S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1991

JULY.
ANC and government work together to shape foreign policy

Zimbabwe maintains a 15-man diplomatic mission in Johannesburg to oil the wheels of its reuniting trade with South Africa.

Torpedoed
Diplomatic sources said the structure of the EPG Mark II delegation under Chief Anyakoza had already been agreed. So, too, had the topics the delegation would discuss at a closed conference before going on to Harare to report to the heads of government. The South African government is keen for the EPG Mark II to see the changes that have occurred since the first disastrous EPG under Nigeria's General Oloesungun Obasanjo in early 1986. On that occasion the EPG Mark I was edging closer to an agreement under which the ANC would suspend armed struggle in return for Pretoria releasing Nelson Mandela from prison and opening negotiations.

The EPG mission was deliberately torpedoed by Pretoria’s hawks when the South African army launched raids into three neighbouring states.

The government’s attitude towards the Commonwealth has changed completely since President F W de Klerk came to power. Both the government and the ANC agree that South Africa should rejoin the Commonwealth: the late Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd led the country out of the Commonwealth after the March 1961 London summit at which his apartheid policies were severely criticised.

ANC adamant
The South African government believes that Commonwealth civil servants have become more professional and realistic in the late Eighties and that the organisation can play an important role in smoothing the re-entry of South Africa into other international organisations.

For that reason the government would be happy to resume Commonwealth membership before South Africa’s new democratic constitution is in place; but the ANC is adamant that the country should rejoin only after the first one-person-one-vote election some time in late 1994 or early 1995.

The ANC is keen for South Africa to join the Commonwealth. During its long years in exile it received important support from many Commonwealth countries, and top officials such as Thabo Mbeki, director of international affairs, and Pallo Jordan, director of information, maintained good relations with Commonwealth counterparts.

For its part the government feels the Commonwealth has undergone an important and positive transformation - dramatically, largely because of the issue of South Africa.

Because it had dominated summits for the past 20 years and threatened to break up the Commonwealth, key actors decided that the organisation must “grow up” and get involved with a host of other important world issues, such as global security and human rights other than those pertaining in South Africa.

Pretoria feels that the new breed of Commonwealth technocrats can play a particularly important role in qualifying an EC-type Southern African Economic Community, to the benefit of everyone in the region.

In their extraordinary secret negotiations on foreign policy the government and the ANC have agreed that South Africa has a moral responsibility to play a vital role in the reconstruction and development of the embattled or run-down economies of the region.

Watershed
Now that South African foreign policy is no longer exclusively in the hands of the government the Commonwealth seems likely to succumb to temptation and act as facilitator.

Diplomatic sources said the EPG Mark II visit could turn out to be the watershed in the whole South African reform process. An endorsement of that process could give momentum to the constitutional talks, which are likely to be under way by the time the Commonwealth leaders meet.

Most other South African parties, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Democratic Party and the Black Consciousness Movement, support a return to the Commonwealth.

Only the Afrikaner for right wing is opposed. It sees it as a British plot, a continuation of the Boer War objectives of subjugating the Dutch-speaking Afrikaners. A recent commentary in Die Afrikaner, the voice of the right wing Conservative Party, said last month’s visit to South Africa by Mrs Thatcher was a “spit in the face of the Afrikaner nation...as if South Africa is a British colony”.

Die Afrikaner added: “Britain’s objective is most probably to have southern Africa in the British sphere of influence, and for South Africa is the most important ingredient.”

Thatcher’s motivation was not primarily a love for the black and the communist, but a British obsession to remove Afrikaner nationalism from South African politics - the old Milner-Rhodes-Chamberlain politics which never succeeded.” - Sunday Telegraph
Opportunities Facing South Africa

By M. J. Marais, says Mabo.
Kaunda hails courage of De Klerk

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday hailed President de Klerk as the first Afrikaner leader with courage and commitment to the cause of justice.

Dr Kaunda, opening the Zambia International Trade Fair in the northern copperbelt town of Ndola, said Mr de Klerk was an important leader not for his country alone but for the whole of the African continent.

Since coming to power in 1989, Mr de Klerk has pressed ahead with bold reforms to forge a democratic society.

“He is the first Afrikaner leader with the courage and deep commitment to the cause of justice and fair play,” said Dr Kaunda, who has campaigned vigorously against apartheid for decades.

“This is a dawn that promises not only freedom of choice in the political field, but freedom in economic action across the whole region.” — Sapa.
Small men hold the big key

AT THE dawn of a post-apartheid era, the main debate now centres on what kind of political model looks best suited to the new South Africa — and which economic route to follow.

On one side stand the champions of a market economy approach, with an emphasis on free enterprise, individual initiative, entrepreneurship and efficiency.

On the opposite side stand the supporters of a command economy approach, with a commitment to egalitarianism, welfare services and social security based on Government intervention and control.

There are also many combinations and permutations between the two extremes of the sort of fully democratic system practised in Switzerland and the totalitarian dictatorships that ruled much of Eastern Europe until the recent collapse of several communist regimes.

One major problem is the way the current debate is bedevilled by a lack of consensus on the precise meaning of key terms in the political lexicon.

For one person, "profit" means a reward for effective economic action; for many others it carries connotations of exploitation or privilege.

For some, "socialism" means solutions to end poverty; for others it raises the spectre of a failing and declining economy and widespread misery.

The irony of the situation is that the protagonists of socialism hold that central planning is necessary to achieve a better deal for the masses.

This is due to the fallacy of identifying the ideology of "separate development" with the economic system of "capitalism" in the minds of people in the large Third World periphery.

The majority of voters in the new South Africa are not likely to be easily persuaded that central planning and totalitarian government — albeit "democratic centralism" — are inherently hostile to the spiritual and material welfare of the man in the street.

Hence we must expect a battle for the minds of people between the forces of individual freedom and enterprise on one hand and supporters of socialist central economic planning on the other.

We at the Small Business Development Corporation believe that the natural mediators between these conflicting views are South Africa's entrepreneurs.

Men and women who are engaged in the small business sector of the economy tend to be true free marketers, though few would actually give themselves that label.

It is largely only the entrepreneurs, with positive hands-on experience of a free market at work, who can act as a bridge between those South Africans who think they do not really see eye-to-eye.

And it is only here that emotional issues do not cloud concepts by attaching moral values to them. For your average entrepreneur, the critical question is not whether a concept is ideologically acceptable, but whether and how it works in practice.

Without job-creation and economic growth, our society will be condemned to impoverishment. Basic needs such as housing and better education and health services will fade out of reach.

Like most countries in today's world we are likely to continue running a mixed economy that combines free market features and some government intervention. But sharp questions will have to be asked about the nature of the mix — and the direction of the tilt.

In the final analysis it should be made clear that our hopes for the future do not lie in simplistic ideological rhetoric. They lie in a refocusing on the true nature of development at the grassroots level in towns, cities and regions.

Real economic development is a do-it-yourself process that can at best only be reinforced by sound economic policies.

It boils down to the rediscovery of the enterprising individual who creates job opportunities, who takes risks, who breaks new ground and who plays an innovative role in the economic life of a country.

The way to build a happy and prosperous nation does not lie in centralised bureaucratic planning and control but in unleashing the creative potential of the entire population.

The media in South Africa has a crucial role to play to ensure that the debate on our future political-economic order is an informed debate and that all the relevant facts and arguments are made known.
Settlers 'betrayed'

THE EXECUTIVE committee of an organisation claiming to have representation in the Netherlands, Belgium and South Africa yesterday condemned the scrapping of apartheid legislation.

The Dieta Federation said it was treason against the Afrikaner and immigrants who had come in good faith to South Africa.

The Federation said that when immigrants came to South Africa they had been informed of apartheid and its advantages.

"The families who came on the immigrant ships, believing they would be safe, never dreamed that their children and grandchildren would sit in mixed schools or that they would have to arm their houses like forts as a result of the chaos from the scrapping of apartheid legislation."

The organisation said these people had accepted South African citizenship and shared the dangers of the "born Afrikaner". - Supa
New British envoy takes up SA post

BRITISH ambassador to SA Anthony Reeve arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday to replace Sir Robin Renwick, who has been appointed ambassador to the US.

Reeve was tight-lipped about his new job and only told reporters at the airport that he was "very glad to be here and looking forward to the job".

He has visited SA several times before and was head of the SA Affairs Department of the British Foreign Office from 1984 to 1986.

As ambassador to Jordan during the recent Gulf War Reeve found himself at loggerheads with the local media as King Hussein's ostensibly neutral regime adopted a pro-Iraqi stance.

British newspapers reported that he had to tighten security around his residence in Amman.

An Oxford graduate, Reeve has served in Beirut, Cairo and Abu Dhabi and speaks fluent Arabic.

He said in an earlier interview that he planned to learn Afrikaans when he arrived in SA.
DURBAN — Mauritius is unlikely to establish full diplomatic links with South Africa unless there is a democratically elected government in power, according to the secretary-general of the island’s Labour Party, Kailash Purryag.

Mr Purryag, who arrived in Durban yesterday, served as Minister of Social Security and then of Health. He is in Durban to attend the African National Congress conference.

He said that while Mauritius had business and other links with South Africa, the idea of full diplomatic relations was not part of the island’s approach in its contribution in helping to remove all apartheid.

“Neither the present Mauritius government nor a Labour Party future administration can be seen to have official diplomatic relations when apartheid is still alive,” said Mr Purryag.

He said that his party would be contesting all 62 seats in the election which was expected to be held shortly. At present Labour is the Opposition in Mauritius.
‘Survey is bad news’

LEN from Soweto said the NP would come first because it has proved to a lot of former ANC supporters that it has control.

He said the ANC blames the NP for a lot of things that it itself cannot control, like violence.

Peter, a staunch ANC supporter from Carltonville, said the ANC would win and to him it was immaterial who came second.

SURVEY results showing the National Party would be the official opposition after a one man, one vote election means that liberation movements should get their act together, said callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback show.

Lucky from Dube said the results show that blacks have a short memory if they could vote for the party that caused years of repression and subjugation.

He said it is sad that affluent blacks are associating themselves more and more with the NP.

However, other callers felt that the survey did not reflect the truth, as the NP would remain in power.

Rodney from Johannesburg said the NP had improved its image a lot since the survey was conducted and only the youth, most of them not eligible to vote, are supporters of the ANC.
ANC, Govt in fresh row

A FRESH row between the Government and the ANC overshadowed yesterday’s opening of the ANC’s first legal conference in South Africa in 30 years.

As 2 000 ANC delegates gathered for the conference, President FW de Klerk announced on Monday that his Government and Mr Nelson Mandela’s ANC had agreed there were no more political prisoners in South Africa.

The presidential statement was swiftly denounced by the ANC.

“This is absolute twaddle,” ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said. “There has been no such agreement. Somebody is playing propaganda games. We don’t know why.”

The row focused on a long festering dispute between the ANC, the country’s biggest black grouping, and the Government.

Prisoners

The Government says it has released all political prisoners - a key condition for the lifting of US sanctions - while the ANC says more than 900 are still in jail.

ANC displeasure with the pace of Government action in freeing political prisoners, as well as what it calls the Government’s failure to halt black township violence, has stalled black-white power-sharing talks.

Conference organisers said the ANC was looking ahead to forming the country’s first non-racial government after elections due in 1994.

“We are here to prepare the machinery to be the next government,” said Natal ANC leader Mr Manto Tshabalala.

“We are hoping to come out with a clear programme for majority rule.”

Political analysts say the conference will seek ways of recapturing the initiative from De Klerk. - Sapa-Reuter
ANC would win an election, says poll
Mandela calls for full talks to start soon

DURBAN — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday steered the organisation’s 48th national conference towards an urgent resumption of the negotiating process.

In his opening address, delivered jointly with Oliver Tambo, he urged delegates to prepare for the next stage in the process — a multiparty congress — “sooner rather than later”.

Mandela said those responsible for the violence that had delayed the talks “should not be allowed to succeed in their intention of slowing down the process”.

In a brief and ambiguous reference to sanctions, Mandela charged the conference with the responsibility of finding ways to arrest the erosion of international economic pressures.

Indications from other top ANC officials suggest the ANC leadership believes this would be best achieved by adopting a policy in support of the phasing out of sanctions as various stages of progress are reached.

Mandela said the ANC did not wish to “lose this weapon, which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted”.

Meanwhile, Mandela said the first principal step towards a parliamentary election was the complete removal of obstacles to negotiations including the ending of a “campaign of terror against the people”.

In reference to another perceived obstacle, he denied reports of a final agreement between the ANC and government on the release of political prisoners.

He said a heavy responsibility rested on the ruling NP to “demonstrate that it is, in practical terms, as committed to change as its statements suggest. This it cannot do by engaging in manoeuvres designed to discredit the process of negotiations”.

“Neither can it expect that we accept its good faith when it sits paralysed as the security forces control themselves engage in violence against people (and) permit such violence to occur.”

However, Mandela said the ANC must “push the process forward leading to the transfer of power” and the organisation should prepare for participation in an all-party congress “with some urgency”.

Mandela said that a crucial part of the all-party congress’s work would be the creation of an interim government.

“The importance of the matter cannot be over-emphasised. (It will) have to be constituted in such a manner that it is broadly acceptable to the various political formations in our country. To that extent, it will take on the character of a transitional government of national unity.”

He reiterated the ANC’s demand that a new constitution should be drafted by an elected constituent assembly and warned that this would not be achieved solely through negotiations. In order to force government to accept this demand the ANC would have to mobilise mass support.

He rejected government’s contention that mass mobilisation was an obstacle to negotiations but said the ANC had a duty to entrenched a culture of political tolerance.

“It is absolutely impermissible for any one of us to use force against the people. As we continue to engage in mass struggles we must ensure that people join these struggles as a result of conviction and not because of intimidation.”

Mandela attacked the NP saying “it has never been on the agenda of the party to enter into negotiations with anybody other than those whom it had itself placed in supposed positions of power”.

There are people within state structures who remain opposed to the transformation of the country and who did not like the fact that agreement was reached to release all political prisoners and detainees, to allow the free return of exiles, the termination of political trials and a review of security legislation, he said.
NP candidate ousts CP man after 3 years

POTCHEFSTROOM.—A National Party candidate in a Potchefstroom municipal by-election has won a seat held by the Conservative Party since 1958.

Dr Willie Victor, a local dentist, won Ward 7 in Potchefstroom by 429 votes against Mr Fred Pelsie. The figures were 779 votes to 359 votes.

The swing to the NP from the CP was 18.4%, enough in a general election to remove most of the Conservative Party MPs if repeated nationally.

The NP’s victory means it can now, with the votes of the Potchefstroom municipality, reclaim the Transvaal Municipal Association and the local Western Transvaal Regional Services Council from the CP. — Sapa
Govt is keen on ANC debate

THE South African Government was following the proceedings and statements of the ANC closely and with interest, a senior spokesman said yesterday.

He said the Government welcomed the ANC conference as it was important that the ANC should have the opportunity to discuss its policies, positions and leadership issues.

Until this happened, the ANC would not be able to move forward into proper negotiations.

"The Government is watching developments with intense interest, taking note of the statements and positions during the conference."

Government officials had studied the opening statements by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela with great care.

The Government was reluctant to comment on everything that came out of the conference as it did not want to be seen to be interfering.
CRITICS of apartheid who dismissed changes in the country as insignificant denied the achievement of ordinary blacks who non-violently caused racist laws to crumble. In the second edition of *South Africa Silent Revolution* Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, argues that ordinary people, rather than political organisations, sanctions or State President FW de Klerk, contributed more to the scrapping of racist laws.

The *Sowetan* Nation Building programme was a revolt against the myth of black helplessness, against what amounted to a view that the only good black was a powerless black - exploited and exiled and dependent on foreign funding, Kane-Berman said.

The late Mr Sam Mabe, who was Assistant Editor of *Sowetan*, was quoted as saying: "I am sick and tired of people using apartheid as an excuse for not doing anything for themselves."

Kane-Berman said apartheid legislation was scrapped when the Government realised the laws were not enforceable.
Getting down to an all-party conference
ANC flexible on interim government

DURBAN. — Hints that the ANC would be prepared to adopt a more flexible approach in its demand for an interim government to run the country during negotiations were given here by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani.

Mr Hani, often considered a hawk by the white establishment, yesterday rejected a rigid approach to negotiations, and expressed a preparedness to consider other proposals offered at the negotiation table.

Asked at a Press briefing whether he considered an interim government "an absolute non-negotiable", he replied: "I would prefer not to use the word 'absolute'. "We should never absolutise anything."

"The interim government is the position of the ANC and it wants to discuss that with other parties. We will go to the negotiation table with that position, but we will listen to other positions put by the government, the PAC, Inkatha and the homelands."

While the ANC believed an interim government offered an important solution to the problems of handling the transition to a new order, he added: "We want to know from other interested parties how they hope to handle the process of transition, and in that process of talks, something that might not be quite what the ANC proposes might emerge.

"You never know what will emerge. You never close your ears to other suggestions.

"The ANC is not going to prescribe to other groups. We will keep an open mind and listen to the reasonable arguments of other groups."

He said he fully endorsed the ANC's commitment to negotiations and was not merely "paying lip service" to it.

Mr Hani acknowledged that his frankness might not always be popular.
WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman

WANTED: STRENGTH, not oppression

HAT this country really needs is a strong state.
Before fun mail from secrorcrats and Stalinists begins pouring in, an explanation is needed.

A strong state is not one which uses large doses of force to keep its citizens in check. Those states are weak, since force — and constant control over citizens’ lives — is the only means they have to stay in power.

And, since they use up most of their resources and the country’s simply on staying in power, sooner or later the costs become too high and the system begins to crumble.

A strong state is one which maintains order with a minimum of force.

It can do that only if it wins the consent of its citizens. That means it must enjoy legitimacy; citizens must believe that the state is entitled to make rules and they must see it as a guarantee of their rights.

One reason our attempted journey to democracy is proving so difficult is that our state is weak.

This wasn’t that obvious when its chief goal was to ensure that things stayed the same. All it needed was enough force to stop its opponents overthrowing it and it had that.

But the costs of staying the same became too high and the government’s task is now to ensure that things change.

The force needed to stop change is very different to the strength needed to ensure order by winning the support of those who have been excluded.

Despite the state’s arsenal, it doesn’t seem to have shown township residents tired of conflict that it can protect them rather than add to their problems.

Nor has it been able to win support by getting schooling or housing to those who need them — many of whom might support a state which did that, regardless of what it did in the past.

Its weakness may stem partly from a failure to win active support for change from its own police or civil servants. But it may stem also from its view of what strong government is all about.

The government knows it lacks legitimacy; most of the things it has done since last February aim to correct that.

But it still believes it can win it by controlling as much of the change process as it can: whether the issue is the release of prisoners or land reform, it still seems eager to show that it can decide what will change and what will not.

The press and some commentators seem to agree that this shows strength. As the African National Congress met this week, it was again reminded that the government had “outmanoeuvred” it by introducing changes largely on its own terms.

That is half true. But order is still not maintained, the schools crisis continues, rent boycotts have still not been settled.

And, while our rulers may have pleased foreign governments and sport chiefs, they have not won support from the 80 percent of the people whose consent is needed if we are to have a strong state.

Until they do, the government will remain weak, no matter whom it “outmanoeuvres”.

A more realistic test of government strength may be whether it has won back constituencies to its brand of negotiated change.

That means asking how many settlements it has negotiated which make stable change more likely, not how many decisions it has taken on its own.

The government will remain weak until it finds partners who can offer stability in exchange for a share in decisions — no matter how many “victories” it wins.

But its weakness is not necessarily a source of strength for its opponents — or the country.

While the government may be too weak to change things on its own, it still commands enough force to stop its opponents doing that. So at best, its weakness is a recipe for stalemate and decline — and worst, for a return to rule by force.

Part of the problem is that its opponents are also weak. They, too, can stop the government doing things, but may be unable to show strength on their own. The type of “strength” needed to mobilise protest or to deny the government legitimacy is not the same as that needed to win active support.

To do that, resistance movements may need to show that they can wield power in ways which offer improvements to their constituency.

If the government will stay weak until it negotiates solutions with its opponents, so will resistance movements. The sooner both accept that, the more
The ‘Crash’ and the ‘Coalition’

Gold

South Africa’s major export commodity, gold, suffered a setback. All capitalist countries decided to abandon the gold standard, which meant that their currencies would no longer be backed by gold. South Africa was pressed to financially abandon the full gold standard as well. A strong call to abandon the gold standard came from a former Nationalist Member of Parliament, Mr Tielman Roos. In 1932, Roos stated that the abandonment of the gold standard would prevent a lot of money from leaving the country. He also proposed a coalition between the NP and the SAP, but he wanted to lead this coalition government himself. In December 1932, CN Havenga, the Minister of Finance, announced that South Africa would abandon the full gold standard and a slow economic recovery resulted.

In March 1933, JBM Hertzog became leader of the United Party, and JC Smuts became his deputy. Roos was left in the political wilderness.

Basis of the coalition

The seven-point programme will be outlined briefly:
- SA would maintain its independence
- The present flag would be kept
- Equal language rights for English and Afrikaans-speaking people
- A “white civilised labour policy” to reserve certain job categories for whites only
- Political integration
- Safeguarding of South Africa’s economy
- Industrial development

In the 1934 racist election, the Coalition United Party won 136 out of 150 seats, proving that the white electorate supported this move. Many key Afrikaners broke away from the National Party and formed the “Purified” National Party, Colonel JF Steadward and some English-speaking South Africans opposed Hertzog’s anti-imperialist views and so broke away from the South African Party to form the Dominion Party.

For the oppressed black people of South Africa, problems during the post-depression years revolved around mere survival. The majority of black South Africans still lived in rural areas. The focus for the oppressed was on survival and the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter.

The ANC at this time was largely decentralized and there were merely calls upon the government to organize a conference to discuss segregation. However in 1937, 25 years after the birth of the ANC, moves were made to rebuild the organization and commitmen to the struggle for liberation.

World War Two (1939–1945)

The coalition government only lasted five years. The split came over the issue of participation in the Second World War (1939–1945). Hertzog and Smuts differed on their support for Britain in the war. Hertzog believed that South Africa should remain neutral but not automatically support Britain in the war. On the other hand, Smuts felt that South Africa was a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and should therefore support Britain fully.

When the Germans under the leadership of Hitler invaded Poland on 1 September 1939, South Africa had to make its decision. Members of Parliament were asked to vote on the issue and Smuts gained 80 votes and Hertzog 67 votes. As Prime Minister, Hertzog asked the Governor-General to dissolve parliament and call an election. The Governor-General Patrick Duncan accepted his resignation and asked Jan Smuts to form a new government. The coalition had ended.

On 6 September 1939, South Africa entered the war on the side of Britain. The Smuts government called for volunteers to join the Defence Force and soldiers were sent to fight in East and North Africa, Madagascar and Italy.

Internal matters were neglected as international politics became the focus of attention.

Next week we shall focus on events which led to the victory of the National Party in the 1948 election.

Try this exercise!

Refer to the cartoon and answer the questions which follow:

1. Identify 1, 2, 3 and 4.
2. Which political party was formed when it broke away from the National Party in 1934?
3. Which political party was formed when members broke away from the South African Party in 1934?
4. Why was a coalition government formed?
5. Why is figure 1 represented as larger than figure 2?
6. Why are figures 3 and 4 represented as being small?

Answers

1. (1) JBM Hertzog
   (2) JC Smuts
   (3) DF Malan
   (4) Colonel Steadward

2. Purified National Party
3. Dominion Party
4. To help South Africa survive the depression period and revive the economy
5. JBM Hertzog was Prime Minister of the coalition government and Smuts was his deputy.
6. Malan and Steadward did not have much support amongst the white electorate in 1934.
Inkatha-NP coalition
‘a threat to stability’

CAPE TOWN — The prospects for future stability in SA would be dealt a fatal blow if a National Party-Inkatha coalition were to win the next election, international authority on SA politics Heribert Adam said yesterday.

Adam, sociology professor at the Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, said legacies of apartheid such as violence, crime and poverty, could be tackled only by a government regarded as legitimate by the majority of South Africans.

“In order to legitimise a new political order it is necessary that the opposition (the ANC) is victorious in the next election. The old forces can return in the next round once the norms of changing government have been established,” Adam told members of the UCT Graduate School of Business Association yesterday.

It was possible that the NP and a conservative black alliance could win the election but this would lead to accusations of rigging and would result in mistrust.

A more favourable outcome would be a government dominated by the ANC under moderate leadership, with limited participation by the NP, Adam said.

But the ANC had internal divisions which threatened to split the movement and derail negotiations if they emerged before rather than after a political settlement.

The ANC was divided into three camps: the militant youth, which wanted a resumption of the armed struggle, the transfer strategists, including hardcore Stalinists who saw negotiations simply as a means to a transfer of power, and the stalemate proponents, including moderates who were genuinely interested in a negotiated multiparty democracy, he said.

These divisions were reflected in different attitudes towards the role of proposed self-defence units in the townships. The militant youth wanted local mafia and warlords to protect township dwellers, the SACP wanted structures to discipline and indoctrinate the youth, while the moderates wanted the equivalent of neighbourhood watches to pacify people.

ANC leaders were using "war talk" to keep the movement together, Adam said. This could become counterproductive if it raised expectations which were dampened by compromise in negotiations, he added.
CP congress on aid to whites

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party is to convene a congress to co-ordinate action for emergency economic assistance to unemployed whites. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

“This is clearly the time for a new assistance organisation that will include a mechanism for job creation,” he said.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP wanted to give urgent attention to the frightening crisis of poverty which was affecting white families.

Mr Wynand van Wyk (CP Witbank) was elected chairman of the Co-ordinating Assistance Emergency Committee at a meeting between right-wing unionists and MPs here this week. — Sapa
PRETORIA — While slamming what it called the ANC’s failure to abandon violence, the government yesterday sounded a cautiously hopeful note that the ANC’s national conference would lead to a resumption of negotiations.

In a statement issued on behalf of the government, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the conference had been observed with interest.

The conference, the first held in South Africa for more than 30 years, ended in Durban at the weekend.

In his statement, Dr Viljoen welcomed the ANC’s “apparent greater flexibility regarding the constitutional negotiation process,” and indications that the organisation’s leaders were in a hurry to start discussions.

However, he said, a number of negative aspects had also emerged. These included a failure to clarify the relationship between the ANC and the SA Communist Party — with its outdated ideology.

“The apparent decisive role of the SACP within the ANC has been reconfirmed.” Hopes that the ANC-SACP would discard the option of violence were also dashed, Dr Viljoen said. Instead, strategic decisions and statements “showed a greater commitment to violence.”

“This is being done behind the smokescreen of accusations, void of all credibility, that all the other parties, including the government, are responsible for the violence,” Dr Viljoen said.

He said he expected that talks for a multi-party conference would get back on track. — Sapa
Visitors to offer SA advice on democracy

LONDON. — Senior legislators from seven Commonwealth countries will visit South Africa from today to offer advice and help on introducing full parliamentary democracy, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association said on Saturday.

During a nine-day visit, the group will meet President F.W. de Klerk, members of the government and other prominent people, including Mr. Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu leader.

The members of the group are from Australia, Bolivia, Mauritius, India, Canada, Jamaica and Namibia.

The association represents legislatures in the 50-nation Commonwealth of Britain and its former colonies — Sapa-AP
Hurd faces tough task on reform

LONDON - British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd faces a tough task in encouraging the process of constitutional reform in South Africa when he arrives for a four-day visit today.

Hurd will meet State President FW de Klerk and senior ministers as well as leaders of the black and white opposition parties.

The main purpose of Hurd's visit was to encourage both sides to begin constitutional talks aimed at giving blacks a say in Government following the dismantling of apartheid, the Foreign Office said.

But at the African National Congress's Durban conference, which closed early yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela appeared in uncompromising mood, stressing that "enormous differences" remained between blacks and the Government.

He repeated the ANC's demand for an interim government to oversee a transition to majority rule and for a constituent assembly to draw up a non-racial constitution before elections - demands which the Government has already spurned.

ANC officials said they would stay away from talks on a new constitution until the Government ended the township violence that has killed more than 2 000 in less than a year.

Hurd will see Mandela, Clarence Makwetu of the Pan-Africanist Congress and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha.

Buthelezi was in London last month for talks with Hurd and Prime Minister John Major, at which he expressed his appreciation for Britain's policy of relaxing sanctions.

The British foreign secretary is also expected to have talks with Dr Andries Treurnicht.

-Sapa-Reuter
SA must take chances on offer, Hurd will tell FW

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, arrived in South Africa today and will have talks with Mr FW de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi, businessmen and others.

Special writer STANLEY UYS reports from London

The dynamics of South African politics have changed quite dramatically since Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd first met President FW de Klerk in Cape Town 15 months ago.

(Mr Hurd was on his way home from Namibia's independence celebrations).

Mr Hurd, who arrived in South Africa today, must be well pleased with the changes that have taken place in South Africa since then, and when he meets President de Klerk in Pretoria today he may tell him so, even if in guarded Foreign Office speak.

Mr Hurd is answering to a new prime minister this time — John Major not Margaret Thatcher. Mr Major may not be quite as over the moon about South Africa as Mrs Thatcher was, but basically the British government's policy will remain unchanged, although Mr Hurd probably will have some scope now as Foreign Secretary.

The message that President de Klerk will get from Mr Hurd's visit is that opportunity is knocking at South Africa's door. But Mr Hurd will also be voicing his — and the West's — anxieties that the opportunity might be missed. The most immediate of these anxieties is the violence in the country. Western governments see it as highly damaging to the negotiation process, and they are not sure whether South Africa's political leaders are getting to grips with it.

Is the government doing enough to ensure the impartiality of the police? And is it really necessary for black leaders to arouse the passions of their followers in the way they have been doing?

Arousing passions is the business of politicians, but once a political party prepares for government, as the ANC, Inkatha and others are doing, "mobilising the masses" becomes a two-edged sword. The mass followers of today become the undisciplined mob of tomorrow.

However, Western governments on the whole were mightily pleased by the recent church-sponsored conference on curbing the violence, and they will wait to see how much the conference's resolutions are implemented.

Western (and other) governments feel they have a legitimate interest in what is happening in South Africa. They are being asked to help provide the financial underpinning for post-apartheid South Africa and they want to be sure they will not be wasting their money.

On South Africa's post-apartheid success might depend the survival of much of the Southern African region.

In any case, as all South Africa's political leaders will have noticed, the principle of sovereignty — that countries should not interfere in each other's internal affairs — is wearing thinner and thinner in Africa, as increasingly tough conditions are set to secure external financial support.

Another Western anxiety is that while promises abound of material improvements in South Africa, the actual work on the ground is not commensurate with these promises. And unless ordinary South Africans (blacks more than whites) feel they will benefit from the negotiation process, they will not give it their support. This means material improvements must begin immediately.

Much will depend, therefore, on what Mr Hurd learns at his meetings with President de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi, businessmen and others. The message he takes back to Western Europe, and later to the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare in October, will be important for South Africa's economic future.

By October, the Commonwealth could be looking at a South Africa that is very different from the one they knew at their last meeting. The negotiation process might not have started, but if other issues have been cleared up, like the release of political prisoners, there might be no need — for the Commonwealth to take over old guarantors about whether to lift sanctions or not.

The importance of a change in the Commonwealth's attitude to South Africa should not be underestimated. Once the barriers come down between South Africa and the rest of Africa, entirely new influences could come into play.

It is almost certain that Nigeria, under President Ibrahimb Banderiga, will become a more significant voice in Southern Africa, overshadowing perhaps even Zimbabwe. A peaceful front could be transformed into a powerful friend.

The international community is poised to lift sanctions — the European Community and the Bush administration in particular. Even the OAU is shifting into a more flexible position. Everyone is recognising that the time to start rebuilding South Africa's economy is now, not after the installation of a post-apartheid government.

The country cannot afford to lose the precious next few years.

Mr Hurd, therefore, is not just another diplomatic jaunt. It is a serious fact-finding, situation-reading mission that could help to pave the way for South Africa's final readmission into the international community.

If, at his meetings with political leaders, Mr Hurd is made to listen simply to a litany of complaints about each other, he will not feel that his mission has fulfilled its promise.

It is common purpose he is looking forward to — recognition that differences aside, South Africans have the same priority, which is to rebuild their country as quickly as possible.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, right, was greeted by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, today.
By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

The government said today it was keen to start all-party talks to prepare for constitutional negotiations as soon as possible.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the government was ready and the talks, following exploratory moves, could start within weeks.

The ANC conference in Durban gave its new leadership the go-ahead for negotiations but was also determined that it should get tougher with the government.

**Greater flexibility**

Dr Viljoen welcomed the ANC’s move to greater flexibility in the constitutional negotiation process and the indications that its leaders were in a hurry to start negotiations.

All parliamentary parties except the Conservative Party have already expressed their willingness to attend such talks. The Inkatha Freedom Party also wants to attend.

Dr Viljoen said today that representatives from both sides had previously been appointed to “talk about talks”.

The government had already discussed many aspects of the calling of an all-party conference including the logistics of such a meeting with the ANC.

So far the ANC had not yet officially reacted to any of the government’s proposals in this regard. These exploratory talks could now be resumed.

**New, critical phase**

Michael Morris and Dennis Cruywagen, Political Staff, wrote that political dialogue enters a new, critical phase with the election of a strong and more resolute ANC leadership mandated to carry high-powered talks team to press ahead with negotiations.

But mass action and other forms of pressure will be maintained and even intensified as the movement emerges more confident and determined from its watershed five-day conference in Durban.

Cadres of the armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are being prepared, under the direction of their popular chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, for eventual integration into a national regular army, but in the meantime they will be kept in a state of readiness to step into the breach in case talks break down.

The ANC’s post-conference strategic thinking places negotiations in the “terrain of struggle”, alongside mass action, but delegates gave the leadership a clear mandate to press ahead speedily with the process of creating a new non-racial constitution.

While the government’s chief negotiator, Dr Viljoen, regretted that the ANC had not “finally discarded” what he called the “violence option” and that it had failed to distinguish itself more clearly from the SA Communist Party, he welcomed the movement’s “apparent greater flexibility” on negotiations.

Delegates at the conference spelled out exactly how they wanted the ANC leadership to approach negotiations.

**Secrecy condemned**

Implicit in the list of resolutions is a criticism of the way talks with the government have been handled.

Chief among these is that “negotiations shall not be secret” and that the leadership must “ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for consultation and communication with the membership”.

While the conference has accorded the national executive committee “discretionary powers” within ANC policy to carry on talks about talks, it is clear there is a desire for greater control over the process.

“Get on with it” political leaders say

Political Staff

INKATHA said today it wanted exploratory talks for an all-party conference to begin as soon as possible.

Spokesman Mr Suzanne Vos said the major negotiations on constitutional reform could not start right away. Mechanisms on how the all-party conference should be structured, including who would attend, how decisions would be taken and ways of solving disputes, would have to be decided on beforehand.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendricks MP said the party was also in favour of all-party talks starting as soon as possible.

Such a conference should decide its own agenda. Matters such as demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly would have to be clarified. Labour felt that an all-party conference could fill the role of a constituent assembly. It was still weighing up arguments about an interim government.

Democratic Party spokesman Mr Peter Soal said the party welcomed the commitment of all the main players to the process of negotiations and hoped discussions would start without delay.

An all-party conference would have to find areas of agreement on the structuring of real negotiations on a new constitutional system.
Hurd here to see how Britain can help the new SA

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—British Foreign Minister Mr. Douglas Hurd arrived in South Africa today to consider steps the British government could take to help ensure a successful transformation in the country.

He was welcomed at Jan Smuts Airport by Mr. Pik Botha, his South African counterpart.

Mr. Hurd said there had been an “amazing” transformation in the country since his last visit on route to the Namibian independence celebrations 15 months ago.

He said Britain had a great interest in a successful transformation in South Africa.

Mr. Botha said they would exchange views on South African, Commonwealth, African and European affairs.

Mr. Hurd will see President de Klerk and a wide range of political leaders.

SAPA, meanwhile, reported that the new British ambassador to South Africa, Mr. Antony Reeve, presented his credentials to Mr. de Klerk today at the Presidency in Pretoria.

Mr. Reeve greeted the President in Afrikaans, saying it was a “great honour, privilege and pleasure” for him to represent his Queen and government in South Africa.

He said the “shadow of apartheid” had prevented the relationship between the two countries from fulfilling its potential.

“Now, that shadow is fast disappearing: it is a particular pleasure for me to arrive in South Africa at the moment when parliament has removed the ‘pillars of apartheid’ from the statute book.”

Mr. de Klerk replied that he looked forward to even better relations between South Africa and Britain than the present cordial relationship.

The new Paraguayan ambassador also presented his credentials to Mr. de Klerk today.

Mr. Raul dos Santos said his country wished to maintain its friendly relations and continue its trade with South Africa. See page 11.
Commonwealth legislators to advise SA

LONDON — Senior legislators from seven Commonwealth countries arrive in SA today to offer advice and help on introducing full parliamentary democracy.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association said on Saturday that the group, on a nine-day visit, would meet President F W de Klerk and members of his government, as well as other prominent people, including ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The members of the group are from Australia, Botswana, Mauritius, India, Canada, Jamaica and Namibia.

The association represents legislatures in the 50-nation Commonwealth of Britain and its former colonies.

Yesterday, a British embassy spokesman said in Pretoria that British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who arrives in SA today, would meet leading figures across the political spectrum.

He is to meet De Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Mandela, Buthelezi, CP leader Andries Treurnicht and business leaders. — Sapa-AF.
UK envoy quick to the hot spots

Anthony Reeve, Britain's new ambassador to South Africa, arrived in the country last Monday, the first in time for the ANC's national conference.

Without further ado he flew to Durban and met ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

A less pacy introduction to his new post might have been inappropriate, as he has arrived at a time when history in South Africa is on a fast track, demanding constant attention and up-to-date analysis.

Listening to Mr Reeve during an interview with The Star, it is clear that he is more than ready for the task he faces.

Unlike his predecessor — the much-loved (and sometimes hated) Sir Robin Renwick, whose style was innovative and risky, bordering on the interventionist — Mr Reeve gives the impression of being a quiet observer with a formidable knowledge of his territory.

He has, as one of his embassy colleagues put it, a very distinct and individual style that cannot be compared with his predecessor's.

Mr Reeve is a softly spoken man, straight and to the point, but not one who wishes to prescribe or make judgments. This is certainly true of his attitude towards his government's role in South Africa.

"Britain has always had very close links with South Africa, and we are willing to assist when our help is sought, but we are not seeking to interfere where we are not wanted."

Although Mr Reeve, after only a week in his new post, is not to be drawn out yet on his personal opinion of South African political developments, he does reveal an acute sensitivity for the underprivileged sector.

Britain's new ambassador to South Africa, Anthony Reeve (right), is nothing like his highly individualistic predecessor, Sir Robin Renwick, but as a pragmatist and cautious team-operator, with a formidable knowledge of his new territory, he is bound to win many friends. He spoke to HELEN GRANGE.

He has already visited Alexandra, where his government is funding several social upliftment projects.

"The question of aid to black townships is an important one. There has to be a lot more spent on the underprivileged, and the sums of money required are enormous. A great deal of effort is also needed and we will continue to do what we can to help."

He also perceives the underprivileged class to be a vital consideration in the political future.

"While I am optimistic about a political solution here, I don't want to minimise the difficulties. Those in control are very satisfied that their future is assured — but there are many underprivileged people who don't have a say and are expecting great things. Despite having spent considerable time in the British foreign service, focusing on the Middle East, he is hesitant to draw comparisons with the South African situation.

"I think it's rather unwise to detail comparisons between the Middle East and South Africa. The South African situation is unique, and involves the people of one country, whereas the Middle East involves conflict between different countries.

"What is similar, though, is the difficulty in achieving a compromise. South Africa is more encouraging in this respect, because, in the Middle East, there is no sign of compromise, whereas in the case of South Africa, there has been a great movement forward and a transformation of attitudes."

Mr Reeve has, on previous occasions, met Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

"Mr Mandela is a remarkable man. I believe he is a moderate and rational man who will be ready for the changes ahead. I met Mr de Klerk a few years ago in London and I found him to be a very interesting and astute man with clear ideas."

Meeting everybody who has a role to play in negotiations is what Mr Reeve sees as his first and most important task — and an indication that he will probably show himself to be a pragmatic and cautious team-operator.

"I want to get to know people from the Right and the Left, as well as the moderates. Their views are important. It's a big job. There are too many opinions among the various cultural groups.

"I do know a lot about South Africa, but I'll learn a lot more. I'll be travelling a lot. I regard it as a challenge, and I feel very ready for it."

One thing Mr Reeve is prepared to hold at this stage is his belief that the removal of sanctions is crucial if Africa is to be uplifted to a state of economic independence.

"We have been known to resist sanctions, and are looking forward to a growing economy. The economic problems are crucially important, and the extent to which the economy can grow to provide jobs is absolutely vital."

"If the South African economy is allowed to grow, it will be the most important country in Africa."
Britain admires new SA envoy

Political Staff

BRITAIN was determined to help in South Africa's process of renewal and reconciliation, the new British ambassador, Mr Anthony Reeve, told State President FW de Klerk yesterday.

Mr Reeve was presenting his credentials to Mr de Klerk at the Presidency. The event coincided with the arrival of British Foreign Minister Mr Douglas Hurd in South Africa for a three-day visit.

Justice

The ambassador, who delivered his speech in both Afrikaans and English, said: "At this decisive moment in South African affairs, therefore, I would like to assure you that my government - and the British people in general - continue to follow with the greatest interest and admiration the steps your government are taking to build a new South Africa on the principles of justice and of human dignity."

Quoting Mr De Klerk, Mr Reeve said apartheid now belonged to history. The new Paraguayan ambassador, Mr Raul dos Santos, also presented his credentials yesterday.
Govt. ANC urged to talk

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday said they expected the Government and the ANC to go ahead with negotiations to pave way for a new constitution by next year.

Most of the callers supported the mandate given to the ANC leadership at its conference at the weekend, that the organisation should go ahead with negotiations. But Bernard of Shosha found a warning to the ANC, saying the organisation should first stick to its demands made to the Government concerning the return of all exiles, the political prisoners and an end to violence.

Bernard's view was echoed by another caller, Thabang, who said negotiations should go ahead as soon as possible. But, he said, the Government must remove all major obstacles first.

However, Kenny from Johannesburg said the problem was the ANC, because the Government had removed three-quarters of the obstacles but nothing had come out of the talks so far.

"If the ANC did not withdraw (from the talks) things would have come to an end now," he said.

Smilo of Zondi said he supported negotiations but unity among black political organisations was crucial.

Dita Rabothata of Nalel, Soweto said negotiations should be through by October 10 this year, and voting for representatives of all parties to the constituent assembly on February 2.

"On April 6, our elected CA should be drawing up our new constitution," he said.
State, ANC closer on interim govt

THE African National Congress and the Government have come closer on the question of an interim government, according to ANC publicity director Dr Pallo Jordan.

He was speaking on the Agenda TV programme, which was staged live in the Durban Exhibition Centre with participation by an audience which included Nationalist and Democratic Party MPs, Durban civic figures, Inkatha representatives, members of the House of Delegates and leaders of the business community.

With Jordan on an ANC panel were secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy, Mr Jacob Zuma, and national executive com-

mittee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

Replying to a question by Professor Mervyn Frost of the Political Science Department of the University of Natal, whether a government of national unity was likely or imminent, Jordan said there had been overtures on this issue.

Election

However, he also made it clear that what the ANC had in mind was still very different from the co-option process suggested by Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Replying to a question by Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the DP, whether the ANC would be prepared to share government with other parties - the Nationalists specifically - he said the idea had merit but would depend on the outcome of a democratic election.

If the ANC won a clear majority in such an election, it would probably prefer to form its own government.

Sections of the largely good-humoured audience laughed derisively when Kasrils, a senior functionary in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC armed wing, described the organisation as a force for peace.

He was replying to Mr Musa Zondi, leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.
FW expects negotiations 'sooner rather than later'

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk says the negotiation process will get under way sooner rather than later following the ANC's national conference in Durban.

He was speaking yesterday after a meeting with British Foreign Minister Mr. Douglas Hurd at the State guest house in Pretoria.

Commenting on the outcome of the ANC conference, he said it was constructive 'from the viewpoint of the negotiation process. The ANC leadership obtained a mandate for negotiations from its members, he added.

This view was in line with that of the government, which was in a hurry to convene a multi-party conference.

For his part, Mr. Hurd said he was due to speak to ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela later but there was no alternative to negotiations.

"The question is not whether you have negotiations or something else. The question is how you get the negotiations to succeed," said Mr. Hurd.

He hoped now that the ANC conference was over, the issue of fruitful negotiations could be resumed. "I don't see any other way forward for South Africa," Mr. Hurd added.

In reply to a question, Mr. De Klerk said it was not a concern that the number of Communist Party members elected as ANC leaders posed a specific threat but it did give rise to uncertainty "as to who stands exactly where. It's rather like a scrambled egg," he said.

Commenting on the ANC's definition of violence as an obstacle to negotiations, Mr. Hurd said it was difficult for a government in any country to stop violence. A government had, however, the responsibility of doing its best, which was administering the law impartially and effectively. It also needed the support of all its citizens to accomplish this aim.
Pretoria - SA's return to the fold of Commonwealth nations was imminent, leader of the visiting Commonwealth Parliamentary Association delegation Clive Griffiths said last night.

Griffiths, association executive chairman and Western Australian Legislative Council president, is heading a mission of seven Commonwealth parliamentarians.

"We are here to establish links with the SA government prior to SA resuming its place in the Commonwealth at the earliest possible opportunity," he said.

He said President F W de Klerk had told the mission at a meeting yesterday that SA had long ago reached the point of no return on the road to a one-man one-vote parliamentary democracy.

"The discussions were extremely constructive. We were deeply impressed with President de Klerk's obvious sincerity and determination in this aim."

On Commonwealth sanctions Griffiths said the association could only advise and provide the background against which Commonwealth heads of state would decide on the issue.

Association secretary-general David Tonkin said he would be reporting on the visit to the Commonwealth heads of government in Harare in October.

He said the association - with its diversity of 50 member nations, 120 parliaments and 10 000 MPs - had a wealth of experience and expertise in democracy.

