.”

“The SADF has always regarded itself as subject to the law.”

He said there were many leaks about the CCB in certain newspapers.

Those responsible have access to an incomplete picture and they are doing South Africa and the SADF a disservice.”

CAMPAIGN

He said the debate took place against the background of a fierce campaign against the security forces and the SADF in particular.

“A small section of the SADF’s Special Forces, the CCB, is being used as the stick by which the whole campaign is being conducted, and into which the entire SADF and its command structure is being drawn.”

He was being described in this campaign as a remnant of a previous era.

“When those seeking his blood were finished with him, it would not be the end. The command structure of the SADF would follow.”

This process would inevitably lead to the total collapse of South Africa’s defence capability. The campaign was a slap in the face for the country’s men in uniform. — SapA.
Spectrum of colours at DP's peace march

THE Democratic Party's yellow and blue colours yesterday flew alongside a prominent flag of the Star of David as a crowd of about 3,000 supporters marched along Johannesburg's Harrison Street to the City Hall.

The symbolic march for "democracy, peace and negotiation" was led by DP party co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer and DP members Mr Peter Soal, Mr Douglas Gibson and Mr Tony Leon, as well as Anglican Bishop Duncan Buchanan and Methodist Bishop Peter Storey.

The crowd, including members of the Black Sash, the Five Freedoms Forum and student groupings were joined by a large group of toyi-toyi black supporters wearing ANC and UDF T-shirts.

A wide variety of banners were displayed attacking the right wing, the Group Areas Act and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Addressing the group in the City Hall, UDF Transvaal secretary, Mr Jackson Tembu, said: "It is a pleasure for the UDF to be part of this historic DP march for freedom and democracy.

He praised the DP for being the only voice of reason in white politics and congratulated the party on its parliamentary achievements - which had contributed to the recent unbanning of the ANC.

Mr Tembu received a standing ovation after he told the crowd: "I would like to say to whites that this land belongs to all who live in it and we would like to march with you to this South Africa where all of us will be proud to be Zulu, Jewish, whatever... as South Africans.

"We as the UDF and the ANC have marched with the DP because we believe our future is interlinked with whites in South Africa," he added.

Addressing the gathering, Dr de Beer mentioned the DP co-leaders' first meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela, which took

TO PAGE 2.
Magnus Malan to face resignation calls

Heated debate is expected later today when Defence Minister General Magnus Malan faces opposition demands for his resignation for his handling of his portfolio on the allegations surrounding the SADF's shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

The Democratic Party called for the snap debate as a matter of urgency to address allegations concerning the operations of the CCB.

Allegations include that the CCB had infiltrated and spied on the South African Police, the National Intelligence Service, other State departments and other organisations and individuals in South Africa, and that members of the bureau were being sought by police in connection with political assassinations in South Africa and Namibia.

The DP said the issues surrounding the CCB had moved beyond the terms of reference of the Harms Commission of Inquiry into political killings, and that it would discredit Parliament if the matter were not debated.

This follows weekend reports that the CCB cost the taxpayer about R28 million a year, and that it had been in existence for about 10 years, operating within southern Africa and in most European countries.

Rapport newspaper quoted an unnamed former member of the unit, who claimed that some members had died in the service of the CCB.
Unbanning of SACP condemned

THE chief opposition spokesman for law and order, Mr Moolman Mento, introduced a draft resolution condemning the government for unbanning the South African Communist Party.

He said the SACP was a danger to the State and threatened the proper maintenance of law, order and democracy.

He also called on the government to account for its dialogue with the African National Congress, which was in conflict with an explicit undertaking to the contrary; its silence before the general election about its intention to abolish Acts such as the Population Registration Act and its failure to enforce the current laws of the country.

Mr Wynand Malan, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said the CP had every right to feel unhappy about the government not having given any indication of the steps it intended taking as announced by the State President.