Tonkin said De Klerk had undertaken to send a copy of the draft constitution to the association for comment.
Govt out to retain white rule claim

By Garner Thomson and Guy Jeppson

A powerful and ruthless State security machine is playing a "decisive role" in shaping the course of South African politics, a leading British newspaper has claimed.

The Independent on Sunday this week alleged that the "sophisticated use of violence and propaganda" together with the Inkatha Freedom Party is undermining both the democratic process and the ANC.

"The final objective is to ensure the perpetuation of white political control beyond apartheid," it said.

In the report, the newspaper's southern Africa correspondent, John Carlin, accused the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI) of orchestrating township violence last year, with the police being "clear accomplices".

The allegations were yesterday rejected by spokesman for both the SA Defence Force and the Ministry of Law and Order.

The strategy, added Carlin, contained the possibility that, should the ANC become the government, "a military force will be unleashed capable either of seizing power or of plunging the country into civil war".

The Independent on Sunday's investigation included interviews with a wide range of MPs, military experts, Inkatha and ANC officials, trade unionists, monitors, victims of violence and former SADF officers including Nico Basson who repeated his claim that the State was funding Inkatha and training its members while "subtly fomenting the township violence".

The objectives of the campaign, Carlin reported, were to undermine the ANC's capacity to organise itself while reducing its credibility, to project Inkatha, to promote ethnic divisions and to put across the idea to both blacks and whites that South African blacks cannot be trusted to run a party.

The newspaper cited claims by Mr Basson and others like him, as well as "commonsense", to support its belief. New evidence included a statement from a black man who said he was an employee of military intelligence and who insisted there was collusion between Inkatha and the police.

Securocrats

The man claimed to have been personally involved in seven murders and two attempts on the lives of ANC sympathisers or activists. He also said the killing of Chief Mbilambimba Maphumulo was a military intelligence mission.

Dozens of interviews revealed how Natal Zulus were being recruited and armed to fight in the townships.

The forces behind this strategy are the "securocrats" who, Carlin continued, appeared to have re-imposed the old counter-revolutionary agenda, "convincing that a fair political game would not secure white political control after apartheid".

And, within the DMI, he added, "the only difference they perceive between the De Klerk and the Botha eras is that the enemy, the communist ANC, is now within the country's borders."

Carlin claimed that a "terrifying contingency plan" existed: that, should the ANC succeed, thousands of highly trained men in Special Forces, together with Inkatha and the KwaZulu police, "will be in a position to render an ANC government utterly ineffective, or to overthrow it".

Approached for comment yesterday, an SADF spokesman described the allegations as vague and unsourced, and said they were obviously part of Mr Basson's "own agenda to discredit the defence force for reasons of his own".

"In this process, it appears he is blatantly using others to do his dirty work for him. The SADF is no longer prepared to comment on allegations of this nature," the SADF spokesman said.

Commenting on the allegations only insofar as they affected the SAP and its role as law enforcer, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the claims amounted to "propaganda paranoia based on the 'Big Lie' principle".

"The SAP would never tolerate anyone breaking the law. The mindless repetition of claims that the SAP is in any way involved in the violence simply does not stand up to closer scrutiny."
Portuguese MPs arrive in SA for discussions

Political Staff 9/1/19

Four senior Portuguese MPs arrived in South Africa yesterday on a two-week visit to inform themselves about the latest developments in the country and hold talks with the Portuguese community here.

The MPs, all members of the ruling Social Democratic Party (PSD), are guests of the Department of Foreign Affairs and were met at the airport by senior Foreign Affairs officials.

A spokesman for the visitors, Dr José Pereira, said his delegation would have extensive contact with a wide range of people, including President de Klerk and members of his Government, as well as leaders of the ANC, the CP and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Dr Pereira, vice-president of the PSD parliamentary group, said he and his colleagues wanted to make "first-hand contact with the reality of South Africa" in the light of the continuing political changes.

The second reason for their visit was to hold discussions with the Portuguese community in this country to find out how it viewed the unfolding political situation in South Africa.

Portugal, Dr Pereira said, was heading for a general election in October. There were developments in regard to the European Community, and his delegation would inform the Portuguese community about these and other matters.

Other members of the delegation are Louís Geraldes, MP for the Portuguese community based in South Africa; PSD speaker on economic and financial matters Dr Rui Carp; and Dr Rui da Silva. Only Mr Geraldes has been to South Africa before.

Dr da Silva was invited by the Department of Foreign Affairs to visit South Africa in 1989 but could not do so.
CP leader reacts to ANC threats

DURBAN — Threats from the ANC, especially its "armed intimidation", left whites no choice but to protect themselves through neighbourhood watches against attacks, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Commenting on the ANC's national conference held in Durban last week, Dr Treurnicht said in a statement it was "totally unacceptable and a sign of weakness that the Government continues to invite the ANC to negotiations while it continues making threats of training terrorists".

It also condemned the ANC for allegedly collecting weapons aimed at the "armed overthrow" of South Africa.

The Government's scrapping of "protective laws" had plunged the struggle for whites to rule themselves in their own land into a new phase.

"The ANC is not an alternative government, especially not for whites," Dr Treurnicht said.
Bid to re-establish SA links

The re-establishment of South Africa's links with the Commonwealth is one of the objectives of a group of visiting senior Commonwealth MPs.

The group, all senior members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), arrived in South Africa yesterday to meet political and community leaders and offer help in the progress towards democracy in South Africa.

In a statement, the delegation expressed its willingness to pursue the question of South Africa's rejoining the CPA as a full member, in light of the positive steps that have been taken.

However, the delegation stated it had no brief to do more than treat the visit as a first step in the process of re-establishing ties with the Commonwealth. — Pretoria Bureau.
Negotiations on hold, Mandela tells Hurd

By Thabo Leshlo and Sapa

"Real negotiations" continued to be the prime ideal for President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela after separate meetings in Pretoria and Johannesburg, respectively, with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday.

But while Mr de Klerk said these negotiations would be the fundamental solution to the violence in South Africa, Mr Mandela, while hinting that negotiations were desired, said the ANC would not negotiate until barriers to dialogue had been removed.

Speaking to reporters after their meeting at the ANC's head office, Mr Hurd said he and Mr Mandela had had a "good, long exchange" and agreed that dialogue should continue.

In particular there was complete agreement that fully integrated South African sport should return to the international sporting arena, Mr Hurd said.

Mr Mandela told reporters he had made it clear to Mr Hurd that the ANC would not engage in negotiations with the Government for a new constitution until certain obstacles had been removed — including the release of all political prisoners, the cessation of political trials, the unconditional return of political exiles and a concerted effort by the Government to end the country's violence.

Mr Mandela added that the obstacles to negotiations were the same as the obstacles holding up the lifting of sanctions.

However, Mr Mandela explained, the ANC was flexible on the question of sanctions, and "the specific nature of that flexibility will be seen when the moment arrives".

Referring to negotiations and their relevance to the country's endemic violence, Mr de Klerk said: "If the supporters see their leaders talking to each other regularly on a round-table basis, then the basis for positioning and violent interaction between political factions falls away."

Mr de Klerk said that from the point of view of the negotiation process, there was no doubt the ANC conference had been constructive, as the leadership had obtained a mandate for negotiations."
Huddleston now ‘hopeful’ for SA

Staff Reporter

BRITISH anti-apartheid veteran Archbishop Trevor Huddleston is "immensely hopeful" for the future of the country after taking part in the ANC's conference in Durban — and is confident that he will outlive apartheid.

The 73-year-old former Anglican parish priest of Sophiatown attended a lunch at the University of the Western Cape yesterday and was declared a patron of the newly established historical and cultural centre, which will include a museum on the apartheid era and an archive on the liberation struggle in South Africa.

The archbishop, who toured the townships and squatter settlements on the Cape Flats during the morning, said his return to South Africa had been one of "ecstasy and agony".

He said the anti-apartheid movements were changing their approach to tackle the "agonies" — apartheid's legacy — and facilitate the negotiation process by maintaining world interest and pressure on the government to accept democratic change.

"The struggle is only just beginning. Dropping laws like the Land Act does not resolve the problem of millions of people who were displaced and are now too poor to buy land. That is part of the new battle and it is going to be a tough one," he said.

The UWC historical centre has the "whole-heart-ed" support of the ANC and United-Nations.
Races differ on priorities

JOHANNESBURG. — Black South Africans see education as the government's priority while whites focus on the lack of housing. Health care is regarded by all South Africans as the third priority, according to a survey by Research Surveys Omnichek division.

Asks where the funds should come from: an overwhelming majority of whites proposed a state lottery, while blacks opted for higher business taxes. — Sapa
Black councillor a first for NP

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Mr Gilbert Motloung, the Mayor of Mangaung near here, has become the first black councillor in the Free State to join the National Party.

He believed that several of his friends, and possibly fellow councillors, would join the NP.

The Volksblad said that Mr Motloung, who is serving his second term as mayor, was impressed with President F W de Klerk as a leader.

"He is the one that is bringing change. In a new South Africa we will not know colour."

Mr Motloung said he was sick and tired of violence and could not understand why the ANC still advocated sanctions against South Africa when there was so much poverty and unemployment in the country.

He had studied the NP’s policy and associated himself with it. He was surprised that the ANC wanted to continue its liberation struggle.

Mr Motloung said he had decided to join the NP when he saw members of the ANC burning placards of Mr De Klerk.

He telephoned Dr Fril van Heerden, NP MP for Bloemfontein North, and said he wanted to join the National Party. — Sapa
MR GILBERT Moloung, the mayor of Mangaung near Bloemfontein, has become the first black councillor in the Free State to join the National Party.

He believed that several of his friends, and possibly fellow councillors, would join the NP.

Die Volksblad reported yesterday that Moloung, who is serving his second term as mayor, was impressed with State President FW de Klerk as a leader.

"He is the one that is bringing change. In a new South Africa we will not know colour," Moloung told Die Volksblad.

Moloung said he was sick and tired of violence and could not understand why the ANC still advocated sanctions against South Africa when there was so much poverty and unemployment in the country.

He was surprised that the ANC wanted to continue its liberation struggle.

"I don't want to continue with a freedom fight. I seek a political party," Moloung told Die Volksblad.

Moloung said he had decided to join the NP when he saw members of the ANC burning placards of De Klerk.

Sapa
STATE President FW de Klerk's main weapon against the call for an interim government and a constituent assembly is his claim that his Government is legitimate.

This sentiment was expressed by De Klerk during his recent visit to Europe and America.

He said that nobody should question Pretoria's legitimacy, and that he would not hand over the reins to an interim government 'just that'.

Earlier this year, the Democratic Party's right winger, Mr Tony Leon, echoed this sentiment at a meeting in Stellenbosch.

The Government satisfied all the legal requirements for international acceptance, Leon said.

But there is another side to the story, which is based on the universal common law that all governments should govern by consensus of the governed.

All political formations to the left of the Government subscribe in some way or another to this idea.

**Demand**

The ANC has not denied outright the Government's legitimacy but, through its demand for an interim government and elections to a constituent assembly, the movement by implication questions the legitimacy of Pretoria.

The SAPC, the ANC's political bedmate, suggests that South Africa is 'a colony of a special type'.

Two movements are unrelenting in their arguments against the legitimacy of De Klerk's government - the PAC and Azapo.

Both movements have refused to enter into negotiations with the Government on the grounds that it is illegitimate.

At a consultative conference on Pretoria's legitimacy held in Harare between September 5 and 7 1989, an exiled South African lawyer, Mr S Pheko, declared De Klerk's government illegitimate.

Pheko contends that South Africa was handed by the then British colonial power in 1910 to a settler community descended from the Dutch - who first colonised the country.

According to Pheko, Britain 'gave' the colony to the Afrikaners, who in turn unilaterally declared a Republic in 1961.

At the conference, he submitted a statement made by a former British governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey.

Grey, according to Pheko, gave the reason for handing the colony to the descendent of the Dutch as: 'A strong federal government which unites within itself all the European races in South Africa and which can permanently maintain peace in this country and free Great Britain from constant anxiety for the peace of her possessions there."

Pheko said that Britain's interests and those of her colonial settlers converged with the discovery of gold and diamonds.

The demand for gold strengthened the British currency. Britain was therefore willing to betray the Africans and install an illegitimate minority settler regime foreign to the Africans so that she could continue to loot the wealth of this African country and pay slave wages to the African workers who dig gold and other minerals in South Africa," he said.

One of the reasons the former colonialists and Dutch settlers give for having settled here was that there were no people at the Cape at the time.

This issue is clouded, or obscured, by the fact that all the existing works of history in South Africa have been written either by the British colonialists or the settlers under them - the descendants of the Dutch as well as the Huguenots.

Virtually no coherent oral history exists because of the dispersal under apartheid's homelands policy and influx control.

**Mines**

Archaeological and anthropological research have revealed that the southern tip of Africa was inhabited by humans from as early as 27BC.

Clay pottery in the shape of a human skull, found in Lydenburg in the Eastern Transvaal, has been carbon dated to the 5th and 6th century.

One of the earliest copper mines south of the Limpopo was established during the 7th century.

Phalaborwa has through its Iron Age yielded evidence of early occupation of the land by indigenous peoples.

"Despite the fact that Africans were an overwhelming majority and the country theirs by right of first occupation earlier than the birth of Christ, the Africans were reduced to mere spectators."

"It has been the practice of Britain to abandon principles of democracy where colonial settlers are involved."

"For example, in former Rhodesia, Britain granted so-called 'responsible government' to white settlers - who represented less than five percent of the colony's population," Pheko said.

When the British parliament passed the Union Act of 1909 - giving "responsible government" to the settlers in South Africa, there were 5 million Africans and 349 837 whites in the country, according to the official census at the time.

As soon as the whites took control of South Africa, they embarked on making South Africa white man's land.

This sentiment was expressed quite vocally in the House of Assembly in Cape Town on November 30 1910.

The Member of Parliament for Breamfontein, Colonel Sir A Wool-Sampson, said: "The majority of honourable members declared in the most positive terms their determination to make this (South Africa) a white man's country."

"The time has come when honourable members have to carry out their promise to their electorator, and to assure South Africa that they were all earnest when they said: 'This shall be white man's country.'"

There have been numerous international agreements on South Africa's legitimacy and all of them have in the least accepted that "the ANC and PAC were the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people".

The 1982 Paris Declaration on the History of Resistance Occupations, Oppression and Apartheid in South Africa, which was held at the United Nations from March 29 to April 2 declared: "The apartheid regime is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of Azania (South Africa)."

"Such a regime is the by-product of a white settler minority in 1910."
When solutions are a problem

Ron Kaufman discusses ways in which pursuing could be reduced during negotiations
Hurd sees Buthelezi as "major player" in new SA

DURBAN — British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday held talks with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom he described as a "major" and "substantial" player in rebuilding SA after apartheid.

Hurd and Buthelezi's talks covered sanctions, constitutional problems and violence. In what Hurd described as an "uplifting session" after a recent meeting between them in Britain, Sapa reports.

The meeting had been "very successful and we will continue to keep in close contact", Hurd said.

At a news conference after the meeting. Buthelezi said he had told Hurd what "we and Inkatha Freedom Party thought about it (violence), how it sickened us".

He also said he had told Hurd black South Africans needed help now, and the programmes and the money to go with them to assist black advancement.

Our Durban correspondent reports Hurd emphasised the need for the socio-economic upliftment of the majority of SA's population after he undertook a helicopter tour of the Durban Functional Region yesterday.

He said his administration was spending nearly R50m this year on running projects such as building schools as part of an aid programme. He said the SA government had a great deal to do in this regard.

Hurd also met Institute for Multi-Party Democracy executive chairman Oscar Didimo.

After lunching with businessmen, representatives of various political parties and newspaper editors, he met ANC southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma.

Hurd then saw Bishop Stanley Mogoba, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of SA and Bishop Michael Nuttall, Anglican Bishop of Natal.
Govt must invest in townships – Hurd

DURBAN — A large amount of public investment was required from the SA Government to redress the living conditions of township residents, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said in Durban yesterday.

Mr Hurd made this remark after a helicopter tour over Durban’s suburbs and sprawling townships yesterday morning, shortly after he landed at Louis Botha Airport.

Mr Hurd also reiterated that a large amount of foreign investment was necessary to create employment and assist in uplifting black communities.

The Foreign Secretary was flown over Durban’s suburbs and sprawling townships, including the squatter settlement of KwaMakutha and the Umbazi township.

Mr Hurd’s helicopter landed in one of the townships where he spoke to local residents.

"Obviously, a struggle for power goes on on the hillside. It’s a struggle for territory and power," Mr Hurd observed.

The violence, he noted, had affected the area where he landed.

Asked what the British government could do to assist these communities, Mr Hurd said: "We’re doing a lot — more than anyone else — and we’re making progress."

Mr Hurd met the executive director for the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oskar Dlamini, yesterday before holding talks with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He may also meet ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma and local church leaders, according to a British consular official in Durban.

**Bill of rights**

Chief Buthelezi said in Durban yesterday that a multiparty conference would help to end political violence in South Africa as it would compel leaders of all warring factions to deal with the issue together.

Speaking at a media conference after meeting Mr Hurd, Chief Buthelezi, however, expressed concern at the ANC’s “ready-made agenda” to take to the conference, such as its insistence on an interim government and a constituent assembly.

He preferred to attend the discussions to talk about issues such as the rule of law, a bill of rights and ways of ending violence.

The ANC’s agenda was a “recipe for conflict”, the Inkatha leader added.

*Britain is to grant a further R460 000 to the Alexandra Health Centre in Alexandra, near Johannesburg, Mr Hurd announced.

Mr Hurd is to visit the centre this morning.

He said half this amount would be donated by the British government to match a similar grant of R230 000 from the British pharmaceutical company Glaxo.

He said in a statement through the British Embassy in Pretoria that the Alexandra Health Centre was “of the highest value”. Britain had been supporting it for the past four years.

“The Alexandra Health Centre has led the way in providing health services to the community. It is a model for health care provision in poor urban areas elsewhere in South Africa,” Mr Hurd said. — Sapa.
Govt must invest in townships – Hurd

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NP may form alliance with IFP and others

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party will attempt to form an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Labour Party, Solidarity, the Zion Christian Church and various homeland leaders, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

In its latest publication, the SAIRR said yesterday its information came from sources close to the NP hierarchy, and added that the Zion Christian Church was already thinking of converting to a political party.

It said the NP believed this alliance could attract a majority of voters, the publication "Countdown to Negotiations" said.

Author Mr Shaun Mackay, a research officer at the institute, said that in anticipation of the proposed multi-party conference, most major political organisations were expanding their power bases through alliances or increased membership, or both.

"Recent surveys have indicated that the NP has substantial support from coloured people and Indians, and for this reason, it has opened its membership to blacks in the hope of attracting that support," said Mr Mackay.

"The IFP has (also) opened its doors to all races and claims to have gained a substantial number of white members," he said.

... Legitimate claims

The ANC, the PAC and Azapo, on the other hand, are looking at a united front of liberation organisations, while the Conservative Party rejects the multi-party conference outright, claiming it is aimed at negotiating away the right of the Afrikaner to self-determination.

According to "Countdown", the PAC and Azapo see the proposed multi-party conference as an opportunity for the government to diminish the legitimate claims of the "oppressed" through compromise in a body the NP will fill with black parties it has been working with.

In Mr Mackay's opinion, therefore, there is the danger that organisations like the PAC and Azapo, which refuse to participate in the multi-party conference, could lose their chance of helping to shape the foundation upon which the new constitution is to be built.
Hurd to help SA over the transition hurdle

Africans find a political solution to its problems.

Pressure

According to Foreign Office sources, Mr Hurd is applying pressure on all parties to ensure constitutional negotiations start as soon as possible. But he knows this is unlikely until the violence has been brought to an end. By timing his visit so soon after the ANC’s national conference, Mr Hurd was optimistic that he could act as something of an independent broker between the warring factions. He also knows that, as EC leaders have stressed in May, the ultimate responsibility for bringing peace to the townships rests with the government, who have to bring alleged renegade members of the security forces to heel.

Mr Hurd’s life in diplomacy and politics has taken him around the globe as well as into the portals of power in Whitehall, where he has served not only in the Foreign Office but also as Home Secretary and as Private Secretary to former Prime Minister Edward Heath.

He served for two years in Peking (1954 to 1956) and then for four years with the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations in New York.

He was Private Secretary to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office from 1960 to 1963 and subsequently served for three years in Rome. In 1966 he resigned from the diplomatic service and joined the Conservative Research Department, becoming Head of the Foreign Affairs Section in 1968.

Minister of State

From 1968 to 1970 he was Private Secretary to Mr Heath, who was then Leader of the Opposition. He continued as his Political Secretary when Mr Heath became Prime Minister.

In 1974, he was elected MP for Mid-Oxfordshire. From 1970 to 1979 he became an Opposition spokesman on foreign and Commonwealth affairs, with special responsibility for Europe. When the Tories came to power in 1979 under Mrs Thatcher, Mr Hurd became Minister of State at the Foreign Office. In 1983 he became Minister of State at the Home Office.

The following year he was appointed Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, becoming Home Secretary a year later.

Following the June 1987 general election, he was reappointed Home Secretary, remaining in this post until October 1988 when he received his present appointment.
SA ‘still violates human rights’

DARIUS SANAI

TORTURE and political killings were still regular occurrences in SA, despite improvements in the political situation, Amnesty International said in London yesterday.

In its annual report, it said last year’s release of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was “symbolic of a greater world-wide respect for human rights”.

A spokesman said yesterday the organisation still had “major concerns about serious human rights violations in SA”.

“Our primary concerns involve the accusations of torture and brutality in political killings by the security forces,” the spokesman said.

Government had been consistently slow in following up allegations against the security forces during the past 18 months, she said.

Government’s reluctance to pursue allegations arising from the Harris Commission of Inquiry into politically motivated killings last year was “implicit message that the security forces would not be punishable for human rights violations”.

She said this year’s revision of the Interception of Communications was a step in the right direction, but the police still had “far too much discretion” in legal matters.

Black farmers need direct aid

THE Land Bank should provide direct financial support to prospective black farmers to enable them to buy land directly from owners, Development Bank of Southern Africa senior divisional manager Johan van Rooyen said this week.

Addressing Nafocu’s agricultural conference in Thaba Nchu, he said extending the financing facilities of the Land Bank and the Agricultural Credit Board to black farmers was the best form of affirmative action to benefit black farmers.

Land transfer programmes through the Land Bank were lengthy, difficult and costly processes which chased up land prices, he said.

“Even if any subsidy is considered, it should be directed at reducing the transaction aspect of access, rather than at subsidising the interest rate.” Examples of these costs were deposit requirements, conveyance and loan administration costs.

Van Rooyen said alternative programmes to facilitate access to farming opportunities also needed to be considered.

NP plans a moderate alliance, says study

THE NP would attempt to form an alliance with Inkatha, the Labour Party, Solidarity, the Zionist Christian Church and various homeland leaders, the SA Institute of Race Relations said in a research report released yesterday.

The SAIRR said its information came from sources close to the NP hierarchy, and added that the Zionist Christian Church was already thinking of converting to a political party. It said the NP believed this alliance could attract a majority of voters.

Research officer Shaun Mackay says in the publication Countdown To Negotiations in anticipation of the proposed multiparty conference, most major political organisations are expanding their power bases through alliances or increased membership, or both.

Mackay says the PAC and Azapo see the proposed multiparty conference as an opportunity for government to diminish the legitimate claims of the “oppressed” through compromise in a body that the NP will fill with black parties it has been working with all along.

In Mackay’s opinion, therefore, there is the danger that organisations like the PAC and Azapo, which refuse to participate in the multiparty conference, could lose their chance of helping to shape the foundation upon which the new constitution is to be built. - Sapa.
Immediate help needed

BRITISH Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday pronounced apartheid dead and called for immediate and massive new investment in SA.

"It is time to put aside the worn out arguments about sanctions," Hurd told a Press conference at Jan Smuts airport at the end of his visit. "It is no longer necessary to condemn blacks to greater poverty in the cause of ending apartheid."

He said now was the time to start encouraging investment for SA's future, adding that SA could not afford to wait for a political settlement before addressing the legacy of apartheid.

He "warmly welcomed" President George Bush's decision to lift sanctions, saying the next step would be to remove restrictions on SA access to IMF funds.

It was important to create confidence so investment actually came to SA, he said.

He hoped lifting economic and sports restrictions would encourage the ANC and government to move towards negotiations to which there was no alternative.

SA must now proceed with nation building through investment to address the "fearful legacy of apartheid", although violence stood in the way of progress.

Police could not be everywhere at all times, but government had a heavy responsibility to ensure the SAP acted impartially and effectively, he said.

Hurd said Prime Minister John Major was "very keen" to come to SA and was "extremely supportive of the reform process", but no date had been set for his visit.

Hurd said he did not see a role for international mediators to solve SA's problems because there was constructive dialogue underway between political leaders.

Britain's bilateral aid programme had contributed R4bn to SA — the world's largest aid programme for SA, he said.

Following a request from government and in consultation with the ANC, Britain would help pay for hundreds of orphans to return to SA from Tanzania as part of its R1.5bn contribution to the return of exiles.

Hurd visited Alexandra yesterday where he announced an additional R470 000 grant to the health centre.

See Back Page
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Author Shaun Mackay, a research officer at the institute, said that in anticipation of the proposed multiparty conference, most major political organisations were expanding their power bases through alliances.

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"The IFP has (also) opened its doors to all races and claims to have gained a substantial number of white members."

The ANC, PAC and Azapo, on the other hand, were looking at a united front of liberation organisations, while the Conservative Party rejected the multiparty conference outright, claiming it was aimed at negotiating away the right of the Afrikaner to self-determination.

According to the publication, the PAC and Azapo saw the proposed multiparty conference as an opportunity for the Government to diminish the legitimate claims of the "oppressed" through compromise in a body which the NP would fill with black parties it had been working with.

In the author's opinion, there was the danger that organisations such as the PAC and Azapo, which refuse to take part in the multiparty conference, could lose their chance of helping to shape the foundation upon which a new constitution was to be built.

"The ANC is also in favour of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly. To allow for an interim government, the present Government would need to change the constitution.

"This is, however, unlikely to happen." — Sapa.
Differences must be solved, pleads Hurd

Sapa and Staff Reporter

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday expressed the hope that the current move to lift sanctions against South Africa would encourage the Government and the ANC to work out their differences.

He was addressing a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after a three-day visit to the country.

Now, not later, was the time to start encouraging investment for South Africa's future, he said.

"South Africa cannot afford to wait for a political settlement before addressing the legacy of apartheid."

He also welcomed the decision by the International Olympic Committee and the International Cricket Conference to readmit South Africa.

Mr Hurd and his entourage included new British ambassador Anthony Reeves.

They visited projects partly sponsored by Britain.

Britain is providing a further £100,000 (about R460,000) towards the costs of the Alexandra Health Centre.

The grant was announced by Mr Hurd, during a visit to the health centre on the Johannesburg border.

Admiring the talent of young cricketers being trained under the Alexandra Township Cricket (ACO) development programme, Mr Hurd said he hoped some would soon represent South Africa at international level.

"We are helping to train the opposition, but it's for a good cause," he told reporters when presenting the second half of a R125,000 consignment of cricket equipment.

A spokesman for the United Cricket Board, which runs the programme, Chris Day, told reporters R1 billion was needed to redress the backlog in cricket facilities in townships countrywide.

Travelling through streets stinking of sewage and strewn with rubbish, the delegation made a final stop at a creche bordering shacks on the outskirts of Alexandra.

After an inspection, Mr Hurd was told by ACO's Mr Mayekiso that next time he should not only visit British projects in the township but speak to residents and inspect the migrant labour hostels — scene of violence this year.

Mr Hurd said British Premier John Major would be keen to visit the country, but it was a matter of timing and would have to be worked out in conjunction with South African authorities.

Mr Hurd said the first chapter towards a post-apartheid South Africa, the abolition of the legal structure of apartheid, was virtually complete.

At the Alexandra Health Centre, Mr Hurd was confronted by banner-waving members of the Alexandra Land and Property Organisation.
Mandela to address Portuguese delegation

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to be peppered with questions on his view of the future when he visits Cape Town today to address a meeting of the traditionally conservative Portuguese community.

Today's meeting is to be attended by a delegation of four MPs from Portugal's ruling Social Democratic Party, including the MP whose constituency encompasses the estimated 600,000 Portuguese living here.

They are leader of the SDP's parliamentary group Dr Jose Pereira, MP, for foreign Portuguese communities outside Europe Mr Luis Geraldes; Dr Rui Alves Carp and Dr Rui Gomes da Silva.

The delegation, whose two-week fact-finding tour will include discussions with wide-ranging political groups, spoke yesterday of the deep concern among their countrymen here about the future, and the impact of change on their lives.

The significance of the visit is that Portugal assumes the presidency of the European Economic Community in January and intends making relations with Africa a foreign affairs priority.

Delegation leader Dr Pereira said that while the group did not have a formal message for South African Portuguese, they would express a personal view that "change is needed".
NP 'wants alliance'""
How to ensure a free and just SA

THE official abandonment of the Population Registration Act and other legal underpinnings of apartheid has been hailed in the United States and around the world as a great step forward.

But if the American experience is a harbinger for South Africa, it will take more than a stroke of the pen to insure justice for all, regardless of race.

Such is my belief, and it was reinforced during my visit in June to South Africa, where I participated in an historic conference at the University of Natal’s Centre for Criminal Justice in Pietermaritzburg.

The conference was held to discuss policing the new, post-apartheid South Africa. It was historic because in addition to the international participants, representatives of the South African and local police engaged in an exchange of ideas and positions with the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The grinding poverty of the black townships I visited during my brief stay served as a reminder that large economic, educational and social issues must also be addressed to insure a just society.

Powers

Still, few subjects are as important as the role of the police. The powers given to the police - the power to arrest, to detain, to use physical force - are extraordinary in a democratic society in which the role of the police is confined to maintaining that degree of public order which makes possible the continued functioning of a free society.

What, then, is the role of the police in an historically divided society - a society divided de jure or de facto along racial lines?

I was invited to address the Pietermaritzburg conference about the American experience with police and race, particularly in the American south.

As an American, I take no small measure of pride in the fact that those engaged in writing a bill of rights for a new South Africa have turned to the American Constitution and Bill of Rights, among other documents, for inspiration and guidance.

Slavery

Yet, as an African American, I know that the ringing guarantees of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in the Declaration of Independence and "liberty and justice for all" in the Constitution of the United States were systematically denied to Americans who were not white.

Despite Thomas Jefferson’s aborted efforts to include the abolition of slavery in the Declaration of Independence, the final document made clear that the new republic would discriminate between those whose were "free persons" and those who were not.

The assertion that blacks were property, not persons in the fullest sense, was the credo of American slavery. It took a bloody civil war and the subsequent abolition of slavery with the 13th amendment to the constitution for that faith to be shaken, but not destroyed.

There persisted in slavery’s wake another deeply rooted faith. It held that while black people were no longer slaves, they were still inferior and must be treated as such through a rigorously enforced system of discrimination, segregation, and cruelty. It was a faith that police throughout the American south adhered to.

Considering history, considering cultural acceptance of segregation, considering the fact that most police departments were predominately or exclusively white, it should come as little surprise that the police in the American south were willing - if not eager - to deny basic rights to blacks.

Lynching

The police enforce the status quo, which is admirable only when the status quo protects the right of individuals. When the status quo is corrupt by virtue of its repression of others, then the police become instruments of repression and are corrupted in the process.

The extent to which the police were used as instruments of repression and intimidation crystallized in the mind of the American public with the advent of television and the flowering of the American civil rights movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

It was then that the American public saw the searing images of police, equipped with riot batons, dogs and fire hoses, attack unarmed protestors who had assembed peacefully to demand rights.

Police resistance to the civil rights movement and defence of the status quo was more than disturbing. Not only would it involve brutality and the violation of civil rights, but eventually it would involve murder.

While the lynching of African Americans is a well documented outrage in the sordid history of the American south, American public opinion never mustered the kind of indignation one might expect from an advanced society until three civil rights workers, two of them white northerners, were murdered in Mississippi in 1964, with the connivance of the local sheriff’s department.

The names James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman were etched in the American psyche; at once the victims and the proof of deeply-rooted hate, aberred by official police corruption and violence.

For many, the murders of the three civil rights workers were the worst examples of police misconduct and racism of the era.

In the American civil rights experience it was essential that the national government set a high moral tone.

If there was a failure of police agencies on the regional or local level to protect the rights of individuals, as there was throughout the American south, then it became the obligation of the national government.

Killers

After all, it was the Federal Bureau of Investigation that breached the barriers of local police obstruction, and launched the most extensive FBI investigation in history to find the bodies of Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman and to bring their killers to justice.

The national government must insist on adherence to the rule of law and demonstrate its will in overcoming provincial-resistance to the same. One historical example was the drama that unfolded on June 11 1963 on the steps of the construction building of the University of Alabama.

Armed with a federal court order, but little else, United States Deputy Attorney-General Nicholas Katzenbach accompanied two African students who were seeking to enrol in the
And now a message from the Swedish PM

LAST year top economists from Sweden gave a crash course to African National Congress leaders on the Swedish model and its possible benefits. ANC leader Nelson Mandela himself has described the Swedish approach as "very tempting".

Meanwhile, Swedes themselves are giving up some of their most prized welfare policies, like the state-sponsored medical aid scheme and commitments to full employment. Unemployed Swedes have up to now been supported by trade union-run unemployment schemes directed to meet demands in the labour market.

The state itself is no longer allowed to soak up the jobless, as it used to when Sweden was one of the most solid economies around. With just one percent growth last year and one of the largest public sectors in the West, state spending has reached its ceiling and the ruling Social Democratic party had to do something drastic.

The final blow, argued by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development economists, came a few months ago when finance minister Allan Larsson announced a tax hike to cut state bureaucracy.

The tax system has also been revised. So a question mark hangs over the welfare model. Does it still exist? What is clear is the glue that once held capitalists and workers together - a consensus-oriented state where social growth and a just distribution of wealth was established - is no longer as strong. One of the main socio-economic models Sweden's socio-economic policies may work in the icy north. But are they appropriate for South Africa?

By CHRISTER PETTERSSON

During the post World War II period, the Swedish economy was suffering from recession with unusually high inflation at 11 percent and social welfare costs consequently cut back. This time the measure is not seen to be temporary as during the 1970s and 1980s crises but a fundamental shift in social democratic ideology. Critics say the party is now in line with demands for working class interests to be moderated, its emphasis on general and general constituency have moved towards the center ground.

These days the arch defenders of the welfare state are mainly the Swedish Left Party, which is the reformed Communist Party and disaffiliated workers' oriented Social Democrats in an uneasy alliance with Greens and, to some extent, farmers.

They are worried that the death of the Swedish model was declared recently when Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's government handed in Sweden's formal application to join the European Community.

That means, say critics, the government will have to adapt to EC welfare standards, which means to let some five to 10 percent of the population starve unemployed - instead of today's 1.8 percent which together with Switzerland is the lowest in the world. Others believe inflation will increase unemployment anyway, and that Swedish multinational voted for the EC long ago by moving their investments into Europe. Some, like engineering giant Asea, have even moved their head offices.

The main force producing Sweden's is to cut the EC in fear. Swedish gross national product, buying power and wages are far ahead of Europe 20 years ago. Today there is no such difference - most countries in Europe have caught up and some, like Switzerland and Holland, are ahead, according to a survey by a Swedish business weekly. It is feared how EC membership will affect the rest of the Swedish system remains to be seen. But there are still many benefits left that most mainland Europe, not to mention the Third World, wouldn't understand.

Deregulation - for example with more freedom to choose between state, private and co-operative crafts - is fashionable at the moment but is still within secure welfare parameters.

In fact, the hegemony of the Social Democrats' welfare system, injected into the blood of every Swede from cradle to grave for more than 50 years, is the main gain that won't easily be given up. Swedes, including conservatives, are largely in favour of a common social responsibility and are no longer used to turning a blind eye to society's poor and marginalised, even if there are differences about how wide the security network should be.

Thus Swedes do not fear that there will be a revolutionary change if Swedish Conservative Party leader Carl Bildt becomes prime minister after the elections in September.

Even if Bildt himself is in favour of Thatcherite policies, his coalition partner in a possible bourgeois government, the Liberal Party, won't dig out radical cuts in what remains the Swedish model.

When it comes to, for instance, state funding in the economy, many Swedes are against it and are privatization these days. This is not disturbing with the Swedish context as only some seven percent of the economy is in the hands of the state - compared with South Africa at around 40 percent.

South Africa looking for directions to sort out apartheid mess, it's more the terrain and the value system than a blueprint of the Swedish model that is desperately needed. No South African government is likely to be able to afford to repeat Scandinavia's welfare policies.

But the notion of settling differences in negotiations involving state, capital and labour is probably worthwhile looking into. The Social Democratic state's main objective is to diminish conflict in society by co-opting and absorbing disturbing complaints. Participation, not exclusion, is the name of the game in the country that invented the Swedish economic model.

At the seminar in December the Swedish experts pointed out labour market policy, state housing policy and, to some extent, tax policy as areas where ANC-aligned leaders could benefit from the Swedish experience.

However, the model is approaching retirement age and Swedish aid, both to the ANC and the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference, cannot be taken for granted any longer.

Christian Pettersson is the Southern Afri
can correspondent for Ystad Afven, a Swedish business weekly.
The fall of Smuts' government in 1948

Post-war Issues within South Africa

In 1943, the United Party (UP) was re-elected to govern South Africa because it was the political party which had ruled during the difficult war period. Volunteer soldiers who had fought on the Allied side in both North Africa and Italy returned home inspired with patriotic feelings towards South Africa and its government. The 1943 election was aptly called the "Khaki" election. (Khaki is a dull yellowish brown colour. Most military uniforms are khaki coloured.)

However, many Afrikaners-speaking ruling class white South Africans had opposed the Smuts' government's decision to participate in the Second World War. This group had favoured neutrality. No rebellion similar to that of 1914 occurred, but these voters used the ballot box to voice their protest. The Reunited National Party (RNP) gained their support.

The UP had difficulty solving the economic crises of the post-war period. Many soldiers returned home to face unemployment. Household goods and services were in short supply. Prices of key commodities such as bread, meat, sugar and petrol had increased. The working class became too discontented - with low wages and bad working conditions and the white working class once again relied on the government to offer them job protection.

Dual medium education became a key issue. Afrikaans-speaking people insisted on the use of both English and Afrikaans in the government, civil service, and education. As unemployment grew, many people objected to the immigration of Europeans who often gained job opportunities at the expense of the indigenous people. Many Afrikaans-speaking people also opposed the visit of the British royal family to South Africa in 1947. The UP was the target of these criticisms.

The South African oppressed

The vociferous black majority also had major grievances against the United Party. In 1946, black mineworkers went on strike and the Smuts' government called upon the defence force to stop the strike action. Smuts' handling of the 1913, 1914, 1918, and 1922 strikes was vividly remembered and the black working class witnessed Jan Smuts' closeness with the industrial capitalist class.

Discriminatory laws were passed and implemented by the UP. Here are a few examples:

- In 1943, the Pogging Act was passed. All property transactions between South Africans classified as 'white' and 'Indian' were to be frozen for five years. This act was condemned within the United Nations Organisation (UNO) as well as the government's policy towards people of Indian origin living in South Africa.
- A critical housing shortage occurred in areas demarcated for black occupation, namely in Sharpeville, Mamelodi, Sophiatown, and Springs.
- Racist bodies had been set up to discuss issues relating to the oppressed. For example, the Coloured Affairs Department was established to discuss issues affecting people classified 'coloured' while the Native Representative Council was established to handle issues related to black South Africans. These bodies were totally rejected by all who believed in non-racism and anti-racism and those who participated in these bodies were also rejected by the oppressed people.

Political Parties and Organisations

By 1948, numerous political parties had been formed to oppose the Smuts' government. There were also numerous extra-parliamentary organisations which opposed the government. We will look at a few of these briefly.

In 1939, at the outbreak of World War Two, the United Party had split. Those who refused to participate in the war left the party and rejoined the National Party under Malan. J.B.M.Hertzog resigned from the Reunited National Party in 1940 and founded the Afrikaner Party. Oswald Pirow, a National Party member, founded the New Order of South Africa, which based its policies on national socialism. Another key organisation was the Ossewa Brandwag (OB). The OB was a cultural organisation but became a paramilitary organisation when members attacked soldiers who had volunteered to fight in the war.

The 1948 Election

As opposition to Smuts and the United Party grew, the RNP and the Afrikaner Party made an election agreement. They would not oppose each other in the election campaign and do their utmost to oust Smuts. The RNP won the support of the white electorate with the following programme:

- mother tongue education
- economic expansion
- assistance to the farming community
- the building of a powerful defence force
- apartheid
- separate development

Apartheid was a fairly new concept and was based on the ideology of racism and the belief that different 'races' should be separated. Segregation and separate facilities were introduced in all spheres. In May 1948, the National Party of D.F. Malan won 70 seats, the Afrikaner Party 9, the United Party 65 and the Labour Party 6. Malan and apartheid had been victorious.

Try this exercise!

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

1. Interpret the cartoon.
2. Explain why the Ossewa Brandwag is drawn larger than Malan and Malan is larger than Hertzog.
3. To which political parties were Malan and Hertzog affiliated?
4. Does the Ossewa Brandwag still exist?

Answers

1. The cultural organisation formed to unite Afrikaans-speaking ruling class South Africans is gaining prominence and is aiming to incorporate the National Party and the Afrikaner Party.
2. The OB had more support and was able to control the NP under Malan. Malan in turn hoped to incorporate the Afrikaner Party into the NP.
3. Hertzog: Afrikaner Party; Malan: National Party
4. Yes
He disputes government's excuse that it would need to amend the Constitution to open white schools, but concedes that Cloete has a political problem with the Conservative Party.

Burrows says a way out for government is Item 14 of Schedule 1 of the Constitution.

allows an own-affairs ministry to act on an agency basis in the rendering of services to "persons who are not members of the population group in question." The House of Representatives and the House of Delegates have already taken this route and opened their schools to all — without a constitutional amendment.

DP health spokesman Mike Ellis says the lack of desegregation taking place at own-affairs hospitals, in spite of guidelines for admissions sent out by Health Minister Rina Venter, is worrying.

A reply to questions put by Ellis to Venter in parliament showed that 11 hospitals in the Transvaal and two in the Free State admitted no blacks last year. At another eight in the Transvaal and three in the OFS, fewer than 1% of admissions were people of colour. Venter says, however, that none of the four provincial administrations are aware of any occasion on which a black person was refused admission to a hospital on the grounds of race.

But Ellis says in spite of Venter's assurances, there is clearly something fundamentally wrong with a system in which there is a massive demand for hospital beds, but some own-affairs hospitals that have not admitted any black patients have low occupancy rates.

Segregated welfare is another area of concern, not least to the NP's Shehie Camerer. She said in parliament this year that discriminatory welfare allowances and the fragmentation of welfare administration couldn't go on.

"At present not only is there a huge discrepancy between welfare services for the black child and those available to the black child, but there is also total fragmentation of welfare services for children."

Services for whites, coloureds and Indians are provided by three separate own-affairs departments, while those for blacks fall under the four provincial administrations.

In defence of maintaining apartheid at white own-affairs welfare institutions, Welfare, Housing & Works Minister Sam de Beer says his department will "continue to render a service that is in line with the needs of the communities concerned, communities that have been served for many years already."

De Beer adds: "It continues to be government policy to promote the concept of an own community life and we shall continue, as the present Constitution requires of this department, to render these services within the framework of the Constitution."

He says there are 429 homes for the aged, service centres, children's homes, creches and rehabilitation centres owned and run by private welfare organisations and that their managements must decide their admissions policies. However, his administration paid subsidies only for whites.

DP leader Zach de Beer says if hospitals can accept patients of all races, schools should be able to do the same. "If we don't need hospital apartheid, then why, in the name of heaven, do we need to offend and insult the majority of our population by maintaining school apartheid for another two or three years after which it is doomed anyway?"

While the DP accepts that the current Constitution will have to remain until replaced by a new one, it disagrees that it is consequently impossible to make essential amendments to phase out own affairs as far as possible.

De Beer says the NP must decide if it still wants own affairs. If it does then it remains, to an extent, in favour of apartheid. "They may say yes, we still want own affairs, but only for a limited time. Are they not then saying that they want to be only a little bit pregnant? What use is it to keep something going that must disappear soon in any case?"
The ANC has had a successful national conference (see page 22), essentially clearing the way for a resumption of "talks about talks" in a forum which could lead to the "transitional arrangements" Pretoria speaks of, though the ANC's wish is for an "interim government."

It should be recalled that the ANC broke off negotiations on the grounds that Pretoria was not doing enough to bring violence to an end. However, co-operation in various committees has continued and the ANC — or at least Nelson Mandela — appears to be aware that the next phase must begin or it will lose international credibility, along with funding. Sanctions are ending and the pretence that the ANC can somehow dictate how and when they should be eliminated is a face-saving pretence.

On the face of it, government is in a strong position to simply wait for the ANC to return to the table — and perhaps even calculate that if it waits too long, the congress will lose electoral support in the democratic poll which will dramatically crown the efforts to destroy apartheid. But this would be to assume too much; though the central apartheid laws (barring the Constitution itself) have been repealed, reform needs to be a continuous process.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in education. The paradox of empty "white" schools and overflowing "black" ones is explainable only in terms of conservative whites in the provincial bureaucracies making hay before the sun goes down.

They have the latitude to do so because of the division of education into a multitude of own affairs and ethnic departments; and so long as they are allowed to get away with it, educational policy smacks of a discriminatory clinging to privilege compounded by spite.

Social services — the matter of different pensions for different races is the most glaring example — also need attention. The question of compulsory military service for whites only will have to be resolved one way or another.

Nor would it be wise for government to leave land claims — where there are pertinent arguments for restoration — in limbo. To do so would be to place an emotional time bomb under the validity of a new constitution and it would be better to create a special court or equivalent structure to assess such claims on their merits now.

A large number of similar items need reformist attention. F W de Klerk's administration need only proceed to give them that attention to hold the moral high ground it has attained. If the issues are neglected, the ANC can be counted on to point this out and exploit it.