"A person would also not deny the right of the CP to mobilise in times of confusion. However, if they want to remain relevant on the long term and really represent the interests of their bases, they will have to take stock, make peace with reality and think strategically."

Mr Malan said the DP was convinced that the best way to argue against any ideology lay in the democratic process as a mechanism through which various interest groups in a community could improve their own interests and through which policy differences could be solved.

KEEP TO THE RULES

the Minister of Justice, Mr Robie Coetzee, said the ANC and other organisations which had now been allowed to play on the fields opened up by the State President's initiatives had to keep to the rules of the game.

He said that if these organisations had said they were seeking peaceful solutions, this had to be interpreted to mean that there would be no more talk of violence and that violence would not be practised any longer.

There had in fact been a considerable decrease in violence.

CP members knew in their innermost being that President De Klerk had performed a masterstroke by pulling the carpet from under those who wanted to use violence.

BREAKING THE LAW

Mr Chris de Jager (CP Bethal), said that by failing to apply the Internal Security Act against the SACP, cabinet ministers were breaking the law as well as their ministerial oaths.

Mr De Jager said laws could only be made and scrapped in parliament, and not by decree.

Nationalists were mistaken if they thought that the SACP could enter the country, establish offices and further its aims, because they thought the law had been amended by decree.

The State President's remarks on the unbanning of the SACP could not ignore provisions of the Internal Security Act which allowed a maximum 10-year jail sentence for furthering the aims of communism.

Mr De Jager said Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and others were openly statin, that the armed struggle should continue, but sect. in 94 of the Internal Security Act said people guilty of furthering political aims by violence were guilty of terrorism. This law had not been repealed.

He said this was permissible when they did it, but if he were to do so he would be jailed. — Sapa

Secret funds audit report limited

Political Staff

AUDITOR-GENERAL Mr Peter Worsley has pointed out that he is allowed to publish reports on the special defence account, but only with the approval of the Minister of Finance and the State President.

He was responding to a newspaper article which said that the funding of the Defence Force's controversial Civil Co-operation Bureau was buried in the huge special defence account beyond public scrutiny.

The article pointed out that the account was subject to audit but that the Auditor-General "may not publish his findings". Mr Worsley said this was not quite true and might give the impression that "anything goes" in the auditing of this account.

He said his department did audit the account. But section 6 (3) of the Auditor-General Act limited how much he could report on the account.

This section stipulated that he must report on this account, and other specified secret accounts with due regard to the special nature of the accounts and shall limit each report to the extent to which the Minister of Finance is in consultation with the State President and the Auditor-General, may determine."

Mr Worsley pointed out that in his report of 1988/1989, he had been given approval to publish several examples of thefts, irregularities and variations of contracts in the special defence account.

This included two cases of theft amounting to R136 370 that had not yet been finalised and which the Department of Defence had brought to the attention of his office.
Diverse briefings for SA envoys

SOUTH AFRICA's leading diplomats will be briefed this week on local developments by personalities as diverse as President F W de Klerk, former Manchester United goalkeeper Gary Bailey and Soweto editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste.
The heads of mission will also be lectured by a former colleague -- Dr Denis Worrall, who was South Africa's ambassador to London before quitting in 1987 to fight the National Party in the election.
One of the government's favourite whipping boys in recent years and current executive director of Idasa, Dr Alex Borula, was originally slated to brief the diplomats, but was later removed from the programme apparently because one of the speakers would need more time.

One of the more curious items on the briefing programme is a talk by Dr J N Reddy, the leader of parliamentary party Solidarity, on the role of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu in the politics of negotiation in Natal.
Welcoming the heads of mission in Cape Town yesterday, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha urged them to engage each other in vigorous debate and ask critical questions at briefings during their stay in Cape Town.
Willem Steenkamp joins President's Council

Political Staff

The Cape Times defence correspondent, Mr Willem Steenkamp, yesterday quit journalism to become a member of the President's Council after being approached by a cabinet member to join the nominated body.