It may be questioned whether threats of mass action will have much real effect — and no one would look more foolish than the ANC if it calls for such actions and they fail to materialise. But government's interests will best be served if in the coming weeks it moves unequivocally towards ensuring that reform really does take place within the bureaucratic labyrinth.
Editorials decry
Australian stance

Star Foreign Service

MELBOURNE — Australia's two leading newspapers today strongly criticised the policy of
the Government and the attitude of Foreign Affairs Minis-
ter, Senator Gareth Evans, to South Africa.

The Australian newspaper
accused Senator Evans of
"holding up moves to return
South Africa to the world econ-
omy and, finally, to the commu-
nity of nations".

It claimed he appeared deter-
mined that the timetable Aus-
tralia would follow would be set
by the ANC.

"The Government should re-
examine its devotion to the
ANC line," the newspaper said.
"The ANC has strong links with
the South African Communist
Party and has yet to be proved
the representative of that coun-
try's black people."

It said Australia's "dithering
on sanctions is denying our
economy the benefits of renew-
ed trade".

The Sydney Morning Herald
demanded that Australia and
the Commonwealth "should not
plod on with a plan of phased
reductions" which "would con-
tribute little or nothing to the
bargaining strength of the black
South Africans."

Such policy would merely
"polarise opinion in Australia".
Minorities need assurance they won’t suffer

VIRTUALLY all that remains of Mahatma Gandhi’s multiracial community on the lush Natal coast is his bust. This monument to the champions of peaceful resistance to racism sits in a clinic on the site of the Phoenix settlement.

His house, his printing works and the iron press that dispatched Gandhi’s philosophy into the world is gone. The Indian Opinion after 1903 stand shattered. The 100 acres of pasture has become a slum.

The destruction of the settlement came not with Gandhi’s return to India nor the imposition of apartheid, but just six years ago. It fell victim to a battle for land between black ANC supporters and Zulus backing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Indian residents were driven off and the shrine to Gandhi wrecked in the ensuing conflict. ANC supporters won, but turned it into a squatter camp.

The fate of the settlement epitomises the differences between South Africans of black and Indian origin, and the ANC’s difficulties in winning support from minority races.

The fate of the Phoenix community is seen among a number of Indians as a foretaste of life under majority rule. Among them is a former member of the Indian chamber of Parliament, Pat Poovalingam.

“Comparisons have been drawn here between the Indians and the Jews of Europe in the 1930s. Indians are poor enough to be despised and rich enough to stick out like a sore thumb,” he said.

There are more than a million Indians in South Africa, descended from labourers shipped in to work on the British sugar plantations. Some 80 per cent live around Durban. Their vote, along with coloureds’, will be crucial in multiracial elections.

They, too, have suffered the indignity of forced removals, segregated living areas and job reservation for whites. Yet invariably they have fared better than blacks.

According to recent opinion polls, when multiracial elections are held, a majority in Indian communities plan to vote for the National Party.

Nelson Mandela acknowledged the problem in his opening speech to the ANC conference a week ago.

The ANC’s problem is trying to convince minorities they will not suffer under black rule. From CHRIS McGREAL in Durban.

“The ANC should not be afraid to confront the very real issue that the national minorities—Indians, coloureds and whites—might have fears about the future,” he said.

Fatima Meer, a prominent member of Durban’s Indian community, sees those fears as two-fold: racial and economic.

“The ANC is seen as an African party representing African interests.

“The National Party now says it is no longer a racist party, and you’re looking at a situation where minorities may feel their best chances lie in hanging out together against the majority.

“When you start speaking about redistribution of resources, material fears, people may say the ANC makes a lot of sense but it needs to be moderated before they will vote for it,” Ms Meer said.

The outgoing ANC general secretary, Alfred Nzo, in a secret speech to the conference, warned that it was among a number of obstacles to winning support from Indians and coloureds. Others included the factional violence, which claimed 10,000 lives, and ties to the Communist Party.

From the black perspective, Indians are often among the exploiters, although they, too, are among the exploited. Only 20 per cent of Indians are directly involved in business, but it is that portion which is frequently the primary point of contact with blacks.

They are among the more privileged elements of the Indian community. It is that position, squeezed between blacks and whites, that most often leads to resentment.

In 1949 it contributed to anti-Indian riots in Durban that left several hundred people dead. Passions have cooled, but the ANC has yet to come up with firm ideas on how to persuade Indians and coloureds that they are not going to suffer under black rule. — The Independent News Service.
Conrad Sidego is envoy to Denmark

Weekend Argus
Political Staff

PRETORIA — Former Cape Town journalist Conrad Sidego is to be South Africa's new ambassador to Denmark.

Mr Sidego, 45, who will succeed Mr Anton Lubser in September, worked on newspapers in Cape Town for 15 years before becoming corporate communications manager at the Anglo American Corporation five years ago.

After the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, announced the appointment on Friday, Mr Sidego said that South Africa had reached a point where it was possible for ordinary South Africans to make a meaningful contribution to the future of the country as a whole.

He had no political background and would find it easy to fulfill the role of an independent representative of a wide variety of South Africans.

"If you are honest and balanced about what is going on in the country and represent it in a responsible way, whatever you are doing could be representative of most people in the country," said Mr Sidego.

Mr Sidego said the process of change in South Africa was irreversible and those who disagreed underestimated the determination of South Africans, especially the oppressed, who would undoubtedly continue towards their aspirations for a better South Africa.

"I have never had the vote in my own country and now together with other South Africans, I feel confident enough to make a contribution to the day when everyone has the vote. We have been protesting and boycotting for a long time but we have seen enough political change to feel we can make a contribution."

CONRAD SIDEGO
Commonwealth EPG group could visit SA

Qantas to fly to SA again?

SYDNEY. — Australia's international carrier Qantas Airways Ltd may resume its "Champagne Route" to South Africa, one of the world's most lucrative long-haul flights, by October, an airline spokesman said yesterday.

He said government-owned Qantas could resume air services immediately but had to await the go-ahead from the Australian government.

"We could have a 747 in the air tomorrow," he said. "It's one of the most lucrative routes in the world because of its length and non-stop nature."

Australian newspapers reported yesterday that Qantas had held preliminary talks with South African Airways. — Sapa-Reuters

The previous Commonwealth EPG mission, in 1986 during the state of emergency was torpedoed when the SADF launched raids into three neighbouring states.
Huddleston Warns of Tough Times

The decision of Britain's Queen Anne...
US fears SA 'begging bowl'

By LUCAS DE LANGE

The Americans have a habit of wrapping their political decisions in a highly moralistic package which fits American self-interest.

When US president George Bush announced his decision to lift trade sanctions against South Africa, he stressed that he had told ANC president Nelson Mandela that it was "the right thing to do".

One must ask: Right for whom?

Filtering through from the American establishment in recent months, a new concern has been manifesting itself - a genuine fear that South Africa's economic situation is going to deteriorate to such an extent that we may become just another African basket case.

The last thing the Bush Administration would like to see, is another begging bowl.

With a growing number of States in Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe - and even the Soviet Union - exerting constant pressure for aid in a world short of capital, another candidate from southern Africa would be most unwelcome. Especially one that has succeeded in arousing emotions in Black-White American politics.

Using its economic might to help South Africa avoid becoming another basket case may make good sense. The scrapping of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act will undoubtedly create new opportunities for South African exporters, while foreign investors will show a greater interest in South Africa.

But be careful - it's a tough and highly competitive world out there and there is no such thing as a free lunch. In fact, South African political and business leaders would do well to soberly consider certain factors that played an important part in the background to the Bush decision.

The attitude of establishment Americans towards South Africa is probably well-defined, as emerging US economic and political analyst Francis Fukuyama, after a recent visit to South Africa.

Writing in the journal The National Interest, this former deputy head of the State Department's policy planning division said he found it hard to overstate the potential for economic disaster in South Africa.

His article suggests three possible scenarios. The first is one in which South Africa would follow Germany's example, where the developed part of the country would peacefully absorb the less-developed part and, while suffering a temporary drop in living standards, would eventually raise the poorer section to the level of the richer part.

The second possible scenario seen by Fukuyama is that South Africa would deteriorate into a Lebanese-type situation. In this scenario, the township violence would spread and become part of the future of the country as a whole, because it has been partitioned into different ethnic or racial communities. In such circumstances, each of these communities would possess arms to protect themselves.

The last scenario is the Latin American model, where the decline would be mostly economical into some kind of poverty-stricken banana republic.

"It is a widespread misconception," he states, "fostered for many years by the apartheid regime, but believed by many blacks, that South Africa is a relatively rich First World country that has simply failed to share the wealth adequately with its black population."

The starting point for a new government could be the redistribution of wealth. "The problem is that any large-scale attempt to right these wrongs over a short period would be self-defeating in that it would wreck the economy."

"It is here where the evolution of the ANC's economic thinking over the next few years will be critical."

Fukuyama warns that a major problem a new government will have to face is to persuade the whites to stay. A serious deterioration in the economic situation will undoubtedly convince many whites that they should take their expertise where it is more marketable. He believes that it would be hard to overstate the potential for economic disaster should large numbers of whites leave the country.

It is against this background that the favourable reception of the De Klerk government's efforts to have sanctions lifted must be seen. Many people in the ANC feel the Bush decision came much too early. But one may well ask whether it really had so much to do with what De Klerk and Mandela - although on opposite sides - had to say about the matter.

The reality is that sanctions are becoming part of our history. But another reality is that their disappearance will not make all that much difference to our economic situation. Assessments towards the end of the week showed that very few experts expect anything dramatic to happen.

Foreign investment will not simply appear on the horizon. Until perceptions overseas change about the country's stability and our willingness to increase our productivity, very little will change in the everyday lives of ordinary South Africans.

Fortunately, we are not all that desperate for foreign investment. South Africa can finance an important part of its future growth, provided we can rebuild business confidence and stop the slide in workers' productivity.
CONRAD SIDEKO is 45. Classified as a coloured until recently, he has never voted.

This week he accepted the job of South Africa's ambassador to Denmark.

Yesterday, as he accepted congratulations at his Johannesburg home, he said: "I'll be one of the few voteless people ever to represent their country. That's the irony of South Africa.

"But accepting the job is part of the optimism I have about the future."

Mr. Sideko, a former journalist, has been Anglo America's communications manager for the past five years. He speaks Afrikaans at home and said he joined the Afrikaans press because of his love for journalism and Africans - not because of politics.

The tall Afrikaans-speaking diplomat-to-be said he had never been a "screamer and shoutier."

"My way was silent protest, like not registering my children under the Population Registration Act."

His wife, Amy, is a teacher at Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg. His sons, Conrad-Jay, 7, and Jonathan, 3, also attend the school.

Mr. Sideko said he had consulted widely, "especially to the left", when the job was offered to him three months ago.

"Some thought it was too early still - that I should first have, for instance, a guarantee of the vote. But I have never reacted as a political victim."

"My style has been to take things in my own hands and rise above them - though sometimes I did this with tears in my eyes because of the humiliations I suffered."

"I believe that one should make the push, like a political No 8 in a scrum, to make the process totally irreversible." The tall man - in a photo on his wall posing with Muhammed Ali, he is 1cm taller than the former boxer - is known for his wit.

He joked: "I imagine the Danes will expect anyone coming from a land of sunshine to be very tanned."

He admitted he had feared his was a token appointment.

"I confronted Foreign Affairs and said if they were looking for a black face for the sake of it, I wasn't interested."

"They assured me the appointment was entirely on merit."

The ambassador-to-be who still has no vote
funds

By Simon Barter in Washington

The Sunday Morning Assessment

Constitutional talks will open the way for IMF

The constitutional talks will open the way for IMF.
Reds are here to stay

ANC poll shows that
All-black Govt

Blacks Support

Only one in 10

JOHANNESBURG —

When asked about their support for government, blacks show overwhelming support for the ANC. In a recent survey conducted by the South African Cabinet Office, 90% of blacks surveyed said they support the ANC. This is in contrast to the 55% of white respondents who support the ANC. The survey was conducted across the country and included a total of 1,000 respondents, with 900 of them being black and 100 being white. The results show a significant gap in support between black and white South Africans.
Majors will urge

G7 to back SA

sign to back SA

14/5/1973

304

Majors will urge

G7 to back SA

sign to back SA

14/5/1973

304
Soweto ‘gives most support to govt’

GOVERNMENT has a higher level of support in Soweto than in any other political formation, according to a survey of township residents’ political attitudes.

The report, by the University of Witwatersrand’s Centre for Policy Studies, found that Soweto residents were “very moderate” and gave government a higher level of support than they did the church, trade unions, the ANC, employers and Azapo.

The survey, of 965 township residents across SA, showed 68% of respondents were satisfied with the leadership of De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela, but in Soweto De Klerk got 20% more votes than the ANC.

The ANC would, however, get the votes of 60% of all township residents nationally in a general election.

Civic associations, street committees, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu enjoyed lower levels of identification in Soweto than in other townships.

On the East Rand, virtually all political formations had a lower endorsement than elsewhere, except for Inkatha.

Inkatha had “overwhelming support” among hostel dwellers, who gave positive ratings to both the state and employers.

Most striking about hostel dwellers, the researchers said, was that they rated all other agencies and movements, including the church, relatively poorly.

Farmworkers victims under law report

THE exclusion of farmworkers from industrial and labour legislation made the law a weapon in the hands of farmers, according to a report published by the Black Sash and the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac).

The University of Witwatersrand researcher Lauren Segal, the author of the report, said the relationship between farmers and labourers operated along the lines of a medieval master-serf relationship rather than according to contractual principles.

“With no written obligations to bind him, the farmer is free to dismiss his worker for whatever reason he wishes and to decide on his own terms,” she said.

SA’s 1.5-million farmworkers are not legally protected and conditions on some farming operations have revealed that there is no bottom line to how bad such conditions may be under the law.”

She said farmworkers were excluded from the Labour Relations Act, the Wages Act, the Unemployment Insurance Act and the Factories Act, and had no right to public holidays, sick pay or leave.

There was no legal limit to working hours or any statute compelling farmers to pay over-time, and as there was no minimum age for farmworkers, child labour was endemic, she said.

Legislation which could be used against farmworkers included the Illegal Squatters Act, the Treason Act and the General Law Amendment Act, she said.
FEWER than one in 10 blacks believes SA should have an all-black government, a recent Gallup opinion poll by market research company Markinor found.

Of 1300 blacks sampled, only 9% said they favoured a government in which "all power was in the hands of blacks".

More than 2000 people, including 800 whites, were sampled across the country for the poll last month.

Power sharing was the most popular choice among both groups, with 85% of blacks and 58% of whites saying they favoured a government in which "power is shared equally by all population groups and no one group dominates the others".

A black government was the least popular choice among both groups in the sample — favoured by only one in 100 whites and 5% of blacks.

A white-dominated government was favoured by 41% of whites and 5% of blacks.

Markinor deputy MD Christine Weisnner said the results made it clear that most whites and blacks took a "realistic, middle-of-the-road view" of political developments.

Divisions within the racial groups were more marked among whites than among blacks.

Three-quarters of English speaking whites favoured power sharing, compared to just under half the Afrikaners speakers.

Among blacks, Xhosa speakers were the most polarised, with 15% in favour of a black government. Only 6% of Zulu speakers did so.
SA's 'hesitancy' problem

PRETORIA. — South Africa would be welcomed back as a member of the Commonwealth once enough constitutional progress had been made, the leader of the visiting Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), Mr. Clive Griffith, said yesterday.

He told a news conference that the great majority of South Africans wanted full parliamentary democracy with one-person-one-vote. (2046)

There were many difficulties to be overcome, including the unacceptably high level of violence.

Mr. Griffith said he also saw as a problem the hesitancy by some key players in the process to have faith in the bona fides of President F W de Klerk.
As South Africa emerges from its apartheid quarantine to rejoin the world, divisions at home seem only to widen.

A dialogue of the deaf rages between white and black, white and black and black while the nation prepares to resume sport and trade with the international community.

Fear rules. The Government fears unbridled black majority power, the African National Congress fears a secret Government agenda to perpetuate apartheid in another guise and the other big black grouping, the Inkatha Freedom Party, fears the ANC means to wipe it out.

**Saga**

The white right, polishing its rifles in the wings, fears the Government of President PW de Klerk is writing "the end" of the saga of the white race in Africa. And many in the Indian and coloured communities fear they will be crushed as black and white wrestle over power in the new South Africa, acting out the African saying that "when elephants fight the grass gets trampled".

Three days before the United States lifted sanctions as a reward to the Government for dazzling apartheid and moving towards democracy, Mr Nelson Mandela's ANC accused De Klerk with unprecedented bluntness of pretending to talk peace while prosecuting a divide-and-rule terror war against blacks.

More than 1 000 people have been killed in township violence in the past year. The Government says they are victims of political warfare between the ANC and Inkatha but the ANC says the Government bears the entire responsibility.

**Euphoria**

The Government, on the other hand, has always talked publicly of power-sharing, not transference of power, a qualification often overlooked in the initial euphoria over De Klerk's reforms.

It insists that it is entitled to recognition for abandoning apartheid and it is impatient to wrap up a new constitution enshrining rights for minorities as well as the majority. In this, it seems to have the sympathy of the West.

ANC officials say their argument that change so far has not been fundamental is reinforced by such incidents as armed white royalty barring deprived black children from an empty white school.

They say the struggle is still against white minority rule and pledge to take their message to the world - but concede few may want to listen.

Mandela, newly elected ANC president, said: "There still remains an enormous difference in the perceptions of the oppressed about the necessary changes that have to occur, and the character of future society, and that of the National Party Government."

Some diplomats see great dangers in a fickle outside world washing its hands of South Africa, of believing the job is over and done now that the legislative pillars of apartheid have been removed and US sanctions lifted.

"The loss of its sanctions weapon leaves the ANC with little alternative but the streets," said one seasoned envoy.

"A complete loss of international interest is a recipe for resurgent violence as the only way to regain that interest."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha, said in an interview immediately after the ANC conference that all the ingredients existed for a civil war ultimately between rival black groupings, as in Angola and Mozambique after the fall of white rule.

He said he was disillusioned by the ANC, which he accused of seeking to bulldoze its way to power over the dead body of his Zulu nation.

Buthelezi does not forget the fate of the Zulus' cousins in neighbouring Zimbabwe, the Ndebele, who were quickly crushed by the army of President Robert Mugabe, leader of the majority Shona people, when they showed stirrings of unrest after independence.

It was difficult to see the way forward, Buthelezi said in his Bush hilltop capital, Ulundi.

"There is a lack of trust all round," he said. "We have this heritage of mistrust from the past. If we can't get rid of this we can't make progress." - Sapa-Reuters
CP called on to quit Parliament

Beerslaa Party leader Robert van Tonder has issued a call to the Conservative Party to resign from Parliament.

"The CP is wasting its time in the Cape Parliament, as nothing will now prevent blacks, Indians and coloureds from registering on the white voters roll. They overwhelm by numbers, which means that the CP and the five other right-wing organisations put together could never gain the majority," he said in the BSP's newsletter, published this week.

CP media spokesman Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was not available for comment. — Sapa.
SA’s ticket to the Commonwealth: one-man, one-vote

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

South Africa will not be re-admitted to the Commonwealth unless there is an election based on the principle of one-man, one-vote, a visiting delegation of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) said yesterday.

Addressing journalists in Pretoria before leaving South Africa, the delegation made it clear that the Commonwealth looked forward to South Africa’s readmittance and would contribute toward the critical need for education funds once the country had achieved a democratic constitution.

The eight-man delegation said, however, that there seemed to be hesitancy among many South Africans to trust the bona fides of President de Klerk.

"Until you can get people to talk, there will be difficulty in reaching agreement," said Clive Griffith, chairman of the CPA and president of the Legislative Council of Western Australia.

South Africa deserved the help and support of the Commonwealth to ensure it reached its goal as quickly as possible, they said.

The CPA made its first official visit to South Africa for more than 30 years to offer objective and impartial advice and comment to all groups involved in the negotiations.

President de Klerk has suggested the CPA examine and comment on the draft constitution and Bill of Rights for South Africa, when it is prepared.

Among parties and leaders the CPA delegation met were peace facilitator Dr Louw Alberts, PAC general secretary Bennie Alexander, retired DP MP Helen Suzman, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, Inkatha president Mgosuthu Buthelezi, CP foreign affairs spokesman Nicholas Langley and ANC president Nelson Mandela.
Israel now on De Klerk’s list of likely foreign destinations

President F W de Klerk has accepted an Israeli government invitation to visit that country, but no dates have been set.

De Klerk’s spokesman Kobus Pieterse said yesterday it was probable the President would visit Israel but “no specific arrangements have been made as yet”. He refused to confirm that De Klerk had accepted the invitation. A Foreign Affairs spokesman said he could not speak on behalf of De Klerk and could not confirm the visit was on.

However, another source said De Klerk had accepted the invitation “in principle but the two parties were still trying to arrange dates for the visit”.

Both Pieterse and Foreign Affairs said that if De Klerk visited Israel he would incorporate it into one of his other foreign trips that were in the pipeline for this year.

There is strong speculation in government circles that De Klerk will visit Nigeria this year and possibly Japan following that country’s recent lifting of some sanctions.

Earlier this year plans were being made for De Klerk to visit Israel, but these were put on hold following the outbreak of the Gulf war.

The plans were put on track again about a month ago when De Klerk addressed the Jewish Board of Deputies in Johannesburg.

Billy Paddock

He spoke then of the thaw in relations between the two countries and said he hoped that these would be normalised in the near future.

At the same meeting, held before Israel’s invitation to De Klerk, SA Zioniist Federation executive director Solly Sachs said that in view of the reforms government had initiated it was time for Israel to extend an invitation to De Klerk.

It is not known whether Sachs knew an invitation was in the pipeline, but De Klerk was invited shortly afterwards.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday welcomed Israel’s decision.

In a statement, he said the Israeli decision was in line with “decisions taken by the European Community as well as the US government and other governments worldwide”.

A spokesman for Botha said Israel’s four-year ban on new arms contracts remained in force despite persistent claims of military co-operation between the two countries.

When sanctions were imposed by Israel in 1987, the Israeli government undertook to honour all existing military contracts, but refused to divulge what these were or the extent of the contracts.
SA: 'on way to full democracy'

Pretoria — SA was well on its way to being a full democracy although it would be foolish to ignore differences between key groups, a spokesman for the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) said in Pretoria yesterday.

The CPA mission, which completed a two-week fact-finding visit to SA last night, said it was convinced of the sincerity of President F W de Klerk.

CPA executive committee chairman and president of the legislative council of Western Australia Clive Griffiths told the media: "We are convinced the great majority of South Africans, regardless of race or colour, want a full parliamentary democracy with one person, one vote."

He said: "SA deserves the support of everyone in the Commonwealth to ensure President de Klerk reaches his goal as quickly as possible."

There were many difficulties to overcome, he said, including the unacceptable level of violence, but leaders were talking to each other and progress was being made.

A report on the mission's findings would be submitted to the Commonwealth leaders summit in Harare in October.

De Klerk had assured the mission everything would be in place by 1994.

However, said Griffiths, the mission felt that every day that went by without multiparty talks placed the time scale in jeopardy.

The CPA urged all democratic groups to talk to each other and bring about a parliamentary democracy in SA.

De Klerk had suggested the CPA examine and comment on the Draft Constitution Bill and Bill of Rights when they had been prepared. This would be done.

Stressing the importance of education to the success of change, Griffiths said an educated electorate was a vital component in creating a new democratic SA.
SIMON BARBER in Washington

of its own people
back in the hands
SVA's destiny is

EXACTLY of importance!
‘Hut squads’ to crack down on illegal squatter camps

CAPE TOWN — In a major crackdown on illegal squatting, government has announced the immediate formation of a countrywide network of “but squads” and a 24-hour hotline to assist rapid response units to nip squatting settlements in the bud.

Government yesterday also urged people to look out for emerging settlements and “to report any obviously illegal structures immediately to ensure that new squatting can be prevented in time”.

The latest get-tough approach on the squatting problem will be aimed at squatters and landowners alike.

Announcing the Cape leg of the national initiative, MEC for urbanisation and squatters Koos Theunissen said: “These uncontrolled activities will no longer be permitted.”

“Steps will be taken in future to prevent illegal actions in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act.”

The moves were immediately condemned by the ANC, which predicted they would “give further impetus to right-wing thuggery and encourage a national campaign of sniping by racists on the homes.”

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: “We totally reject this kind of action which will have the effect of criminalising citizens who are homeless largely because of the government’s apartheid policies and economic mismanagement.”

Theunissen said in his statement yesterday that the rights of landowners had increasingly been violated by squatters.

But he added that “some” landowners, who were responsible for preventing illegal building structures on their land and “obviously or otherwise allowing squatting on their properties.”

In order to prevent and counter such trends, government had decided to institute immediately “squatter support units” at all provincial regional offices.

These units would provide “advice, support and guidance” to local authorities, landowners and “anyone else” to counter illegal squatting.

The staff at the units would be vested with the power to enter private land and institute legal proceedings.

DP calls for affirmative action for women

THE DP would adopt a programme of “affirmative action” or positive discrimination for women if it came into power, according to a discussion paper released yesterday.

The paper, compiled by a group of largely women DP members, calls for a future government to embrace the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against women.

The convention advocates affirmative action “as a temporary measure” to correct discrimination against women.

The paper says that white, coloured and Indian women suffer less of a disadvantage than black women in SA, but that all women suffer from a societal imbalance that can be corrected by temporary affirmative action.

He said some of the proposals could change “quite a lot” before the conference, but that most of them were in line with thinking among rank-and-file party members. (C.D.P.)
German women parliamentarians visit SA

A DELEGATION of six senior German women parliamentarians on an eight-day visit to SA met some of the country’s most prominent women yesterday.

The delegation held meetings with retired politician Helen Suzman, ANC Women’s League president and deputy president Getrude Shope and Albertina Sisulu and National Health Minister Rina Venter.

A German Embassy spokesman said the delegation was in SA to study the role of women affected by apartheid and it would talk to a broad spectrum of women to find out what assistance Germans could offer.
95% turnout, says the SADF

THE SA Defence Force yesterday denied reports that less than half of this month's expected national service intake had reported for duty, and said more than 95% of conscripts had begun their year of service.

The denial followed several reports that at some bases less than 40 out of 800 conscripts had turned up. 

An SADF spokesman said yesterday more than 95% of the intake reported for duty, but that some of the recruits had not reached their bases as they were still in transit.

"We hope to have transported everyone to where they have been posted within the next few days," the spokesman said.

He added the July intake was about one-third the size of the January intake.

According to unconfirmed reports, instructors had been told only 14% of the total July national service intake had reported for duty, with many of those not reporting for duty under the belief that they could no longer be forced to serve following the repeal of the Population Registration Act.

In terms of the Defence Act, only white males are eligible for national service.

The SADF spokesman said the SADF regarded the Defence Act as binding, despite the scrapping of population registration.

Fingos ask FW to return land

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu led a Fingo delegation in a meeting with President F W de Klerk yesterday at which the community appealed for the return of their land in the Tsitsikamma area.

Tutu, who arranged the meeting, said the delegation received a "very sympathetic hearing".

At a news conference afterwards, Tutu said De Klerk had told the delegation he was "solution-orientated".

The delegation, which included Port Elizabeth Anglican Bishop the Right Rev Bruce Evans, met De Klerk at the Union Buildings.

Listened

Tsitsikamma Exile Association general secretary Thobile Makamba said that in view of government's new proposals on land ownership "we had to act quickly so that we could regain our land. We wanted the existing government to make sure that it addresses the problems now ... ."

He noted that a Supreme Court case challenging the government takeover of the land was pending.

De Klerk said in a statement he had listened carefully to the delegation's representations.

He "did not commit government to any specific decisions or actions but assured the delegation that careful consideration would be given to their representations".

Tutu noted that De Klerk had been "under the legal constraint of the sub judice rule with the ... case coming up". However, the government delegation said it was "going to take very serious cognisance of what we proposed".

The community of about 5 000 Fingos were forcibly relocated to Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei in 1977.

The Tsitsikamma land was granted to them by the British government 150 years ago in appreciation of their support for colonial authorities in frontier wars against other Xhosa-speakers.

Nineteen white farmers now own 6 000ha of the 8 000ha tract of land.

Government owns the remainder.

Tutu said the delegation had gone to underline four important points:

☐ That the land was trust land given to the Fingo people in the 19th century;
☐ That in alienating the land and selling it, government did not follow even the procedures laid down in law;
☐ The incredible suffering the people experienced as a result of the forced removal; and
☐ That when the community was moved to Keiskammahoek, the people suffered as a result of unemployment, the infant mortality rate increased and there was starvation.
Worrall: Black/white government needed

LONDON. — The first government of the "new" South Africa should be broad-based and include both black and white South Africans, Dr Denis Worrall told a group of British businessmen yesterday.

Speaking to representatives of some 50 UK companies, he said he believed a stable multi-party democracy in South Africa was possible.

He said the first "new" government would be faced with two dominant needs— to achieve stability and to increase economic development and create jobs.

"The threat to stability could come from both the left and the right, and for this reason it will be essential that the first government... be broad-based and include both black and white South Africans.

"And, quite frankly, the presence of whites in the 'new' government is required also if the 'new' South Africa is to generate business confidence."
Call for CP to resign

JOHANNESBURG.—Boerestaat Party leader Mr. Robert van Tonder has issued a call to the Conservative Party to resign from Parliament.

"The CP is wasting its time in the Cape Parliament as nothing will now prevent blacks, Indians and coloureds from registering on the white voters' roll."

"They thus overwhelm by numbers, which means that the CP and the five other right-wing organisations put together could never gain the majority," he said in the BSP's newsletter, published this week. — Sapa
A Cure Sure to Kill the Patient

Helen Suzman takes issue with those who insist sanctions succeeded in ending apartheid.

Opinion
WASHINGTON — The State Department is circulating a new plan for allocating the $10m voted by Congress last year to promote democracy in SA.

Under the proposal, the ANC would receive $4.5m, Inkatha $2.5m, the SA Council of Churches (SACC) $2m and the US National Endowment for Democracy $1m.

Congressional staff members who have been briefed by the department say neither the ANC nor Inkatha would receive funds directly. Instead, the US Agency for International Development would purchase computers, fax machines and other equipment, but not vehicles, on their behalf.

Under the administration's original plan, the ANC was to receive $3.7m, Inkatha Freedom Party $1m, and the Wits Centre for Policy Studies $225 000, with the remainder going to a variety of US groups to run conferences, workshops and other projects in SA. This was blocked by conservatives opposed to direct funding of the ANC.

The department hopes to be able to start implementing the new plan in about two weeks.

Republican critics were rallying opposition to the move on the grounds that the House had voted on June 10 to deny US assistance to any organisation "associated or affiliated" with the SACP.
DP Youth accuses ANC of 'haughty posturing'  

MICHAEI MORRIS  
Political Correspondent  

THE Democratic Party Youth has challenged the ANC's Youth League to respond to criticism of its stand on sanctions by arguing its case rationally, rather than by "haughty posturing".

Vice-Chairman of the DP Youth Mr Colin Douglas was reacting to the ANC's angry response to an earlier DP statement accusing the movement of being "grossly irresponsible" in advocating sanctions.

Mr Douglas said: "It is unfortunate that the ANC Youth League chooses to counter our criticism with haughty posturing rather than rational argument."

"The DP Youth speaks out against the ANC's continued support for sanctions not because we wish to be offensive, but because the homeless, the unemployed and the poor desperately need an improvement in South Africa's dire economy, and that cannot take place unless foreign investment is encouraged immediately by all political leaders."

Mr Douglas said the ANC should accept that the time of "open, multiparty debate has arrived".

"The ANC Youth League should respond to our criticism by arguing the case for sanctions rather than taking offence and questioning our credentials."

Recent comments by the executive director of IDASA, Dr Alex Boraine, on the ANC-SACP relationship, have attracted widespread attention. Here is the full text of what he said in an editorial in the IDASA journal, Democracy in Action.

Oliver Tambo, in his opening address at the recent ANC conference, high-lighted again the organisation's 'proud record of struggle against apartheid'. However, the real question facing the conference delegates was whether or not the ANC had the potential for government?

This is a question which the newly elected ANC president, Nelson Mandela, sought to answer. His speech, which was in large measure enthusiastically supported by delegates — not only at the time of delivery but in the deliberations which followed — gave a more convincing answer than South Africans had heard thus far from the ANC.

A party that is 'ready for government' must be prepared to negotiate, must look beyond the present obstacles, must be prepared to fight in a free and fair election, must have the appropriate machine (organisation) in order to fight that election and must have a base which is representative of all South Africans rather than only one part thereof.

It would be fair to say that Mr Mandela, in his speech, met all those requirements of a party that is ready for government.

It is clear that the commitment is there but a very long road lies ahead. The election of a person of the calibre of Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary-general of the ANC gives further encouragement.

There are two major problems which the ANC is going to have to come to terms with if they are going to be successful in presenting a 'consistent voice' and a 'clear vision' which will meet the many fears which still exist, not only among white, coloured and Indian people, but among many blacks as well.

Separate identities

You don't have to be a supporter of the 'red under every bed' brigade to have misgivings about the relationship between the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

The recent collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe makes it difficult for many South Africans to understand why there is the continuing strong identification between the ANC and the SACP.

The SACP should never have been banned and it was right that it was unbanned at the same time as the ANC, PAC, UDF and so on. But it has a very clear economic position which supports socialism.

The Communist Party in many parts of the world has had a dismal history and it would do the ANC a great service if these two groupings were separate with distinguishable identities.

In a word, there are many who are inclined to support the ANC but they want to be clear that by supporting the ANC they are not at one and the same time supporting the policies and the practices of the SACP.

Another problem, which is going to face the ANC is the need for greater clarity concerning the activities and the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

State initiative

It is readily appreciable by anyone who understands the history of South Africa that MK is part of that historic reality.

Many of its members will play a role and in many instances a significant role, in the future defence force and police force.

The real problem is to know what the role is. It is particularly important because of the grim cycle of violence which has gripped South Africa in the last few years. That the ANC has its military wing could well give other parties and groupings excuses to have their own 'private armies'.

Meanwhile, the other major actor in the unfolding drama is obviously the South African government.

President de Klerk, like Mr Mandela, has given bold and courageous leadership. But the current government also has its problems.

First, there is a continuing belief among many blacks that the security forces are playing a role in the current violence, through the sins of omission or commission. President de Klerk has not yet satisfactorily clarified the recurring questions surrounding violence and the State.

Second, it would appear that the government has yet to learn that when it apparently wants to be drawn into action, the only message it gives to the ANC and other organisations is that they will never get anything significant or worthwhile unless they adopt a similar pressure and mass action.

If the government is to win the vast majority of South Africans that it means what it says, it has another far greater initiative which will persuade the dispossessed, the poverty-stricken, the homeless and harassed that negotiations are worthwhile and worthy of active support.
'Distortions' cause MP to cancel trip to US

DP MP for Umthlanga Kobus Jordaan yesterday turned down a free trip to the US because of the Bush administration’s “distortion of the realities in SA”.

In a statement Jordaan said he had been invited by US ambassador William Swing last year to visit an international visitor grant from the US Information Service (USIS). He was to leave later this month.

But because of statements by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen, in particular, he had to reconsider the invitation.

Cohen said last week that “(the US) has seen no evidence that South African government entities are supporting black-on-black violence” when explaining the US’s decision to lift sanctions.

Jordaan said: “Any serious student of SA politics will reject this statement with the derision and contempt it deserves.”

Although he was not suggesting President F W de Klerk was party to the “present destabilisation of black politics” he believed that De Klerk’s position had been weakened by the violence which had “strengthened the hands of the hard men in the political and security establishment”.

With regard to Cohen’s remark that the US administration felt all political prisoners or prisoners of conscience had been released, Jordaan said the US definition of a political prisoner differed from that agreed to by the ANC and government.

Jordaan said Cohen’s statement that government appeared to be honestly and genuinely committed to creating a non-racial democracy could have been true in the latter part of 1990 but no longer.

Of late there had been signs from government politicians and supporting media that they had decided “under pressure from the security establishment” and from opinion polls, to go for a competitive transition in alliance with other “moderates”.

USIS public affairs counsellor Kent Obee said he regretted Jordaan’s decision but the embassy was not going to enter into an argument with him.

Magistrate tells of inquiry
ANC Survives Bushwhacking

The battle for Washington isn’t over yet. Writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson.
SA pays R5.8-m to lobbyists

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — According to Justice Department records, the South African Government has paid about $2 million (R5.8 million) in the past year to a small group of lobbyists whose principal task has been to persuade the White House and Congress to abandon sanctions.

The records, which must be filed at regular intervals in terms of the Foreign Agents Act, show that South African Government money also went to the election campaign funds of US politicians who were thought to be sympathetic to the Government and its policies.

Detailed

Eleven companies were registered as “agents” working on behalf of the South African Government, and some were paid almost $900,000 (about R1.4 million) for their work. Detailed accounts show that expensive dinners and luncheons were paid for in some of Washington’s most luxurious restaurants.

The best known South African lobbyist is John Sears, whose brilliant running of former President Ronald Reagan’s election campaign won him much admiration — and influence — in Washington.

Mr Sears, whose fee is $360,000 (about R1 million) plus expenses, also reports in his Justice Department declaration that he hosted expensive luncheons in pursuit of his South African brief.

But the big earner who did much hard legwork on sanctions was the discreet firm of Riley and Fox, which was paid nearly $500,000 for the year to lobby big business and Congress on sanctions.

The firm also arranged a wide variety of meetings between visiting South African politicians, businessmen and officials and movers on Capitol Hill.

According to congressional aides, however, the bulk of the work to get sanctions lifted was done by the SA embassy.

Praise

Its staff was described as dedicated and tireless, and was said to have been working “18-hour days, seven days a week” for several months on sanctions.

There was special praise, too, for the ambassador, Harry Schwarz, who has dazzled Capitol Hill with an energetic campaign aimed at making contact with a whole range of congressmen and congressional advisers who had been abandoned as lost causes by previous ambassadors.

But, in contrast with the huge expenditure to help get sanctions lifted and generally facilitate the South African Government’s cause in Washington, is the perpetrator of most of Pretoria’s problems here — the small upstairs office of the ANC on a noisy street in the heart of the city’s most crime-ridden neighbourhood. The four-member staff has no assistance from lobbyists, operates on a shoestring budget, and takes guests to lunch at a corner eatery.

In fairness, it must be said that almost all foreign governments employ lobbyists of some sort or another in Washington. Lobbyists have, indeed, become a necessary evil.
Security police funding Inkatha — new claim
New hit squad claims

(Cont from page 1)

Some of the bloodiest conflict seen in the Maritzburg area, including a planned invasion of Edendale by Inkatha-supporting impi.

Other allegations refer to the return of certain PAC exiles and the possible lack of support for Dr Buthelezi from certain of his cabinet ministers.

The independent newspaper of London, in reports from its Johannesburg-based correspondent, said the former sergeant, Mr Felix Isaias Ndime, 32, alleged yesterday from a safe house in Johannesburg that his white commanding officers started holding weekly "political meetings" after February last year. The message conveyed was that the ANC was "still the enemy".

"Our leaders used to say we are not going to fight the same war we fight in Angola. We fight a different war, so we started new training in urban warfare," said Mr Ndime.

The participants in the train massacre — "my friends" — had told him what had happened "in the tea room" after they returned to Five Recce's base in Phalaborwa, in South Africa's north-eastern corner.

"They got on the train with pangas and AK-47s and they were using the name of Inkatha. They shot the people and killed them with the AK-47s. They say they were not allowed to speak during that attack because most of them were Namibian and could not speak Zulu."

A spokesman for the SADF said last night that the regiment was a highly professional unit which did not operate in the manner alleged. He said earlier claims about a "third force" had been found to be untrue.

Mr Ndime said he served from 1983 to January 31 this year in Five Recce. He said about 120 Five Recce soldiers had been involved in operations in the last year in the Johannesburg area and in Natal.

He said he had received information from his friends in Five Recce after leaving the regiment — he remained in Phalaborwa after resigning — that they had taken part in attacks in Alexandra township, Johannesburg and Maritzburg.

"People, who went to Natal in March, came back in June and told me they were tired of killing children and women."

Mr Ndime said he received information in February that the violence was going to start in Alexandra in March and it happened.

"They killed people in the Alexandra hostels with AK-47s," he said, adding that members of One, Two and Three Commandos of Five Recce were still operating out of Johannesburg and Pretoria.

He also gave the names of a colonel, a commandant and a sergeant-major who delivered the weekly "political meetings" and the names of six soldiers who took part in the train massacre.

As is well known to military experts, and Mr Ndime confirmed, Five Recce is a multi-national — effectively mercenary — regiment. He said that among the nationalities in the 360-strong regiment were Mozambicans, Namibians, Zambians, Zaireans, Zimbabweans, Australians and Irish.
Getting set for the UN once again

Michael Morris

Portland Correspondent
If the Danish were ignorant, they would think South Africa’s new ambassador to Copenhagen was an unusually well-tanned Afrikaner.

Conrad Sidego, 45, is as Afrikaner as melktert. He speaks his home language with a typical Boland accent; he loves poëzie; he was editor of Rapport Extra, the Sunday newspaper’s “coloured” edition, for six years. Yet he has never cast a parliamentary vote. He still wonders what the inside of Tulbagh’s public library looks like.

He walked a total of eight kilometres to school every day while a bus picked up the white kids in front of his parents’ humble house to take them to their school.

For days after joining Die Burger in 1971 as the Nationalist newspaper’s first non-white journalist, he used Cape Town’s Grand Parade as a toilet “because I felt as uncomfortable as they did” about using the same facilities.

He cried when he had to register his sons as “Coloured” under the now-defunct Population Registration Act.

He does not dwell on apartheid’s ugly history.

“There would be much to be bitter about if I wanted to be bitter. But what would it help?”

“My mother has been my source of inspiration. She was the daughter of a farm labourer and a domestic worker. But she escaped farm life and became a teacher, married to a bricklayer.

“She vowed that her six children would get a high school education. We often ate soup but we all completed high school.”

“My mother refused to be a victim of apartheid. I refused, too. If she could escape from a farm where her mother worked for the miseries in the kitchen, I have the responsibility to carry forward that spirit.”

He believes that political change has become irreversible.

“The legacy of apartheid is still there. My 79-year-old father gets an inferior pension because of his skin colour.

“I could have had a job to sit back and wait for him to get an equal pension. But the time has come for ordinary South Africans to take matters into their own hands. We must all join in mopping up the political mess.

“If blacks still say change is not irreversible, they demonstrate a lack of faith in their own abilities. With political arrogance, we must say it has become irreversible.

“We all talk of the legacy of apartheid. Let’s be honest and call it by its real name: the corpse of apartheid. It is up to all of us to decide whether apartheid will have an expensive funeral. We have to get the corpse into the ground.”

Conrad has always been a pioneer, with many firsts on his CV. He refused to be tied down by convention.

“I had to make it happen for myself. If I didn’t, I would still be drying apricots on a Tulbagh farm like I used to do during my school holidays.”

Despite having excelled in many fields, he humbly describes himself as a Koontal klonkie van die Boland (barefoot boy from the Boland).

In 1987, he and his wife Amy, took the plunge by ex-

changing Table Mountain for Johannesburg’s gold dumps. Conrad set aside his journalist’s pen for a top public relations job in Anglo American.

Now the manager of Anglo’s corporate communications department, who lives in Houghton, is ready to again break new ground by becoming a diplomat.

The decision was not easy.

“When Foreign Affairs first contacted me about three months ago, I felt honoured. But I was immediately confronted with the political reality.

“In a normal society it would have been exciting. But this is not a normal society. I consulted widely, and the message from all quarters was that I was hyper sensitive, that the job depends on what I make of it.

“I have the extra benefit that I have no party-political affiliation. At least in that regard I am un-coloured,” he laughs heartily.

Even a Conservative Party friend phoned to congratulate him on his appointment as ambassador to Denmark.

“We met at a business course. Funny enough, we clicked because we are both Afrikaans. Anyway, he said my job will be safe for about three years. When the CP takes over, they might have to replace me.” That infectious laugh again.

He has always kept a bird’s eye view of party-politics, and refused to be drawn into political ideology.

There’s been one exception, though.

“When the Labour Party was formed — you must remember that was the equivalent of the UDP at the time, a mechanism for the voiceless against apartheid — I as a young teacher got involved in the local effort. It was either that or throwing bombs. And I didn’t have the stomach for that. Maybe I was too cowardly, but then, it wasn’t my style.”

Yet, he has never voted for the House of Representatives. He wanted to be independent, as a journalist and editor. Today, he can look each and every politician in the eye.

But more importantly, he refused to cast an inferior vote. He is still saving that privilege for the day he can vote responsibly, democratically, as a fully-fledged South African.

Conrad says he will represent his country and not a party.

One undertaking he vows to keep is to make contact with South African exiles living in the Scandinavian country.

“They will have a voteless ambassador. There won’t be any need to fight with me — we are fighting the same system.

“Emotionally I understand their anger and fears. But I will also have a foot in Foreign Affairs which will enable me to try and change the wrongs from the inside.”
A visit to America is no longer on the cards

AMBASSADOR Bill Swing invited me last September, on behalf of the United States government, to visit the US. All arrangements were finalised and I was supposed to leave for the US on July 26 1991.

Unfortunately, I had to reconsider my acceptance of the invitation as a result of statements made by the US administration in providing details of the decision of President George Bush to lift sanctions imposed by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) of 1986.

In answer to a question whether the US was satisfied that the South African government was in no way involved in perpetrating black-on-black violence, Assistant Secretary General Herman Cohen said:

"We are not satisfied with all the accusations.

We have deployed our own resources to find out. We have seen no evidence that the South African government entities are supporting black-on-black violence. This does not exclude the activities of private citizens which we’re not aware of. But we have seen no evidence that the government entities are doing anything in that line.

Any serious student of South African politics will not accept this statement with the derision and contempt it deserves.

I do not for one moment suggest that President PW de Klerk is party to the present destabilisation of black politics. In fact, I believe his position has been weakened by the black-on-black violence, which has strengthened the hands of the hard men in the political and security establishment.

There is no doubt whatsoever that members of the security forces have actively encouraged the violence. Whether this is done with the knowledge of some members of the cabinet is not clear.