Mr Steenkamp said President F W de Klerk's speech on February 2 had changed everything and it was obviously a new era.

The appointment of Mr Steenkamp, 49, was announced yesterday by the Cape Leader of the National Party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, who is also the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises.

He said Mr Steenkamp was "a distinguished author and playwright. He has also been an active member of the Citizen Force for 22 years and is holder of the Pro Patria medal, the John Chard medal and the Chief of the SADF Commendation medal."
Mandela is in Zambia today

KUALA LUMPUR: Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad left yesterday for Zambia to meet Nelson Mandela and leaders of SA’s neighbouring countries. Mahathir, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Sridath Ramphal were invited by Zambia’s President Kenneth Kaunda to attend the meeting in Lusaka today and tomorrow, foreign ministry officials said.

Mahathir was accompanied by Abdul Majid Mohamed, deputy secretary-general of the foreign ministry.

Last week, Mahathir said that while welcoming the SA government’s release of Mandela from prison and lifting of the ban on the ANC, Malaysia felt that all sanctions must continue until apartheid is completely dismantled.

Mahathir said he regretted that Britain had lifted sanctions blocking new investments to SA.
## Record Post Office budget presented to Parliament

### Phone rentals, postal charges to go up

By Peter Fabricius

Phone rentals will go up R3 and post on standard mail by 50c a letter in new tariffs to be introduced on April 1.

These were among several tariff increases announced in a record R4.083.5 million Post Office budget presented to Parliament yesterday by Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

The average increase in tariffs would be an "absolute minimum" of 4.3 percent and would apply only to unpredictable services, he said.

Dr de Villiers said the Post Office would show a surplus of R8 million this year, but the tariff increases were necessary to avoid high financing costs on loans for capital expenditure which would have pushed up the Post Office's debt ratio.

Some of the main tariff increases were:
- Telephone rentals to rise from R18 to R21, but rentals for social and other pensioners would not increase.
- Post on standard letters to go up by 50c to 18c.
- Surface post on a 1kg parcel would be increased by 50c from R1.50 to R2.00.
- Handling costs per telegram up from R3.50 to R4.
- Telegram tariff per word up from 18c to 21c.
- The phone rental on party lines up to R22 a month.
- The special low phone rental discount fee of R2 for installing phones which social pensioners pay will be extended to other pensioners who earn the same or less than them.

Other announcements included:
- A new special-rate overseas telephone cable connecting South Africa to Europe to be installed by 1993/94 at a cost of about R30 million.
- A new long-distance telephone system to be introduced enabling intercom conversations between up to four extensions.
- Cardless telephone to be legalised.
- The total estimated expenditure for the Post Office in 1990/91 was R3.685.5 million, 12 percent more than in the previous financial year.

Operating surplus would be an estimated R6.15 million, a 30.7 percent increase over 1989/90 because of normal growth in business, cost and price increases and higher financing costs from anticipated higher interest rates on loans and exchange rate adjustments.

Capital expenditure was estimated at R1.735 million, R105 million or 5.3 percent more than in 1989/90. This was still only a 7 percent real increase.

### Operating surplus

Capital spending would mainly be aimed at projects which generated the most revenue.

The revenue for 1990/91 was estimated at R6.353.2 million, up R273.2 million or 4.5 percent.

After operating expenditure and other appropriations of R3.945.5 million had been deducted, a small operating surplus of R4.1 million would remain.

With this surplus, R70 million would have to be borrowed in 1990/91 for financing capital spending. It would be "irresponsible" to take up that much large loan, Dr de Villiers said.

Alas, the Post Office was competed to continue rationalising the tariff structure gradually to phase in more cost-related tariffs for unpredictable services and phase out cross-subsidising.

### Tariffs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Existing Tariff</th>
<th>New Tariff</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telephone Rental &amp; Installation (Main services)</td>
<td>R15,00</td>
<td>R21,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social pensioners</td>
<td>R25,00</td>
<td>Unchanged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>R140,00</td>
<td>Unchanged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Telephone calls and Telex charges remain the same)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Inland Surface mail</td>
<td>18c</td>
<td>21c</td>
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<tr>
<td>Airmail</td>
<td>18c</td>
<td>21c</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Including postcards &amp; aerograms)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Handling</td>
<td>R3.50</td>
<td>R4.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tariff per word</td>
<td>13c</td>
<td>15c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1kg parcel</td>
<td>R1,90</td>
<td>R2,10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Telephone backlog down by 20% from 120 900 to 96 000</td>
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### Rule is 'best man for the job'

The Department of Posts and Telecommunications had eliminated all racially discriminatory measures, the Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday.

Introducing the Post Office budget for 1990/91, Dr de Villiers said and the Post Office fully subscribed to the principle of equality of labour.

With the scrapping of discriminatory measures, Post Office personnel of all population groups could participate in the processes of adequate postal and telecommunications facilities.

They could also render services to all communities that would form part of the new SA.

The only criteria for the employment of people would be their qualifications, experience, age, language proficiency and personal qualities.

Dr de Villiers said candidates of all population groups competed on an equal footing for positions following the compilation of combined merit lists.

When effecting promotions, however, local circumstances would be taken into account.

All instances pertaining to supervisors had been eliminated, and the phrase of the "best man for the job" was being applied. - DAPA.
General's
presence an
obstruction,
says Worrall

The continued presence of General Magnus Malan as the Minister of Defence could only obstruct the process of justice and he should be suspended from it until the Harms commission of inquiry had completed its work, Dr Denis Worrall (DP Berea) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Introducing a special debate on the SA Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), the party's chief spokesman on Law and Order said the background to the debate was a series of assassinations of prominent political figures, most of the Left, and most recently Dr David Webster and Mr Anton Lubowski.

There had been a failure of police investigations to get results, until a breakthrough by a "courageous police officer", Brigadier Floris Mostert, and his men in Johannesburg, and the revelation of the secret unit, the CCB, within the Defence Department.

Its activities were believed by these police investigators to relate to these assassinations.

Brigadier Mostert had said in an affidavit that members of the CCB were specifically involved in the Webster and Lubowski murders.

The Rand Supreme Court had found that he and his investigators had good cause to arrest and detain those concerned.

Dr Worrall said Brigadier Mostert's statements were not those of "some irresponsible radical", but those of a senior policeman in the course of his duties.

The DP had asked for the debate because it felt a situation in which the police were investigating the army needed to be opened up; it wished to see the principle of civilian control over the military re-established; and it believed an inquiry was in the interests of the country and the Defence Force.

"We believe that the activities which are being investigated betray the loyalties of South African servicemen — past and present."

Dr Worrall said General Malan had said in a press statement on February 19 that he had issued no orders to anyone to commit murder.

The question then arose, Dr Worrall said, what had he in fact authorised?

The public and Parliament wanted to know whether he knew of anything which linked the CCB to the murders of Dr Webster and Mr Lubowski and which could be of assistance to the police in their investigation.

"How deep and how wide it goes we do not know. We believe the Harms inquiry will get to the bottom of it."

Dr Worrall said he wished to pay tribute to the role the press had played in the whole matter.

— Sapa.
Public servants are up in arms

Dismay at politicians' double rise.

Staff Reporter and Political Staff

Public servants are angered by the additional 16 percent increase granted to Members of Parliament.

Dr Colin Cameron, in his most strongly-worded statement in 11 years as a Member of Parliament, said, "This is a slap in the face for all public servants."

The executive of the Public Servants' Association (PSA) was meeting in Pretoria last night to decide on a plan of action regarding the 10 percent increase for civil servants and the "lavish" increases for MPs.

At meetings of public servants in Johannesburg, George and East London, there has been deep dismay that public servants were getting only 10 percent from April 1.

The Government has defended the double pay increase for parliamentarians by saying it is necessary to attract "competent" people into politics.