Acting on hard evidence and sound information, I put a series of questions to parliament to the state president and other ministers regarding state assistance to system political groups and parties. All these questions were evaded with replies that it was not in the interest of state security to divulge the information. The same approach was originally followed by the Civil Cooperation Bureau.

The Swanieville massacre is a case in point. Excellent reports on state involvement have appeared in Africa Confidential and The Independent. In the mid-1970s, when any involvement in Angola was denied by all and sundry but was common knowledge to overseas journalists and agencies.

The second statement by the US administration was: "We feel that all political prisoners or prisoners of conscience are now out of prison." The South African government was requested, however, to put pressure on the governments of Botswana and Lesotho to release its political prisoners.

This request is inapplicable. Apart from the fact that the US does not recognise Botswana and Lesotho, a large proportion of those prisoners are there as a result of the South African government’s direct intervention in the attempted coup to overthrow the Mandela government.

The third statement was to the effect that "the South African government appears to be honestly and genuinely committed to creating a non-racial democracy in South Africa".

If this statement was made during the later half of 1990, one would have been inclined to agree with it. Of late, however, there have been disturbing signs from government politicians that they have decided, under pressure from intra alia the security establishment and security-oriented members of the cabinet, to go for a competitive transition in alliance with other "moderates". This must probably explains the attitude of "we need the ANC to legitimise the negotiation process leading to the new constitution, but unless they dump the Communist Party fairly soon, we shall crush them".

I believe it is in the interest of all to allow the ANC to be built up as a strong, and hopefully acceptable, organisation that will be prepared to compromise during negotiations. Their recent congress showed extremely hopeful signs in this respect. Any compromise reached with organisations and parties which are perceived in the eyes of a major portion of the population not to be representative, despite the possible acceptance by the side world, will almost certainly lead to a new round of repression, albeit in a different guise.

The "pac man mentality" of the National Party (NP) is vividly illustrated in its employing a facade of legality by pushing legislation through parliament to broaden decision-making during transition, as borne out by measures such as the Bill on interim local government and the development and amendment Bill. Such an arrangement will be non-racial, but definitely not democratic nor legitimate. All interim structures should be the result of negotiation with all parties.

Less I be misunderstood categorically that I fully support President Bush’s decision to lift sanctions imposed by the CAAA.

It cannot be denied that sanctions did play a role in forcing the South African government to accelerate the process towards inclusive democratic government. In the process, sanctions hurt the deprived and voiceless communities to a far greater extent than the privileged minority. What hurt these communities, as well as other South Africans, even more were homegrown, abject economic and political policies and ideologies which discouraged both internal and external investment. This can only be rectified by South Africans themselves in demonstrating to all and sundry that we can govern ourselves sensibly.

Foreign governments should not attempt to enhance the process towards "sensible" government - which in turn would lead to the eventual provision of housing and educational needs and the provision of employment for all.

Against this backdrop the abovementioned statements should be evaluated. One gets the impression that the US administration has lost its way in understanding the present political situation in South Africa.

It is essential for the NP and the ANC to stop undermining each other and scoring petty debating points against one another. They must truly put South Africa and all its people first. The same applies to all other parties - both inside our country as well as abroad.

It is essential for outsiders to scrupulously refrain from taking sides. The possibility of damaging us has cast state negotiation by giving the NP and its allies a false sense of security indeed real.

As much as I would have loved to visit the US and share my dreams and ideals for my country with the American people, my conscience does not allow me to accept US state funds as long as the present administration continues distorting the realities in South Africa. I have no option, therefore, but to pull out of my proposed visit.
Nats attend Inkatha indaba

The National Party will send a delegation to the Inkatha Freedom Party's annual conference at Ulundi from today, it was announced yesterday.

The delegation will comprise Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen; his deputy, Reolp Meyer; and the secretary of the NP's federal council, Renier Schoeman.

"It will be the first time that the NP has been represented at this conference," said a statement.

Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will address the conference tomorrow. — Political Reporter.
A leading Conservative Party MP says he will go to jail rather than divulge the names of right-wingers who have threatened to harm physically the country’s first black stationmaster.

This threat of violence was passed on to Sproernet by Soutpansberg MP Tom Langley. He says it is in reaction to the appointment of M S Tsibalo to the Waterpoort station, near Louis Trichardt, where he will be in charge of about seven white Sproernet workers.

This is the first time a senior CP MP has indicated that he would rather accept a jail sentence than help the police arrest right-wingers who have incited or committed acts of violence.

Langley is the CP spokesman on foreign affairs. The FM spoke to him on Monday after he and a CP delegation had talks with a visiting Commonwealth group.

Sproernet’s human resources manager, Vincent de Beer, says Langley has discussed with him Tsibalo’s appointment. “I have told Mr Langley that the gentleman had been promoted on merit,” De Beer adds. Langley then told him that “they could not guarantee Tsibalo’s safety. He also said that a bomb is not ruled out.”

Langley tells the FM: “I do not recall that I mentioned a bomb. I spoke to an official and relayed the message. But they (the Sproernet officials) are not impressed. Hulle sit daar in hul veilege nesies en hou Broederbond on Nasionale Party vergaderings.”

(They sit there in their safe seats and hold Breederbond and National Party meetings.)

Asked whether he would supply police with the names of the right-wingers whose threatening message he relayed to Sproernet, particularly if Tsibalo were to be harmed or a criminal act of violence committed, Langley replied: “Under no bloody circumstances would I give the names to the police. As an MP I am in a position of trust to those who have asked me to relay the message. Not even the threat of imprisonment would compel me to do that.”

De Beer says he probed Langley for the names of the people who have threatened Tsibalo.

“I asked whether we could have discussions with them. He would not give me any names and the only deduction I could make was that they are from the farming community. I also asked Mr Langley whether these people are CP members. He denied categorically that they were from the CP.”

Government and President F W de Klerk are not taking cognisance of the mood of the people, says Langley. “De Klerk does not want to, and the fat cats in Johannesburg do not want to — die bliksems.”

Langley continues: “I want to tell all those fat cats: you don’t know the Afrikaner pioneer, and how far we are prepared to go. And if things happen I will not be able to stop them. When he (Tsibalo) takes up his post, people in that area will take note (kennis neem daarvan).”

Langley says that the job of stationmaster had been the one position left for the white man. “But in their efforts to create the new SA, the NP government is busy with the destruction of the entire infrastructure of the old SA.”

Not so, says Sproernet’s De Beer. Promotion for black railway employees is something which started long ago.

Tsibalo will move into one of the railway houses which adjoin the Waterpoort station. “I have heard that his furniture has already arrived,” says Langley. “They (Sproernet) have a long story about his qualifications. It is apparently a merit promotion.”

Sakkie Gertenbach, of Sproernet’s equal opportunity project, says Tsibalo underwent the same stringent tests which apply to all Sproernet officials. “The days when we promoted someone only because he was top of the seniority list are gone. Tsibalo, who has been with the railways for many years, did very well in his tests. He also comes from the realities,” says Gertenbach.

The threat of violence, and Langley’s refusal to identify the right-wingers concerned, come after a week in which:

☐ A Pretoria school earmarked to accommodate former exiled ANC children was destroyed by a home-made bomb;

☐ The CP and other right-wing groups refused to condemn the bombing;

☐ Rightwinger Piet “Kiet” Rudolph openly defied the State by refusing to be tried by a black prosecutor, before a coloured magistrate, on traffic charges; and

☐ Mass murderer Barend Strydom started a hunger strike in protest against his detention and that of other rightwingers.

Eddie Basha
NP lauds Nelson –
Magnus cries foul

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

National Party sources have hailed ANC president Nelson Mandela's latest statements on negotiations, calling them “remarkable” and “good news for the process”.

In an exclusive interview published by The Star yesterday, Mr. Mandela indicated that the ANC was prepared to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues if President de Klerk moved quickly to restore ANC trust in his Government.

However, Sapa reports that last night Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said Mr. Mandela's claims about the security forces and his generalisations about white people were outrageous.

The NP sources told The Star they were encouraged by the conciliatory tone adopted by Mr. Mandela. "It substantially counters the somewhat confusing signals (we got) from the recent ANC conference. This is far more in tune with the times, and with the initial phase of Mr. Mandela's leadership after his release."

The MPs expressed "irritation" with the ANC leader's insistence that Mr. de Klerk had not done enough to halt township violence — or was being "undermined" by reactionaries in Government — but said this should not detract from the "overall, positive" impact of his latest remarks.

"It looks to us as if he has decided, as he suggested at the end of the ANC conference, that as leader he must lead."

Indiscriminate

"This provides great impetus — we've said all along that Mr. Mandela's role within the ANC is absolutely crucial to the future," said one MP.

Asked whether Mr. de Klerk was likely to respond with a positive gesture now that Mr. Mandela had "put the ball in his court", a Nat MP replied: "On the multiparty congress, the locality of the ball hasn't changed. Mr. de Klerk put it in the court of the ANC some time ago. The ANC has just acknowledged that the game can go on. They've stopped sitting on the ball."

General Malan, speaking at a National Party meeting at Brentwood on the East Rand, called on the ANC leader to substantiate "indiscriminate allegations" about South Africa's security forces slaughtering people.

"This is an outrageous accusation, which strikes at the integrity and very nature of our security forces. I challenge him to substantiate his claim with full detail."

He said Mr. Mandela was also guilty of "terrible generalisations", because the ANC president claimed white South Africans regarded the lives of their black compatriots as cheap.

"This is an insult to the overwhelming majority of whites, who maintain good relations with others — from the domesticics upwards to the office level."

Mr. Mandela's comment was, in fact, an attempt to cause tension between black and white people, General Malan said.

He also cast doubt on Mr. Mandela's claim that the ANC and the SACP would go their separate ways once the apartheid State was removed.
From apricot picker to Copenhagen

Let's not give apartheid an expensive funeral, Conrad Sidego tells ESMARE VAN DER MERWE.

IF THE Danish were ignorant, they would think South Africa's new ambassador to Copenhagen is an unusually well-timed Afrikaner.

Conrad Sidego (45) is as Afrikaners as modder, speaks his home language with a typical Boland accent, loves potjiekos and was editor of Rapport Extra, the newspaper's "coloured" edition, for six years.

Yet, he has never cast a parliamentary vote. He still wonders what the inside of Tulbagh's public library looks like. He walked a total of eight kilometres to school every day while a bus picked up the white kids in front of his house.

For days after joining a Cape Town Nationalist newspaper in 1971 as its first non-white journalist, he used Cape Town's Grand Parade as a toilet "because I felt as uncomfortable as they did" about using the same facilities.

He cried when he had to register his sons as "coloured".

Yet, he does not dwell on apartheid's ugly history.

"There would be much to be bitter about if I wanted to be.

"My mother has been my source of inspiration. She was the daughter of a farm labourer and a domestic worker. But she escaped farm life and became a teacher, marrying a bricklayer. "She refused to be a victim of apartheid. I refused too. If she could escape from a farm where her mother worked for the meagres in the kitchen, I have the responsibility to carry forward that spirit.

"The legacy of apartheid is still there. My 73-year-old father gets an inferior pension because of his skin colour.

"I could have said I want to sit back and wait for him to get an equal pension. But the time has come for ordinary South Africans to take matters into their own hands.

"If blacks still say change is not irreversible, they demonstrate a lack of faith in their own abilities. With political arrogance, we must say it has become irreversible.

"We all talk of the legacy of apartheid. Let's be honest and call it by its real name, the corpus of apartheid. It is up to all of us to decide whether apartheid will have an expensive funeral."

Conrad has always been a pioneer. "I had to make it happen for myself. If I didn't, I would still be drying apricots on a Tulbagh farm."

Despite having excelled in many fields, he humbly de-

scribes himself as "n kaalvoet klonske van die Boland" (a barefoot boy from the Boland).

In 1977, he and his wife, Amy, exchanged Table Mountain for Johannesburg. Conrad sat aside his pen for a top public relations job with Anglo American.

Now the manager of Anglo's corporate communications department is ready to become a diplomat.

The decision was not easy.

"When Foreign Affairs first contacted me about three months ago, I felt honoured. But I was immediately confronted with the political reality. In a normal society it would have been exciting, but I consulted widely, and the message from all quarters was that I was hyper-sensitive — that the job depends on what I make of it.

"Even a Conservative Party friend phoned to congratulate me on his appointment as ambassador to Denmark."

"We met at a business course. Funny enough, we clicked because we are both Afrikaners. Anyway, he said my job will be safe for about three years. When the CP takes over, they might have to replace me."

That infectious laugh again.

He has always kept a bird's eye view of party politics, and refused to be drawn into ideology — with one exception:

"When the Labour Party was formed — you must remember that was the equivalent of the UDF at the time — I as a young teacher got involved in the local effort. It was typical 'Boer jou moer' politics. It was either that or throwing bombs. And I didn't have the stomach for that. Maybe I was too cowardly, but then, it wasn't my style."

One undertaking he vows to keep is to make contact with South African exiles living in the Scandinavian country.

"They will have a voiceless ambassador. There won't be any need to fight with me — we are fighting the same system."

"Emotionally I understand their anger and fears," he adds poignantly.

"But I will also have a foot in Foreign Affairs which will enable me to try to change the wrongs from the inside. It will enable me to be a facilitator rather than a traditional old-style ambassador."

"And ... I've read all the (protocol) manuals on when to walk forward, when to walk backward, when to walk up straight and when to bow. It's all a bit much."

"He says as an after-thought: "I just hope I won't embarrass my country." □
Top-level NP group at Inkatha congress

BY BILLY PADDICK

THE NP will send a high-powered delegation to the annual Inkatha congress starting in Umtata today.

The NP will be represented by two of government's top negotiators, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy Roelf Meyer, and NP federal council secretary Renier Schoeman.

The NP Natal region has attended previous Inkatha congresses, but this is the first time, the federal council has been invited.

The decision to send such senior party members to the three-day event is seen as a further sign of the increasingly closer working relationship between the two.

Co-operation between the two parties, particularly in the Natal/KwaZulu region, has grown steadily in recent months and there is speculation that the NP and Inkatha are close to some form of political alliance.

A joint Inkatha/NP think tank has been operating for more than a year at provincial level. Earlier this year, the NP indicated that the two parties had been speaking about closer working relations and even alliances, at the "forthcoming multiparty conference". Senior NP members said yesterday the delegation was being sent because the NP wanted to acknowledge Inkatha's role as a major player in the negotiation process.

The conference will be attended by an estimated 10,000 Inkatha delegates and supporters and observers.
Japanese official in SA for the day

The embassy had arranged a last-minute meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels. It was also trying to arrange meetings with the ANC.

Hiraiishi said the main purpose of the visit was to exchange views and discuss "recent political developments in SA".

Sapa reports Suzuki has met Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe. He also visited Tanzania.
Leon blasts Jordaan over attack on US

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Democratic Party MP for Houghton Mr Tony Leon yesterday blasted DP colleague Mr Kobus Jordaan for the latter’s “unbridled and intemperate attack” on the US administration.

Mr Leon was reacting to Mr Jordaan’s announcement that he was declining a US-government sponsored trip to the US because of the President George Bush’s “distortion of the realities in SA”.

Mr Jordaan (Umhlanga) said earlier this week that US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen deserved “decision and contempt” for stating there was “no evidence” that SA government entities were encouraging black-on-black violence.

Mr Leon called criticism of Mr Cohen “particularly deplorable, since at considerable domestic political risk” the Bush administration has taken “the principled decision to lift sanctions”.

He charged that Mr Jordaan was “repudiating” Mr Bush’s sanctions stand in “blatant contradiction” of the DP’s own position on sanctions.

Mr Leon, in Washington with Hillbrow DP MP Mr Lester Fuchs at the invitation of SA ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz, said he was satisfied that Pretoria had met the five sanctions-lifting conditions set out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.
Gorat Fake Money to Inkatha

[Image of a hand holding a fake banknote]

Gorat money

[Image of a banknote]

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Army 'in massacre'

Own Correspondent
LONDON.—Two leading British newspapers yesterday carried front-page reports alleging South African military intelligence involvement in last September’s Soeto train massacre and of secret security-police funding for Inkatha.

The Independent quoted Mr Felix Isaias Ndime, a former South African army sergeant, as saying that the attack on September 13 in which 26 people died was the work of “state-hired assassins.”

These were said to come from “One Commando of Five Reconnaissance Regiment, crack troops of ‘Special Forces’, the operational arm of South Africa’s Directorate of Military Intelligence”.

Mr Ndime, who reportedly served with Five Reese from 1983 to 31 January this year, told the Independent at a “safe house” in Johannesburg that about 250 Five Reese soldiers had been involved in “hit-squad” operations in the past year. They operated both in the Johannesburg area and Natal.

He said that after Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC were legalised in February last year, his white commanding officers started holding weekly “political meetings” in which the message was conveyed that the ANC was “still the enemy” and that Inkatha should be supported.

Mr Ndime said his friends in Five Reese who participated in the train massacre told him about it afterwards in the tea-room at Five Reese’s base in Phukubora.

They used pangas and AK-47s to massacre the people. Most were Nambians and could not speak Zulu.

SADF reports

The Independent said that in the past year reports had flowed from the townships of the presence of non-South African black men at the scenes of the killings.

While Mr Ndime’s credibility was sure to be questioned, the Independent said he named a colonel, commandant and sergeant-major who supervised the weekly “political meetings”, as well as six soldiers involved in the train massacre.

In its report, the Guardian said it had acquired documents, some of them marked top secret, which originated from the Durban offices of the security branch.

Together with bank deposit slips, the documents purport to prove that the police funded Inkatha on several occasions.

One payment of R150 000 was allegedly made in March last year to finance a major Inkatha rally.

The deposit slips show the money went into an account held in

name of “Inkatha/Kgare” (the latter being the Sotho name for Inkatha). The account number is given as 221426-8004561553, at First National Bank’s main branch in Durban.

A nine-page memorandum dated February 13, 1989, and written by Major Louis Botha of the Durban security branch, sets out both his and Chief Buthelezi’s concerns about the political impact of the ANC.

The report said it was apparently written after a long conversation between the police officer and Chief Buthelezi.

“During conversations (with Chief Buthelezi) it became very clear that the performance and political scheming of the ANC instilled a degree of fear in the Chief Minister, especially if one looks at the diminishing membership of Inkatha and the implications this has for him,” says the memo.

Major Botha stresses the importance of a successful rally, adding: “It must be understood that Inkatha doesn’t have the financial resources to fund such a project themselves.” He proposes that a clandestine donation of R120 000 should be made for this purpose.

A sum of R150 000 was eventually allocated.

The Guardian report said this was apparently not the first time the security police had funded an Inkatha rally. Another document — a report to Pretoria sent in November, 1989 — showed that R100 000 had been paid into the same Inkatha banking account, apparently to fund a rally on November 5, 1989.

Marked top secret and signed by local head of the security branch Brigadier J A Sloy, the memo says: “The Chief Minister and Minister Mtwu have asked me to pass on their gratitude and appreciation of the payment to those who were involved in obtaining the funds.”

The report said Chief Buthelezi denied any knowledge of the payments.
ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

IN a replay of the Info scandal, the government is embroiled in another slush fund row. It has admitted — under duress — that it secretly siphoned state money to fund two Inkatha rallies.

In the admission, made by both President De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, it is claimed that money was given to many people and institutions to combat global sanctions against South Africa.

Drama on the Agenda

PAT DEVEREAUX

Weekend Argus Reporter

Dr. all around the Thre-
d night screening of the S/ESA Agenda programme.
- A three-sided, live debate
take place in order to take on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The proposed debate on police links with Inkatha, scheduled for 10pm, was to have featured Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze and Inkatha Press liaison officer Ms Suzanne Vos.

The debate was based on the Weekly Mail's story alleging that the security police paid R250,000 into an Inkatha bank account to help Inkatha oppose the ANC.

Mr Harber said that it seemed the move to axe the debate and rewrite the Agenda script followed a hurried phone call by Captain Kotze after he saw the front page of the latest edition of the Weekly Mail.

Captain Kotze admitted that he called Mr Vlok before going on the show and said he had "obviously been in consultation with the minister" about the Weekly Mail allegations.

"But I want to stress that the final decision to cancel the debate rests with the SABC," said Captain Kotze.

The SABC's executive editor of television, Mr Christo Krüger, denied that Mr Vlok had put pressure on him to pull the debate off Agenda.

"I exercised my right as an editor in deciding not to go with that story. There was no pressure by the minister," he said. "But obviously I spoke to Mr Vlok as he was involved."

A further assertion that support for Inkatha was a "non Party-Political" was rebuffed by opposition parties last night.

"There is something disingenuous about the presence that this money was given to organisations because they were anti-sanctions," said Dr Zach de Beer MP, leader of the Democratic Party.

"It suggests the whole thing was another attempt by the government to use taxpayers' money to "influence its own political objectives," he said.

Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, has warned that the government's "double agenda" is threatening to cause a breakdown in the negotiation process.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has denied knowledge of the funding.

Like the Info scandal revelations in the 70s, the government admission came in response to newspaper reports in South Africa and London.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Vlok had refused to divulge these details when pressed for information in parliament earlier this year. They stonewalled formal questions from Mr Ko- bus Jordaan (DP Uitsig) on whether the government had funded any political party.

Newspaper reports yesterday revealed that security police had funded two Inkatha rallies on November 19 1989 and March 25 last year.

Mr Vlok said the money was not drawn from the Special Account of the police but from funds earmarked for the government for the combating of sanctions.

This funding was under no circumstances aimed at promoting partiality or political activism of any particular group. The funds were, inter alia, used for the following purposes: visual anti-sanctions banners, advertisements, transport, hire of stadiums and other facilities. The basis of the
Government admits funding Inkatha rallies

merous covert actions were cancelled as a result.

Some actions which were being continued in the broad national interest are now subject to cabinet control and, as was envisaged, are being carefully and firmly managed.

"It is not the government's policy to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organisation, except government aid made available to all qualifying political parties on an equal basis, for example the payment of constituency allowances to members of parliament and the cheaper provision of voters' rolls in terms of the Electoral Act," he said.

Dr Buthelezi said: "I knew nothing about these transactions. I was never involved in them. I was never informed about them and I had no idea whatsoever that money had been deposited in a Durban Inkatha bank account."

He said Inkatha got donations from businesses, individuals and institutions which did not want their names published. If it were known they had given money to Inkatha, there would be enormous pressure on them from other political parties to give money to them as well.

"We opened an Inkatha bank account in Durban specifically to receive money for disaster aid and for humanitarian purposes as well as for general Inkatha purposes."

"It was not unusual for anonymous amounts to be deposited in this account. The amounts that I now hear the security branch deposited in the bank account were not identified as such to me by anyone at any time."

He said at no time did he in any way thank the government for financial assistance given to Inkatha. "I cannot explain why in a letter Brigadier J A Steyn, deputy regional chief of security police in Natal, wrote that I and the Reverend C J Mtwwa, KwaZulu Minister of Justice, expressed thanks and appreciation for money received."

"It is totally untrue that I received money and Mr Mtwwa is prepared to swear on oath that he at no time knew anything about the money being deposited as stated."

The government was now spending millions on social reconstruction to eliminate the circumstances in which violence was generated. The IFP and the ANC, as political parties, were joint recipients of some of these millions and were jointly involved in the spending of government money for peace, Dr Buthelezi said.

Mr Mandela said the government's covert activities favouring the IFP set the government and the ANC on a collision course. Special stresses were put on the ANC before his departure on a trip to several European and Caribbean countries, he said if the government continued with its double agenda of criminal operations while talking peace, a complete breakdown in the negotiation process could hardly be avoided.

Mr Mandela said he had furnished proof of security force complicity in the violence to the government on countless occasions. Only recently, he had disclosed to senior people in the government that criminals were being used by the security forces to conduct a reign of terror against the ANC.

The government had sensibly admitted the details because the evidence produced could not be denied. Mr Mandela called on security force personnel involved in illegal and covert activities to "come out with a clean confession."

It was Mr de Klerk's duty to see the security forces confined themselves to the maintenance of law and order. If the president could not do this, there was no point in the ANC holding further discussions.

Dr De Beer said the entire government was in trouble about this. If he were to demand resignations, it would be for everyone to go. But he reali-ised that would impracticable.

"I think government has got to come clean once and for all, instead of waiting for everyone to be, for the next elections to take place."

The government had not come clean and for all, and the government was a failure and the ANC would not be able to get the people to support the ANC if they were involved in criminal activities.

"It is a fact that the ANC is not a criminal organisation. The ANC is a political organisation that is involved in political activities," Mr de Klerk said.

Dr Buthelezi said the ANC's security forces had been trained by the British and were highly efficient. The ANC was a political organisation and not a military one.

Mr Buthelezi said he had furnished proof of security force complicity in the violence to the government on countless occasions. Only recently, he had disclosed to senior people in the government that criminals were being used by the security forces to conduct a reign of terror against the ANC.

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THE ANC and the Government were now clear-
ly on a collision course, said ANC president Nel-
son Mandela last night, commenting on the shock
disclosures of Government funding of the In-
katha Freedom Party.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving on
an overseas trip, Mr Mandela said if the Govern-
ment continued with its "criminal operations" it
was doubtful that a complete breakdown in rela-
tions could be avoided.

He was reacting to yesterday's Weekly Mail re-
port that the Government had funded Inkatha opera-
tions. This was admitted by State President F W de
Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok
last night, but denied by the IFP's Chief Mangos-
uthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela said at
least the Government had
had the decency to admit
the allegations were true.

There was "no ques-
tion" of the ANC resum-
ing discussions with the
Government if it did not react positively — by see-
going that the violence that
had killed 10,000 since
1984 ended, and by seeing
that the SANDF confined it-
self to maintaining law.

"We have said all along
that the Government is
following a double agenda
— "while talking to us,
they were also conducting
a war against us."

Mr Mandela said on
countless occasions he
had taken details of State
involvement in killings to
Mr de Klerk. He had
asked for proof, and now
he had proof, said Mr
Mandela (right). He
urged people who
had been "used for the
purpose of committing
crime" to come forward,
as some had done, to con-
fess.

The mass media and
businessmen had not been
very vocal in condemning
the Government for its
complicity in killing indi-
viduals. He hoped they
would now come out and
condemn this, he said.

In an additional state-
ment issued last night, Mr
Mandela said the trans-
formation of Natal and
parts of the Reef into kill-
ing fields should be laid
squarely at the Govern-
ment's door (AP 26/4).

He reiterated the
ANC's demand that Mr
Vlok and Defence Minis-
ter Magnus Malan should
be fired. "We shall test
President de Klerk's own
commitment to maintain-
ing the search for peace
on course against his ac-
tions in this regard."
No marriage, just lovers – Buthelezi

someplace, Freedom Party is not negotiating an alliance with the National Party, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Umzantsi yesterday.

However, Buthelezi told the 3,000 delegates and guests at the organisation's 16th annual general conference that he had to "seek common ground with whoever was willing" in the run-up to negotiations.

"Out of this... there may be some partnerships in the future," he said, adding this had to be viewed as parties courting each other before finally tying the knot.

He made no reference to the storm following Friday's revelations in the Weekly Mail of police allegedly depositing money into an Inkatha bank account to fund anti-ANC activities.

Buthelezi again rejected the ANC's demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly, saying his party would not go to a tripartite conference to discuss these issues.

He also rejected the idea of a patriotic front, calling it "yesterday's politics".

A strong theme throughout his address concerning a future South African government was regionalism.

"We certainly do not need a centrist government in South Africa," he said.

Among the guests to the conference were delegations from the National Party, Conservative Party, Democratic Party, National People's Party and foreign dignitaries.

The NP delegation included constitutional affairs minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy Roelf Meyer, while the CP delegation was led by Advocate Thomas Langley. – Sapa
The silence of the wolves

BY A TWIST of fate, an accident of history, this country's hopes of peace rest on the shoulders of two men: President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. Mr Mandela grows in stature. President de Klerk is in danger of being dragged down by the sinister forces that lurk in his government.

The disclosure that Inkatha was subverted by the security police is but the latest in a succession of scandals that can be traced back to the existence of very large secret funds.

These scandals range from minor but disgusting episodes, such as hanging a monkey footprint outside the home of an Archibishop, to subversion of local government by the infiltration of spies, to the destruction of evidence by military officers, to the dissemination of false intelligence messages in an evident attempt to abort the Namibian settlement, and to the existence of covert organisations popularly known as 'hit squads'. One after another, allegations of evil-doing which seemed incredible have proved to be true.

Nor is it any comfort that President de Klerk and his government are, in these matters, economical with the truth. The scope of the Harma inquiry was deliberately circumscribed to prevent an inquiry into the assassination of Anton Lubowski. When Mr J A Jordaan of the Democratic Party asked the Minister of Law and Order in March whether the SAP was funding Inkatha, the government took refuge behind security legislation to 'protect the public. Many other examples of evasion, duplicity, and cunning can be dredged from the recent record.

FANTASTIC

There is a history to all this. When the fantastic allegations of the Information scandal finally came to light, after years of deceit and untruthfulness (for which Dr Connie Mulder was to sacrifice his political career), the Rand Daily Mail carried a simple headline: It's all true.

Similarly, the allegations of "hit squads" seemed fantastic, and turned out to be true. The allegations of police collusion with Inkatha seemed far-fetched, and proved to be true. The idea that military officers would defy President de Klerk by concealing and destroying evidence seemed incredible, and proved true. As the Rand Daily Mail said, it's all true.

But other allegations, more dreadful, wait to be proven. Did the government, or any of its agencies, assassinate Lubowski? Did the CCB assassinate David Webster, as a senior police officer at first suspected? Did the police protect the "impala" that attacked ANC supporters? Did the Casspirs guard the "roofdoekie"? If a fund to fight sanctions was misused, as plainly happened, to drum up support for Inkatha, what other misappropriations might have occurred?

For thousands, perhaps millions, of South Africans who, like Mr Mandela, took President de Klerk at face value, and gave him their sympathy or support, it is becoming increasingly difficult to suspend judgment. The kindest interpretation of events is that he has failed, so far, to establish proper control of his government.

BATTERED

That, however, is small comfort to the majority of South Africans who want peaceful negotiations or to the foreign supporters, like President Bush, who have been left by the latest disclosures with egg all over their faces.

The damage is cumulative. President de Klerk's personal reputation cannot endure much more battering. If his historic endeavour to turn this country from the path of destruction is to proceed, he must soon gain control. That means, quite simply, that he must dismantle the entire apparatus of dirty tricks created by his predecessors in order to meet what they perceived to be "a total onslaught". He claims he has regained control of the secret agencies; plainly, he has not, nor will he do so until he shuts off the immense flow of funds that sustains the gangsterism in his government.

The search for peace is not advanced by the filthier instruments of war.

THE EDITOR
how they ought to be conducting their battle, their liberation struggle?

Painful

"I never agreed with that argument but it was a very strong one in the organisation. Some people left because of that issue. It took me years to come to terms with it. It shocked me."

Mrs Harris said she believed the debate — a very painful one — had been resolved.

"We now know what we are. A political pressure group, a human rights group; we guard our independence, we are non-aligned. We stand for the things we always stood for — justice, fair play and morality in government."

It was critical that those principles were not challenged again — no matter who was in power, she said. For that reason there would always be a need for a Black Sash.

Mrs Harris has been one of the driving forces behind the tiny but angry letters to everybody". She joined the Women’s Defence of the Constitution League, later named the Black Sash, which protested against the government’s attempts to remove coloureds from the voters’ roll.

In 1978 Mrs Harris wrote in a Sash publication: "What a welcome change it would make to be able to write about change, real change. How exciting it would be, could be, to report the repeal of the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the migrant labour system, Bantu Education Act, Terrorism Act, Internal Security Act, to name but a few."

"And if this were accomplished, how gratifying then to be able to report an upswing in the economy, lessening of racial tensions, improved international relations, an end to unrest, a surge of confidence in the future shared by all sections of the community."

This week Mrs Harris revisited her words of 13 years ago.

"When I wrote that I was dewy-footing South Africa because there is no hope. Not at all. It has been an agonising decision. I want to stay here. I want to see what is going to happen. I want to poke my finger in."

"I still believe there is the capacity to bridge the differences. There is goodwill in this country."

Mrs Harris’s sons left in the 70s and she says she was happy for them.

"I was delighted when my children left because things were really terrible then. They were young and I did not want to see them in the army fighting their black brethren and going into the townships. It is hard now to look back and remember what it was like in those days."

Will she remain politically involved?

"I have no intention of joining the anti-apartheid movement abroad. It always made me acrid the way they would sit 6000 miles away, telling us what to do and not being part of it."

the Southern Cape.

His only contact with the outside world is a telephone and an answering machine.

"I love the peace and tranquillity here," confides Mr Borain.

"I’m experimenting with different types of garlic which I hope to market successfully. When I’m not working on the farm, most of my time is spent writing on my computer."

Misery

Mr Borain, a University of Cape Town BA graduate and former editor of the student newspaper, Varsity, rose through the ranks of student politics to become secretary-general of Nusas before joining Idasa.

In May last year, he visited Lusaka as a delegate to an Idasa conference on South Africa’s military future, which included ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe
LOOKING back on the years of 'Nationalist' rule, it seems fitting that the "old South Africa" should be forget it and spew the contents of its jails into the street where a medieval housewife empties a basket of slops.

The labourers of DP Malan, Hendrik Verwoerd and John Vorster culminate in a scurry of evil creatures into the alleyways, like rats through the sewers. The criminals, in tens of thousands, are the first to celebrate the end of apartheid.

Fittingly so. This, after all, is the republic of Nico Diederich and Fanie Botha, bankrupts, of liars like Connie Mulder and Jimmy Kruger, born Jones, who lied even about his humble Welsh origins; of Hennie van der Walt, the cabinet minister who later graduated to, and then from, prison.

It is also the republic of the CCB, of murder cases quashed by high authority, of police killers, of unpunished delinquents in the cells, and of harsh punishment for such times as the dissemination of thought.

Yet even in such a republic, it is an outrage that two police officers sentenced to death by the courts for murder in a drug war should have their sentences commuted, and progressively reduced by administrative trickery, and be back on the streets in three years. Among the 57,000 common criminals set free, these are the worst.

Very well. We can, in this thug-ridden society, put up with a few more thugs; life is a lottery. More alarming is the thought that this pitiful first result of the negotiations for a "new South Africa" is the consequence of not simple skullduggery, but of intellectual collapse in the higher regions of the Department of Justice, and of woeful political ineptitude.

The government has simply lost its intellectual grip on the process of transition. Like the bungling of the land question, the bungling of the prisoner release signals a warning: this government of President FW de Klerk does not possess the depth, the intelligence or the character to preside over the birth of a new republic.

The prisoners' story begins with the Groote Schuur Minute which, in May 1989, recommended the creation of a working group to define "political offences", and to advise the government on how to set the offenders free. The prospect seemed analogous to the release of prisoners of war, complex but not difficult.

At heart, it was a matter of definition — whether, for example, a murder committed in the heat of civil commotion was a common crime, or a political act — and that task had already been pioneered in Namibia by Professor Carl Norgaard, president of the European Commission on Human Rights. We took over his work, virtually intact.

LIKE Professor Norgaard, our working group concluded there was no generally accepted definition of a political offence, but that an international consensus, based largely on extradition laws, did provide an acceptable set of guidelines. Every case should be judged on its merits, but factors to be taken into account included motive, membership of a political organisation, the circumstances of the crime (civil commotion or riot), the gravity of the offence, and so forth.

On these guidelines, the ANC and the government agreed. At first the government insisted that it was free to negotiate with other groups and "formulate its own guidelines", but later it was to insist that the "Norgaard" guidelines applied to all prisoners.

The Pretoria Minute, signed in August, set two deadlines. Prisoners who could be released in categories would be dealt with by December 31, and those who needed individual consideration, by April 30.

At first, it seemed a technical one; a test conducted by lawyers and judges in public, so that justice could be seen to be done, and so win for the process, political legitimacy. Instead, this government, its attitudes fashioned by its past, made the process secret. That was its first mistake.

What happened after August is difficult to say but by November 2, the government had staked on the idea of using administrative remission of sentences to solve the problems which defeated its technical legal competence.

At first, an innocent way to skid past the problems. Eight ANC prisoners were released after having their sentences reduced administratively by one third. Others got special remission of one year. Various categories of political prisoners — those who left the country illegally, or got military training abroad, for example — were released without difficulty.

However, as year-end approached, it became plain that the government could not, or would not, meet the first deadline for the release of all the

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KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

SUNDAY TIMES 21/7/91

15

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However, as year-end approached, it became plain that the government could not, or would not, meet the first deadline for the release of all the...
THE first inkling Law and Order Ministry Adrian Vlok had of the impending storm was a panicked phone call in Cape Town at 4pm on Thursday night from Captain Craig Kotze, his Union officer.

Capt Kotze, a former journalist, told Mr Vlok from Johannesburg that theWeekly Mail would carry a report the next day alleging the SA police had handed R289 000 in "gifts" to Chief Manqebe Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Vlok, survivor of many damaging disclosures about his department, acted instinctively.

He telephoned the SABC and told them that "if Capt Kotze is out of a panel discussion with Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber and Inkatha in Vos on links between the police and Inkatha.

The programme had been scheduled to go out live in less than an hour.

Mr Vlok then contacted his senior generals. Get every bit of information you can, he ordered. His men worked throughout the night, confering with Mr Vlok in Cape Town by telephone and fax.

On Friday morning, fully informed, Mr Vlok telephoned Presi- dent F W de Klerk, who was on leave.

The president immediately decided to return to office.

He knew a crisis when he saw one.

Payments boost Inkatha's image

THE flurry was caused by a report in Johannesburg's Weekly Mail that the South African security police paid the Umuntu bank account in Durban to help pay, among other things, for two party rallies. The Inkatha trade union, Uwusa, also received handouts.

The Mail published in full a 10-page memorandum from Natal security police officer Major Louis Botha, a former Information official of the security police, Brigadier J J Steyn, setting out a comprehensive SA police plan to boost Inkatha's image, help it establish an anti-ANC activity, feed some of its rallies and even cover ANC erosion of Inkatha support.

Major Botha reported on confidential discussions with Chief Buthelezi in which the Inkatha chief expressed concern about Xhosa domination of the ANC, spoke of his reluctance to establish rapport with the ANC, and why he had not taken up a host of offers and even his suspicions of some of his cabinet ministers, such as Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Chief Gomeda and Mr S Sitehle.

Major Botha reported on crumbing support for Inkatha in Natal and warned there was a danger the ANC might gain the upper hand in the province. He observed that Chief Buthelezi intended holding a series of political gatherings in Natal to broaden his political base.

A huge rally was to be held at King's Park in Durban on March 25 with the themes, said Botha, of "anti-violence, anti-sanctions and pro-evolution".

Major Botha's recommendation: This erosion was urgent. We must make a financial contribution to the rally. It is of cardinal importance that we are at King's Park to support the Chief Minister and show everybody he does indeed have a strong bone.

The consequence of a meeting which does not succeed is self-evident. The question must be asked whether we can afford not to support such a rally."

Major Botha recommended a clandestine payment of R129 000 be made to help cover the costs of the rally.

The rally went ahead as planned, but reports of the meeting indicate only 800 people turned out. That night, as Inkatha supporters returned home, fighting broke out in Elandskloof township near Maritzburg. Shots were fired, stones thrown and by early evening there was virtually civil war.

Six days later, according to conservative estimates, 50 people were dead, 150 wounded and 6 000 people homeless in the Maritzburg region fighting between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

The Weekly Mail also produced evidence that the payment was made and records that another R109 000 was paid for a rally on November 25 1989.

A memorandum from Brigadier Steyn to his superiors in Pretoria reports that Chief Buthelezi and his justice minister, the Reverend J F Mntwana, asked that their thanks and appreciation be conveyed to those responsible for paying on the money.

"Chief Buthelezi was very emotional when a copy of the receipt was given to him. He could not say thank you enough and said he had not expected it," the brigadier reported.

FW flies back to face the truth

As President de Klerk made his way to the Union Buildings on Friday morning he was fully aware of the devastating implications of the Weekly Mail report - not least of all because the allegations were all true.

It was not the first time charges of collusion between the SA police and Inkatha had been made. The ANC and civil rights groups had handed over dockets of allegations of complicity in Inkatha attacks on ANC supporters in Natal and the Transvaal townships.

Many of the complaints had focused on alleged police support in bussing Inkatha supporters into ANC-supporting areas in the Transvaal for rallies - rallies which had all too often ended in violence.

The issue had also been raised in Parliament.

On March 5 this year, Mr Kobus Jordaan - DP member for Umhlan- ga and a former senior official in the Department of Constitutional Development - until his security clearance was yanked by the police because he had begun confidential discussions with the ANC - asked President de Klerk whether the National Intelligence Service had ever given support to Inkatha.

Deputy Information Minister Rees Meyer, standing in for Mr de Klerk, refused to answer. Similar questions to Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Mr Vlok went unanswered.

On April 9, Mr Jordaan returned to the attack. This time, Mr de Klerk said, "It is not government policy to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organisation except government aid made available for a specific purpose on an equal basis, such as the payment of constituency allowances."

This answer, Mr de Klerk knew as he headed back to the crisis meeting in Pretoria, would be crucial in the government's response to the Weekly Mail story.

But Mr Jordaan had not finished. On Wednesday of this week the political anniversary, he announced government's intention to make a focused revision to the 36-page Editor's Guide, involving as part of a "cloak and dagger" initiative.

Of the political impact of the Weekly Mail story there could be no doubt.

The ANC would be immeasurably strengthened in its claims that the national government was attempting to sabotage it through political pressures.

Inkatha's reputation was in tatters. Not to mention the likely response of the US government, which had just lifted sanctions against the dire warnings of the sanctions, who claimed the SA government was involved in destabilising the ANC.

Vlok confirms secret fundings

MR VLOK remained in Cape Town on Friday. He was in constant telephone and fax contact with his senior generals and the president.

The telephone line between Union Buildings and Umlundi, where Chief Buthelezi was preparing for his par- ly's annual day, was cut.

There was no response.

No newspaper, no SAP's S 5 0 0 0 involved in on trains in 1 1 2 0 0 0 bodies black-on-black violence.

But there Mr Nelson Mandela remarkably in which he was birthday past and had again ing would return.

It was before the time to respond.

Pik says he is a constitutional/Maxwell ACT mucia.

Pik confirms secret fundings

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**IE DAY THE JUBBLE BURST**

**By BRIAN POTTINGER, MIKE ROBERTSON and EDITH BULBRING**

But Mr Jordaan had not finished. On Wednesday this week he publicly announced he would not accept a US government invitation to America because of the claim by US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen a few days earlier that the US could find no evidence of SA government bodies supporting black-on-black violence.

Of the political impact of the Weekly Mail story there could be no doubt.

The ANC would be immeasurably strengthened in its claims that the De Klerk administration was attempting to sabotage it through proxies.

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Vlok confirms secret fundings

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The telephone line between Union Buildings and Umlandla, where Chief Buthelezi was preparing for his party’s annual conference starting that day, must surely have hummed.

There was considerable confusion as the Weekly Mail article hit the streets—“compounded by a report in New Nation, an ANC-sympathetic newspaper, quoting a Mozambican who claimed he was part of the SADF’s 5 Recce Unit and had been involved in the slaughter of civilians on trains in the Johannesburg area as part of a special forces campaign of destabilisation.”

His claims were promptly denied by the military.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne van der Vyver, meanwhile, said Chief Buthelezi had no knowledge of SA government payments to Inkatha and dismissed the article as a “strategic ploy” to coincide with Inkatha’s annual congress.

The ANC, incredibly, was at first reluctant to comment. It was concerned, said one spokesman confidentially, that it would be seen to be sabotaging the Inkatha administration and that might hamper the crucial church peace talks scheduled for next week, at which it was hoped to bind Inkatha to a mutual code of peaceful conduct.

But there was anger in ANC ranks. Mr Nelson Mandela had just given a remarkably conciliatory interview in which he said he believed negotiations were back on track. At his birthday party on Wednesday, he had again told well-wishers nothing would stop negotiations.

It was late on Friday afternoon before the parties were in a position to respond formally to what amounted to the biggest scandal faced by the De Klerk administration.

Mr Vlok’s statement came out a few minutes before 6pm. He confirmed the story was true but added that the money had come from a special fund set up to combat sanctions.

The support for the rallies, he said, had been support for an anti-sanctions campaign and not for a political party as such.

De Klerk’s statement arrived almost simultaneously. He contended himself by observing there had been a fundamental change in the handling of secret funds and he had also ordered a full inquiry into covert operations of the various state departments. The veracity of that, he said, numerous covert actions were ceased.

“Some actions being continued in the broad national interest are now subject to cabinet control and, as was managed, are being carefully and firmly managed,” he said.

It was only later that the source of the money for the Inkatha rally was discovered.

Mr Vlok had asked his colleague, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, for the money from a secret anti-sanctions budget in the Foreign Affairs Special Account, part of the Secret Services Account. This anti-sanctions budget had been widely used, it appeared, to fund campaigns all over the world.

**Buthelezi hits at ‘offensive’ story**

CHIEF BUTHELEZI’S response came soon afterwards. He denied just about everything. He denied knowledge of payments through the police to Inkatha for rallies. He denied ever having accepted money to undermine the ANC.

He described the Weekly Mail article as “offensive” and declared the ANC of having access to government money, in the words of Vice-President Ivo Schuur said “We are not wrong.” Having money from Mandela and “the last” was the best.

He particularly denied Brigadier Steyn’s claim that he had been grateful to “lose a lot of money”.

Lastly, came the ANC response, delivered by Mr Mandela on his behalf. He denied knowledge of the money. He said, confirmed ANC charges that the government had been funding anti-Inkatha forces, as it bore direct responsibility for “the murder, sometimes of entire African families, who were the PFV and the ANC”.

He again called for the sacking of Mr Vlok and General Malan.

At the press conference, meanwhile, he warned that the revelations had set the government and the ANC against each other. The money, he added, De Klerk could not control the security forces, said Mr Mandela, there was no way the ANC could further discussions with the government.

**Pik says he authorised Inkatha**

From Page 1

funding had been received and had sparked off the civic violence that had become known as the “Maritzburg War.”

As asked whether any checks were made to ensure the money was used

Constitutional

Gerrit Viljoen, opening the Inkatha annual Conference at Umlandla, said the money donated to Inkatha had been “insignificant” when seen against the background of the vast sums donated to the ANC.

“Your guess is as good as mine,” he told a reporter.

RyAN Cresswell

reported from the Inkatha annual conference at Umlandla that shock and disappointment were widespread among the 4 000 delegates.

ANC President Nelson Mandela said on Friday that if President De Klerk did not restrain the security forces, he could not control the security forces, said Mr Mandela, there was no way the ANC could further discussions with the government.

He again called for the sacking of Mr Vlok and General Malan.

At the press conference, meanwhile, he warned that the revelations had set the government and the ANC against each other. The money, he added, De Klerk could not control the security forces, said Mr Mandela, there was no way the ANC could further discussions with the government.
Vlok ‘reconsiders’ after disclosures

The minister said the SAP had paid “no more than $5 million in total” to Inkatha and its trade union the United Workers’ Union of SA. “$5 million is way off the mark,” Mr Vlok said. He added that these donations had strengthened the perception that the SAP worked together with Inkatha. “We have always had a good relationship with Inkatha and it was easy to pay money into a bank account. However, after February 2, 1999, things changed and the police became neutral,” he said.

“The State President told the SAP that they were not to be removed from the political playing field. The State President also cancelled certain projects,” Mr Vlok said.

“It now is illegal for any policeman to belong to a political party. Those things are gone forever. ‘In the past, the government was embroiled in a battle, but this has passed and we can now act publicly, which is something I prefer anyway,’” Mr Vlok said. The SAP had now “come clean on all the facts—we have told everything.”

He repeated earlier statements that the money was used to fight the pro-sanctions campaign, and denied an allegation by Mr Harber that the money had instead been intended to bolster Inkatha against the ANC.

Mr Harber said the 10-page top-secret SAP document published by the Weekly Mail showed that the anti-sanctions campaign was not the primary purpose of the transaction.

Mr Harber said in a statement that Mr Vlok had taken a neutral stance after February 2, 1999, as the transactions to Inkatha had taken place after that date. “How do we know if there weren’t more of these payments, and did you defy the State President’s instructions when you paid these?” he asked.

Mr Vlok continued to insist however that the Inkatha rallies had been funded to counteract the sanctions campaign, and also to highlight a message of peace in a strife-torn area.

Mr Vlok said each and every expense item had been carefully documented to ensure that taxpayers’ money had not been wasted. Senior Inkatha officials provided details of expenditures to security policeman Major Louis Botha.

Mr Harber: “Why was it necessary to pay these funds through the SAP? How do we know whether money used in the anti-sanctions campaign was not also spent to pay the killers of David Webster, who was pro-sanctions?”

Mr Vlok did not reply to this question.

Mr Harber refused to disclose the source who had provided the Weekly Mail with the top-secret SAP document. “We can only say that no law was broken,” he commented.

Mr Vlok: “Except by the person who stole the document…”

Mr Harber: “A person who did his civic duty…”

The Weekly Mail editor asked further: “How can we believe your denial about the neutrality of the SA Police?”

Mr Vlok: “I’ve said before that you must be prepared to bring the proof…”

Mr Harber: “Here’s the proof, Mr Vlok…” — Sapa

RE-ELECTED . . . Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is carried on the shoulders of supporters after being re-elected yesterday as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party. He earlier volunteered his resignation over the growing row that his party received covert funds from the government. INSET: Constitutional Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen chats with the chief minister during a lunch break at Inkatha's 16th conference at the weekend in Ulundi.
Govt's admission jeopardises SA peace process

PRETORIA's admission that it has been secretly funding Inkhata has created a major setback to negotiations with the African National Congress and jeopardised the entire peace process in South Africa.

It has also damaged the credibility of President F W de Klerk and put him under intense pressure to sack Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriam Vlok and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan.

Mr Nelson Mandela is known to be enraged by the disclosures. They have embarrassed him with a large section of militant ANC members who repeatedly warned that he was putting too much trust in the De Klerk government.

Even so, the political initiative has shifted suddenly to the ANC. Any government denials of involvement with Inkhata or with the Zulu factions in the township violence are now likely to be disbelieved.

Mr Mandela, in Spain yesterday at the start of a tour of European and South American countries, said he doubted whether a complete breakdown in negotiations with the government could be avoided.

His main mission — to appeal for the maintenance of economic sanctions — is now certain to fall on more sympathetic ears.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha admitted yesterday that he had authorised the channelling of state money to Inkhata as part of "a worldwide campaign to counter sanctions".

But the Sunday Star claimed yesterday that the R250,000 state funds for two Inkhata rallies admitted by Mr Vlok was "only the tip of the iceberg". The newspaper said it had established that the government's secret funding to Inkhata involved amounts of more than R6 million, most of it to help Inkhata establish its own black trade union, Uwusa.

The Weekly Mail broke the story at the weekend by publishing a "top secret" memorandum from a Durban security police officer requesting funds to assist Inkhata stage rallies to counter its waning support.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied receiving any such funds. The claim, he said, had been timed to discredit Inkhata's annual conference held in Ulundi at the weekend.

But within hours Mr Vlok had admitted the secret funding. Mr de Klerk also issued a brief statement saying he had ordered a stop to "all covert funding" during the second half of last year.

At the same time, the independent pro-ANC newspaper, New Nation, carried allegations by a former black army sergeant that four members of the defence force's five reconnaissance regiment ("Five Recce") had carried out an attack on a Soveto-commuter train killing 26 people in September last year.

An army spokesman dismissed the claim as "outright lies" but the government immediately appointed a high-ranking police officer, Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, to investigate the allegations.
MARCH OF HONOUR . . . Part of the crowd of more than 25 000 people who attended slain civic leader Mr Johnson Mapongwana's funeral in Khayelitsha on Saturday are seen here marching through the township. Right: CP chief Mr Joe Slovo and former UDF leader Dr Allan Boesak hug each other at the funeral.

Pictures: BENNY GOOL and HAROLD KING

'Ministers must resign'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MORE THAN 25 000 township mourners at Saturday's Khayelitsha funeral of assassinated civic leader Mr Michael Mapongwana jubilantly endorsed ANC calls for the resignation of President F W de Klerk and his two senior security ministers.

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu told them that the ANC's national working committee would be convened "immediately", before the full executive met to discuss the government's shock admission to bankrolling Inkatha.

Further claims that a squad of SADF reconnaissance commandos murdered 26 civilian commuters on a Soweto train on September 13 last year vindicated ANC assertions of state involvement in violence, Mr Sisulu said.

"We've been telling the world that the government is responsible for violence in our country. Time and again we've asked the government how on earth such things can happen, when thousands are killed and none of the perpetrators of violence are brought to book," he added.

Mr Mapongwana, chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, and Mr Ntabachi Nini were shot by three masked gunmen at close range on July 8 this year.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo told the crowd that the government's covert actions were bringing 18 months of talks "closer to the brink of breakdown than they have ever been".

Mr Sisulu's speech, however, fell short of calls by Mr Slovo, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak for the immediate resignation of Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

In a carefully worded address, Mr Sisulu said the ANC needed to handle the matter "wisely", as the purpose of the state-sponsored violence was "to retard progress and destroy our organisation".

"It is very difficult to still move cautiously when hooligans attack you at your house, but whatever you are doing you must do it with great wisdom."

To roars of approval, Dr Boesak called for Mr de Klerk's resignation, "as I do not believe that you can be head of country and have cabinet ministers who do this".

Archbishop Tutu led the crowd in chants calling for the immediate resignation of Mr Vlok and the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry.

If the commission revealed that Mr De Klerk had known about state-sponsored violence and the security police funding of Inkatha, he should also resign, Archbishop Tutu added.

"Mr Mapongwana had been a leading light in the Taxi Crisis Co-ordinating Committee which introduced a selective commuter boycott against the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta), for its reneging on a peace plan with their arch-rivals the former Lagunya Taxi Association."

The police hunt for the assassins has centred on Webta, which is under intense township scrutiny and pressure with many members and their families in hiding.

Yesterday Webta members, fearing an attack by the huge crowd, were seen monitoring the burial ceremony from the nearby dune-tops bordering their temporary headquarters in Mitchells Plain.

MK members lying on their backs on the ground fired several shots into the air with handguns in salute to their fallen comrade, as police monitored proceedings from a distance.

Members of the dissolved Lagunya Association formed a guard of honour around Mr Mapongwana's coffin, wearing the white jackets agreed to in the joint taxi peace plan.

The funeral was also addressed by ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba and DP MP Mr Jan van Eck.
Crisis talks
Tutu: Vlok must quit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE cabinet and senior government officials will hold a crunch meeting at a secret bushveld location outside Pretoria today in a bid to defuse the gravest crisis yet faced by the De Klerk administration. Top of the agenda at the two-day "brokering" will be the government’s emergency strategy to deal with the national and international safety vacuum that the Inkatha shock-front scandal and demands for free elections has put the country in. The South African government has come under intense pressure from across the spectrum for the setting of a new date for the elections and for the release of political prisoners. The government has already committed itself to a three-week period for the setting of a new date for the elections and for the release of political prisoners.

Mr. Vlok’s move comes two days after the government announced that it would release all political prisoners. The government has already committed itself to a three-week period for the setting of a new date for the elections and for the release of political prisoners.

Mr. Vlok, who has been under pressure from opposition parties to resign, told the government’s representatives at the meeting that the country was on the verge of a constitutional crisis. He warned that the country could not afford the luxury of splitting into two separate states, as had happened in South Africa in 1994.

However, a security police memo leaked today indicated that the government was not prepared to give way to the opposition’s demands for an early election.

The Democratic Party, which has been the government’s main opposition, has already indicated that it would not support an early election until the release of all political prisoners.

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ULUNDL — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday
described the South African me-
dia as "anti-Inkatha" and partial,
following coverage of disclosures
of government financial assis-
tance to his party.

Speaking at the Inkatha Free-
dom Party’s Annual General Con-
ference in Ulundi, Chief Buthe-
lezi said he was "amazed and
siccurred" by the attitude the
media had taken on this issue.

He was not the "darling of the
media" because he was an indig-
nenous leader "who doesn’t lean
on any liberal or anyone", Chief
Buthelezi said.

"The IFP is so detested because
it’s proving a point that the sons
and daughters of Africa can run
an organisation like this on our
pittances."

He rejected the implication that
Inkatha was responsible for the
violence, reiterating that he had
never presided over a meeting
where decisions were taken to
kill anyone.

On calls by some newspapers
for his resignation, Chief Buthe-
lezi said: "If the Sunday Times,
the Weekly Mail and others think
the future of the country can be
determined without an impact by
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, they need
their heads read."

The Inkatha leader also hit out
at his former secretary-general,
Dr Oscar Dhlomo, for recent re-
marks in the media concerning
the IFP and its leadership, and
about the organisation’s "ethnic"
base.

Chief Buthelezi told several
thousand delegates and Inkatha
members at the conference that
he knew "you’re boiling within
you because I know how I feel
about this bull...". — Sapa
Ministers in Trouble
Secret Funds:
ESMARTE VAN DER MERWE
Political Staff

THE Cabinet has gone into re- treat today amidst conflicting statements by three ministers on the crisis over secret funding to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The scandal has shaken the government and remains a threat to the negotiation process.

The Cabinet's two-day conference, planned some time ago, will be dominated by efforts to resolve the crisis.

President De Klerk will be anxious to limit the political damage and protect the negotiation process.

So far, three senior ministers have been carrying the burden of justifying the secret IFP funding.

- Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok, who finds himself in yet another controversy because of the security police's involvement in channeling the funds to the IFP.
- Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the government's chief negotiator who attended the IFP's annual conference in Umtata last weekend.
- Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, who... (text cut off)

Different accounts

In weekend statements, the three ministers gave different accounts of crucial aspects of the clandestine funding.

Mr Botha said he had authorized a payment totaling R450,000 for two IFP rallies and resistance to Umtata. This was supported by Dr Viljoen, who said the money was earmarked for "the limited purpose" of organizing two mass rallies and to support the fight against sanctions.

Yet Mr Vlok made a vague distinction between the funding of the rallies — totaling R1.3 million according to one source, R3.9 million according to another — and taxes given to Umtata. Mr Vlok said "in addition" to the funds for the rallies, Umtata had received money "towards an attempt to counter intimidation, illegal actions and related violence on the labour front."

Further, the Democratic Party's Umbanga MP, Mr Kobus Jordaan — a former senior official in the Department of Constitutional Development whose security clearance was withdrawn because he started confidential discussions with the ANC — claimed at the weekend to have documentary proof that R6 million of taxpayers' money had been donated to Umtata.

Mr Vlok, who had ordered an investigation into the claim, did not flatly dismiss this possibility. He merely said: "I really don't think it is anywhere near that amount. However, I don't want to speculate."

Mr Vlok tentatively insisted the government's covert financial support of the IFP — as an anti-violence and anti-actions organization — was not non-political. At the weekend he conceded that part of the security police reasoning in opening the government funding was to boost Inkatha's warning support before the capital's political and security battle.

Mr Vlok told the Afrikaans Daily News-Supporting newspaper Rapport: "The question here is the money given to a political organization to help fight sanctions..."

Mr Vlok made several other controversial remarks in the exclusive interview with Rapport:

- He denied knowledge of the widespread violence — dubbed the "Mangaliso War" — which erupted shortly after the government-sponsored rally on March 26 last year.
- He said: "At these gatherings calls have been made against violence and for peace. No violence followed (from those rallies), at least not as far as I know. I have anyway ordered an investigation."

However, Mr Vlok and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi jointly visited the strife-torn area by helicopter during the "Seven Day War."

"Acted responsibly"

Mr Vlok said no heads would roll over the funding despite and added that the government had acted "responsibly" and "in the interest of the whole country."

Asked whether he could vow that taxpayers' money would be used more carefully in future, he said: "Of course, but how many taxpayers have complained over the spending of money to contribute in the war against sanctions?"

- The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that the secret funding could obstruct South Africa's access to a multi-billion rand loan from the International Monetary Fund and is also likely to embarrass President Bush and his advisors.

Aides to some congressmen who support sanctions confirmed over the weekend that they had been requested to review the Gramm amendment, which restricts US support for IMF loans to South Africa, in order to tighten its provisions.

And they argued that the disclosure of the secret funding of Inkatha would reinforce many lingering doubts in congress about the claims by President Bush and the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, that the South African government was committed to negotiations "in good faith."

Crucial to the decision by congress will be Mr De Klerk's response in deed, rather than in words, to the disclosures.

- Twelve questions you should answer about SA — see Quiz SA — page 9.

...
Vlok: I will reconsider my position
Mr. Vlok... insisted that the taxpayers’ money spent on Inkatha had not been wasted. "I think you should put the question to Buthelezi as to whether he knew of the funding or not."  

Mr. Vlok on two occasions brought up the ANC's covert operation "Operation Vula" following questions Mr. Harber put to him, saying that it was important to be fair and even-handed.  

Mr. Harber accused Mr. Vlok of the abuse and theft of taxpayers' money and of conducting secrecy over the use of this money.  

Mr. Vlok said there were "good reasons" as to why the funding of Inkatha could not be done openly — and added that Inkatha was against sanctions and the police were helping them get their message across.  

He conceded that in the past, the police had been involved in party politics, but that now it had distanced itself from politics in the light of President de Klerk’s reform speech on February 2 last year.  

"But the rally funded by the police came two months later," Mr. Harber asked.  

Mr. Vlok again reiterated the point that the rally was aimed at spreading the anti-sanctions message and he was satisfied that the aim was reached.  

Mr. Harber said he had evidence that the police had funded other organisations apart from Inkatha.  

Asked whether this was in fact the case (that other organisations were funded), Mr. Vlok said: "Not as far as my department is concerned."  

Mr. Vlok then asked Mr. Harber to provide him with the information before it was published to enable him to investigate it. Mr. Harber replied that he had been stopped by Mr. Vlok from appearing on television when information had become known to him (Vlok), further recording: "You also closed my newspaper" (referring to the suspension of the Weekly Mail under emergency regulations).  

Mr. Vlok conceded that people had perceived the police to be partial, but insisted that the "era when police took part in political policies is over".  

Police projects planned before the "new era" had been cancelled in order to facilitate this new distanced approach.  

"The State President feels strongly that taxpayers' money should not be wasted. The police project will make sure it is used judiciously. There were good reasons on that occasion, it could not be done openly... We can not do it openly and I prefer it that way," he said.

Asked whether "any heads will roll" over the affair, Mr. Vlok said the situation was being "carefully looked into" to see whether there were any laws or regulations broken.  

He had placed his trust in the State President and his Cabinet to deal with the matter.  

In a heated interview with newspaper journalists on television, Chief Buthelezi angrily declared that he or IFP officials were aware of the government aid.  

In other dramatic developments yesterday, renewed calls were made for Mr. Vlok's resignation, theConservative Party called for the entire government to resign. IFP leader Chief Buthelezi referred to the disclosures as "bullshit...", and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Pik Botha justified the payments as part of a widespread sanctions-busting campaign.

In Umdoni, an emotional Chief Buthelezi — who was re-elected unanimously as IFP leader at the organisation's national conference — dismissed calls for his resignation by saying anyone who thought the country's future could be decided without his participation should have "their heads read".

Revelations of the government's clandestine funding of the IFP — one of the ANC's main rivals — coincided with renewed complaints of a sophisticated police 'dirty tricks' campaign to fuel township violence.

The weekly newspaper New Nation on Friday claimed that a special security force unit, S Reece, had used attackers from neighboring countries such as Mozambique to carry out attacks, including the bloody Reel train massacre.

Amidst fears that the revelations could be delayed because of the government's covert support of the IFP, the ANC announced that its national Working Committee (NWC) would meet today or tomorrow to discuss the implications of the scandal.

In Spain, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the IFP has been working with the government to destroy the ANC.

The violence in South Africa was not black-on-black, but a prepared strategy, orchestrated by the security forces, between this black organisation and the government. That's why they are paying them," Mr. Pik Botha yesterday issued a statement to justify the use of Foreign Affairs funds to sponsor IFP activities.

Following an earlier announcement that he had instructed R500,000 from the Foreign Affairs Special Account to sponsor two Inkatha rallies and Uwusa's anti-sanctions activities, the minister said the government's funding of sanctions-busting organisations had nothing to do with the support of a political goal or ideology.

It was aimed solely at the ending and the prevention of further sanctions. Mr. Botha said his department had, from time to time, "in good faith support bona fide attempts by the private sector, academics and a variety of organisations to oppose sanctions."
Get out of Parliament, Van Tonder tells CP.

Political Staff (304A)

The Boerestaat Party (BSP) has called on the Conservative Party (CP) to resign from Parliament because the right wing could no longer win a majority there.

The call, made in the latest issue of the BSP's newsletter, "Boerestaat Nussbrief", came from party leader Robert van Tonder.

In the main story, headlined "A call to the CP: Get out of the Cape Parliament", the BSP said the recent repeal of the Population Regis-

tration Act had effectively ended the possibility of a right-wing takeover of power through the ballot.

Mr van Tonder said the CP and all right-wing parties and groups together could never win a majority in the "Cape Parliament", because black, Indian and coloured people could no longer be excluded from the previously white voters roll.

The CP, he said, should pull out of Parliament and work with all other right-wing and Boer groups to reconstitute the Boer Parliament in Pretoria.
Buthelezi offers to quit as leader

Cabinet meets

as funds row
imperils talks

ALLEGATIONS that government donated R3m to Inkatha will dominate an extraordinary three-day Cabinet meeting starting today.

An extended Cabinet, including deputy ministers and provincial administrators, will meet at an undisclosed venue today and tomorrow.

On Wednesday, Cabinet ministers will hold a regular meeting to try to formulate a strategy on the latest scandal, the first to be exposed under the leadership of President F W de Klerk.

A spokesman for De Klerk’s office said yesterday he was sure the disclosures that government had funded Inkatha would form part of the discussions, but there was no agenda.

It was disclosed on Friday that government had given Inkatha R50 000 for two political rallies in the belief that these constituted anti-sanctions activities.

The allocations were made from the R369m secret services budget on the motivation of security policemen and with Foreign Affairs’ approval.

ANC President Nelson Mandela said on Saturday government’s admission had threatened the peace process, Sapa-Reuters reports. Speaking in Madrid at the start of a six-nation tour he said: “In light of this evidence there can be a complete breakdown in relations between the ANC and the government which might put an end altogether to the peace process.”

And ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation would not enter a multi-party conference or any constitutional negotiations until government resolved issues such as violence and its support for Inkatha, LINDEN BIRNS reports.

BILLY PADDOCK
and PATRICK BULGER

However, Niehaus said five working groups set up last month and comprising ANC, Inkatha, government, church and business representatives, would continue drawing up a code of conduct for security forces, political parties and proposals for monitoring groups.

Umhlanga DP MP Kobus Jordaan said yesterday he was certain Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok knew about a further R3m given to the Inkatha-affiliated United Workers’ Union of SA (Uwusa), which was formed in 1986 to oppose Cosatu. He had evidence that government had been funding Uwusa since 1988 and the total amount disclosed to him was R5m.

He said he had spoken to DP leader Zach de Beer and former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo after the Vlok meeting and they had convinced him to continue his questioning. This eventually lead to a denial from De Klerk that government was funding any political party or organisation in a partisan fashion.

Vlok refused to comment yesterday, beyond saying he had ordered an investigation into the R3m. He said the funding of Inkatha had happened prior to the investigation De Klerk had ordered in March last year and would not happen again.

De Klerk also refused to comment on the possible setback to negotiations that the revelations presented.

De Klerk was apparently in a rage on Friday when news of the funding was published and tried to contact Mandela.

The funding issue threw Inkatha’s 15th conference into turmoil at the weekend.

To Page 2
SA to receive top Prague delegation

CZECHOSLOVAKIA is to send a high-level delegation, including its prime minister, six cabinet members and at least 35 top business leaders on an official visit to SA in September.

Sources close to the Czechoslovakian consul-general said yesterday the delegation would include representatives from the Czechoslovakian Bank and Prague University.

The delegation, to be led by Prime Minister Marian Calfa, will be the first official ministerial visit by a former East Bloc country to SA.

Last year former Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr, speaking after a visit to Prague, hinted that a visit from Czechoslovakia could be expected.

In another development Czech-Slovak Airlines (CSA), the Czechoslovakian national carrier, announced that it hoped to begin scheduled weekly flights between Prague and Johannesburg via Cairo by next April.

A CSA senior representative, Milan Herz, is in SA for a month for talks with SAA, the Directorate of Civil Aviation (DCA) and Satour. If negotiations succeed, Herz will lay the groundwork for establishing a CSA office in Johannesburg.

However, SAA spokesman Leon Eies said that SAA did not envisage establishing air links between SA and any former East Bloc east European countries in the short-term.
NP to move into townships

NEWS
JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis are consulted on the details of government secret funding only when the Auditor-General, Mr Peter Wronsley, has come across an irregularity.

Disclosing this to Sapa last night, Mr Wronsley added that he had found no irregularities in the recently exposed incidents of secret funding to Inkatha.

He reported to President de Klerk and Mr Du Plessis only when he came across an irregularity in one of six secret accounts.

As for the money for Inkatha from this account, Mr Wronsley said there had been no reason to involve Mr De Klerk or Mr Du Plessis because there had been no irregularity.

The Auditor-General said his department was not interested in whether it had been “a good payment or a bad payment”. — Sapa
Anti-sanctions fund 'widespread'

Both overt and covert assistance had been supplied on request to a wide spectrum of persons and institutions in South Africa in an attempt to combat sanctions effectively, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Viljoen, said yesterday.

He said in a statement that mass gatherings by an organisation such as Inkatha would have made a significant contribution to the fight against sanctions.

However, he had never discussed financial support for Inkatha with Inkatha leaders. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The funds Inkatha had received had not come from the Special Account of the South African Police but from funds earmarked by the government for the combating of sanctions.

"The funds were, inter alia, used for the following purposes: Visual anti-sanctions banners, advertisements, transport, hire of stadiums and other facilities. The basis of the support was non party political." — Sapa
In the current financial year, Mr Du Plessis has R480 061 000 to hand out for secret projects—a 16 percent more than last year.

According to the procedure set out in the Secret Services Account Act, Mr Du Plessis may, at the request of any minister in charge of one of the five accounts “transfer so much money as may be agreed upon between them”.

In the case of other ministers, Mr Du Plessis may make secret funds available on whatever conditions may be decided in consultation “for utilisation for services of a secret nature determined from time to time by (him) and such other minister as being in the national interest”.

Of the five accounts, the Special Defence Account stands apart. With a balance this year of R1 billion, it far exceeds Mr Du Plessis’s Secret Services Account.

Veiled in infamy after the revelation of millions spent on discredited Civil Co-operation Bureau activities, the bulk of the account is, in fact, to pay for expensive military hardware, research and development.

Of the remaining four, legislation governing three of them—the Foreign Affairs Special Account, the South African Police Special Account and the Security Services Special Account (for Bureau of State Security secret spending)—says the determining factor in using secret funds is “the national interest”.

The last one, the Information Service of South Africa Special Account Act, is a bit more specific.

It also refers to “the national interest”, but goes further in specifying that secret spending should be directed at “promoting the image of, and disposition towards, the Republic, and averting psychological attacks on the Republic”.

- ‘Don’t favour one political side’—what Pik Botha said five weeks ago, page 12.

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

MINISTER of Finance Mr Bar-
end du Plessis has a pivotal role in who gets to use the govern-
ment’s secret funds, and how, though most project de-
tails would be determined at lower levels.

The crucial element in determining legitimate government spending, in the government’s view, is whether it is in the “national interest”.

These points emerge from legislation introduced between 1967 and 1985 to govern the appro-
riation, allocation and ac-
counting of millions of rands for secret purposes.

The Intikha funding scandal has focused attention on the mechanics of the government’s secret budget.

The key is the secret ser-
vice accounts, established in 1978 in terms of the Secret Ser-
vice Account Act.

This account, administered by the Department of Finance and presided over by Mr Du Plessis, was set up to fund five other accounts, each of which is administered in terms of its own Act.

They are:
- The Foreign Affairs Spe-
cial Account (1967).
- The Security Services Spe-
- The Special Defence Ac-
- The Information Service of South Africa Special Account (1979), and

Other ministers whose work falls outside the areas of govern-
ment activity covered by these accounts may also ap-
proach Mr Du Plessis for secret funds.

All secret spending must, by law, be audited by the Auditor General.
Political Staff

PRESSURE is mounting on President De Klerk today to dump senior Cabinet ministers involved in the secret Inkatha funds scandal.

Demands are being made on the government to come clean, convene an emergency session of parliament and immediately appoint a judicial inquiry.

As the Cabinet entered the second day of its two-day retreat, sharply worded statements from political parties, the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and churches underscored the intense public interest.

President De Klerk will also be deeply concerned about reaction from abroad.

ANC: 'Government not to be trusted'

In a sharply worded statement yesterday, the ANC said the scandal had proved the government could not be trusted to provide over the transition from apartheid to a democracy.

After an emergency meeting of the ANC's national working committee to discuss the implications of the scandal, the ANC said the disclosures of secret state funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) underscored the pressing need for an interim government which would enjoy the confidence of the majority of South Africans.

"We challenge President De Klerk and his cabinet to put an end to these sinister practices. The country will not be shaken off with a second version of the Harm's Commission or some other cover-up,"

The ANC wants Mr De Klerk to fire Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Viljoen and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

The ANC's full National Executive Committee would meet before the month-end to discuss the repercussions of the funding scandal to negotiations and to assess Mr De Klerk's response to its demands.

In Spain, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the ANC held the entire government responsible for the scandal. "The decision by Mr Viljoen to resign will be a welcome one, but not enough," Mr Mandela said in Madrid.

PAC cancels Inkatha talks

The Pan Africanist Congress has cancelled talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party on the future of the party following disclosures that Inkatha had received secret funding from the government.

PAC deputy president Mr Dlengani Mosepele yesterday also ruled out any further contact between the two groups.

"Inkatha must choose either to be part of a CCB or a destabilising agent, or to form part of the democratic forces," Mr Mosepele said.

What the parties say

Leader of the Opposition Dr Andries Treurnicht has demanded the government's resignation.

He said Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Viljoen's excuse that the R5.6 million had been lent to counter sanctions against South Africa was "unconvincing" and a "misrepresentation according to the evidence of the police minister involved".

Democratic Party leader Mr Zac de Beer condemned contradictory government statements on the funding scandal underlying the urgent need for a special parliamentary debate.

"There are totally conflicting stories in an issue that has generated intense public debate and these contradictions must be cleared in the interests of the country. If ever there was a case for a public debate, this is it," he said.

He said President De Klerk had "often spoken of the need to open up controversies to the bone... and he had better look as if he is doing that this time."

Reaction from overseas

In Washington, the Bush administration has been surprised and embarrassed by the disclosures of secret funding — so soon after the lifting of sanctions and assurances that the US was convinced the government was committed to negotiations in "good faith".

The State Department called on the South African government "to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990 and to take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts."

Britain and major European countries have so far remained silent over the scandal, but are carefully watching to see how it unfolds, according to diplomatic sources.

The official comment from the British and European embassies yesterday was that their governments had adopted an attitude of non-interference at this stage, but it was apparent the government's strategy on dealing with the crisis was being broadly anticipated abroad.

A French diplomatic source speculated that the exposé would not change his government's position with regard to lifting sanctions against South Africa.

Afrikaans Press speaks up

South Africa's two leading Government-supporting Afrikaans dailies have hinted broadly that President De Klerk should axe members of his cabinet to try to ease the Inkatha slash-fund scandal.

National Party sources agreed that Mr De Klerk would have to do something bold and decisive.

Security sources pointed out that Mr Viljoen was not more responsible for the funding of Inkatha than Mr De Klerk or any other member of the cabinet, and did not deserve to be a scapegoat.

However, the ultra-loyalist Die Burger of Cape Town, in an editorial yesterday, advised Mr De Klerk to carefully consider whether the "casting off" of his cabinet was appropriate.

The Johannesburg Daily Star said that the retirement of members of the cabinet might help to "resolve the situation" but that even this probably would not be enough completely to repair the damage done to the government's credibility.

The view of the churches

Churches added to the pressure on the government.

The Anglican Diocese of Cape Town has called for a judicial commission of inquiry to examine whether Mr De Klerk was involved in the decision to fund Inkatha.

The church's Diocesan Council said Mr De Klerk's personal integrity, his ability to control his cabinet and his government's commitment to negotiations were now in question.

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has also called for the immediate appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into the funding. The SACBC said the commission should inquire into the "State President's complicity in and the involvement of members of his government and the security establishment in the management of these funds."
EVENES: He gave the ANC a grant of R4 million.

What Pik said five weeks ago

DAVID GEVERE & JOHANNESBURG

20/10/04

REG 23/719
Right-wingers lock horns

Own Correspondent 23/1

JOHANNESBURG. — The right-wing Boere Weerstands beweging yesterday alleged that AWB spokesman Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph was a police agent and called on all right-wingers to withdraw their support for the AWB.

In a statement, BWB leader Mr Andrew Ford claimed Mr Rudolph had, since he was detained last year, been working with the security police to trace and return stolen weapons in the possession of right-wingers. He alleged that since Mr Rudolph's indemnity, he had "played into the government's hands" by trying to draw right-wingers into negotiations with the ANC and the government.

In response, Mr Rudolph said he would not discuss Mr Ford or his statements. The BWB leader and his organisation had minimal support and were not important in the fight "against the ANC, SA Communist Party, and PAC for repossessing land we have lost", he said.
Inkatha-gate: Cabinet has to take bull by the horns

The most serious potential victim of the In-
katha-gate scandal is State President De
Klerk's credibility. In the past he has under-
taken to eliminate "dirty tricks", rein in murder-
ous hit squads — "cut things open to the bone" — and drastically limit spending from secret funds.

The evidence now before the public suggests that he did none of these things, or, at least, none of them with sufficient thoroughness.

Frankly, I cannot believe that anyone with the State President's acute political antennae knew about the funds being channelled to Inkatha.

I have sufficient faith in him to believe that he has been duped by overzealous underlings in the security agencies.

Judicial inquiry

Let no one underestimate the seriousness of this affair; it has brought the entire negotiating process into jeopardy; it raises fundamental questions about the National Party government's capacity to inspire trust in the negotiating partners; and it has probably dealt a mortal blow to Inkatha's pretensions to being a major player.

To salvage something out of the wreckage Mr De Klerk needs to do a number of things; accept Mr Vlok's resignation as Minister of Law and Order and, possibly, replace him with Leon Wessels, who is tough, enjoys wide credibility across the political spectrum and has had experience of the portfolio as a deputy-minister.

He must recall Parliament immediately so that the whole miserable business can be fully debated.

He must appoint a judicial commission of inquiry, consisting of a judge and two senior advocates of irreproach-
able integrity, to do what should have been done before, namely "cut things open to the bone", and examine all the evidence alleging partisan behaviour by our security forces.

Mr De Klerk is a sufficiently astute politician to realise that unless he makes a major gesture, the ANC's accusation that he is a man with a double agenda will stick, with possibly calamitous consequences for the negotiating process.

The ANC is entitled to derive some satisfaction from watching the government squirm.

Its allegations about double agendas, "hit squads" and partisan behaviour in the security agencies have been substantially vindicated.

Its demand for a broad-based interim government to oversee the transition process has also been given an immense fillip, especially since the core of the ANC's demand was its mistrust of the security forces' ability to remain neutral.

Ironically, just as the scandal (and what has gone before it) strengthens the argument for an interim government so it makes creating such a government more difficult.

Deny culpability

Mr De Klerk has held out the possibility of a more broadly based government; which the ANC has rejected because of the suspicion that this would merely be a form of "co-opta-
tion".

Those suspicions will now be heightened.

The Cabinet may decide, at its bunker, that it will try to tough it out, denying any collective culpability in wrong-doing and hoping that the storm will pass.

It won't, and if Mr De Klerk is half the statesman I think he is, he will recognise this.

[Professor Welsh teaches in the Department of Political Studies at UCT.]
Govt, IFP may be alienated

From Page 1

gang Mosebenzi, yesterday confirmed that there was confusion surrounding Azapo’s reported withdrawal, but that a “big meeting” between the two movements was being planned.

Mosebenzi said a meeting which was scheduled between the IFP and PAC for early next month - with regard to the launch of the “patriotic front” - had been called off.

He said the Government had been “less than frank” throughout the period in which the country was engulfed in some of the worst civil violence on record and had conspired with the IFP to subvert the democratic process.

At the end of the IFP’s annual general meeting in Ulundi on Sunday, where Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was re-elected leader of the organisation, it was resolved that Inkatha would not enter into a front with the ANC and PAC.

Having taken note of the IFP’s position on the front, Mosebenzi said because of the weekend’s revelations of secret funding by the South African Police of Inkatha, the IFP had turned its back on the progressive forces within the country.

“It is regrettable, to say the least, that the IFP has excluded itself from the envisaged PF, moreover the IFP has clearly failed to grasp the most important dynamic of the present day liberation struggle which is the obvious need to unite the oppressed in order to ensure genuine and complete democratisation of our country,” Mosebenzi said.

He said the PAC was reconsidering its participation in a peace summit which was arranged by the churches, following the weekend’s revelations of police collusion in the violence in black communities.

“The PAC has always said that the violence against the oppressed is State orchestrated in order to undermine the legitimate struggle of our people,” Mosebenzi said.
UK call for Vlok to quit

LONDON. — The Guardian newspaper, which together with the Weekly Mail broke the news last Friday of security police funding of fakaths, yesterday called for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

In an editorial, the Guardian said that while President F W de Klerk deserves credit for initiating change, this "should not be a blank cheque." He still presides over a regime with a long history of dirty tricks.

The Guardian said the central issues were "the reputation of Mr De Klerk himself which has been very severely damaged, and the threat to any future dialogue."
US urges
govt to
act on
scandal

The United States last night urged the SA Government to take action against people involved in the scandal over covert state funding for Inkatha.

A spokesman for the State Department, Richard Boucher, said in Washington: "We would call on the SA Government to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990 and to take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts. We believe the integrity of the negotiating process requires nothing less."

Asked if the scandal had changed Washington's view of President de Klerk's sincerity towards reforms, Mr Boucher said: "Not that I'm aware of."

He said the scandal would have no impact on President Bush's recent decision to lift economic sanctions.

Meanwhile, Hugh Roberton of The Star's Washington Bureau reports that the revelations could obstruct South Africa's access to a multibillion-rand loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Aides to some congressmen who support sanctions confirmed that they had been requested to review the Gramm amendment, which restricts US support for IMF loans to South Africa, in order to tighten its provisions.

Mike Siluma of The Star's London Bureau reports that the covert funding of Inkatha yesterday continued to attract British media attention.

The Guardian called on the international community to review recent decisions to relax sanctions.

Pressure was also building on the British government to review its policy towards Pretoria in the light of claims that the SA Government was implicated in fomenting political violence in the townships.

The Guardian, in a lengthy editorial, said: "The credit given to President de Klerk for recognising the overwhelming imperative for change... should certainly not be a blank cheque.

"(He) still presides over a regime with a long history of dirty tricks, destabilisation and covert thuggery, whose current behaviour now requires much more critical attention."

The Guardian added that the disclosures provide the first hard proof of suspicions that the South African Government has been trying to construct an anti-ANC alliance which exploits tribal rivalries and encourages a climate of violence.

Referring to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's denial of the source of the funding, The Guardian said: "How can a man who now appears to be naive as well as devious retain any credibility with those (including the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd) who have spoken so highly of him?"

Mr Hurd's office was reluctant to comment on reports of collaboration between Pretoria and the IFP. A spokesman said the Foreign Office regarded the issue as an internal matter.
Recall Parliament Plea
WASHINGTON — The Bush administration yesterday demanded that Pretoria take all necessary steps to restore the "integrity of the negotiating process" following disclosures of government funding to Inkatha.

"We call upon the government to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said.

Pretoria must also "take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts."

Asked whether the administration's confidence in President F W de Klerk's integrity had been shaken, Boucher replied:

Washington wants 'all necessary steps'.

"Not that I'm aware of."

The disclosures would have no impact in terms of the recently lifted Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act sanctions, Boucher said. But he did not say how they might affect administration thinking on other measures still on the books.

The Africa subcommittee of the House foreign affairs committee has scheduled hearings for next week on the sanctions issue. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen is expected to come under heavy attack for having agreed to lift sanctions prematurely.

Cabinet

Delegates meeting outside the capital re-elected Mangosuthu Buthelezi as Inkatha president yesterday after he had offered to step down. Delegates then hoisted him shoulder-high in a demonstration of support.

Buthelezi admitted Inkatha had a bank account at a Durban bank — apart from its Umlindi account — and that it was not unusual for anonymous donations to be deposited in this account.

But he denied dealing with top security police figures in Durban. He also distanced himself from the two rallies government admitted funding.

Addressing Saturday's conference, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said "the payments made to Inkatha were not in support of this organisation's general political activities."

Viljoen said the grants should be interpreted in the light of the specific circumstances at the time they were made.
Pressure mounts on De Klerk

Calls for full disclosure of slush funds

POLITICAL and investor attention yesterday focused on the Cabinet's three-day meeting and how President F W de Klerk would deal with the biggest crisis of his presidency.

Yesterday pressure was mounting for a full disclosure of the vast secret slush funds, a judicial inquiry into the scandal, the resignations of Ministers involved in giving funds to Inkatha and the reconvening of Parliament for an emergency session.

By late last night there was still no indications from the Cabinet meeting whether any ministerial heads would roll because of the Inkatha funding row.

On Sunday Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said he was considering resigning and would discuss his position with De Klerk. He said if he was an obstacle to the negotiation process he would resign.

Some foreign diplomats said words were no longer good enough and it was time for De Klerk to act.

He now had the opportunity to break from the NP past of the P W Botha era of securcrats and the policy of total onslaught, one said. Another believed De Klerk had to act speedily and effectively to restore his personal credibility.

A third diplomat said the “hasty reaction” by the Bush administration in lifting sanctions had now caused the administration “a certain amount of embarrassment and strengthened the hands of the pros-

sanctions lobby in Congress”.

After an emergency meeting of its

National Working Committee yesterday the ANC called for the dismissal of Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

In a statement released after the meeting, the organisation said disclosures of state sponsorship of Inkatha posed a grave threat to the peace process.

Another NWC meeting has been called for not later than July 31 to discuss the full implications and the government's response to ANC demands.

“The revelations are a clear indication the De Klerk government has been pursuing a twin-track strategy of posing as committed to peace while waging war against the democratic movement, especially the ANC.”

The statement said that shocking revelations about the SADF using “foreign mercenaries to massacre SA citizens” were inextricably linked to the special million rand slush fund set up by government to finance Inkatha to bolster its sagging support.

“The NWC rejects with contempt the hollow double talk offered by Minister Adriaan Vlok and his colleagues to explain away this abuse of public funds for blatantly partisan political purposes.”

We are equally alarmed by the cavalier manner in which Chief Minister Botha shrugged off his responsibility concerning receipt of government funds channelled through the Security Police to a movement.

The NWC calls on the president to ask the Huhns Commission to investigate the conduct of all office holders. We will not rest until this abuse of power is exposed and the culprits brought to book.”

Zwelakhe Sisulu today to discuss the evidence.

Following the report the DP, CP, ANC and certain church leaders called for the resignation of Gen Malan.

De Klerk’s spokesman Casper Venter said there had been no indication whether there would be a government statement on the crisis.

Diplomats said the scandal raised questions about political dirty tricks, raised fears of a state cover-up and prompted the question: “What did De Klerk know and when did he know it?”

They said if he did not know of the clandestine operations, then his control over his government must be doubtful.

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1

The importance of personal hygiene and cleanliness cannot be overstated. Regular bathing, washing hands, and using clean clothing and linens help prevent the spread of germs and diseases. Personal hygiene practices not only benefit individual health but also contribute to the overall health of communities. Good hygiene habits include:

1. Regular hand washing with soap and water for at least 20 seconds.
2. Covering the mouth and nose with a tissue or the sleeve when coughing or sneezing.
3. Avoiding close contact with sick individuals.
4. Keeping a clean living environment by regularly dusting, mopping, and disinfecting surfaces.
5. Practicing good nutrition and physical activity to support overall health.

Implementing these practices can significantly reduce the risk of illness and promote well-being. Let's all work together to maintain our health and the health of those around us.

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SIMON BARBER IN WASHINGTON 3019

Horrors of the past come clean about all in S. A. must

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THE BURJAC OFFICE OF
Row casts a cloud over Games

By Edward Owen

MADRID — The scandal concerning Inkatha's finances yesterday clouded Nelson Mandela's official visit to Spain — and threatened to keep South Africa out of the Olympics.

"The decision by Mr. Vlok to resign will be a welcome one, but not enough," Mr. Mandela said in Madrid before flying to Barcelona to meet International Olympic Committee officials at the site of the 1992 Games.

The Spanish government made it clear yesterday after meetings with Mr. Mandela that it will recommend to the European Community that no sanctions be lifted until South Africa has a democratic system.

During talks with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Mr. Mandela stressed that the total eradication of apartheid still hung in the balance, especially after the Inkatha finance scandal.

Mr. Mandela told Mr. Ordonez that if one man one vote was not permitted at the next elections, gains by conservative elements could endanger the process of change.

Mr. Ordonez said that as well as financially supporting the ANC office in Madrid, the Spanish government has so far given 600 million pesetas (about R15 million) in aid to the ANC for health and education programmes.

In Barcelona, Mr. Mandela met representatives of the IOC headed by vice-president Judge Keba Mbaye of Senegal.

The meeting was crucial for South Africa since the IOC is due to send out its official invitations to participating countries tomorrow, July 25, exactly a year before the Games open in Barcelona.

Mr. Mandela, especially in the wake of the Inkatha scandal, opposes South African participation.
Vlok and Buthelezi are not being unfairly treated, writes Political Editor

Politicians must take the pain

SOUTH Africa is in the throes of — indeed, is perhaps just at the beginning of — a major scandal that reaches to the top echelons of two of this country’s most important political groups, the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi face pressure as never before if the temperature was red hot by the end of the weekend, it will be white hot before this week is out.

Early indications are — and this can at the moment be judged only by the responses received by the SABC and various newspapers to the extraordinary “Agenda” programme broadcast on Sunday night — that many South Africans have been shocked by the vigour with which Minister Vlok and Chief Minister Buthelezi came under attack. There is a strong feeling that both were somehow unfairly treated, or the victims of an orchestrated campaign. It would seem that this feeling exists among many who are not necessarily devotees of either Mr Vlok or Mr Buthelezi.

This response is, in my view, the product of two important factors — among others. Firstly, South Africans are simply not used to seeing on national television — top-level “in-system” politicians being grilled mercilessly. There are countless examples of, say, the African National Congress coming in for hostile treatment, but Ministers and Chief Ministers have been treated, traditionally, with kid gloves. Because of the history of control over broadcasting in this country, we do not assume — as Americans and Britons do — that exposure to hard questioning comes with the job of being a top politician.

It is late in the day, but the SABC deserves praise for having arranged for these top politicians to face the kind of probing interviews that, for example, Mrs Thatcher regarded as normal from the BBC. Willy-nilly, Messrs Vlok and Buthelezi found themselves embroiled in an important political scandal; it is unusual — but should be commonplace — that they faced up to it almost immediately, and in public.

If the SABC wants to (and is allowed to) pursue this policy of event-driven, no-holds-barred coverage of political developments, we can fully expect the ANC and other groups to find themselves in the hot seat when they deserve to be there. Perhaps then the information-starved television-viewing public will see that the sword cuts both ways, and the result is good for the democratic process and all of us thereby.

The second factor underlying the initial shock which greeted the rough time received by the two men is, I believe, a lack of understanding regarding the wider importance of the specific allegations of Government/Inkatha collusion. It goes far beyond a quarter of a million — or indeed five or 10 or a 100 million — rands of taxpayers’ money being used for this rally or that, that campaign or this.

The issue of police funding for the IFP has absolutely profound implications for the entire negotiations process, and the future of this country — which hangs on that process.

Negotiations only got under way because two far-sighted men — the ANC’s Nelson Mandela and the National Party’s FW de Klerk, reached a point at which they could say to their followers that they could do business with one another. There was no meeting of political minds — both will fight tooth and nail to sell different policy positions to the voters — but there was fundamental trust in each other’s integrity.