The double increase will push MPs' salaries from R76 400 to about R94 000 a year and Cabinet Ministers' pay from R158 000 to about R186 000.

The chairman of the Commission for Administration, Dr Piet van der Merwe, has said that many public servants will also get no increases, pushing them under the poverty line.

UK MPs do well on perks

LONDON — British MPs earn £25 700 (about R117 400) a year but can boost that to £100 000 (R440 000) with perks.

They enjoy free first-class travel with British Rail, a generous wage rate, cheap food and drink, poll tax exempions and much more. All these helped Britain's obese recently when British Airways moved to end one of the MPs' favourite perks — being able to fly first class while paying only economy fares.

The free rail travel deal is worth up to £10 000 (R44 000) a year, with wives also allowed free travel. MPs also get a secretarial allowance which many hand over to their wives.

Cabinet Ministers have a basic salary of more than £50 000 (R225 000) and similar perks to the MPs. — London Bureau.
NP wants groups rights - Viljoen

The Population Registration Act in its present form would not survive the negotiation process, Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during debate on a private member's motion, he said groups would have to gain a new status through negotiation, perhaps being released from negative connotations of the past.

Viljoen said the NP had accused the NP of not informing voters properly about its policy, but the NP had in its programme of action for the election clearly stated that the Population Registration Act would have to be drastically adapted. - Sapa.
Politics emerges as big market mover

MANDELA-watching is taking precedence over money supply and other figures in the market as politics emerges as one of the major market movers.

Volatility in the gilts market — a factor in options pricing — has more than doubled to above 9 from 4, reflecting the importance of foreign investors. Overseas buyers who had been bullish on SA’s political situation now hold about R6bn of gilts.

A spin-off of the activity generated by the foreign participation is that the options market has to adjust to a new trading environment. Participants have become wary of writing options and prices have soared.

First National treasurer Ken Russell said: “There was a time when a five-point move in the spot rate was considered fairly excessive. These days, a 25-point move either way is nothing out of the ordinary.”

Trying to predict movements of gilts rates on the basis of SA economic fundamentals was a futile exercise, as political perceptions of foreigners had become a vital element. “If foreigners start getting out, we’ve got trouble.”

The financial rand market has calmed down. “The realisation has taken hold that a new government will not nationalise everything in sight,” Russell said.

However, the market is discounting a new economic order in SA with more emphasis on state control and less on free markets. With the violent swings over, the investment currency has lost about 3% in the past week. It closed at R3.59 yesterday, mainly on creation of financial rands in London as foreigners sell SA equities. They have largely retreated from gilts.

Standard Merchant Bank treasurer Chris Kenny said that the finrand no longer feared nationalisation but there was a belief that “some kind of redistribution of wealth” would take place.

The fundamentals that should determine the finrand’s level, such as equity sentiment, had become important again. Quite apart from politics, Kenny said, a view that SA golds had been over-priced in terms of the gold price could also account for the generation of finrands in London.

The commercial rand has so far seen only positive spin-offs from political developments. Dollars continue to flow into the market in the form of foreign trade finance. Yesterday the rand hardly weakened against the dollar, in spite of the twin bearish factors of the US currency’s strength on foreign markets and gold’s weakness. It closed marginally weaker at R2.5450 from Friday’s R2.5410 and gained on the crosses.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS SET TO BEGIN SELLING THE WORLD A NEW SA

CAPE TOWN — The Department of Foreign Affairs is to launch a major diplomatic offensive overseas to sell the "new SA".

Heads of SA missions from around the world are in Cape Town for a week's orientation on the latest developments in the country and are to be addressed by a variety of speakers, including President F W de Klerk.

Opening the conference yesterday, Foreign Minister Pik Botha praised ANC leader Nelson Mandela for his appeal to the warring factions in Natal to throw their weapons in the sea.

Now SA's diplomatic corps would be faced with spreading the message of the new SA to see that foreign resentment and mistrust of SA was also thrown in the sea, Botha said.