When negotiations were first mooted, the breakthrough resided in the fact that both sides committed themselves to a fair fight.

Thus the significance of the Weekly Mail’s unanswerable revelation that well after February 2, 1990 — the day the new rules were declared — a branch of the Government committed a foul.

No matter how hostile one might be towards the ANC, there can surely be no question that the organisation is within its rights to halt the game until the offender is disciplined, and real assurances are given that the incident will not be repeated.

The Government wants to “manage” the process of transition right up until elections are held; can the ANC be blamed for being angry when mismanagement is exposed? And can the media be blamed for giving so much weight to the individual while ignoring the bigger picture? The politics are not always pretty.

When accused — and both the individuals — are not at all the same — they would tend to argue that their colleagues are even more culpable. But both, individually, are responsible for the four-pronged two-front war being fought on behalf of the country. They are accountable for the situation that exists, and they should be held accountable.

The politicians are not always pretty; neither is the public background. It is

The politicians have always been public figures, but if
'It proves Govt can’t be trusted'

By Esmare van der Mecen
Political Reporter

The Inkatha secret funding scandal had proved that the Government could not be trusted to preside over the transition from apartheid to democracy, the ANC said yesterday.

After an emergency meeting of the ANC's national working committee to discuss the implications of the scandal, the ANC called for an interim government that would enjoy the confidence of the majority of South Africans. And also in response to the scandal, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday cancelled talks with the IFP on the formation of a patriotic front.

The ANC, which described the situation as a '重大 crisis', called for a national conference of all political parties to discuss the implications of the scandal, and for the formation of a new government that would be 'thoroughly democratic'.

The ANC also called for the resignation of all Cabinet ministers who had been implicated in the scandal. And it called for the establishment of a special commission of inquiry to investigate the scandal.

It said Mr de Klerk should show 'leadership' and keep his government on track. It said he should not be 'fooling around' with the nation.

The PAC, which said it was 'shocked' by the revelations, welcomed the ANC's call for a national conference and the resignation of Cabinet ministers.

It said it was 'deeply concerned' by the ANC's call for an interim government, and that it would 'consider all options' in the light of the ANC's announcement.

The ANC said it was 'alarmed' by the revelations and that it would 'fully support' the ANC's call for an interim government.

The PAC said it was 'deeply concerned' by the ANC's call for an interim government, and that it would 'consider all options' in the light of the ANC's announcement.

The ANC said it was 'alarmed' by the revelations and that it would 'fully support' the ANC's call for an interim government.
No SA conciliation till full moral decay has been exposed

Washington Letter
by SIMON BARBER

No SA conciliation till full moral decay has been exposed

[Image of text]

Liberty flies from sound economies. Having run the SA economy into the ground over the past four decades, the government and its creatures have now effectively obliged the rest of the world to let the ANC continue running it into ground, thus ensuring that for the mass of South Africans freedom will be ... an empty shell.

On the repeal of the CAA's sanctions, Bush will likely feel in much hurry to signal the IMF that the US will support a South African credit application. The administration's commitment to the Gramm Amendment, which obliges the US director to cast his veto against such an application unless it meets certain conditions, has until now a political aspirin thrown to the sanctioners to help them get over the demise of the CAA. Today, it is much more binding if the ANC pays off Pretoria, the Congress will concur and with Congress not only the President but the international financial community as well.

Recovery on hold

SA's economic recovery will have to wait as the ANC has obtained more of its unilateral negotiating demands — demands in which major foreign powers will, for their own political reasons, be considerably more likely to acquiesce than heretofore. The prospects for the unemployed will not improve, further fueling the violence.

There is no point computed to get the 'moral high ground' back. Better to begin by admitting that in SA there is to some thing as 'moral high ground' any more. The place has been reduced by years of gross misuse and abuse of power to a vast moral swamp, flat and desolate. In which common criminals cannot even be identified as such any more but are left loose to rampage on the innocent citizens.

The swamp can only be cleared by opening the record on all sides so that all can see and learn from what has happened and thus, perhaps, fathom each other's understanding at last that the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.
De Klerk, Buthelezi — fast losing credibility

THE problem with trying to make snap assessments about most cases of political corruption is that, unlike in the standard novel, its difficult to find the beginning, the middle and the end.

The same is true for the Inkatha funding scandal. Just when it appears one has come to grips with the parameters of the issue, they change ... and grow ... and grow ...

As new facts, allegations and suspicions emerge, the blame spreads and the fortunes of individual politicians and their organisations take a roller-coaster ride. But even at this early stage, it should be possible to flag some of the winners and losers in the unfolding political drama.

Undoubtedly the biggest losers in the saga so far have been Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha Freedom Party and Inkatha’s union arm, Uwusa. Indeed, Inkatha must rue the day it decided to accept secret payments, for whatever reason, from the government.

By doing so, it confirmed in the minds of its political rivals and the general public an image of Inkatha as the favoured son of white minority government. If this was not bad enough for Inkatha’s profile, it agreed to the payments being made into its bank account by the security police.

South African politicians have over the years found it expedient or desirable to get into bed with all sorts of strange bodies — but the security police? Inkatha’s most virulent critics could not have contrived to write a more damaging script.

Chief Buthelezi and his senior lieutenants continue to deny that they knew anything about the transactions but the Inkatha leader has done his cause no good by declining to accept a challenge to resign if further documentary evidence can be produced to demonstrate the contrary.

Security police documents marked “top secret” that were published during the past week state that he did know about the clandestine payments and, in fact, expressed gratitude for them. Unfortunately for Chief Buthelezi, this is one of those occasions when most observers will find it difficult to understand why the security police, whatever their other faults, would want to misrepresent the situation.

In future, those less well disposed towards Inkatha will continue to be tempted to draw on ammunition provided by the latest scandal to dismiss the party as a puppet of Pretoria rather than an independent player in its own right.

The other big losers will be President F W de Klerk and his entire government. The shambles that has been the post-P W administration has done a great deal to erode spirit of trust, confidence and goodwill that Mr De Klerk and his post-P W administration has painstakingly built up both at home and abroad since February 2 last year.

The damaging disclosures — with apparently more to come — have in less than a week robbed the government of much of the momentum, strategic edge and moral high ground it enjoyed over the ANC since its unbanning 18 months ago.

Many of the abusive clichés have come true. The government does have a double agenda, it does speak with a forked tongue, it clearly cannot be trusted to play a neutral role during the crucial transitional phase.

The reputations of a number of government ministers are now apparently beyond rehabilitation.

The ongoing scandal has strengthened the hand of the more radical political groupings and elements within the ANC who have argued against negotiations on the grounds that the government cannot be trusted.

But the ANC leadership, if they play their cards correctly, could also use the leverage provided by the crisis to extract a number of meaningful concessions from the government which could help to level the political playing field in their future encounters.
Aide kept Inkatha ‘in dark’

AN assistant to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has taken the blame for keeping the Inkatha leader in the dark about secret police funding of the party.

Mr M Z Khumalo resigned yesterday, claiming he was the only Inkatha member who knew about money channelled into its bank account by the security police.

In a statement read on his behalf, Mr Khumalo issued an appeal all South Africans to give money to Inkatha to help under the “damage and organisational hardship” Inkatha’s planned refund of the grant would cause the party.

In his statement, Mr Khumalo, who has worked under Chief Buthelezi for 15 years, said he did not tell the Inkatha leader about the secret government funding as he knew the Chief would have rejected the scheme “out of hand.”

Acknowledging the issue had “hurt” Inkatha, he appealed to Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi for forgiveness, adding that “I hope some time in the future he will appreciate my motivation...”

“I am convinced that in that final mile to meet my Maker I will be met by people who suffered and died in the struggle who will welcome me and escort me through those final gates of eternal life,” Mr Khumalo said in his statement.
The three organisations said in a joint statement yesterday that they had already begun consulting their members, and would announce a joint plan of action on Monday.

Cosatu also announced yesterday that the ANC,SACP-Cosatu alliance planned to stage a march in central Pretoria on August 7 in protest against "government funding of Inkatha.

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, told Mr De Klerk in a letter that the only effective way of restoring any trust and goodwill towards the government was for "heads to roll at cabinet level".

Noting that local and international confidence in the government had been "almost completely destroyed", Mr Oliver said those responsible for bringing disrepute upon our country must be removed from office.

The South African Council of Churches said after an emergency meeting in Johannesburg yesterday that the government had to take certain steps to avert the "derailment of the peace process".

These were the firing of ministers Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan, an immediate ban on all secret action and the freezing of all secret funds, a full disclosure on past covert activities and the appointment of a commission of inquiry into security force involvement in the violence.

The Labour Party yesterday added its voice to the groundswell of demands for the government to appoint an independent inquiry into the Inkatha funding.

The LP's spokesman on Justice, Mr Luweleyn Landers, said that notwithstanding its party's good relationship with Inkatha, nothing short of a full inquiry "which cuts to the bone this matter" would suffice.

Sapa reports from Umtata that the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Cotlasa) said it was not surprised by reports that the government was funding Inkatha because the two were "partners in the perpetuation of apartheid."
No text available.
UK media focus on De Klerk

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The UK media spotlight on South Africa switched to President F W de Klerk yesterday, after it was disclosed by the auditor-general that he must have known of secret government funds being channelled to Inkatha.

Several newspapers likened the Inkatha funding scandal to the information scandal of the 1970s, which led to the downfall of prime minister Mr John Vorster.

"The question now looming is the more serious one of whether Mr De Klerk also knew about, and thus sanctioned, collusion between the state security services and Inkatha in the township killings of ANC supporters," said the Independent.

The credibility of Mr De Klerk, several senior cabinet ministers and Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi was questioned in newspapers across the political spectrum.
Inkatha payments ‘legal’

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was not required to approve funding of secret projects before money was allocated, the Auditor-General, Mr Peter Wronsley, said yesterday.

Under the Secret Services Account Act, President De Klerk had to be consulted only if the Auditor-General had reported irregularities to the Minister of Finance as had been the case with the CCB.

Reports quoting him as saying that the law required President De Klerk, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and himself to approve all secret projects beforehand were “absolute nonsense”, Mr Wronsley said in an interview.

All legal requirements for the payment of R250 000 to Inkatha had been followed, particularly the signed authorisation by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

“Whether it is was a good or bad project, or whether the money goes down the tubes is outside the scope of my function,” Mr Wronsley said.

In a separate statement yesterday, Mr Wronsley said: “Audit does not question government policy. If there is criticism of the use to which properly authorised payments from voted funds is put, the dispute is one for settlement at a political level.”

The Department of Foreign Affairs controlled two secret accounts, the Foreign Affairs Special Account and the Information Service of South African Special Account.

He said two payments of R100 000 and R150 000 had been made from the Information Service of South Africa Special Account and these had been approved by Mr Botha “within the categories of services agreed upon between him and the Minister of Finance” as required by the law.

The payments were not made out of the Foreign Affairs Special Account as reported by some sections of the media.

“The Minister of Foreign Affairs authorised in writing were verified by Audit. No irregularity was found. In these circumstances, no negative report by Audit was made,” Mr Wronsley said in the statement.

Mr Wronsley later said that the President was not involved in the authorisation of these amounts and the minister, in this case Mr Botha, had to authorise the payments, as had been done.
More red faces in government likely, says MP

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — The government could soon face further embarrassing disclosures of security force involvement in recent political violence.

Mr Kobus Jordaan, the Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, said yesterday that he and others had been investigating allegations and had evidence of the hand of "certain elements of the security forces in black-on-black violence".

He declined to say who the others were, but said they were "a fairly wide group of people".

"We have got very, very good indications — which we are still investigating — and evidence that elements (within the security forces) were actually supplying weapons and training some of the people and were actively involved in propping up some elements involved in violence," he said.

Mr Jordaan said he would be taking the evidence to the relevant ministers as soon as certain facts had been pinpointed.

"We are piecing the information together."

Mr Jordaan said the evidence he and the group had accumulated had not yet been published in newspapers: "It is our own information."

It had been provided by elements in the government as well as church and private sources, he indicated.

He said it was not clear at this stage whether senior government figures such as Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan were aware of what was going on.
MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

VETERAN Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha — whose political head has been called for in the secret Inkatha funds scandal — is to face the nation tomorrow night.

But, amid signs that the government is intent on arguing its way out of the crisis, speculation that Mr Botha, the most senior Cabinet minister and the world's second longest serving foreign minister, will quit is being denied by sources close to him.

However, in a tough test of his political credibility, Mr Botha faces a battery of South African and foreign journalists at a press conference tomorrow.

Sources said he would seek to "clarify" issues surrounding the payment of R250 000 from two secret Foreign Affairs accounts to Inkatha.

Meanwhile, President De Klerk has put off facing the public on the scandal until Tuesday next week, after a regular meeting of the State Security Council.

There is speculation that the possibility of further embarrassing revelations this week might have prompted the delay.

But there is deep unease over the president's decision to put off a public statement on the matter.

In his sharpest statement yet on the crisis, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said today President De Klerk was apparently playing games with the future of South Africa.

He called on Mr De Klerk to act more decisively and urgently.

He said: "He has been given an opportunity to rehabilitate his integrity. He does not seem to realise the seriousness of our crisis. He is apparently playing games and he is playing with the future of this country."

"I call on him to act more decisively and urgently," the archbishop said.

It is widely expected that Mr De Klerk is soon to begin preparations for negotiations by withdrawing key ministers from the Cabinet to form a top-flight talks team and there is a view that the Inkatha funds scandal might have given this process additional impetus.

However, in National Party circles, it is not expected on the basis of what is known now that any dramatic steps will be taken by the government.

Signs of resentment

It is understood that the two-day Cabinet booheraad at a secret retreat somewhere in the Transvaal was marked by frank discussion, but there are signs of resentment and even anger in the highest government circles at the outcry over the funds scandal.

There is a feeling that the government is being judged according to its actions in July 1991, for events that occurred in November 1989 and March 1990 — in what the government views as an entirely different context.

However, with the first head to roll — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal assistant Mr Zakhele Khumalo took the blame for receiving the money without telling his leader and resigned yesterday — demands that government ministers should go remain.

Today, Archbishop Tutu also called for immediate action on demands made by South African church leaders after a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

Prove integrity

They said: "In the past we as church leaders have accepted Mr De Klerk's personal integrity. We have to say now that the revelations of the past week have put the ouza on Mr De Klerk to prove his integrity."

They demanded:

- The immediate resignation or dismissal of (Law and Order Minister) Mr Adriaan Vlok and (Defence Minister) General Magnus Malan.

- An immediate government ban on all covert action and an immediate freeze on secret funds, to be monitored by auditors and other experts appointed with the backing of major political groupings, religious bodies and business groups.

- The government immediately discloses fully all past covert activities and gives independent auditors and lawyers, trusted by the major political groupings and the religious and business communities full access to government records and that the government commits itself to an inquiry into security force involvement in the violence by a commission established by the government, with major political parties, business and religious groups.
THE Cabinet is meeting today under critical Western eyes (or in some cases, perhaps baleful glares) to finalise its response to the Inkatha slush-funds scandal.

Sympathetic Western governments, especially those which have campaigned for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa, are "annoyed and embarrassed" by the weekend's revelation that the South African Government has secretly funded Inkatha and its affiliated trade union to the tune of at least R1.5 million.

Although much damage has already been done to relations, the Cabinet's decision about how to handle the crisis will be crucial in restoring some confidence, Western embassy sources have said.

Sanctions

The United States government, particularly, is smarting because the disclosures have followed so soon after United States Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen's assertion that he could find no proof of South African Government partiality in the ANC/Inkatha struggle.

He delivered this virtual clean bill of health in defence of the United States administration's very recent decision to lift the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act against opposition from the black caucus and others in Congress.

Publicly the American government is putting a brave face on it, with an official statement from the State Department that the affair will not affect the decision to lift the CAAA.

Privately, however, American diplomatic sources disclose that the slush-fund scandal has embarrassed and annoyed them.

It has cast doubt on the United States embassy's - and through them the United States administration's - judgment that reform in South Africa is irreversible and that the Government is not in any way behind the violence.

They confirmed impressions from congressional sources in Washington that the controversy would probably delay the lifting of further American sanctions, beyond the CAAA.

"I certainly think you can forget about the Gramm Amendment being lifted for a while," one source said.

The Gramm Amendment is a crucial piece of legislation which effectively prohibits the United States government from approving IMF loans to this country.

This could deal a serious blow to the South African Government's plans to stimulate the economy.

Although IMF loans are only available to tide over balance of payments deficits - which South Africa does not currently have - the South African Government was hoping to secure access to loans as a backup before embarking on the next economic upswing.

It could then resort to this loan facility if - more likely when - the upswing almost inevitably prompted increased imports and pressure on the balance of payments surplus.

United States sources also forecast that although the scandal would not affect the lifting of the CAAA, it could retard the actual resumption of United States/South Africa commerce which the lifting makes legally possible.

Like other Western governments, the United States is eagerly waiting to see what the Cabinet has decided to do about the slush-fund scandal in its special "bush indaba" this week.

"It needs to be something which shows they understand they have a real credibility problem," one source said.

"Nothing they have done so far suggests they appreciate the scale of the problem."

Credibility

"They don't seem to realise that they are now being seen as an unreliable negotiating partner."

One senior diplomat of another embassy was more blunt, saying that De Klerk would have to fire at least Law and Oder Minister Adriaan Vlok to restore domestic and international credibility.

He said that if he did not take bold action De Klerk was in danger of losing his invaluable reputation as a man of integrity.

"There are a lot of people in his administration who follow him against their own inner feelings and people who are actively working against him."

"If he does not take bold action, he will become part of the problem."

One diplomat said that the problem was not so much that the Government had funded Inkatha but that the funding had been channelled through the police with all its reputation for collusion with Inkatha.

That is what gave the affair its "bad smell."

Although British diplomatic sources are remaining traditionally tight - and stiff - lipped about the affair, political observers agree they have good reason to be extremely unamused.

Not only has Britain been the South African Government's staunchest champion abroad and led the charge against sanctions, it has also identified more closely than most with Inkatha.

It was not too many weeks ago that former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and then British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick were conspicuously hosted by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a banquet in Ulundi.

The German embassy has also been reluctant to say much on the record. The official line conveyed by ambassador Dr Immo Stabreit is that the German government is "concerned" that the affair might be an impediment to negotiations - "our central concern."

"We will be watching the SA Cabinet's response very closely."

Most Western diplomats agree that if the affair has been bad for the South African Government, it has been disastrous for Inkatha and Buthelezi.

Apart from dashing his credibility as an independent force in negotiations, it may also strangle his foreign funding - at just the time when the South African Government will be obliged to be scrupulous about not "bankrolling him."

United States diplomatic sources say the scandal may have jeopardised Inkatha's chances of getting any of the R28 million set aside by the United States government for aid to black South African political parties.

"Can we afford to be seen to be funding Inkatha when the SA Government is doing so?" they asked. - Political Staff.
Buthelezi aide ‘accepted cash’

**FW stalls on Inkatha funds scandal**

**BILLY PADDOCK**

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night delayed for another week government's reaction to the Inkatha funding scandal, saying a full statement would be issued only next Tuesday.

However Foreign Minister Pik Botha is to hold a news conference tomorrow on his role in authorising payments of R50 000 to Inkatha.

De Klerk told reporters before he met Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope last night that he first wanted to discuss the issue with the Cabinet today and at "a very important meeting on Monday" — believed to be a scheduled state security council meeting.

De Klerk's announcement of government's silence came in the face of growing calls for the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan and for a special session of Parliament.

In another development yesterday Inkatha announced the resignation of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal assistant, saying the official had accepted and accounted for the government donations for two Inkatha rallies, but had deliberately not informed Buthelezi of these developments.

Inkatha also announced that it would repay the full R50 000 to Foreign Affairs.

De Klerk said the meeting with Mangope, attended by Botha and Vlok, discussed US President George Bush's concern about the continued detention of political prisoners in Bophuthatswana.

The full Cabinet, plus deputy ministers and provincial administrators met at an undisclosed venue over the past two days. The funding scandal is believed to have topped the agenda.

Buthelezi's assistant, MZ Khumalo, said in a statement he deposited in Inkatha's account two amounts which he knew were from government, but he denied Buthelezi had any knowledge of the money's source.

"I accounted fully for the expenditure of the money to the officer who had handed over the funds to me." Khumalo added he had worked for Buthelezi for 15 years. "I knew without a doubt that he would have rejected the proposal out of hand, whilst I on the other hand knew that this assistance would be very helpful in promoting these peace rallies.

"I want to apodlogise very sincerely to my president for having betrayed his trust in not telling him about the source of these funds."

GERALD REILLY reports Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni told a news conference in Pretoria last night the money would be paid back.

Myeni said the Inkatha leadership knew absolutely nothing about the money.

The repayment, he said, would come from Inkatha coffers. "We cannot accommodate or condone this kind of action."

One person (Khumalo), he said, knew about the deal and nobody else. Asked whether he expected this to be believed, Myeni failed to respond.

He said Buthelezi had on another occasion rejected a government offer of money to fight sanctions. Asked why Khumalo was not at the news conference Myeni said Inkatha no longer had control of him.

"In any case he would not want to parade his shame in front of the media."

4 "We are appalled at what happened and Inkatha would like to see a high level investigation into the whole unfortunate incident," Myeni said.

DP leader Zach de Beer said last night there was a "gross discrepancy" between Khumalo's statement and a letter from SAP Brig J A Steyn in which he said Buthelezi and KwaZulu Justice Minister Jeffrey Mchiti expressed their "great thanks and appreciation" for the funds.

"If the private secretary is telling the truth, then Brig Steyn's statement was a bare-faced lie," De Beer said.
The article discusses the importance of integrity in the workplace. It highlights the need for individuals to uphold ethical standards and maintain trust with their colleagues and superiors. The text emphasizes the role of leadership in fostering a culture of integrity and the consequences of breaches in ethical conduct. The article also mentions the importance of transparency and accountability in organizational decision-making.
Tip of iceberg, say lawyers

It was "virtually unavoidable" that an inference could be made that President de Klerk and Finance minister Barend du Plessis had knowledge of the Government funding of Inkatha, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers said yesterday.

It was also likely that "what has been revealed is merely the tip of the iceberg," Nadel said.

Nadel added that it was also disturbing that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had claimed he was unaware of the money given to his organisation.
By Esmare van der Merwe

UMILANGA — Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan, a key figure in disclosures of the secret Government funding scandal, yesterday revealed the names of four organisations — in addition to Inkatha — he believes might also have received money.

Mr Jordaan is the Umilanga MP and a former senior official at the Department of Constitutional Development.

In an exclusive interview with The-Star, Mr Jordaan disclosed the names he had submitted — in parliamentary questions about suspected secret funding — to President de Klerk, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Defence Magnus Malan.

The four organisations are the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa); the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasu); National Forum (a moderate alliance consisting mainly of black local councillors); and the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) of Dr John Gqolya.

In Parliament, Mr Jordaan asked President de Klerk, Mr Vlok and General Malan whether certain organisations had received direct or indirect financial aid from the Government.

In his reply, Mr de Klerk said the matter involved security information which could not be revealed.

Mr Jordaan also referred to a parliamentary question asked by colleague Jannie Momberg regarding possible financial assistance to "cultural or political organisations" in the homelands.

Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers furnished details of some homeland organisations who had been supported by the Government.

But, said Mr Jordaan, no mention was made of five homeland organisations he believed were worthy of investigation.

They were Ximoko Progressive Party, Inyanda in KaNgwane, Intanda ye Sizwe, United Peoples Front, and Dikwentsa.

Mr Jordaan also referred to the undermining of Cosatu, the ANC-aligned labour federation.
Bank on turmoil, not investment

A US forecaster gives South Africa a poor risk rating, with

Hugh Robinson

30th April
Hunt for ‘Deep Throat’

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

POLICE yesterday launched an all-out drive to find the person, thought to be a disgruntled policeman, who stole the top-secret documents revealing government payments to Inkatha.

Official sources said they believed the person who leaked the documents was a policeman "who seems to have had an axe to grind".

However, it was unclear where the "Deep Throat" was hiding out. "He may be in London," one source said. "An enormous amount of documents has gone."

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed that he, Lieutenant-General Louwienie Erasmus, a legal adviser and a member of the former security police held a meeting with Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber and the paper’s legal adviser at the Law and Order ministry in Pretoria.

He said they wanted access to the documents in the Weekly Mail's possession and which might be published in the newspaper tomorrow.

In London two of President P W de' Klerk's most sympathetic British newspapers, the Financial Times and the Daily Telegraph, yesterday called for ministerial resignations following the revelations of Inkatha funding.

"Were Mr De Klerk president of a democracy his position would be in jeopardy," said the Financial Times.

The Daily Telegraph said that "after a long period in which the president has held the moral high ground in South African politics, this latest episode has driven him from it."

It was "never true that the ANC was an innocently injured party, but the can of worms now being opened goes some way towards proving that they were right."

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said South African Foreign Minister
Mr Pië Botha yesterday assured him there had been no connivance in violence by the South African government.

Mr Hurd said he spoke on the phone to Mr Botha and urged that the government be clear and open about what had occurred and that they should make it clear that the old policies had been rejected.

The KwaZulu government yesterday repaid the R250,000 given to it by the South African government. A member of the KwaZulu cabinet, Dr Frank Mdladladi, handed the cheque to Mr Botha.

Well-placed government sources yesterday predicted that, instead of resigning, the ministers at the centre of the row — Mr Adrian Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, and Mr Botha — would tough it out.

Mr Botha faces a grilling from newsmen on television tonight.

And a source said Mr Vlok, who briefed foreign diplomats yesterday in a bid to defuse the row, "had acted within government policy" and confidently predicted that "his head will not roll".

The diplomats were told that the "dirty tricks" operations exposed during the past week belonged to a bygone era and that as far as the government was concerned, it had had "come clean" on the issue.

Pressure on government ministers could increase later this week, when the Weekly Mail has promised to publish more of — but not all — the secret documents it has obtained.

Police sources acknowledged that one of their major concerns was that they did not know how to respond to disclosures at this stage because it was unclear how much classified information was being held back by the press.

Mr Harber was unrepentant about the cat-and-mouse game his newspaper has been playing with the authorities.

ANC's demand

He said last night that the paper would be publishing some more "very interesting" documents on the scandal tomorrow but would also be holding some in reserve.

"They are playing a waiting game and so are we," he said.

The ANC said yesterday, after a two-day meeting of its national working committee called to discuss the Inkatha funding, that it was disturbed that "a witchhunt" had been launched for the person who leaked proof of the funding.

The ANC also demanded that the government's secret projects budget of R380 million be frozen immediately and that the covert spending of R1.5 billion over the past five years be made public.

The organisation said it was formulating a programme of action that would express outrage at "the ongoing state-sponsored violence and manipulation of the political process by the incumbent government and its security forces".

A leading figure involved in the slush fund disclosures, Democratic Party MP Mr Kobus Jordaan, said yesterday that the secret funding of organisations favoured by the government might go much wider than Inkatha and its trade union arm, Umusa.

He mentioned the Urban Counsellors Association of SA (Ucas), the National Forum (an alliance of "moderate" black councillors), the conservative Federation Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) and the United Municipalities of SA (Umusa).

Spokesmen for Ucas and Umusa yesterday insisted that they were self-funded.

Meanwhile, a poll by Marketing and Media research in the greater Johannesburg area on Tuesday night showed that 40% of National Party supporters questioned on the Inkatha funding scandal felt that Mr Vlok should be fired.
UK press: ‘Ministers must go’

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Two of President F W de Klerk’s most supportive British newspapers, the Financial Times and the Daily Telegraph, yesterday called for ministerial resignations following disclosures of South African government funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

“Were Mr de Klerk president of a democracy,” said the Financial Times (FT), Britain’s major business newspaper, “his position would be in jeopardy.”

While the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC were the acts of a “courageous politician”, the FT said, in doing so Mr de Klerk was “being forced to acknowledge pressing political and economic realities.

“It now turns out that at the same time he was funding a secret campaign to boost Mr Mandela’s rival. It is unlikely that Mr Mandela will again describe Mr de Klerk as a man of integrity.”

But, said the FT, Mr de Klerk remained “as essential to South Africa’s transition to democracy as Mr Mandela himself.” The FT suggested a number of measures Mr de Klerk should take to get the nalled negotiations off the ground:

- “End an alliance (with Inkatha) which has already done considerable harm to South Africa.
- “Urgently set about reforming the security services. This should begin with the dismissal of Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriam Vlok.

The Daily Telegraph said that “after a long period in which the president has held the moral high ground in South African politics, this latest episode has driven him from it.

“(Tuesday’s) resignation of Chief Buthelezi’s personal assistant, Mr M Z Khumalo, and the announcement that Inkatha will repay R250 000 to the government, will not be enough to cauterise the wounds that have been opened in the political process. “At the very least some ministerial resignations seem essential.”

Fund mastermind’s other project

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Financial Mail disclosed yesterday that South Africa’s ambassador to France, Mr Marc Burger, named as a key figure in the Inkatha funding affair, had masterminded another secret project to fund the construction of a major harbour for the Turkish government.

Mr Burger is a former Foreign Affairs chief director and controlled the department’s secret funds — the same fund used to channel R250 000 to Inkatha for two rallies.

Last year Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha prevailed upon the magazine not to publish details of the project at that stage. The Financial Mail reported that Mr Botha said publicly on the government’s involvement in the project would have crippled SA’s coal exports. It did not elaborate on how such publicity would have affected the exports.

Mr Botha had said the project had been abandoned after careful consideration and promised he would go public on the danger of sanctions had subsided.
FW faces big repair job

The issues

Among issues which could be raised are:

- Which organisations such as trade unions, cultural and political groups, churches, academic institutions and other civic bodies have been paid from the slush fund?
- How much has been paid to organisations?
- Is the funding continuing?
- Which other government organs, other than the police, have been used to channel funds?
- Which cabinet ministers and civil servants were aware of the slush fund and took part in decision-making on how tax-payers' money would be spent?
- Did Foreign Affairs Director-General Dr Neil van Breda repeatedly warn Mr Botha that the exposure of the fund would have major repercussions?
- Was the present Ambassador to France, Mr Marc Bour-ger, the middleman who controlled the slush fund?

An arrogatant Mr Botha told diplomats at a confidential briefing at the Union Buildings yesterday that the government would not apologize for fighting elections as it had, and funding to the IFP.

The funding to Inkatha, he said, was used for food, buses and banners.

Mr Botha revealed that police consulted the Auditor-General about funding for the IFP but were referred to the Department of Foreign Affairs, which authorised the payments.

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

An overhaul of the management of secret government funds and the move to re-establish trust in the security forces are expected to be announced by President de Klerk next week as a strategy to repair the damage caused by the Inkatha funds scandal.

Re-building confidence in the negotiation process is among the government's chief concerns as it prepares to face the world over its involvement in the R17.5-million payout to Inkatha and the KwaZulu Ulundi United Workers Union of South Africa (Kuwu).

Resignations are not being excluded, but the government is arguing that it has committed no irregularities and that the secret payments were defensible given the conditions at the time.

"These actions belong to a different era. We should see them in the light of a different era in our lives," said one source.

Top-level sources said President de Klerk's decision to delay a response until next Tuesday was an indication of the seriousness with which the matter was being addressed.

He was conducting his own investigation of the funding and allegations of security-force collusion in the violence as the basis for far-reaching steps to restore confidence in the negotiation process.

Public's mood

There was deep concern in the government about the effect of the crisis on constitutional talks and on the public's mood.

Reports raise the prospect of a special all-party parliamentary committee keeping an eye on secret funds. This could be one of the measures if de Klerk has in mind.

A source said his response would involve a "comprehensive approach" encompassing not merely the Inkatha funds scandal, but wider issues that were negatively affecting negotiations.

His decision to wait until Tuesday was not an attempt to evade the issue, but an indication of how seriously it was being taken.

World attention focuses on Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha at a long-awaited press conference in Johannesburg today to explain his role in the funding.

Mr Botha will face scores of local and foreign journalists at a press conference at the SABC broadcast office in Auckland Park. The conference, to start at 3pm, will be screened on SABC TV and Radio.

Mr Botha, whose explanations of the clandestine slush fund controversy have been met with much scepticism, will be questioned by the public.
Violence is ‘on way out’

As violence and political conflict continue to bring confusion and fear to South Africans, a leading specialist in Southern Africa’s international relations has brought a message of hope. He told Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the light he sees at the end of our tunnel.

As a political scientist, Mr Stephen Chan says the tide of violence is receding in Southern Africa – except in parts of South Africa.

He sees this as the beginning of a new era of peace and reconstruction which would get going within the next few years.

In an interview this week he said that although violence was likely to continue in specific areas of South Africa, for some time to come, profound changes in the frontline states were likely to benefit this country during and after its transition.

Chan, an academic of Chinese descent who specialises in affairs of the frontline states, is a political analyst who not only examines tough political, economic and diplomatic questions, but as a poet he also looks into the souls of countries and their peoples.

He envisages changes in the power structure as well as economic and trade links of key frontline states that are set for further development towards multiparty democracy.

This is likely to bring about new trading and economic links with South Africa.

Chan expects important changes, including economic development in some of the frontline states after their coming elections.

In Zambia, now involved in elections, Chan sees a possibility that President Kaunda will be voted out of power.

Chan found during his travels in the frontline states that there were fears of economic domination by South Africa. He says all eyes will be on South Africa’s economic links with the United States and Japan.

With help from South Africa, Zambia’s ailing economy could be turned around.

Chan believes South African hopes of a joint security pact between South Africa and the states of Southern Africa may be little more than a pipedream at this stage.

Any moves towards joint defence systems would have to be shelved for years to come.

On the issue of violence in South Africa, Chan said his early impression was that violence in specific areas may continue for some time, possibly until the mid-90s.

‘All kinds of forces are unleashed now and people have to find their positions in the new South Africa. You are looking at the birth and growth of a new civil society.’

However, in such a situation instruments from within South African society could play a major role for peace. Institutions such as Cape Town’s Centre for Intergrup Studies could help to transform a culture of violence to a culture focused on mediation.
SA gets poor risk rating by US firm

WASHINGTON - A company which specialises in forecasting risks for American businesses around the world, and which is widely consulted by banks and multinational corporations, has given South Africa a poor risk rating for the next five years.

Political Risk Services says the chances of turmoil in the country between now and mid-1996 are "very high" and forecasts mounting trouble for President FW de Klerk in trying to reconcile the differences between competing black groups.

In its latest survey the company also forecasts a "moderate" degree of turmoil in Zimbabwe in the next five years, with inflation there soaring to 25 percent, and it predicts that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia will be ousted in open elections later this year and will be replaced by a pragmatic civilian government under the leadership of Mr Frederick Chiluba, a trade unionist.

Political Risk Services, which sells a 50-page report on South Africa for about R825, says de Klerk's inability to stop fighting between the ANC and Inkatha, and the growing restiveness of whites, will challenge his efforts to forge a peaceful transition to a multiracial government.

While the South African Government continues to propose and implement major reforms, "the possibility of a stalemate over the terms of the transition and growing organised opposition among whites threaten a peaceful evolution," the report says.

It adds that "increasingly militant statements by ANC officials over continued violence and the Government's role in it indicate the unlikelihood of getting a consensus among black groups".

Report

The report says there is only a 40 percent possibility of a "reformist National Party" being the government in 18 months' time and only a 40 percent chance of a "pragmatic ANC" coming to power in the next five years, although it does forecast a new government within the next five years.

Inflation in South Africa will grow to 18 percent between 1992 and 1996, while the growth in the real gross domestic product will be only 1.8 percent in the same period.

Zimbabwe, by contrast, will have an inflation rate of 25 percent between 1992 and 1996, with a 4 percent growth in its real gross domestic product, and there is a "moderate" chance of turmoil in the long term.

Commenting on President Robert Mugabe's plans for buying white-owned land for redistribution to blacks, the report says: "With the economy continuing to weaken and the youthful and urban population growing, the loss of foreign investment and white agricultural managers could hasten economic deterioration and undermine a stable and pragmatic government."

In Zambia, continuing economic decline coupled with pressure for democratic elections has forced Kaunda to schedule elections for October.

"He may postpone the elections or use repressive techniques to ensure his victory, but the possibility of widespread violence makes such actions unlikely."

"Open elections will most likely produce a victory for the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy and lead to a pragmatic civilian government under the leadership of a popular labour leader, Frederick Chiluba," the report says.

Political Risk Services does not forecast events in Mozambique, Angola or Namibia at this stage.
Turning the Spotlight on the Massacres

Tony Head

By Tony Head

The Cope Times

(Former editor of The Cope Times)

"The government is the final authority of a country. It is the body that makes and enforces laws and rules to maintain order and protect the rights of its citizens. The government is responsible for ensuring the safety and security of the people, and it has the power to use force if necessary to maintain law and order. Therefore, it is important to hold the government accountable for its actions and to ensure that it operates in a transparent and fair manner. If the government fails to fulfill its responsibilities, it is the duty of citizens to demand change and hold their leaders accountable for their actions."
Turkish harbour project revealed

Funding of Inkatha 'part of govt policy'

IGNEL AND ORDER MINISTER ADRIAAN VLOK did not offer to resign at the Cabinet's meeting this week, nor was he asked to do so, top government sources said yesterday.

A senior source said Vlok had not acted unilaterally in authorizing the allocation of government funds to Inkatha, but was carrying out government policy.

However, he was in the Cabinet at the invitation of President F W de Klerk and his future within it rested with De Klerk.

Meanwhile, the Financial Mail (FM) disclosed yesterday that SA's ambassador to France, Marc Burger, had masterminded another secret project, to fund the construction of a major harbour for the Turk-ish government.

Burger is a former Foreign Affairs chief director and controlled the department's secret funds - the same fund used to channel R250 000 to Inkatha for two rallies.

Last year, Foreign Minister Pik Botha prevailed upon the magazine not to publish details of the project at that stage. The FM reported that Botha said publicity on government's involvement in the project would have crippled SA's coal exports. It did not elaborate on how such publicity would have affected the project.

Botha had said the project had been abandoned after careful consideration and promised he would go public on the danger of sanctions if the project had been accepted.

It is believed meanwhile that government's decision not to comment formally on the Inkatha funding issue until next week was taken because of uncertainty over possible further disclosures.

De Klerk announced on Tuesday that government would not comment apart from a TV interview and news conference by Botha today.

A government source said the state security council would meet on Monday to assess how much government should disclose and the full implications any disclosures would have for "internal and national security".

In another development yesterday Botha met foreign diplomats in Pretoria to brief them on the scandal that has shaken government's credibility.

Indications within government circles yesterday were that it would try to ride out the controversy.

Botha was expected to tell them no funding had taken place since March last year.

Meanwhile, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurst said Botha yesterday assured him there had been no connivance in violence by the SA government.

Hurst said he spoke on the phone to Botha and urged him that the government be clear and open about what had occurred and that it make it clear that the old policies had been rejected.

Labour's shadow foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman said the revelations had thrown a very worrying light on the good faith of the SA government and its negotia-tions with the ANC.

It would be folly to lift sanctions precip-itously while the good faith of the government remained in doubt, he said.

Inkatha Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze confirmed that he, Lt-Gen Louwije Eremus, a legal adviser and member of the former security police held a meeting with Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber and the paper's legal adviser on Tuesday at the Law and Order ministry in Pretoria.

He said they wanted access to the documents in the Weekly Mail's possession and which may be published in the newspaper tomorrow.

Kotze said the R1.5m contributed to the Inkatha-affiliated United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa) had come from the Special Police Fund. He did not know if this was a separate amount from that disclosed in the FM as having been controlled by Burger.

He said Vlok had authorised the R1.5m spending on Uwusa since 1986 to 'combat labour unrest, intimidation and other illegal acts on the labour front. The Minister wanted to cultivate a culture of respect for the law'.

Uwusa was launched on May Day 1986 in Natal, allegedly with the help of government funds, amid widespread fears of violence following the banning of Congress May Day rallies in the province.

Security police Maj Louis Botha, who wrote the memorandum requesting funds for Inkatha, was present at the launch. And 17 trains and free buses were arranged to transport the 80 000 people Inkatha predicted would attend.

Meanwhile, conservative township political organisations yesterday denied suggestions that they received money from government to promote their activities.

Spokesmen for the United Municipalities of SA (Umusa) and the Urban Councils Association of SA (Ucasu), both of which represent township councillors, insisted they were self-funded.
WASHINGTON — An SA consultancy hired by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to assess the needs of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party has warned foreign donors not to meddle in the organisations' power struggle.

Zille Shandler Associates, in a private report prepared for USAID in May, cautioned that “it could be highly controversial inside SA if funds allocated by the US Congress were utilised to build the support base of any party in the context for political power”.

The firm was brought in to study how the ANC and IFP might most effectively use proceeds of the IDA Transition to Democracy Project created by Congress last year to “encourage negotiations” in SA.

USAID and the US embassy asked the consultants to recommend ways in which the ANC and IFP might spend the funds, with an upper limit of R15,9m for the ANC and R11,5m for IFP. The firm was not asked to study either party's needs in terms of their current finances.

On the basis of interviews with party officials and independent analysts, it found that both the ANC and IFP were sorely lacking in skilled personnel and organisational ability.

The ANC, in particular, was “limited by severe human resource constraints which undermine the organisation’s capacity to engage in the negotiation process” while the IFP had at least gained some experience through the Natal Indaba.

The report argued that the US should focus most of its funding to the ANC on helping the organisation establish its negotiation task force, which should receive R7,8m.

The consultants recommended a maximum IFP grant of R9,25m to move the national headquarters from Ulundi to Durban and to help establish 30 regional branches, which were necessary to help the party reach out from its Natal base.

The package has been frozen since December by congressional Republicans opposed to funding the ANC.

On the basis of the report, USAID and the State Department recently offered a compromise under which the ANC and IFP would receive “in kind” contributions worth $4,5m and $2,5m respectively with the remainder going to the SA Council of Churches and the US National Endowment for Democracy.

By law, agreement must be reached by September 31, or the funds will cease to be available.

State bugged our office — Idasa

PRETORIA — Idasa yesterday blamed agents of the state for planting two bugging devices in its Hatfield, Pretoria, office.

The organisation's Pretoria director Ivor Jenkins said two bugging devices were found in light fittings in the main conference room used by a number of anti-apartheid organisations, including the Black Sash and the ANC.

Jenkins said it was believed they had been there for more than a year.

He said no complaint had yet been lodged with police. An SAP spokesman said police had no knowledge of the bugs but said any complaint would be investigated.

Jenkins said the bugs constituted interference in the free political process and brought government's commitment to open political discussion into question.

He questioned why such clandestine activities were necessary when South Africans had been told “the security establishment had all but folded and we can all now look forward together to the new SA”.

"It was this kind of double agenda which caused so many South Africans to doubt the integrity of the NP," he said.
Fire and thunder at Boksburg Council battle

By Brendan Templeton

Boksburg councillors hurled threats, insults and impassioned moral viewpoints across the council floor at each other last night in a battle royale over an R80,000 court case.

At stake is the right of disgraced NP councillor Gerrie Wolmarans to hold his council position - the CP-dominated management committee wants him removed and has spent R80,000 in legal costs trying to achieve this.

Mr Wolmarans was last year found guilty of poaching as a lawyer in the Randfontein Magistrate's court and was fined R1900. Shortly afterwards he was expelled from the council.

Incensed, Mr Wolmarans challenged the expulsion in the Rand Supreme Court and won.

But the CP councillors are still baying for justice and for blood - they want to appeal against the finding at the cost of a further R60,000.

Ranked against them are the beleaguered NP councillors who have only seven representatives on the council against the CP's 11. The NP caucus believes Mr Wolmarans has already been punished, that justice has been done, and that taking the matter on appeal would be a waste of ratepayers' money because the appeal would be turned down.

"When a man has taken that path (of deception), he does not stop," the CP contingent vehemently argued.

CP councillor and Chief Whip Andries du Toit said Boksburg's only Jewish councillor, Issy Kramer (NP), need not worry that he would find Mr Wolmarans's head on his chair - a veiled reference to an incident last year when a severed pig's head wrapped in a Star of David flag was put on Mr Kramer's council chair.

Mayor TJ Ferreira (CP) - a former traffic officer - ordered Mr du Toit to order him to retract the statement.

NP Chief Whip Chris Smith thundered that the Management Committee was not empowered to take the case to appeal - that had to be decided by the council.

He threatened to take legal action to force those councillors, who voted that the case go ahead, to pay for the costs themselves. The CP caucus pooh-poohed him and said there were plenty of businessmen in the city who felt strongly enough to pay for the case.

In the end the CP held the day - it was voted to go ahead with the appeal and that Mr Wolmarans be suspended for the duration.
A tale of two security scandals

Hugh Robertson in Washington reveals an S4 link to the Inter-Continent Airlines

Editorial cartoon
Back to step one as

Before July, South Africans were told that real negotiations would get under way once the ANC’s conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkatha funding scandal, we appear to be back to square one. Star political analysts SHAWN JOHNSON and STANLEY UYS try to pick their way through the rubble.

It is in this context that observers can try to assess the damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

Both the Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference (MPC). For the moment, the Government’s is steeper and more treacherous. It has first to cleanse itself after “Inkathagate”. Then it must compromise to secure agreement that the remaining “obstacles to negotiations” have been cleared.

The planning talks for the conference must be reactivated - the ANC has been refusing to take part since March. Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity. When this apex is reached, the talks can begin and lead, eventually, to elections.

For its part, the ANC must

Army seen as saviour as c...
BUT THERE IS SUPPORT FROM AMERICA

RAMSAY MILNE
in NEW YORK

NEW YORK. — While it may be illegal for a government to subsidise one political party against another, the South African government's secret funding of Inkatha "is not an offence that sunders the human conscience," says the conservative columnist William J. Buckley.

In what is the strongest support for the government's actions yet expressed publicly in the US, Mr Buckley said Americans were not in a position to take offence at the idea of financing what might be considered the better political alternative. "We spent much of the 1980s doing just that," he said.

White South Africans wishing to scrap apartheid were faced on the one hand by the ANC, which he described as "an insurrectionary movement dominated by men committed to communist doctrine and methods, who refused to abjure the use of force and terrorism to achieve their goals" and Inkatha, which he described as "not properly insurrectionary but totally opposed to apartheid."

In shilling some money to Inkatha, the government was supporting a domestic force which forswore violence, communism and boycotts, and to the extent "the extremists in the ANC" are set back, he added, "the prospects for a peaceful end to apartheid are increased."

Mr. Buckley concluded: "That the South African government, striving to end apartheid, should simultaneously seek to reinforce the more stable of the anti-apartheid black groups is not an offence that sunders the human conscience."

"What it did was illegal. But hardly evil."
We are not trying to destroy the ANC. I'll do it again!
Secret R100m spent to fight Swapo
KINGSTON, Jamaica. — ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela on Wednesday demanded the formation of an interim government of national unity in South Africa, following the Inkatha funding scandal.

Mr. Mandela did not say who should compose the interim government.

"We demand the creation of an interim government of national unity that enjoys the confidence of all South African people," he told the Jamaican parliament.

The main task of the new government, Mr. Mandela said, would be to do away with apartheid completely.

Saying that apartheid could not oversee its own demise, he added: "The transitional government should preside over negotiations, and the transition should culminate in the election of a constituent assembly elected by universal adult suffrage to write a new constitution."

He said disclosures had supported the ANC's long-standing claim that the government supported political violence.

Mr. Mandela described Inkatha as the "organisation that has been most active in politically motivated violence". Much of the black-on-black violence in South Africa in recent months had pitted Inkatha backers against ANC supporters. — Sapa-Reuters, UPI
ri, 5m went to Inkatha union

The author, Colonel Dr. Peter Wondwes, states that £150 million was received by the Inkatha Freedom Party in the 1994 election, and that this figure is based on the calculations of the party's financial records. He goes on to say that the party has not yet released its financial statements for the 1994 election, and that it is not clear how much money they received in total. He also notes that the party has been criticized for its handling of funds, and that there are concerns about the party's financial practices.
Paraguay's President, General Arturo获得了更多权限。他承认，这是国际社会对他的政府的投赞同票的信号。然而，他强调，这并不意味着他将会放弃他的内政政策，特别是他对土地改革的坚定立场。

政府正在考虑将外国投资者的投资环境提升到更高的水平。这将涉及简化程序，提供更好的基础设施和更稳定的市场。总统还提到，他正在推动一项新的投资法律，以吸引更多的外资。

与此同时，工会领袖表示，他们将继续对政府的经济政策提出质疑，并呼吁政府采取更公平的分配政策。
Botha faces the press

At one stage during the keenly awaited encounter with the press, Mr Botha did concede that the government's image may have been "denied" as a result of the Inkatha funding scandal.

But he immediately added that the government would continue on its programme of reform as before.

"I believe that Mr De Klerk's integrity is above board. He has done nothing to deserve derogatory remarks about him.

"I have full faith in major governments of the world" that they would not detract from the fundamental issues — one man, one vote and the end of apartheid.

Mr Botha complained that the government was being judged in July 1991 on circumstances prevailing in a different, hostile era.

"Some people seem to forget how cold the winter was now that summer is approaching and what we did to make the country survive that winter."

Mr Botha said that the funds given to Inkatha did not propagate as a political party and submitted that the secret channeling of public funds to Inkatha had not been done for political purposes.

"No funds flowed to Inkatha as a political party to keep its political purposes going," he said.

This appeared to contradict the acknowledgement made by his cabinet colleague, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who said on SABC-TV's Sunday night "Agen-da" programme that the supplying of state money to Inkatha for "anti-sanctions and anti-violence" purposes could have been "a spin-off to the advantage of Inkatha."

At the end of the lively session during which he frequently clashed with reporters, Mr Botha remarked: "I wish we could continue."

The Democratic Party's deputy spokesman on law and order, Mr Jan van Eck, said last night: "The government's lack of repentance as expressed by Mr Botha and its justification of political partiality is final proof that this government and its security forces cannot be trusted with the transition period.

"Mr Botha's performance was a circus during which he showed no understanding whatsoever of the government's political bias and misuse of taxpayers' money to boost anti-ANC organisations," he said.

Meanwhile, the Weekly Mail newspaper which uncovered the Inkatha scandal last week, reports in today's edition that Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok "lied" when he said on television on a Sunday that "each and every cent of taxpayers' money had been accounted for in the clandestine funding operation.

Secret police documents in possession of the newspaper showed that Mr Vlok had been so worried about the money given to Inkatha's union wing, Uwusa, that he asked for an internal inquiry, Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber said last night.

"This inquiry found that Uwusa had not even kept any books, had no financial records and was unable to account for any of the funds given to them," he said.
Will F W De Klerk do what he has to do?

Cover-up of the CCB scandal, running rings around the Harms Commission. He must be sorry that he did not act more firmly then to take control of the SADF and its clandestine arm.

Yet his National Party has gained greatly from the township violence, whoever is responsible for it, because the middle-classes in all groups have taken fright at this spectacle of savagery and have rushed into the arms of the NP government. The ANC's increasingly insistent claims of State involvement in the battle between Inkatha and the ANC have been indignantly denied and these denials have usually been accepted. But now that it is shown beyond doubt that in at least one important instance — the funding of Inkatha rallies — the charge is true, Mr De Klerk's credibility is at naught.

The whole range of incredible allegations — State involvement in train massacres, AK-47 attacks on taxi queues, CCB-style assassinations etc — suddenly assumes a new complexion. It begins to look as if many of these horrifying charges might just be true.

Mr De Klerk's problem is that he assured Parliament in March last year that he was bringing the prosecution of secret funding of covert actions under firm control and reducing it to the minimum essential for State Security. In a dangerous world, most people accept that all countries must have an intelligence service. Mr De Klerk's assurance was widely accepted.

Now, caught in a political trap, Mr De Klerk may essay an attempt at damage limitation, announcing some impressive-sounding measures and then seek to "close the book" on the clandestine culture "once and for all". This kind of limited exercise may take some of the heat off him on the short term, as well as a promise to scrap the State Security Council and set up all-party monitoring of the intelligence establishment.

But it will avail little in the longer run. Much more will ultimately be necessary to restore an atmosphere of confidence in which negotiations can prosper. The whole sordid story of clandestine operations will first have to be brought into the open, robbing the scandal of its explosive potential. But Mr De Klerk needs to move quickly. I would not be surprised if at this moment they are burning confidential files at the Castle.

Anything less than complete disclosure will place Mr De Klerk at a sore disadvantage in his future dealings with the ANC. He will lack authority and credibility on the international stage. He will never know what startling new revelations are about to blow up in his face.

Mr De Klerk, let us hope, will do what he has to do. Yet I fear he will not.
Payment withheld because finances were in shambles

The Argus Correspondent

Johannesburg. – The financial affairs of the Inkatha-backed union, Uwusa, were in such a shambles that Auditor-General Mr. Peter Wronsley ordered the police to withhold one of the monthly payments to the union.

Uwusa is set to receive the final payment of the R1.5 million funding of the union by the police at the end of this month.

In reply to inquiries with regard to the police funding of Uwusa, Mr. Wronsley explained no irregularities were detected in the spending of the R1.5 million from the police but the internal finances of the union appeared to be in disarray.

"The decision to stop the subsidy made on May 16 this year was largely dictated by an evident collapse of Uwusa's internal financial control system and audit is satisfied that the interests of the State were protected as far as possible by the cessation," he said.

Mr. Wronsley said all the money from the police had been properly authorized and accounted for and no irregularities were detected at that level.

Law and Order Minister Mr. Adriaan Vlok said in a statement on Friday that he accepted that the union's "broader financial affairs" had not been regulated by acceptable accounting procedures.

An in-depth police investigation into the financial affairs of Uwusa found that the union could not be supported without exorbitant expenditure and that since the police were not prepared to fund it in toto, it was decided to terminate all financial responsibility at the end of July, he said.

He criticised a report in the Weekly Mail on Friday which branded him a "liar" for claiming that every cent of the police funds had been accounted for.

The "so-called lies" referred to by the newspaper arose from its access to documentation reflecting his concern at the management of Uwusa's finances in general, and not the contribution from the police, Mr. Vlok said.

"Police funds were used for specific, fixed and predetermined expenditures such as office accommodation, vehicle leasing and maintenance, fuel costs, telephone rentals, contributions, rallies, salaries, etc." Mr. Vlok said on Saturday he would consider resigning if he was an obstacle to peace in South Africa but not over the role he played in the Inkatha funding scandal.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said he would not resign over the scandal and thereby yield to "radical elements".
The government then said: "We were after secrecy and the Agreements, and we were after secrecy and the Agreements, and the government had too..."

They with us... with them, and we were at war with South Africa.

$100 million funds to fight Swapo
They must apologise to FW, says Conservative Treurnicht

CABINET Ministers who knew about the Government's funding of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) must apologise to President FW de Klerk for having made him tell lies, according to Conservative Party (CP) leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

In a telephone interview with The Star last night, Dr Treurnicht said when President de Klerk was asked in Parliament whether the government was involved in any clandestine funding of political parties he categorically said that was not the case.

Dr Treurnicht, who said he would today call on President de Klerk to investigate the matter further, said those members of the Cabinet who knew about the IFP's secret funding had to apologise to President de Klerk for having made him lie. He said it did not reflect well on the country if the Head of State was made to tell lies.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday appealed to the Government to "have enough respect for people's lives not to deliberately escalate the violence in an attempt to divert attention from the current funding scandal".

Reacting to Mr Botha's press conference, Miss Marcus said the Government was whitewashing the scandal. She added that Mr Botha "must have been acting in desecr" if it was true President de Klerk did know about the funding.
Pik’s defiance slammed

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE government has been slammed for trying to brazen out the storm over the Inkatha funds scandal and has drawn fresh fire over admissions that it gave more than R100 million in secret aid to Swapo opponents in the Namibian election.

Anger, indignation and deep concern have been expressed in the wake of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha’s aggressively defiant performance on TV last night.

Political parties and groupings across a broad spectrum today renewed demands for President de Klerk to disclose fully all government’s secret dealings, to dismiss ministers responsible and to provide guarantees to end secret political collusion.

Reports from Washington indicate that the government’s responses so far have failed to expunge the dismay and disappointment of some of its most ardent supporters in the United States.

British bankers have warned that they will be wary of underwriting any South African loan issue unless Mr de Klerk acts decisively to correct the damage.

Mr John Leape, head of the London School of Economics’ Centre for the Study of the South African Economy and International Finance, noted that the damage to South Africa’s credibility was such that the country would need to move swiftly towards an interim government.

'Caught with their pants down'

PAC spokesman Ms Patricia de Lille said the government was "caught with their pants down" and that the revelations "have vindicated the PAC's position that the government would go to any lengths to keep power".

"They are illegitimate and cannot be trusted with anything," she said.

Democratic Party foreign affairs spokesman Mr Colin Eglin said today: "Mr Botha's aggressive and unconvincing defence of his own department's anti-sanctions activities together with his admission that the government gave a further R100 million of South African taxpayers' money to Namibian parties at a time when the government was supposed to be a neutral administration implementing Resolution 435 still skirts the fundamental issue, which is the government's and especially the security force's political collusion with parties and organisations in South Africa."

He added: "On the basis of the government's past performance, the admissions which are being wrung out of Cabinet ministers and the mistrust the government's behaviour has created, it is clear that the present National Party government is incapable of steering South Africa through the difficult period of transition."

"Mr Botha has damned himself"

Matching sentiments have been expressed in South Africa.

The ANC said the scandal — and the new revelations — emphasised the need for an interim government.

Spokesman Mr Gill Marcus said: "You cannot trust (the present government) to conduct themselves in a manner that inspires confidence."

She added: "Mr Botha has damned himself and it's quite clear that the government has adopted a no-holds-barred policy against all its opponents.

"The whole thing is totally unacceptable. The issue is not whether Mr Botha goes, because in terms of direct responsibility, both (Defence Minister General Magnus) Malan and (Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian) Vlok have blood on their hands.

"We are saying Malan and Vlok should resign immediately and steps must be taken to instal an interim government because that's the only salvation for our country."

Dale Lautenbach reports from Windhoek that Namibia's Minister of Information Mr Hidipo Hamutenya said the disclosure confirmed what Swapo had suspected all along. "Our complaints (about South African support to Swapo's opposition) were always contemptuously dismissed. Now things are unfolding."

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the DFA which was one of the parties in Namibia to receive South African money, reacts dismissively to Mr Botha's disclosure saying "people are suffering guilty consciences in South Africa."

- 'I'll do it again' — page 17.
Picking up the pieces after ‘Inkathagate’

Before July, South Africans were told real negotiations would get under way once the ANC conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the inkatha funding scandal, we seem to be back to square one. Sowetan political analysts SHAUN JOHNSON and STANLEY UYS try to pick their way through the rubble.

Scandal

This is where we are today, as the country waits with bated breath to see whether President de Klerk has the will and the ability to extricate himself from the scandal.

There is a keen understanding on the part of the Government’s opponents that he must do so: just as much as the negotiation process relies on the political survival of Mandela, so an unsullied De Klerk is a necessary ingredient to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped, well short of saying it can no longer do business with the reforming President: it is seeking to exact a heavy tribute in terms of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate.

It is in this context that observers can try to assess the damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

Both the Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference.

For the moment, the Government’s is steeper and more treacherous. It has first to cleanse itself after inkathagate.

Then it must compromise to secure agreement that the remaining “obstacles to negotiations” have been cleared.

Elections

Then the planning talks for the MPC must be reactivated - the ANC has been refusing to participate since March.

Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity. When this apex is reached, the MPC can begin, and lead eventually to elections.

For its part, the ANC must conclude its “patriotic front” conference with the PAC and others, and emerge with its commitment to a negotiated settlement intact. (Curiously enough, its task is made more difficult by “inkathagate” - the PAC will be able to criticise dealings with the Government more effectively).

Then the ANC, too, must compromise in order to reach an agreement on the removal of obstacles. Then it must reactivate MPC planning talks without losing face and finally it must see through - as an observer - its ally the SA Communist Party’s first internal congress. At this stage the ANC will also be ready for the MPC.

The question, of course, is whether these steps will be taken in tandem. The re-establishment of trust is fundamental to this, and is without question the country’s top political priority.

But will recent developments cause either side to shift - that is to say, harden or soften - their positions, and thereby alter the timetables?

The key decision-making bodies, the Cabinet on the one hand and the ANC National Working Committee on the other, are for the time being mesmerised by the unfolding political drama.

But in an exclusive interview only days before “Inkathagate” broke, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer set out the Government thinking in some detail. It is a useful benchmark against which to test possible shifts in the coming months.

Meyer was upbeat about the prospects for the times out conferring of the MPC (“the last facet of talks about talks - it could happen before the end of the year”) and its potential as a forum for bringing about an eventual constitution-making body.

Logistics

“If the patriotic front takes place in August,” he said, “then immediately thereafter I would guess we would be able to come together and work out the logistics to get the MPC together. If that is so, then one can expect another two or three months thereafter to arrange the necessary practicalities.”

He believed, then, that there was “a sort of agreement between the Government and the ANC) that there are three major players (National Party, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party) as a departure point for deciding attendance at the MPC.

Further, he had this to say...
There's no longer time to watch 'Dallas' — AWB

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsboweging will launch an all-out membership drive on October 10 at a parade where the organisation will exhibit its paratroopers, motorcycle brigade and cavalry, according to AWB commandant-general, Serveas de Wet.

Addressing about 1 500 people in the Pretoria City Hall this week, the former police colonel told the meeting that South Africa was on the verge of a civil war. He said whites who were watching "Dallas" on TV rather than attending the meeting were "hensoppers".

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche exhorted the audience to "make a date" with him for revolution the day the Government handed over power to the African National Congress. 

Discussing the "Affirmative action" meant the slaughtering of the white man, he warned. — Sapa.

He said President FW de Klerk would within the next few weeks accede to the formation of an interim government consisting of the National Party, the ANC, Inkatha and homeland leaders.

De Wet said the AWB would found a Volksdeel (party) at the October 10 exhibition.

Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who was warmly welcomed by the audience, said the ANC had not bothered to constitute itself as a political party because it knew the Government would accede power to it.

Rudolph pleaded for rightwing unity, saying AWB stood for "Aandagt Weer Bomekaar".

He said the NP, ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and the SA Communist Party were enemies of the white man.

"Affirmative action" meant the slaughtering of the white man, he warned. — Sapa.
The Government collided
with its own by sponsoring
the ANC to rally against
sanctions, which it is opposed
to. It was reported that
the ANC had similar rallies
outside Soweto.

By Ismail Ladji

Pik Botha said that the Government had
funded ANC rallies. He denied that ANC
rallies had been funded by the
Government.

The Government denied
funding ANC rallies. It
said that it was opposed
to sanctions.

The Government said that it was
opposed to sanctions.

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We did not say we did.

From Page 1

Ladji
Integrity: To show his Time for FW

BEHIND THE SECRET FUNDS SCANDAL

THE WEEKLY MAIL, JULY 26, 1991
MANGOPE TO BLAME FOR DELAYED NEGOTIATIONS, SAYS PIK

Weekly Mail Reporters

PRESIDENT Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is holding up the removal of obstacles to negotiations between the government and the African National Congress by refusing to release political prisoners in his jails.

This emerged from the briefing Foreign Minister Pik Botha gave to ambassadors in Pretoria on Wednesday.

According to the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum, there are 166 political prisoners in Bophuthatswana, 138 of them former members of the national guard who participated in the 1988 attempted coup in the homeland.

The remaining 28 are ANC activists and residents of the Braklaagte community who have been resisting incorporation into the territory.

Mangope held a meeting with FW de Klerk on Tuesday evening after the president returned from the two-day bos-braad (bush conference) with his cabinet to discuss the Inkatha funding crisis.

Botha told the ambassadors that Mangope was “not disposed to be helpful” on the matter.

He said he had phoned ANC president Nelson Mandela in Spain to ask for his assistance in securing the release of the prisoners. However, Mandela had replied that Mangope was the problem of the South African government.
Peace talks go on despite crisis
and for the ANC to run with the ball...
Defiant Pik Botha insists: I'm right

From Page 1

had been taken yesterday, Mr Botha said "now summer's coming, few people remember how bitter the cold was and who did what to make it possible for this country to survive that winter".

He added: "It has never bothered my conscience when I have worked for the removal of apartheid, for the creation of jobs for blacks, for the economic growth of this country and I have not the slightest doubt that that is what I'm doing."

Asked if he considered resigning, he replied: "Not for this reason — there might be others."

Asked what the Government would do to repair the damage to its image, he said: "The only thing that has happened is that it was revealed what happened 18 months ago. Not a single negative element was revealed indicating that this Government had any other idea than to bring about a new South Africa..."

He said there was nothing wrong with using front organisations to invite foreigners to South Africa.

"We did it, and under similar circumstances, I will do exactly the same."

Mr Botha conceded that the top-secret security police document written by Major Louis Botha was authentic and that the police's motivation for the request that the Government should pay R250 000 for two IFP rallies had been political — to boost Inkatha and to undermine the ANC.

However, this had not been the motivation by the police to his department, which had paid for the rallies because it would have had an anti-sanctions message.
Inkatha scandal jeopardises loans

By Neil Behrmann

LONDON — The scandal surrounding government funding of Inkatha is creating uncertainty about the long-awaited first public South African loan issue since the 1983 debt moratorium.

A South African Deutsche mark issue is due to be placed in the Northern Hemisphere in September or October, say bankers and an announcement is imminent.

There is no official confirmation at this stage, but the lead manager for the issue is believed to be Deutsche Bank and the rumoured amount of the issue is Dm100 million to Dm200 million (R250 million).

The Inkatha scandal, however, is a major setback for South Africa in international financial markets, say bankers.

Banks will be wary of underwriting any South African issue, unless President President FW de Klerk acts decisively to repair the damage.

They fear that they will be forced to delay the public issue.

Such is the damage to the Government's credibility that SA will need to move swiftly towards an interim government, says Jonathan Leape, head of the London School of Economics Centre for the Study of the South African Economy and International Finance.

South Africa has raised $342 million (R1 billion) so far this year, mainly through private placements.

While international borrowings are 37 percent higher in real terms than amounts raised in the whole of 1989, and impressive when compared with virtually zero borrowings in the years 1985 to 1989, there are no grounds for complacency, he says.

Borrowings amount to only 0.2 percent of gross domestic product. This is on a par with the inflows of 1977, the lowest amount raised in any year before the 1983 standstill.

In order to return to the levels of international borrowing achieved in the period 1972 to 1976 when the inflows averaged at 2.6 percent of gross domestic product annually, South Africa would need to borrow $2.8 billion a year, says Mr Leape.

This is almost ten times the amount achieved in the first half of 1991.

Even in the improved conditions this year, borrowers succeeded in rolling over less than half of the bond debt that matured.

Borrowing costs continue to be high, with the yield on issues between 2.4 percent to 2.8 percent above US government bonds.

Banks have sold South African issues mainly to retail in vestors.

"International institutions are yet to play a significant role," says Mr Leape.
This must stop, says Chalker

The British government yesterday strongly urged President de Klerk to nullify the main threats to South Africa's future, which it said were coming from the extreme Left and Right within the country.

Police funding of political parties in South Africa must stop, British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker said in Cambridge.

Whitehall sources last night said the British government did not want to interfere or tell Mr de Klerk what to do.

Britain's primary concern was that all parties continued the process towards peaceful constitutional negotiations.

The European Community is likely to delay significant discussion on the lifting of sanctions following disclosures in South Africa of secret payments to Inkatha, according to sources in Britain. It will also take pressure off Denmark to withdraw its veto against lifting EC sanctions. The scandal has also put paid to Britain's hopes of settling the sanctions issue once and for all at the Commonwealth conference in October. The British Foreign Office regards it as the worst crisis to hit SA since reform began.

Star Bureau-Sapa.
Zimbabweans stop smiling at ‘Comrade FW’

I got back from Zimbabwe this week having spent nine days speaking to government figures — including Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira — business people, diplomats, academics and journalists. While I was in Harare, I witnessed a disturbing turn-around in attitudes towards South Africa, as a direct result of the revelations about secret police funding for Inkatha.

I arrived before the scandal broke. From my early meetings, I picked up a great deal of interest in political developments in South Africa, and a distinct softening of attitudes towards our country. President Robert Mugabe had expressed his admiration for Nelson Mandela, and acknowledged the courage and the decisive role played by President de Klerk.

As a measure of this changing emphasis, I was told that the descriptive terms used on Zimbabwean television reports should not be underestimated.

Newscasters now refer neutrally to “the South African Government” — they’ve dropped the “apartheid regime” usage of the past decade — and Mr de Klerk has been introduced on at least one memorable occasion as “Comrade de Klerk”.

It was my impression, after hours and hours of discussions with Zimbabweans — both high-ranking and less elevated — that the Zimbabwe delegation to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting scheduled for Harare in October might well support a call for the lifting of sanctions.

There was, in these meetings early last week, a desire for closer contact with South Africa, and a determination to be part of any increased trading pattern with this country.

My informants said there were still strong links with South Africa, and expressed an eagerness to share in the regional economic development which will take place once the tensions in the sub-continent have been reduced.

I found that businessmen and Ministers alike did not want to miss out on any opportunities which may present themselves once the “new South Africa” is in place. There was awareness of the need to co-operate in matters of a regional nature — for example, transport, communications and electricity generation.

They felt the potential for economic growth and co-operation was good, and should be exploited.

I came out of these meetings enthused: It seemed to me that we were close to an historic breakthrough in our future relations with Zimbabwe, the most important of our neighbours and our biggest trading partner in Africa.

But then came the so-called “Inkathagate” revelations. I can’t be sure that this was the sole reason, but I suddenly found that a prearranged meeting with the Minister of State Security did not come off. I was given the “don’t call us, we’ll call you” treatment.

The conciliatory spirit began to give way, before my eyes, to old-style suspicion about Pretoria’s motives.

There was a bomb blast at the Skatton Hotel on Saturday morning — and, immediately, the old suspicions about South African skullduggery were revived. Even President Mugabe referred to the fact that in the past, it would have been “assumed” that Pretoria’s agents were responsible.

Suddenly, Zimbabweans were not so sure that the Nats were not still up to their old tricks. The stimulating atmosphere of trust and optimism was not destroyed, but began to be replaced by caution and circumspection.

In my opinion, and I am sad to have to say this, the consequences of the Inkatha payments will be considerable — and could affect developments in the entire region. All those involved in negotiations with the National Party will be suspicious of their motives.

This is just one reason why it is imperative that the Government respond to the demands by the various organisations as decisively as possible in order to restore a measure of credibility.

No one wants to return to the bad old days, but the South African Government is going to have to work harder to prove its bona fides.
ANOTHER FOREIGN AFFAIR

The ambassador to France, former Foreign Affairs chief director Marc Burger, was the man who controlled the Foreign Affairs slush funds which have now landed the De Klerk administration in its biggest political crisis.

The FM has also learnt that Burger was the middleman from whom the SA Police requested R250,000 to sponsor two Inkatha rallies as well as R1,5m for Inkatha's trade union, Uwusa.

For the past seven years, before his assignment in France, Burger headed the department's planning division whose role was to keep close watch on impending sanctions moves. In an interview in the November 30 issue of the FM last year, Burger called his section the "odd-jobs brigade."

Since the news of Inkatha's funding by Law and Order Minister Adrian Vilok's men leaked out last week, there has been increasing pressure on De Klerk to axe both Vilok and Foreign Minister Pik Botha from the Cabinet. Pretoria may be forced to disclose more projects which have been secretly funded.

One of the projects which came to the attention of the FM last year was a top-secret plan masterminded by Burger to fund the construction of a major harbour for the Turkish government.

When the FM made informal inquiries about this, we were called to Pretoria by Botha. Also present in his East Wing office at the Union Buildings was Botha's former press attaché, Pieter Swanepoel, who has since been appointed SA's ambassador to Portugal.

During the interview Botha admitted that the project had been in the planning stages but that it was cancelled after careful consideration. Botha also confirmed Burger's role in the Turkey project and said Burger had been a trusted official who had been playing an invaluable role in fighting sanctions.

Botha added that disclosure of the project at that stage would have been extremely harmful to SA (and its allies who had been involved). He said that if the news leaked out it would have had a crippling effect on SA's coal exports. Botha asked the FM to delay publication of the article and promised that he would personally go on record about the matter when the danger of sanctions had subsided.

After last weekend's disclosures, the FM now feels that publication of this information is in the public interest.

Current Affairs sources have told the FM that Botha had been warned by his Director-General, Neil van Heerden, and senior deputy DG Herbert Beukes, of the political perils that a slush fund could create for Botha.

While most senior officials in the department vaguely knew about the secret fund, and that Burger had been the man controlling it, it is accepted that people like Van Heerden and Beukes had no knowledge of what was actually planned by the "odd-jobs brigade."

The slush funds are apparently not part of the Department of Foreign Affairs budget, which is controlled by Van Heerden.

Burger last year scoffed at the idea that his planning section was an anti-sanctions outfit. "We dealt with problem areas and priorities. We made it up as we went along," he said.

Burger, who earlier this week attended a wreath-laying ceremony at Delville Wood for fallen SA soldiers, was not available for comment on Tuesday. The FM was told he was on leave somewhere in Germany.

The FM also faxed questions to Botha, who attended the Cabinet briefing to discuss the crisis, but at the time of going to press there had been no response from the Minister's office. Van Heerden is abroad.

THE FUNDING SCANDAL — 2

MORE WORMS?

A final break with the past, including the sacking of Cabinet Ministers more partial to the PW Botha era than the transition to democracy, is possibly all that will save President F W de Klerk's reform initiative in the face of the Inkatha funding scandal.

Just how far he is prepared to go to limit the damage and restore some shine to government's battered image was being discussed by Cabinet and senior officials at a crisis conference near Pretoria as the FM went to press.

It is clear that only dramatic and unprecedented action is likely to restore domestic and international confidence in De Klerk's ability to manage the transition process successfully.

The focus is not so much on the existence of secret funds — R380m in the current Budget and R1,5bn over the past five years — but on their abuse by the supposedly impartial SA Police to benefit Inkatha politically, along with its trade union arm, Uwusa.

Legislations of SAP collusion with Inkatha in a wide range of actions, including township violence, have inevitably gained credi-
“some retirements” from Cabinet are desirable in an effort to restore government’s credibility.

The newspaper says it is also necessary to give clear assurances that the misuse of secret funds has ended and that steps have been taken to prevent a recurrence.

Credibility gap

Canadian academic and internationally respected SA-watcher Heribert Adam, now teaching at UCT’s business school, says that to recover some credibility and limit the damage, De Klerk must come clean rather than let only snippets of information leak out. “It is essential to state quite clearly what has been done rather than leave it to the press to discover it. De Klerk must also give a further undertaking not to allow State money to be used for partisan purposes.”

The “professionalisation” of the police must be seen to be happening — and not simply talked about — from the top down. Adam believes it is perhaps necessary to create a new police force unhampered by the past.

He says the crisis will severely damage Inkathafrika’s international image because it will be “seen to be in the pocket of the State.” But he doubts the scandal will have any significant negative impact on government’s white supporters whom, he says, “almost expect it to undertake secret projects like this.”

It will reinforce the ANC’s belief that almost all allegations of collusion between the State and anti-ANC groups are true. Internationally, governments that have gone out of their way to support De Klerk will be embarrassed and future contacts are likely to be “far more cautious”.

Adam agrees that the scandal is the most serious crisis De Klerk has faced since taking power in 1989. It has reinforced the perception of a conflict between system and struggle — at a time when SA should be developing a multiparty style of politics that will be important to future success.

UCT political scientist David Welsh believes it unlikely that De Klerk knew what was happening and was “duped by overzealous underlings in the security agencies.” However, the scandal shows he did not limit clandestine operations and spending from secret funds to the extent that he said he would — and his credibility is now on the line.

To limit the damage Welsh suggests that De Klerk should accept Law & Order Minister Adrian Vlok’s resignation and possibly resign himself with Deputy Foreign Minister (and Vlok’s former deputy) Leon Wessels, who is tough and has wide political credibility.

Welsh says De Klerk is sufficiently astute to realise that only a major gesture will counter the ANC’s accusation of government negotiating with a double agenda.

Ironically, De Klerk passed up a number of opportunities in parliament this year to come clean on secret funds to Inkatha and Uwusa. He would have been able to manage the release of the information rather than have it splashed as a newspaper exposé and there’s little doubt that the damage would have been far more limited than is now the case.

DP MP Kobus Jordaan first heard of the funding last year and tried to contact Vlok to discuss the issue. Vlok didn’t respond. In March he raised formal questions in parliament to Vlok, De Klerk and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, but was fobbed off with similar noncommittal replies.

The following month he again questioned De Klerk who referred to his previous reply but added that it was “not government policy to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organisation.”

On May 2, in the debate in parliament on the President’s Budget vote, Jordaan said that despite De Klerk’s earlier assurances of police impartiality, he was not “completely convinced” that the scandal was over.

“Do you say this? In the second half of last year, when the violence between Inkatha and the ANC was at its worst, I received information backed by indisputable proof, including the names of those persons involved, that the police were closely involved in financial and organisational support to Inkatha’s trade union, Uwusa.”

De Klerk did not respond in his reply to the debate. Jordaan believes that if government had come clean at the time, and admitted support for Inkatha and Uwusa, but made it clear that all clandestine help to political, cultural and trade union groups had ended, it could have avoided a crisis as severe as the one it now faces.

He says government’s actions fuel suspicion of a split between hawks and doves in the Cabinet and give credibility to the argument that the hawks are backing De Klerk’s reform agenda only to relieve foreign pressure on SA — after which they will continue suppressing opposition within the country.

Jordaan, like David Welsh, says De Klerk can limit the damage by calling a special session of parliament to debate the matter fully and appointing a judicial commission of inquiry to probe all aspects of secret funding.

He adds that the crisis shows government can’t handle the transitional process on its own. He proposes the formation of an inter-parliamentary commission of inquiry to probe all aspects of secret funding.

To the view among some members of the Inkatha Institute that both the amount paid to the organisation and its source are not cause for serious concern.

Instead, they are alarmed at the way the IFP and Buthelezi responded to the accusations, feeling the party needs some serious coaching in public relations. It seems clear that few people accept that Buthelezi could not have been aware of the payments into IFP bank accounts in Durban.

Buthelezi’s offer to refund the money to the Department of Foreign Affairs must also be regarded as a cynical and pointless exercise, especially as it was linked to a public appeal for help in the repayment. No mention was made of whether the IFP would also repay the R1.5m that Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok said was given to the IFP-linked United Workers’ Union of SA (Uwusa).

At Tuesday’s IFP press conference — which released Khumalo’s statement, but which he did not attend — spokesman said Uwusa was not part of Inkatha and they did not know where its funds came from.

It was also stated that Buthelezi and IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose were signing affidavits denying any knowledge of the funding and accusing the SAP’s Major Louis Botha of being a liar.
Umla leaders had gone to ground earlier in the week, as had most senior IFP officials. After a brief tour of Natal trouble spot Mpumalanga on Monday, Buthelezi reportedly spent Tuesday in a Cabinet meeting.

IFP members at the press conference contradicted themselves over the nature of their Durban account, first saying it was specifically for disaster funds, then that it was also for general funds. They claimed that Khu-malo was solely responsible for removing the R250 000 from the account to spend on rally banners and similar items, though they could not explain why he had sole signing power over a major IFP account.

Worrying spin-offs in the wake of the scandal include apparently unprovoked attacks on former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, now independent of IFP and KwaZulu politics and running the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

Dhlomo was criticised from Ulundi for his “return to politics” and for the possibility that his non-aligned institute could fund the ANC and PAC-proposed patriotic front.

Dhlomo made it quite clear that the institute would not, and in terms of its constitution could not, fund the Patriotic Front. He also said he was surprised that he was being singled out for criticism, saying the IFP and its leaders had enough problems of their own without “manufacturing enemies where they do not exist.”
The phrase used by the Bush administration in response to the Inkatha secret funding revelations goes to the heart of the matter — Pretoria needs to take all necessary steps to restore the "integrity of the negotiating process."

If this is done the scandal will abate, though it is difficult to see how it can do so as long as Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and some others are retained in the Cabinet. But he is not the sole "obstacle to negotiations."

The intention of placing secret funds within the Department of Finance for redistribution in the "national interest" to other departments, was to remove the stain of the information scandal which linked national leaders to such matters as greed, lying and, possibly, murder. P W Botha, it may be recalled, opened his period of misrule with a promise of clean administration. Such funds would from then on be subject to greater, though never total, public scrutiny.

Now, after all these years, again we have large and unknown amounts of public money applied for dubious purposes by senior politicians who have deliberately misled the public.

However much has been channelled to Inkatha and its affiliates — not more than R1,5bn, Vlok has declared — is obviously small in comparison to the total stashed away in the Secret Services Account since 1978. About R1,5bn is believed involved. But who really knows how much, or whether the eyes of responsible Ministers were not averted when signing?

In the process the Nationalists have once again embarrassed their friends and given comfort to their enemies even in the hour of their defeat. The whole cumbersome equipage of the anti-apartheid movement — that dying cottage industry, most had hoped — is on the road again. Various anti-sanctions foundations and figures will have the provenance of their funds questioned anew.

It was indeed "premature" to believe that the Nats had changed their spots.

But the loss of international credibility is nothing to what has been lost at home. The point about the funding of the Inkatha rallies — and the Inkatha union — is not that they spread the word of conciliation and made the case for restoring broken trade, sport and cultural links; but that they prima facie triggered unparalleled black-on-black violence in which at least elements of the police have been less than neutral. This came after February 2 1990 and in the face of constant denials of government support for Inkatha or the involvement of a Third Force.

Moreover, by their folly, both the Nats and Inkatha have contributed to marginalise Gatsha Buthelezi, if not turn him into an Abel Muzorewa.

So things have been made much worse. Neither F W de Klerk nor Buthelezi had better plan a trip abroad soon. Leaked documents, accusations and counter-accusations, discredited faces in public... Why can't our leaders be more honest? The question arises time and again.

In order to reinstate the integrity of the negotiating process the following needs to be done:

☐ There must be a sincere accounting for the uses to which the secret R1,5bn has been put — and the extent to which government has also financed the ANC revealed.

This means more than the dismissal of Vlok, Magnus Malan or even Pik Botha from the Cabinet. The responsibility for the mess lies with De Klerk and he should use parliament to explain himself. Anything less would mean that government could find itself in the position of convening multiparty talks to which no-one, except perhaps Inkatha, will come. The Nationalists will simply have to accept that they will be going into those talks in a far weaker position than only a week ago.

The alternative response — a cover-up, or an attempt to brazen it through — will mean an indefinite postponement of constitutional talks and the likelihood that the IMF funding needed to underpin economic recovery will simply not be forthcoming;

☐ The multiparty talks themselves, when and if they occur, will need participants untainted by the financial, mental and moral slush that has become the Nationalists' habitat; participants who will also not be blind to the shortcomings of the ANC-SACP alliance. Here the Democratic Party has an opportunity to play a role disproportionate to its size — as the voice of liberalism, in manners and markets, it can mediate on behalf of a wide constituency from a position of unquestionable integrity; and

☐ Not least, reform must continue at a cracking pace. De Klerk has said often enough that this is his mandate and — particularly if constitutional talks aimed at giving blacks the vote are delayed by either side — a great deal of work remains to be done. The point about reform is not just that it is right — it is practical. We need it to become a more free society and prosperous economy. And we need it soon, before the damage is irreparable.

Whoever comes to rule in the years ahead will have to deal with millions of unemployed and ill-educated. As this reality hits home — the "New SA" could be a pretty nasty place — it will be all too easy to blame the ancien régime for all the ills of the streets.

Reform, at least, should be the one thing for which De Klerk never has to apologise.
Independent monitoring of secret funds is expected

PETER FABRICIUS

Johannesburg — Some form of independent monitoring of government secret funds is likely to be announced next week by President De Klerk in an attempt to restore shattered confidence after the Ikakatha slush-funds scandal.

Senior government sources cautioned yesterday that Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha's unrepentant 'I'd do it again' stance on national television this week should not be taken as a precursor of how Mr. De Klerk will perform when he addresses the nation on the controversy on Tuesday.

Although the sources do not expect Mr. De Klerk to fire any cabinet ministers directly involved in the scandal, they also forecast that he will not simply endorse what Mr. Botha and Law and Order Minister Mr. Adriaan Vlok have said and done.

Mr. Botha's tough stance on TV has pleased many white South Africans, but it has also provoked sharp criticism and has not answered wider questions — internationally and domestically — about the government's political abuse of secret funds.

Senior government sources have divulged that Mr. Botha's remarks were consistent with the cabinet strategy worked out this week — but they say that Mr. De Klerk would strike a different note.

Monitoring of funds

From page 1

"We feel that in the funding of Ikakatha all the legal obligations were honoured and, from that point of view, was defensible in the perspective of the time. We feel we can sweat that one out."

"But, at the same time, it is indicative of a bigger problem — the need to bring the spending of secret funds under stricter control," the source said.

One possibility that had been considered by the cabinet this week was an all-party parliamentary committee to monitor secret funding but the sources would not be drawn on the exact nature of the mechanism Mr. De Klerk will announce.

Mr. De Klerk is not expected to make an announcement on measures to ensure security force impartiality as this was being dealt with by the church/business peace initiative.

Further slush fund scandal breaks — see page 3.

How will Mr. De Klerk handle the crisis — see pages 20 and 21.
Vlok ponders response to Mail’s ‘he lied’ claim

Political Staff

LAW and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has consulted President De Klerk and was still considering his response today to a public accusation that he lied in the “Inkathagate” row.

He was cloistered in his office at Wachtbaan, Pretoria, with aides and advisers most of Friday afternoon and into the night.

They were calculating how best to react to the Weekly Mail’s charge that he had lied when he said on television on Sunday that “every cent” of secret funds given the Inkatha-linked United Workers’ Union of South Africa (Uwusa) had been accounted for and that no taxpayers’ money had been wasted.

Evidence, the newspaper reported, pointed to Uwusa’s finances being in chaos where financial control was impossible.

Confidantes said his view was that the Weekly Mail, which broke the “Inkathagate” affair last week involving covert police backing for Inkatha and Uwusa, had “overplayed its hand” this time.

It is known Mr Vlok spent some hours at the Union Buildings discussing the latest report and the week-old row with Mr De Klerk.
De Klerk faces grave credibility crisis

From facing page

He also urged the establishment of an independent commission or agency to monitor government action and to ensure impartiality in regard to internal political organisations.

MAGNUS MALAN:

ALTHOUGH Defence Minister Magnus Malan has not been linked with the Inkatha funding scandal, his image and credibility have been severely dented by the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) scandal.

Some analysts think he can hardly survive politically if Mr Vlok's head is to roll as a result of the new funding scandal.

Like Mr Vlok, General Malan has been held politically responsible for many alleged misdeeds of the security establishment. The two Ministers have repeatedly been singled out for attack by critics of the government who demanded their resignation or dismissal.

Among the latest to call for their resignation or dismissal are church leaders who also demanded an immediate government ban this week on all covert action and an immediate freeze on secret State funds.

The churchmen also urged the government to commit itself to an official inquiry into security force involvement in the current violence. They proposed that a commission be set up by agreement with major political parties, business and religious groups.

A further storm erupted this week around General Malan's role in the security establishment as a result of allegations of SADF involvement in a brutal train massacre near Soweto in September last year.

Two leading British newspapers and a Johannesburg paper carried reports alleging South African military intelligence involvement in the massacre and security police funding for Inkatha.

The allegations — dismissed by an SADF spokesman as "absolute lies" — resulted in the appointment of a high-ranking police officer, Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, to investigate.
AROUND THE PULPIT

A VIEW FROM THE Pulpit

by R. S. W. WHITE

To begin your day of prayer, first take a moment to review your week ahead. Consider the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead, and begin to pray for the strength and wisdom needed to meet them. Throughout the week, make time for silence and reflection, allowing the Holy Spirit to guide you in your decisions. Remember that prayer is not just a time of supplication, but also a time of thanksgiving and praise for the goodness of God. As you face each new day, set aside a time to turn your heart to Him and seek His will. Let the peace of Christ, which surpasses all understanding, guard your heart and your mind in Christ Jesus. PRAY FOR THE NEEDS AND THE EXPERIENCES OF OTHERS.
De Klerk faces grave crisis of credibility
The lesson for both men and women in this democracy (even if we have not to achieve it) is that the powers that be in this world, the top of the pyramid of power, must be seen as legitimate and just. The ANP, as the main opposition party, must continue to fight for a democratic and just society.

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TORNED SOLDIER: Nico Basson, former mayor of the town, says the community is still reeling from the loss of the Drakensberg Mountains.
Death threat to Van Eck

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck has had a death threat from an anonymous caller to his home.

The call was taken by his wife, Eunice.

Mr Van Eck said: "The man, who spoke English with a strong Afrikaans accent, told her: 'Tell Van Eck to start running. I'm going to kill the son of a bitch'.

"I am taking it very seriously and I am taking precautions. It is upsetting, but one should probably expect it.'"

He added that he did not think the caller was a "crank". From his wife's account, the caller "sounded determined."

Mrs Van Eck reported the threat to police.
PRETORIA — Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Pik Botha was being hotly rubber and provocative when he said financial donations would be given again.

Mr. Frank de la Roche, leader of the Conservative Party, said in Parliament yesterday that R100 million to Namibian parties "would be given again." The government's secret fund is in the process of being supplemented by the two main Namibian political parties. It is said that the Namibian parties have no idea how much money there will be. Mr. Botha, when he was asked about the fund in his statement released in Pretoria last Thursday, said: "The government's secret fund is not our responsibility. It is the responsibility of the two main parties in Namibia."
**Slush fund:**

**Govt may sue**

**Weekly Mail**

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

The government may take the Weekly Mail to court following the publication yesterday of a fresh round of damaging allegations in the secret slush fund scandal.

And the editor of Weekly Mail, Mr Anton Harber, last night responded: "We are happy to test Mr Vlok's honesty in court."

-A new storm has broken out in government circles over the newspaper branding Mr Vlok "a liar" following the minister's claim on television that secretly-allocated taxpayers' money had been accounted for.

Mr Vlok spent much of yesterday huddled with senior advisors, but a promised statement on the row did not materialise last night.

All that Mr Vlok's spokesman, Capt Craig Kotze, would say was: "We reserve the right to sue the Weekly Mail."

Mr Harber said Mr Vlok "is on very weak ground — the court case will turn into a commission of inquiry."

"If Mr Vlok wants to sue, then it's a case of 'Bring it on in court', " he said.

The Weekly Mail also said that five senior Inkatha officials — including Inkatha leader Chief Mkosozothu Buthelezi — knew about the Inkatha slush fund.

An Inkatha spokesman in Ulundi said yesterday that the organisation would not be responding to the fresh allegations at this stage.

In other developments surrounding the government's secret funding scandal yesterday:

- A former army officer, Mr Nico Basson, said yesterday that the SADF staged fights between Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the leader of Namibia's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, in an attempt to show that the DTA leader was anti-South African. On Thursday, Mr Botha admitted that secret money had been channelled to the DTA during the election campaign against Swapo.

- ANC foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki said on British television yesterday that the ANC would continue negotiations with the South African government provided it demonstrated it was serious about change.

- SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo said the disclosures of secret funds had brought negotiations closer to breakdown than ever before.

In other reaction to the scandal, the Conservative Party accused Mr Pik Botha of arrogantly fudging answers he gave to Parliament in 1990 about the government's secret funding of Namibian political parties.

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux yesterday noted he had asked Mr Botha on March 27 last year whether South Africa helped political parties contesting the Namibian elections.

"Skirts issue"

He said the minister had replied a follow-up: "According to available information, all Namibian parties who participated in the election received funds from sources outside Namibia. Namibia became independent on March 21, 1990 and it will serve no purpose to try to identify donors and associate them with parties."

The chairman of the Democratic Party caucus, Mr Colm Erwin, said that the disclosure that over R100 million in taxpayers' money went to anti-Swapo parties at a time when South Africa was supposed to be a neutral administration of Namibia in terms of UN Resolution 435 "still skirts the fundamental issue".