"We stand before one of the greatest opportunities in our history," he said.

"We have been experts in crisis management in the past. Are we going to be experts in managing success and opportunity too?"

He said it was good for SA's diplomats to come back to the country at this time to see "if they can swim in the new pool."

There would have to be freedom of association without one group being dominated by another, he said.

"The process of give and take has already begun. The new SA must be built on this basis," Botha said.

The Department of Foreign Affairs role would now be to inform the world of the new SA, to put the policies of all parties honestly and to carry the message to governments, opinion-formers and key figures abroad.

It was reported yesterday the diplomats would be briefed this week on local developments by personalities as diverse as De Klerk, former England, Manchester United and Kaiser Chiefs goalkeeper Gary Bailey and Sowetan editor Agrey Klasa.

The visit would also be lectured by former colleague Denis Worrall, who was SA Ambassador to London before quitting in 1987 to fight the NP in the election.

One of the more curious items on the briefing programme is a talk by parliamentary party Solidarity leader J N Reddy on the role of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu on the politics of negotiation in Natal.
Fuchs queries assault verdict

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Hillbrow MP Mr Lester Fuchs has asked a series of probing questions in Parliament about the court case in which a Piet Retief farmer was given a R100 fine for assaulting a crippled labourer who later died.

Mr Fuchs said yesterday that the Democratic Party was shocked by the death of partly paralysed farm labourer Mr Ekathi Xaba, who died after being beaten by his employer, Mr Wilhelm Rabe of Piet Retief.

Mr Rabe was fined in the Piet Retief Regional Court on February 12 this year.

Mr Fuchs said: "The tragic death of Mr Xaba and the circumstances which surround the assault on him by his employer raise certain questions:

1. "Why were witnesses who were present at the time of the vicious assault not called to testify on behalf of the State?
2. "Why did the court find that there was no link between the assault on Mr Xaba and the cause of death?
3. "Why was Mr Rabe, who was convicted of assault, fined only R100?"
Government ‘sympathetic’ to idea

Entire cities could become free areas

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government was sympathetic to proclaiming entire cities as integrated free settlement areas, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hernus Kriel indicated in the Assembly yesterday.

The Government was also investigating the possibility of integrating single local authorities in such areas.

Mr Kriel was replying to questions from Mr Tony Leon, (DP, Houghton) during a mini-debate on free settlements.

Mr Leon said there seemed to be confusion and differences of opinion in the NP on its free settlement policy.

He attacked the proposal to declare free settlement areas in several Johannesburg northern suburbs including half of Houghton.

This proposal completely ignored any community interests since it “sliced out half an island of integration (half of Houghton) in a sea of segregated northern suburbs.”

“It is a reckless experiment which will be consigned to long-term oblivion but could produce drastic short-term consequences,” said Mr Leon.

Evidence so far suggested that isolated free settlement areas could become constant ghettos — “a rigid experiment doomed to failure because it violates the basic law of supply and demand”.

Mr Leon added that the present legislation provided for management committees to run free settlement areas.

These would be inferior “toothless bodies” similar to existing coloured and Indian management committees.

Mr Kriel said there was nothing in the Free Settlement Areas Act to stop anyone applying for entire cities to become free settlement areas.

The Free Settlement Areas Board would consider such an application in the light of all the relevant socio-economic concerns. The Government would “seriously consider” any board recommendation, “in the interests of the community”.

Pressed for a definite answer, Mr Kriel said he was “sympathetic” to whole-city free settlement areas.

Mr Kriel said the Government was also looking into the possibility of a non-racial franchise for electing single integrated local authorities in free settlement areas.
Nama protesters march to Parliament over Bill

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — A 20-strong delegation of Namaqualand residents marched to Parliament yesterday to present their objections to the Mier Rural Area Bill, now before the House of Representatives, and to present a memorandum calling for its withdrawal.

Namaqualand Residents Association chairman Mr Paul Cloete and two members of the delegation, accompanied by their attorney, were allowed into Parliament after waiting outside the entrance gates in Parliament Street for about 30 minutes.

There was a strong police presence, including a large riot-control van.

BIRTHRIGHT

At a press conference at St George's Cathedral hall before the march, Steinkopf resident Mr Cloete and other northern Cape speakers explained why they rejected the Bill, which aims to end trusteeship of the land and pave the way for private ownership of the area.

Mier, also known as Rietfontein, is a "coloured reserve" in the Gordania district, just below the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park. It is the second biggest of 23 such reserves and has a population of about 5,000.

Mr Cloete said the Bill threatened to deprive all residents of their birthright to land which had been in the community for generations.

Although their rights were affected, residents had not been consulted. The Bill legalised the sale of farming units and "the alienation of our inheritance".

"We view the Bill as a dangerous epidemic that threatens the rights of residents in all our rural reserves," he said.

If approved, the Bill would end the trusteeship of the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture in the House of Representatives over most of Mier and allow private ownership of "our inheritance and birthright".

GUINEA PIG

"It appears to us that the relevant Minister is using Mier as a guinea pig to alienate trust land into private ownership without first considering that a future constitution for a new democratic South Africa is about to be negotiated," Mr Cloete said.
Open cities needed — DP

Free areas plans are opposed

By Louise Burgers, Municipal Reporter

The Johannesburg City Council will oppose the proposed declaration of 13 eastern suburbs as free settlement areas. This follows the acceptance last night of a Democratic Party motion.

The DP motion that the council record its opposition to the latest Free Settlement Board investigation was supported by the Conservative Party, the three independent councillors.

The chairman of the Free Settlement Board, Mr Hein Kruger, last week announced an inquiry into the areas of Bellevue, Yeoville, Berea, Doornfontein, New Doornfontein, Judith's Paarl, Lorentzville, Bertrams, portions surrounding Joubert Park and a portion of Houghton Estate.

Verbal vote

The DP leader in the council, Mr Jan Davidson, believes there were NP councillors in favour of his party’s motion.

After the verbal vote, the chairman of the council, Mr Jan van Blerk, moved that the “ayes” had won.

“I think he moved to prevent a division of the vote. If there had been a tally, the Nats would have been severely embarrassed,” said Mr Davidson.

“This is a major triumph for the DP.

“We actually managed to persuade the council that opening up parts of Johannesburg is not the way.”

The management committee is now obliged to submit the DP resolution on behalf of the whole council in representation to the Free Settlement Board.

During the debate on the motion, the chairman of the management committee, Mr Jan Burger, said free settlement areas could solve many problems and legalise the present situation.

He added that the country could not “stand still” while the negotiation process was under way.

In introducing his motion, Mr Davidson asked how areas such as Hillbrow, Parktown, Braamfontein and the Central Business District, all multiracial and represented by NP councillors, were excluded from the proposal.

“The areas subject to this experiment will create major problems, and the boundaries that have been chosen are to circumvent political tension.

“We need an “open cities” Act. They must call a moratorium on free settlement investigations.”

The leader of the CP, Mr Jacques Theron, said his party supported the motion because of its stance on group rights.

Racial conflict

The NP was forcing racial conflict by declaring white areas open to other races, he said.

DP councillor Mr Sias Reynek accused the NP of keeping the Free Settlement Board investigation secret.

“This management committee knew about these proposals on February 16.

“They had the moral obligation to tell the voters affected by the investigation.”
A-G gets dossier on Mandela and Sisulu

28/4/90 Parliamentary Staff

CAPE TOWN — Charges of high treason laid against Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng by the Conservative Party have been investigated by police and a dossier has been submitted to the Attorney-General.

This emerged in an interpellation debate yesterday on a question put by CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok. The Democratic Party appealed for a more sensitive approach.

Mr de Jager, who said he was astonished that action had not been taken earlier against the two ANC leaders and Mr Mothopeng over their repeated, public statements supporting the armed struggle, asked Mr Vlok if criminal proceedings were being instituted. It was a “serious issue”, he said.

Mr Vlok said it was up to the Attorney-General whether the matter went to court or not.

Dr Denis Worrall, DP co-leader, appealed for a more sensitive approach, citing Afrikaner heroes to illustrate his argument.

South Africa’s history was rich with “treasonable” actions. “One thinks of Slagersnek, of Koos de la Rey, of Christiaan de Wet, of Jopie Fourie … all persons, who on the grounds of idealism … rebelled against the State.”

He added: “If this is true of a De la Rey and a De Wet, then it is also true of a Mandela, Sisulu and Biko, a Turner and a Lubowski.”

New drought relief scheme

CAPE TOWN — The House of Assembly administration hoped to announce a drought relief plan which would benefit farmers who worked to conserve their farms rather than those who exploited their land and then looked to the State to take over the risk in the bad years. This was said by Agricultural Development Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk in the debate on the Additional Appropriation Bill. — Sapa.
The Right Recipe - To Ever-Smaller Lager

FRI. 11/14/09 3:00PM

How to Make a Better Lager

BY MICHAEL PETERSON

Lager is a beer that's been around for centuries and has become a staple in many beer drinkers' diets. It's a beer that's simple to make, but can be challenging to perfect. The key to making a great lager is understanding the process and finding the right ingredients.

First, start by choosing the right malt. Pilsner malt is the most common malt used in lagers, but you can also experiment with other malts to get different flavors. The key is to get the right balance of roasted and sweet flavors.

Next, the yeast is important. A lager yeast will ferment at a slower and cooler temperature than a ale yeast, which is why lagers tend to have a more subdued flavor.

Finally, the fermentation process is crucial. A lager needs to be fermented at a lower temperature for a longer period of time, which allows the yeast to produce a clean, crisp flavor.

With these steps, you can make a great lager that will be a favorite among beer lovers.
WASHINGTON: A 10-man delegation from the US House of Representatives is to travel to South Africa today to assess recent changes in the country and meet with various leaders. House of Representatives Speaker Mr Tom Foley announced on Monday the team would be led by Congressman William Gray, the most senior black in the US Congress. Mr Gray piloted the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA), which imposed a series of economic sanctions on South Africa, through the House of Representatives in 1986.

The delegation is scheduled to be in South Africa until March 6. In that time it will meet with President FW de Klerk, representatives of the ANC (it could not be established yesterday whether Mr Nelson Mandela would be available), the US law-making and whether he would be travelling outside South Africa during their visit), officials of the UDF and labour and religious leaders, including Archbishop Desemnd Tutu.

In addition to Mr Gray, the delegation is to include Mr Howard Wolpe (who visited South Africa last month), Mr Dean Gallo (Republican from New Jersey), Mr Steny Hoyer (Democrat from Maryland), Mr Ron Dellums (Democrat from California and chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus), Mr Steven Solarz (Democrat from New York), Mr Mike Andrews (Democrat from Texas), Mr Beverly Byron (Democrat from Maryland) and Mr Jim McCrory (Republican from Louisiana).

Mr Solarz visited South Africa several years ago, when he likened his meeting and discussion with the then State President Mr FW. Botha, as similar to taking a cold shower.

The delegation is weighted in favour of representatives who advocate a hardline on South Africa.
Treason charges dossier handed to A-G

Yesterday on a question by the CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager, to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The Democratic Party appealed for a more sensitive approach.

Mr De Jager, who said he was astonished that action had not been taken earlier against the two ANC leaders and Mr Mothopeng over their repeated, public statements supporting the armed struggle, asked Mr Vlok if criminal proceedings were being instituted. It was a “serious issue”, he said.

Mr Vlok, who confirmed that the charge was laid on February 12, said the dossier was forwarded by police to the Attorney-General on February 22. “It was up to him to decide whether the matter went to court or not.”