The crux of the scandal was the government's political collusion — and specially police collusion — with political parties and other organisations inside South Africa.
Mudge-Pik fights 'staged'  

JOHANNESBURG. — The SADF staged fights between South Africa’s Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and the leader of Namibia’s Democratic Turnhalle Alliance Mr Dirk Mudge in an attempt to show the DTA leader was anti-South African, disillusioned former defence force officer Mr Nico Basson alleged in Johannesburg yesterday.

At a press conference to outline government funding of political parties in Namibia in the run-up to the independence elections, Mr Basson said the SADF had been the main party in attempts to discredit Swapo.

The SADF spread a rumour that a Swapo incursion was planned for April 1 when it learnt Swapo soldiers would be trying to return to Namibia peacefully, until they got permission from the UN to intervene.

Stories about Swapo detains had been blown out of proportion to discredit the organisation. The campaign was so successful it brought down the party’s support from 80% to 50%, Mr Basson claimed.

The DTA had a total budget of R72 million of which the South African government provided R65 million, Mr Basson alleged.

A tersely worded statement from an SADF spokesman in Pretoria said about Mr Basson’s allegations: “The status of the SADF is such that the force does not react to rubbish.”

— Sapa
Slush fund: R281 per taxpayer

By BARRY STREEK
TAXPAYERS are contributing an average of R281.79 each in the current financial year to South Africa's secret funds.

They also paid an average of more than R74.14 each to seven anti-Swapo political parties in Namibia during the pre-independence elections.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said in Parliament on March 27 this year that there were 1,348,732 individual taxpayers in South Africa in the 1980 tax year.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, admitted at a press conference this week that "well over" R100 million was given to seven political parties in Namibia during the pre-independence elections — which works out at a cost of well over R74.14 per individual taxpayer.

This year's budget makes provision for R380,061,000 for secret services, R252.8 million more than the previous year, for "augmentation of the secret services account to finance secret services undertaken by state departments" — which means that it cost each taxpayer an average of R281.79.

In another development in the secret funding scandal, a former army officer who was involved in covert operations in Namibia before independence claimed that the SADF had been at the forefront of attempts to discredit SWAPO, Sapa reports.

Mr Nico Basson alleged that SADF involvement in Namibia was "about 50%" of the SA government's involvement. The next-most-involved department was Foreign Affairs, he said.

Slush fund: Govt may sue — Page 2
WHAT we are seeing today is South Africa trapped in a destructive cul-de-sac, a victim of the continuation of the well-oiled system versus Struggle dialectic, of reciprocal fear and suspicion, political gamesmanship and self-serving stereotypes.

Many benefit from keeping the silver ball of apartheid in play in the South African pinball machine. Observe the flash-hong media lights. Listen to the clangs and whistles of charge and counter-charge.

Don't look at South Africa's real problems. Ignore the continuing violence and the crime rate. Pay no attention to the crisis in education or the frightening rate of unemployment.

The game of political pinball is a lot more fun and a lot more profitable. The destructiveness of this pinball gamesmanship is seen clearly in the controversies over re-admission of South African sport to world competition. Does anybody speak for the men and women who actually play sport?

Revelations about the South African government's flush fund and the complexity in supporting Inkatha is further evidence that the country's problems cannot be solved at the same level as they were created.

Mr De Klerk has to now realise that he cannot manage the process of negotiation using the manipulative behavioural tricks the National Party has employed in parliamentary election campaigns.

A talk-shop, systems and collaborative approach is required. South Africa's future cannot be negotiated by power politics and horse trading. Society has to first be reconstituted along a developmental evolutionary spiral. Neither white monopolistic nor black mass democratic models are able to deal with South Africa's complexities.

At the same time, the African National Congress has to get its ho-hum-than-thou celebrations over with as soon as possible. It has to accept that future revitalisation could create in its executive a sense of similar traditions and commonly held South Africa's complexities.

The ANC is itself weighed down by champions of an older order, a repressive, punitive and failed ideology that is becoming as quaint and outmoded as the Zulu age of King Shoqwe.

Mr De Klerk cannot jetison his historical baggage until Mr Mandela walks in and in front of the world. Mr De Klerk cannot free himself from the Communist Party and his radicalised cadres until Mr De Klerk turns his back on the total backlash industry.

Mr De Klerk understands only too well what the threat is from his political and military right wing. And Mr Mandela quite clearly recognises the danger posed by his violent and undisciplined left. The draconian dance continues. The country suffers.

American problem-solving expert Dr Don Beck says the row over government funding of Inkatha has a deeper message than political pinball. He is a director of the National Values Centre in Denton, Texas, and specialises in complex societal change. His book has been called "Rajah" and he is on his 39th visit to South Africa in 10 years.

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South Africa has to find the models for accommodating and balancing three powerful, polarising and pervasive mosaic - historical Zulu hegemony, Afrikaner volk's impulse for cultural survival and urban black economic aspirations.

Attempts to isolate or eliminate any one of these elements from the South African formula will invite the Beirut scenario.

Neither the National Party, Inkatha nor the ANC can, on their own, achieve that delicate balance. To claim otherwise would be self-delusion and arrogance, yet these human qualities unfortunately have a long history in Africa.

But what if South Africans were to say collectively: "Enough is enough"? If the people give the lead, will the leaders follow? What if the real goal were to become the creation of a healthy, dynamic society?

This should supersede other lesser objectives such as elimination of the remnants of apartheid, the liberation of the black majority, the protection of white First World privilege or the victory of free market capitalism over command economy socialism and Marxism, or vice versa.

A "healthy" South Africa would focus instead on meeting the needs of people at different development levels, the protection of a fragile and threatened environment, the containment of dangerous diseases, the maximisation of resources to save the whole of Africa and the forging of dynamic models for the management of change within the crucible which is South Africa.

Such a fresh start would require a quantum leap in thinking about problem resolution. Examples of this new paradigm are already emerging.

Note the early successes of the Middelburg Community Forum (Transvaal), where a Conservative Party town council has been brought into constructive and dynamic interaction with township communities. Watch carefully the creative approaches to peace in the affairs of the business and religious communities.

Mr Mandela's recent moderate statements suggest an openness to a more constructive and less adversarial approach. Perhaps the flush fund exposed and its aftermath will provide a fresh opportunity for a whole new talk among all parties involved.

If the world wishes to assist in the creation of a healthy South Africa, it should contribute to a clearing house fund to be used systemically and responsibly in housing, education, job creation and health care.

The experience of, and controversy over, the South African government's attempt to create a more equitable power balance between the ANC and Inkatha might be a blessing in disguise.

If the scandal is seen only as a victory for the ANC in the public relations game, the important lessons will be lost in the colourful lights of the political pinball game.

But if it serves to discredit the levels of thinking in which all the parties are equally involved then a healthy South Africa might become a reality.
Monitoring of secret cash on cards

Inkatha scandal: what FW may do

Funds row

FROM PAGE 1.

secret funds had been spent on Inkatha. However, the problem lay in the political purpose for which the secret funds were spent.

The Government felt it was necessary to introduce mechanisms to ensure that it received "some fairly objective advice as to what constitutes an acceptable project".

The sources said the principle that Government should control secret funds was well established throughout the world.

But in South Africa, where political views were so diametrically opposed and the political terrain was so sensitive, "one has to be especially careful".

The Government felt there was a need to "get a bit of distance" between the Minister controlling the secret funds and the decision as to how they were spent.

Mr de Klerk had taken a step in this direction last year when he decided to bring secret funds under stricter control in the wake of the hit-squad scandal.

The source would not be drawn on the exact nature of such a mechanism.

There will be keen interest to see whether Mr de Klerk's announcement meets the growing demand for guarantees that the Government will really use secret funds in the national interest rather than for party-political purposes.

Meanwhile, strong signs are emerging that the Inkatha funding scandal has strengthened the ANC's campaign for an interim government.

Yesterday the centrist Democratic Party — which has hitherto opposed calls for an interim Government — called for an all-party government of national unity during the period of transition.

The call was made by Colin Eglin, chairman of the DP. So far the DP has favoured a transitional commission which would merely advise the present Government during the interim period.

Mr Eglin said that Mr Botha's defence was "aggressive yet unconvincing".

"It still skirts the fundamental issue — and that is the Government's political collusion, and especially police collusion, with political parties and other organisations inside South Africa."

It was now clear that the National Party was incapable of steering SA through the transition period.

He said Mr de Klerk should also announce other steps to rectify the problem, such as:

- A total disclosure of all the Government's political involvement.
- Fundamental changes in the law dealing with secret funds.
- An independent commission or agency to monitor secret action to ensure it acted impartially.

Snatched

A five-year-old girl, who was returned home 26 hours after the robbery and the arrest of the police, said she was "happy" after her release.

The child said she was happy to see her mother, who was also released.

The police said the girl had been picked up at a school near her home in the Northtown area.

According to the police, she was taken to a nearby shop and then back home.

She appeared unharmed and was able to tell her parents what had happened.

The police said they were investigating the incident.

President de Klerk, in an attempt to restore shattered confidence after the Inkatha funding scandal, is expected next week to announce some form of independent monitoring of government secret funds.

Senior government sources cautioned yesterday that Foreign Minister Pik Botha's unconvincing "I'll do it again" stance on national television last week should not be taken as a precursor of his Mr de Klerk will perform when he addresses the nation on the controversy on Tuesday.

Although the sources do not expect Mr de Klerk to fire any Cabinet Ministers directly involved in the scandal, they also forecast that he will not simply endorse what Mr Botha and Law and Order Minister Hendrik Viljoen have said and done.

Mr Botha's tough stance on TV has pleased many whites and some South Africans, but it has also provoked sharp criticism and has not answered wider questions — internationally and domestically — about the Government's political abuse of secret funds.

Strategy

Senior government sources have divulged that Mr Botha's remarks were consistent with the Cabinet strategy worked out this week — but that Mr de Klerk would strike a different note.

"We feel that in the funding of Inkatha all the legal obligations were honoured and from that point of view was defensible in the perspective of the facts. So we feel we can stand by that one out.

"But at the same time it is indicative of a bigger problem — the need to bring the spending of secret funds under stricter control," the sources say.

The Auditor-General has confirmed this week that there was nothing legally wrong in the way...
NOT ENOUGH: Pik Botha is a master at swashbuckling his way through issues. His bombastic style may be effective with some, but it fails to address the root causes of the problems. Perhaps it's time for a change in approach.

Our crisis is...
JOHNSON argues foul is fair and foul is foul in Inkathagate

Putting the ANC's supposed 100 million members because people voluntarily decided its cause was worth being paid by the police and the ANC's political group that it can control, then it must simply open our own fire, or to the ANC's approach to the Mangosuthu West Bank. All of them are quite emotional about their lack of respect, and convinced they can be a contribution to the economy. The case was taken because it suited the Government.

Mr Botha concedes that a perception has arisen - because of 'sensationalist' newspaper and the like - that the SA Police have been impartial, and are accused of siding with Inkatha. It is unfortunate, he says, that "Inkathagate" has served to highlight this perception. The Cabinet is made up of intelligent people - they must have perceived the danger. Why is the almost comical subservience? Why the secret cash handouts (in a recent figure according to one report) if there was nothing to be ashamed of? Inkatha was so genuine. The ANC was a function of oneself, and the money paid back. Moreover, why, if the money was so admirably dealt with - and we have the Auditor-General's words on this - is President de Klerk said to be afraid to announce a major overhaul of the way in which these secret funds are administered?

Then there is the profoundly worrying and unexpected. Undoubtedly, Mr Botha need to admit that at least 100 million taxpayers' tough were given "quietly, secretly" to parties of Pretoria's choice during the UN-supervised independence election. Why secretly, if there was nothing wrong with it? What does the average Swazi or northern suburb taxpayer think of the fact that they helped to bankroll the DTA without being told or asked their opinion?

Mr Botha complained that Swapo had "millions and millions, bought T-shirts, paid people on payroll and did what they liked," and asked: "How can you talk of a democratic election in those circumstances?"

But that is precisely democracy. And if public funds could be used to exercise party-political choice in that election, who is to say Pretoria won't feel justified in doing the same, quietly and secretly in our own elections?" He was pressed further. "Your Government has accepted that a month after declaring open political activity in this country, you were secretly funding one of the parties in the country. Do you acknowledge that was a mistake?"

"We didn't like it, but we were against Swapo, my friend. We were at war at times with Swapo and they told us."

"Pretoria can no longer be at war with Swapo. "President de Klerk's government is prepared for "Swapo" in the same way that we are, and the media will go about announcing a major overhaul of the way in which these secret funds are administered."

"That after all the arguments about leaking "evas", numbers "winners" and "losers", one fact stands out like a lone peak in a clear horizon: at a time when the negotiation process is dependent on the establishment of trust between the key players, the Government stands accused of not being neutral."

This question was put to Mr Botha: "The perception is that the Government, after repeated and consistent denial that it was not in collusion with Inkatha, has by its own admission been involved in funding Inkatha. How do you expect people to negotiate with you again?"

His answer stands for the historical record. "We never said that we are not in collusion with Inkatha. We said we were not in collusion in the violence, in instigating the violence."

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Yet again we fall for Government's tricks

Is anyone really surprised at the funding of Inkatha?
Hindsight is an exact science, but in truth we ought only to have been amazed had the reverse been true.

This is a government which has ruled South Africa since 1948 by fair means or foul:
- Have we forgotten the packing of the Senate to remove Coloureds from the Voters' Roll?
- The Special Branch which became the Security Police?
- Spies at universities?
- Detention without trial?
- Have we forgotten the Information Scandal?
- Have we forgotten so quickly the OCB?

Don't make me laugh. Go back to 1978 when P W Botha became Prime Minister, promising clean administration.

Just ask yourself how many organisations and people you have doubted since then. Just as your instincts told you at the time, they were probably fronts, or Government funded, or plants.

Like the punter, seduced on the corner by the three-card-trick, we fall for it every time.

A new Nat takes over, promising that this time, it will be different.

Like the punter, we believe him, only to be mugged a moment later. When will we learn?

Keep, the next stage of the mugging, by the way. That's when the cardsharp picks you up, dusts you off, and tells you that your assailant was, in fact, the media. If it hadn't been for the scummy reporters, none of this would have happened.

Fall for that cheap line just once more, and you deserve to lose every cent you own.

Shoot the messenger as often as you please, but it will not alter the bad new people one iota. Continue to play the three-card-trick and you will continue to get mugged.

The National Party Government is incorrigible. It has been in power too long. Nor does it care what you think.

You will not see a single head roll for this outrage. Mark my words — not one. You will be told that this was all Government policy. Either against sanctions or for a peace message, depending on which Minister is speaking from which hastily cobbled-together statement.

Say what you will about Inkatha, which received the funds. As quickly as possible, it acknowledged and distanced itself from the wrongdoing.

Swiftly, and some would say cynically, if dispatched the hapless Zakkhele Khumalo, fingered as the fall guy.

Chief Buthelezi has signed an affidavit, distancing himself as far as possible from the money.

The filthy lucre itself has been handed back.

This may not be enough, but it is a light-year ahead of the Nats.

But Inkatha is playing by the rules, while by contrast, the Nats are giving you the finger.

Their supporters are also floating a nasty and vicious suggestion. Play all of this down, forget about it, because it will seriously derail the peace process.

Blitzing the De Klerk/Mandela relationship, the only game in town, over some silly sum of money for Inkatha, is just not worth it. You journalists, take note.

Well, sorry, forget it.

That relationship is already deeply strained, over the matter of a six-year stretch in the slammer for Mrs Mandela.

If the Appeal Court rules against her, we could have the odd spectacle of a President in the Union Buildings and the First Lady in Pretoria Central.

What about a trade-off? You ignore my slush fund and I'll sort out your kidnap.

No, the ANC says it will submit to the courts, Inkatha has done its cauterising. Now the Nats must take their medicine.
Wrong notions of democracy spawn corruption

The controversy surrounding the Government’s secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party suggests that there is a serious misunderstanding among political leaders of what democracy is about. Some political leaders seem to think that democracy is about wielding political power and hence they go to extremes, even corrupt extremes, to fight for political power.

They are prepared to cheat, lie, kill and discredit in order to gain political power.

As long as this is the perception of democracy then of course we shall not be spared opportunistic and corrupt politicians.

As I understand it democracy is really about ensuring that the majority of citizens are able to participate in the government of their country.

Convince

In fact, democracy is about limiting the power of politicians and governments so that they are unable to override the will of the citizens.

Political parties that happen to gain power and form the government do so because they managed to convince the majority of voters that they had viable policies.

It is voters who are the ultimate judges in this regard.

Similarly, parties that do not gain power remain with the assurance that even though they do not govern, they participate fully in government and they stand an equal chance of governing next time round.

It is for this reason that some of us are ardently working for the promotion of multi-partyism in post-apartheid South Africa.

Before there is an understanding of this simple fact about democracy, it is unlikely that we will have many political leaders of integrity and it is unlikely that we will have a peaceful and stable transition to post-apartheid South Africa.

Resist

Our political leaders must also be assisted to learn to put the interests of the country above those of their parties or their persons.

When all the key figures in the present political scandal have vanished from the political scene, there will still be a country called South Africa crying out for clean, efficient and democratic government.

In another sense, that is why it is important that whatever happens as a result of this political scandal, the key players in the process of political transition, like the ANC and the National Party, should strenuously resist the temptations to call off the talks that will bring us closer to post-apartheid South Africa.

Post-apartheid South Africa, provided it is democratic, will ultimately save us from this political corruption.
Who will safeguard the negotiations?

By KALLIE ERASMUS, lecturer in Development Studies at Unisa.

Is it possible for the Nationalist government to become accountable to all South Africans?

All governments are responsible for their actions and in a democracy can be made to pay for their mistakes. This is what accountability, an element of democracy, means.

A government must properly report back to the people on its actions and, for it to be accountable, there must be mechanisms and procedures to hold the government responsible for those actions.

The view that democracy is "a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people" is widely supported in South Africa. It forms the essence of the society which President De Klerk claims to envisage for this country.

His opponents, however, maintain that the negotiation process is threatened by the lack of government accountability.

Elsewhere, governments are accountable to all the people who can use the law, elections and parliamentary procedures to challenge, censure or oust the government. What then of South Africa where the majority is still disenfranchised?

The acknowledgement by the government that the present constitution is discriminatory and its commitment to the negotiation of a democratic constitution, had major implications for its accountability.

Previously the government could claim that South Africa was a parliamentary democracy which was fully accountable to the voters of the country by maintaining laws denying the franchise to the majority.

The extension of democratic rights to all South Africans means both the dismantling of apartheid and the construction of a "new" South Africa.

However, abolishing discriminatory laws has not meant a new constitution and progress with negotiations has also not fundamentally changed the way South Africa is governed.

The ANC insists on an interim government to oversee the negotiation process. Others call for external supervision of the process as in Zimbabwe and Namibia. To date, the government has refused all attempts to submit its actions to any form of supervision.

Circumstances seem to suggest that there is good reason to question the good faith of the government. After an initial acceptance - also by the ANC - of De Klerk as a "good guy" and a belief that this was not just another NP government, disillusionment has set in.

It is also thought that the NP will rely heavily on its experience of retaining power.

If the NP government retains its present position of power during the transition without effective supervision, the consequences could be disastrous. The massive state structures and enormous financial resources at its disposal could be used to undermine the emergence of an effective democracy.

Already there are reports that the government is manipulating the political process. Newspapers allege security force involvement in the ongoing violence, the government has used public funds to support Inkatha and Uwusa, and it has delayed the removal of obstacles in the way of negotiations.

The government is being asked to establish a system of government accountability for the transitional period. A system where the government is not responsible for judging whether its own actions are right or wrong, honest or not. It must be a system where the government cannot be both player and referee - and touch judge.

The government's outright refusal to agree to these requests is the strongest possible justification for the establishment of some form of interim supervision of its actions.

The future belongs to all the people of South Africa. They have paid dearly for that future. Nobody, particularly not a National Party government, can be allowed to frustrate the people.
Ministers are unlikely to quit

THE three ministers whose heads have been demanded in the Inkathagate scandal, Pik Botha, Magnus Malan and Adrian Vlok, will definitely stay on in their cabinet posts - a situation which could worsen relations between the government and ANC, writes Alf Ries, political editor of Die Burger.

Not one of the three has plans to resign while there is also no indication State President FW de Klerk will axe them.

ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki this week reiterated the organisation's call to have the three sacked. Mbeki warned that failure to take action against the three would place the "constitutional process" in jeopardy.

It is expected in political circles that De Klerk will probably not change his cabinet on Tuesday in a bid to defuse the Inkathagate storm. He will probably do it later.

Defence Minister Malan, whose resignation has been demanded following an allegation of SADF involvement in train killings, as well as Law and Order Minister Vlok, said bluntly in interviews they would not resign.

This follows Foreign Minister Botha's recent statement on television that he would not resign.

Malan said: "I will not leave the State President in the lurch at a time when there is so much pressure on the government. In any case, I will not allow radical elements to prescribe to me."

"I have never given orders for deeds that bothered my conscience or broke the laws of the country."

Malan said the "wild allegations" against him, the SADF and the government come from "leftist radical" newspapers.

"I challenge those involved to lay charges about the allegations with police so it could be investigated properly. Why are those who make the allegations protected?"

Malan said it appeared newspapers already believed the ANC was the future government.

Vlok said if he was an obstacle to a peaceful and safe South Africa he might resign.

"The present debate, however, compels me to say it could not justifiably be expected from me to resign," he said. - Sapa
POLITICAL
WAS NOT
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"IT'S U T T E R L Y
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"OH, YES - IT'S
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"FALSE, WHOLE TRUTH, THE NC"
scam won't deter ANC
security Police cash

"Why the heck is ANC propaganda even in newspapers?"

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STATE President FW de Klerk is expected to make a major announcement on Tuesday concerning the Inkathagate scandal.

De Klerk is under intense pressure both locally and internationally to make a clean breast of the government’s involvement in the Inkatha slush fund which was used to undermine the ANC.

De Klerk is expected to announce measures that will allay fears of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and other extra-parliamentary organisations and the international community that the government is sincere in its reform initiatives.

In particular, De Klerk will have to reassure the ANC, its major negotiating partner at the moment, that the government does not have a double agenda of talking peace while at the same time conducting covert measures against it.

Compounding the government’s problems are fresh allegations that not only Inkatha was secretly funded to undermine the ANC but several other organisations like the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) and the Urban Councils of South Africa (Uessa).

Sasa reports that as attitudes harden, the ANC has called on the State President to take "specific and definite steps" to demonstrate his government’s good faith in getting constitutional negotiations going.

Calling for the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan in Cambridge on Friday, the ANC’s Thabo Mbeki said: "We are waiting for De Klerk’s statement on Tuesday, but it is critical. Both of them have been involved not only in the funding, but also in the violence."
I'M SORRY

Fourteen years after one of apartheid's most notorious forced removals, former Cabinet Minister Piet Koornhof speaks of the hurt and hardship that it caused.

The Mfengu people have become a cause celebre in the national row over land claims. EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN investigates...

Legally, the trust was obliged to honour the original Mfengu claims to the land. But in keeping with government policy at the time, indigenous peoples were moved from "mixed"-settlement neighbors into white areas and resettled in homelands. The Constitutional Amendment Bill consolidating the land from which the Mfengu had been removed was passed into "white" South Africa in 1996, but the Bill failed to address the problem of inadequate compensation for the land. The Mfengu were paid no compensation for their land, livestock or crops. They were paid a one-off lump sum of R200,000 for the land they were moved from.

A PROPORTION OF the remaining 2,500 hectares is still under the control of the government and another by the Moravian Church, which claims it has always beacked the trust, has also bought additional land in the area outside the trust portion. The chairman of the Moravian Church of South Africa, Dr. Martin Wessels, recently traveled to Europe to discuss...
ORRY

Dear one of apartheid's

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And, respectfully, much of

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Agency for International

Development for a full and

detailed breakdown of who

in South Africa has received

its largesse and how the

money was spent.

In five years the Mungos

have never been visited by

their countryman. It was

because I was bound by law.

Money had changed hands, and

was allocated, etc., he said.

Quizzed about the legality

of the payments, Dr. Koornhof

said: “If a situation arose

in which there were legal

implications, I was not told.”

L

At least three tribal leaders

received no assurance from

the state attorney that

applications for ministerial

cost to sell any of the

farms would be held in abeyance

until the matter was resolved.

The white farmers—some of

whom have claimed also to be

“victims” of government policy—

have formed a committee,

headed by Mr. Hugo Meyer, to

defend their right to their farms.

Mr. Meyer would not discuss

the matter this week because it

was sub judice.

Mungo community leaders

said if the land was returned

to the tribe, some members

would be settled in a township

which would have to be created

while others would farm.

But a quick solution to their

land battle seems unlikely.

A Cape Town newspaper

predicted that the case could

drag on for at least two years,

with both sides filing claims

and counter-claims “for months to

end.”

The Mungos, it is clear, are

still a long way from being home

and dry.
Since 1989, the government has been forced to make difficult decisions on how to allocate resources. The budget has been squeezed, and the economy has struggled. The government has been criticized for its policies, and its popularity has declined. However, the government has persevered, and its efforts have paid off. The economy is slowly recovering, and the government is confident that it will continue to improve.

In this issue, we feature an article by Martin Welt on the state of the economy, and an interview with the Prime Minister. We also have a guest article by a economist who discusses the future of the economy. In our opinion column, we discuss the government's policies and their impact on society. We hope you enjoy this issue of our publication.
SECRET contributions for Inkatha. Secret funding for the DTA. Secret cash for front groups to fight sanctions. Now that such secrets are out, the South African government's automatic response is to defend itself with the ruse of a wounded innocent.

The response might just pass muster if the government can actually prove its innocence but, after 40 years of National Party misrule, the jury will vote to convict every time. As they like to say over here, the toothpaste is not going to go back in the tube.

A better idea is to work out constructive ways of using the toothpaste now that it is all over the floor. The most obvious place to start would be an honest assessment of how it got there in the first place.

It got there because South Africa is not an open society.

For two generations a predatory state apparatus has kept itself in power by shielding itself from public accountability with lies, censorship, corruption and, more often than not, brute force. This is commonly known as gangsterism.

WHEN the rule of law breaks down, gangsterism breeds more gangsterism as opposition movements themselves become no better than the hoodlums they seek to replace. Under such circumstances, the question South Africans need to ask themselves first is not "Who shall govern?" but "How shall we break the vicious cycle of depravity?"

Reasserting the rule of law is the most obvious answer.

Another is to make the whole process of government and the natural competition for power as transparent as it can possibly be. Indeed, this is one area in which South Africa could well afford to practice a certain extremism.

To begin with, all contributions — whether in cash or kind, from inside or outside the country, to a political or philanthropic person, entity or publication — must be a matter of public record.

Second, all political parties — including those who refuse to call themselves parties but nonetheless act as such — must be required to keep fully audited accounts and membership lists that are open to public scrutiny on demand.

Third, all political organizations must be obliged to select their office holders, from the lowest grassroots convention delegate to senior leadership, through open election in accordance with an established and publicly promulgated set of rules.

SIMON BARBER's Washington Diary

whose violation may be challenged in court.

Fourth, all "secret" government funding must be subject to scrutiny not only by an auditor but by a parliamentary committee whose regularly rotating membership comprises representatives of all seated parties.

Precedent can be found for much of this in American practice, at both the federal and state levels.

Federal law requires detailed financial disclosure statements from all senators and congressmen. New York obliges charities to place their sources of funding on record at the state capital.

The Internal Revenue Service makes available the returns of tax-exempt nonprofit organizations. Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, representatives of foreign interests must file public statements of their income and activities twice a year.

A NYBODY in the US who aspires to public life or to receive and spend other people's resources — which might be an apt description of what public life is all about — must expect to surrender at least part of his privacy. That is not only the price but a necessary condition of democracy.

Thus far it is not a price many of South Africa's major actors seem ready to pay. Nobody, from the government to the SACP, wants to be accountable. They would rather conflate in the shadows, like gangsters.

And, regrettably, much of the outside world seems only too willing to play along. Try asking the US Agency for International Development for a full and detailed breakdown of who in South Africa has received its largesse and how the money was spent.
"Whites reject one-man one-vote"

Johannesburg. — Most whites would reject one-man, one-vote elections, Market Research Africa (MRA) has concluded after finding that two out of three urban white adults opposed a universal franchise.

MRA chairman Mr Clive Corder said that whites' apprehension about changing political circumstances was underlined by the finding that even the better-educated resisted one-man, one-vote.
Secret funds: Rally planned

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MANY organisations and individuals, including the Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver, are to reply to President De Klerk's moves on secret funding at rally in the City Hall tomorrow.

The need for an interim government is also on the agenda, according to a spokesman for the organisers, Imam Ali Gierdien.

He said Archbishop Desmond Tutu would be the main speaker and the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Democratic Party, the ANC and religious organisations would be represented at the lunchtime meeting.

The PAC said today the South African government remained tainted in spite of last night's television appearance by Mr De Klerk.

PAC national spokesman Mr Barney Desai said: "We do not accept that the police and the SA Defence Force are not heavily implicated in the violence that has swept our country."

He said Mr De Klerk's plans to bring blacks into the cabinet was an attempt to "co-opt pliable blacks to rubber-stamp decisions made by his existing all-white cabinet."

He called on South Africans to demand the immediate convening of an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.
Inkatha scandal shrugged off

SVEN LUNSCH

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha scandal should not alter the timetable for lifting Australian sanctions, Australian opposition politician Mr Alexander Downer, the shadow Minister for Trade and Trade Negotiations, said at a Press conference hosted by the South African Chamber of Business.

He said the scandal was a domestic political matter.

He said that the Australian government's policy on sanctions would be determined by the meeting of Commonwealth nations in Harare in October.

He added, however, that Australia exerted a significant influence at Commonwealth meetings and would play a major role in guiding group policy.

"I do not think the scandal will have any bearing on the timing of the end to sanctions."

He said there was no popular support for sanctions in Australia, but rejected the notion that they were implemented to give Australia a trade advantage.

"Lifting sanctions will undoubtedly increase competitive pressure on some of our mineral exporters, but that has never been the real reason for sanctions," he said.

He said the Australian opposition parties — the Liberal Party and the National Party — saw no need to "strangle the local economy and contribute to political instability" through sanctions.

Mr Downer, who's visit will be followed by an Australian trade mission later this year, added: "South Africa will be a very valuable ally in our campaign to break down the subsidies and barriers of the European Community's agricultural policies."
It's a cover-up lie — Azapo after major's confession

Political Staff

POLITICAL parties have expressed scepticism at the confession of Major Louis Botha, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's "honourable" policeman, that he lied in a top-secret report to his security police superiors.

Major Botha issued a statement at the weekend saying his report, in which he had described Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's emotional gratitude for R350 000 of government money paid for two Inkatha rallies, had been incorrect.

He said he had never spoken to Chief Buthelezi about the secret funds and had never had confidential discussions with the chief as described in detail in his 10-page report to security headquarters on February 13 last year.

He had, instead, dealt with Chief Buthelezi's personal assistant, Zakhele Khumalo, who resigned last week.

But in his report, Major Botha gave details of, among others, a 90-minute discussion with Chief Buthelezi as well as a telephone discussion after the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from jail in February last year. The document even quoted Chief Buthelezi directly.

The Democratic Party's Mr Pierre Cronje said yesterday that Major Botha's weekend statement was "absolute rubbish".

"As efficient as I know the security police to be, Major Botha would have been debriefed fully after the scandal broke," Mr Cronje said.

"If he had never spoken to Chief Buthelezi he would have said so and Adriaan Vlok would have told us so immediately and the whole debacle would have been defused. They have obviously decided that his future is less important than that of his superiors."

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said: "How can anyone believe this cover-up story?"

"Major Botha is obviously telling a lie. His sudden turnaround must be seen against the background of a group of conspirators who have come together urgently to find a way in which they can limit and control the damage. No one will be impressed by what he is saying now."
President de Klerk today chaired a meeting of the State Security Council in Pretoria to discuss secret projects against the background of the "Inkathagate" controversy.

This was in preparation for a statement he has promised to make tomorrow on secret funds and allegations of the involvement of security forces in political action and violence.

Nationalist politicians today expected Mr de Klerk to announce that secret projects would be cut back.

But they did not expect him to propose stricter parliamentary control over such projects in the form of an all-party committee. If this was done, the MPs said, the projects would no longer be secret.

Hopes of 'damage control'

There is considerable regret in the party about the political initiative Mr de Klerk has lost locally through the scandal and the prestige he has lost overseas.

His followers are pinning high hopes on him being able to do effective "damage control" when he speaks tomorrow afternoon.

A top Nationalist spokesman said today the controversy in fact made an all-party conference on constitutional negotiations more urgent.

Statutory members of the State Security Council are the ministers of defence, law and order, foreign affairs, finance and justice and their departmental heads, as well as top members of the National Intelligence Service (NIS).

Various Ministers are co-opted from time to time according to the matters being dealt with by the council.

At present the only co-opted minister is Dr Ger- ritz Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development.

Dr. Viljoen said today that he did not think the Inkatha controversy should delay the all-party conference and the negotiation process in general.

He thought it had in fact underlined the urgent need for an all-party conference "as soon as possible".

This was where possible differences of opinion or problems should be dealt with.

Interim government rejected

Dr Viljoen also rejected speculation that the government would now, in view of the disclosures about secret projects, be willing to give in to a key ANC demand — for an interim government.

He said the government continued to oppose the ANC demand that it should abdicate power for some unspecified form of government. Good government based on the present constitution was needed until the negotiation process had been completed and a new constitution drawn up.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Venezuela that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has questioned the South African government's commitment to talks aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the nation's problems.
Coalition is the only solution - political expert

THE only possible solution to the “Inkathagate” scandal is the immediate formation of a coalition government involving all interested parties including the Government and all liberation movements such as the ANC and the PAC.

This is the view of political scientist and expert on white politics, Professor Willem Kleyhans.

In an interview with Sowetan yesterday, Kleyhans said disclosures of Government funding for the Inkatha Freedom Party had ruined the Government’s effort of bringing about a new South Africa.

“The Government is responsible for this mess. And the negative effects are 100 percent more than what the Information Scandal did to South Africa some years back. The damage is irreparable,” he said.

Conference

The timetable which President FW de Klerk had for a multiparty conference to pave the way for the drawing up of a new constitution had been upset and relations between the Government/Inkatha and the ANC had been “bedevilled” by the recent disclosures, said Kleyhans.

He added: “The only possible solution to this mess is for the leaders of all interested groups, including the Government, ANC, PAC, SACP, DP and Inkatha to come together and form a caretaker government. The CP will not agree to this coalition government.

“All these organisations must now have a say in the running of the country. They must share the responsibility and help uproot all covert operations and freeze the use of secret funds.

“This might help resolve the crisis.”

Kleyhans said the Government was 100 percent to blame for secretly funding the IFP and blamed the authorities for ruining chances of the formation of black political parties which could be instrumental to the establishment of a nonracial, democratic society in South Africa.

The political scientist said he expected the Government to play down the scandal and say, among other things, that the secret funding was to facilitate negotiations.

Asked if Cabinet Ministers, Mr Adrian Vlok or General Magnus Malan, would resign as a result of the secret funding and allegations of security force involvement in attacks on black civilians, Kleyhans said the Government had a history of undemocratic principles.

“In societies where democracy was a norm, those responsible would quit. But I know, this Government will not do the honourable thing to sack Ministers responsible for the mess. The Cabinet is going to remain intact.”

Iceberg

Kleyhans warned that the recent disclosures could be a rip of the iceberg and said more scandals could follow.

The drawing up of a new constitution, said Kleyhans, was now totally out of the question.

“There is not a slightest chance that the new constitution will be ready by 1994 when elections will be held.”

The present constitution would still be in place despite De Klerk’s promise recently that blacks would be included in the next election of a new government, said Kleyhans.

“I am despondent and more of a prophet of doom than ever before. We are on the threshold of a bloody confrontation. I am pessimistic. I fear for the worst,” the Afrikaner professor added.

Kleyhans accused the Government of having delivered “a mortal blow” to the IFP’s efforts to start a political party - a vital instrument towards the formation of a stable government.

“This is a vehicle needed whereby blacks would have a say in the decision-making processes in this country. All efforts by the IFP have been ruined by the Government.

“The US and British governments will realise that they were naïve to believe De Klerk when he told them recently that he had an answer to South Africa’s problems. I wonder what they are saying now,” said Kleyhans.
Solidarity holds Cabinet together

If the South African Government were to use the Inkhatha funds scandal to demonstrate its commitment to democracy, more than one Ministerial head would roll.

Two academics from the University of South Africa, one specialising in public administration and the other in political science, fervently agree on this point - but having a view to South Africa's history - both entertain strong doubts that this will happen. Says Professor Donavon Marais of Unisa's Department of Public Administration:

Crisis

"If the ideal role of collective Cabinet responsibility to the public were followed, a crisis should result in the entire Cabinet resigning or those responsible to be ousted in Parliament.

"Of course, this does not happen in reality, but in Britain for instance, it is expected that a Minister who commits a foul should resign immediately, and this has often been the fate of British politicians. It is a strongly rooted tradition in Britain."

Unfortunately, South Africa had no such tradition and, if one looked back in time at how the National Party Government has reacted to scandals, the tendency would simply be 'stick it out'.

Unisa's Professor Dan Kriek of the political science department goes further to say that Ministers in the National Party Government have traditionally been unshakeable in their unity and confidentiality in times of trouble.

"Whether it was a joint decision by Cabinet or a decision by only a few Ministers to fund Inkhatha, everyone will take a share of the blame, including the Prime Minister." "This is a positive thing because, even if it wasn't a Cabinet decision, it was an executive act of Government."

Nevertheless, if the Government were to show any example of its commitment to democratic principles, this would be an opportune moment to do so by firing a "number of Ministers" - at least Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, both of whom had already admitted knowing of the covert police funding.

Addressing the State's secret fund, the origin of the R1,75m million spent on Inkhatha, Marais feels strongly that this was a misuse of funds which cannot be justified by the Government's claim that Inkhatha was not a political party and the purpose of the funding was to oppose sanctions.

Basis

"It is problematic when secret funds are used to support competing groups - and although Inkhatha was not a political party at the time, to some extent, it functioned as one."

On what basis can one justify using taxpayers' money to promote one political group?

Marais avoids the question of whether it was right or wrong for the police to fund Inkhatha at the merits of funding any other party political.

"I cannot answer this as an academic. It is a political question."

However, what both Marais and Kriek do agree on is that secret State funds are a "necessary evil".

"It is rather idealistic to think any government in the world doesn't make use of a secret fund. And even if this was so, there is no guarantee that the future government would not establish one."

"What is important, though, is the control instituted over its use."

Channels

"There are a number of channels a department Minister would have to go through before secret funds could be approved. "If there was full control, no money should be spent without the approval of Parliament," says Marais.

Marais will not speculate on whether in fact this is the case in the present Government.

"Despite what many outsiders may say, one wouldn't know whether the use of secret funding would be voted on collectively - or exactly what channels are used."

"This reflects another strong government tradition - one of not talking outside of the Cabinet."

Pik Botha admitted knowing of the funds.

"Ministers don't divulge information on this kind of thing. There is a history of confidentiality."

Although the last State President, Mr PW Botha, instituted Cabinet committees to jointly vote on issues - in order to incorporate all Government Ministers in parliamentary decisions - it was not clear yet about whether De Klerk was using the same formula.

But whoever has knowledge of the spending of secret funds, it is to some extent a collective decision - and therefore collective responsibility must result, says Kriek.

"And it is important to flush out at least some of the Ministers responsible for the current funding scandal in order to set a precedent for democracy in South Africa."
We'll share control

Arrangement transitional for demand for ANC.

Government
Cosatu tells Government to resign now

Cosatu has called for the immediate resignation of the Government and an urgent review of the regulations process.

Cosatu's press statement at the National Conference...
Ministers’ heads unlikely to roll
Govt denies giving in to interim rule

By Peter Fabriicus
and Esmeré van der Merwe

Senior Government sources last night dismissed suggestions that the Inkatha funds scandal had forced the Government to give in to ANC demands for an interim government.

"Practically speaking, an interim government means abolishing the present Government and replacing it with a new one, and that's not acceptable," one said.

The sources said that even the idea of outside groups being given a joint say in the control of the security forces was still "very sensitive" and had probably not been discussed.

Representatives of the Government, ANC and Inkatha, meeting under the auspices of the joint church/business peace initiative, had come close to agreement last week on a code of conduct for security forces.

But this was not the same as overall responsibility for the security forces. The participants in the joint church/business initiative were also discussing the possibility of independent monitoring of peace agreements.

However, this would also not necessarily entail joint control of security forces.

The sources stressed that the possibility of joint control of the security forces could only be discussed at the multi-party conference which the Government hopes will take place as soon as possible.

The ANC, SACP and Cosatu said yesterday the secret funding scandal had seriously endangered the negotiation process.

After an emergency meeting to discuss the implications of the secret funding, the three organisations said:

"The latest revelations underline the fact that the present Government cannot supervise the process of transition."

"We call on all South Africans of whatever political persuasion to unite behind the call for an interim government of national unity."

At the emergency meeting, the SACP and Cosatu also backed the earlier demands by the ANC for President de Klerk to prove his sincerity in negotiations by taking decisive action on the funding scandal.

The Democratic Party has hardened its position by calling for a government of unity.

● More reports — Page 2

Commit to negotiations questioned

By Brian McGlade

VALENCIA (Venezuela) — ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday questioned the Government's commitment to talks with the ANC.

Referring to the Government's funding of Inkatha, he told a packed auditorium that was not sure he could trust the administration of President de Klerk.

"Pretoria's conduct shows that much needs to be done before we can trust its intentions and rely on its commitment to co-operating with us in the struggle to eliminate that crime ... apartheid."

He accused the Government of fuelling the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha while at the same time publicly committing it to negotiations with the ANC.

He blamed the Government for the current wave of violence but added that South Africans "have the capacity, we have the patience, we have the morale to destroy apartheid in our lifetime."

In Cuba at the weekend, he reiterated the ANC's demand for an interim government. "What we have been saying all along, that the Government cannot be a player and referee at the same time, has been fully corroborated." — Sapa-Reuters.
CP to appeal to Adv-G

The Conservative Party is to place the Government's slush fund activities before the Advocate-General for his investigation and a report. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement yesterday.

"We will also be requesting the Advocate-General to investigate all other covert projects funded with public monies since 1986."

"The CP believes this could be the most important test of the efficacy and power of the office of the Advocate-General to date."

Any honourable Western government would have resigned. — Sapa.
Ex-ambassador slams Pik's reply

GOVERNMENT will have to act swiftly and effectively to re-establish trust after the Inkatha funding scandal, says SA Foundation director and former SA ambassador to the UN Kurt Van Schirnding.

In an interview he described his former boss, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, as totally unconvinced when he explained his role in the Inkatha funding on TV last week.

He said the latest "unfortunate disclosures" had resulted in a lack of trust in government's good faith.

Joint control over the management of government's secret funds was required. One possibility was to give parliamentary parties control over expenditure of funds. He said his recent trip to eastern Europe, Austria and France had convinced him that government's first priority should be to end township violence.

"Most governments are waiting to see what will happen in a post-apartheid SA before they are prepared to encourage investment in SA. This applies even more to businessmen who want to know that their investment is safe," he said.

Van Schirnding said that white President F W De Klerk's credibility had taken a knock internationally over the scandal, this was not so extensive as to completely undermine the positive sentiment fostered over the past two years.

Meanwhile, Natal police yesterday refused to answer questions on security policeman Maj Louis Botha's weekend statement which denied Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew about government's donations of R250 000 to his organisation, TANYA LEVY reports.

Botha said a memorandum he wrote might have created an incorrect impression that Buthelezi thanked him personally for the money. Botha said he had in fact communicated with Buthelezi's personal assistant Zakhile Khumalo, who he deduced was acting on Buthelezi's behalf. Khumalo resigned from Inkatha last week, saying he had not informed Buthelezi.

Sapa reports Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan ruled out resigning over the cash fund scandal on Saturday, saying he would not yield to demands by "radical elements". He also denied giving orders for deeds which violated the law.

Most SA whites resist votes for all

MOST whites would reject the introduction of one-man, one-vote elections. Market Research Africa (MRA) has concluded after finding that two out of three urban white adults opposed a universal franchise.

MRA chairman and MD Clive Corder said in a statement at the weekend that whites' apprehension about changing political circumstances was underlined by the finding that even the better educated resisted one-man, one-vote.

As many as three out five university graduates surveyed said they were opposed to introducing a universal franchise in SA.

About 79% of those without matric rejected the idea.

MRA also found that two out of five white adults surveyed were concerned about possible redistribution of wealth.

Concern was particularly high among those with a monthly income of more than R3 000 and whites with post-matric qualifications.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

ANOTHER Q-MINUS, I CAN'T STAND IT!

MAYBE YOU'RE ON YOUR WAY, SIR...

ON MY WAY TO WHERE?

TO THE "Q-MINUS" HALL OF FAME?

YOU'RE WEARING MARCIE.
National Party is not trustworthy or fit to govern

ANC Viewpoint
By TREVOR MANUEL

RECENT exposures of government funding of Inkatha, UDF and groups opposed to Swoppo has highlighted the role of taxpayers' money and state interference in the democratic process. However, the character and scope of violent destabilization by our society's forces sponsored by the State has received scant attention.

The ANC and other organisations have long insisted that the National Party has a double agenda.

A public commitment to negotiations and a peaceful transition to democracy in Namibia have masked a secret strategy to lead the political process heavily in the National Party's favour.

Written proof supports claims

A well-timed and controlled tide of violence has been unleashed on the country. This violence has sought to sow discord among all those forces but most particularly the ANC, which has consistently fought against apartheid.

The mounting catalogue of evidence suggests police partiality, police collusion with and support for Inkatha, the involvement in killings by Inkatha's police and army, the singular lack of success in bringing the culprits to book and a host of other factors inevitably met with the same response from the government and sections of the media — provide us with the proof.

Notwithstanding the fact that the SAP acts as accused, investigator, prosecutor and judge, not withstanding the fact that so much evidence had already been accumulated to make out a most damning case and notwithstanding the cult of secrecy and subterfuge which surrounds government ministers, written irresistible proof has now emerged which supports claims made in the past.

Funds for reign of terror

But still the government aggressively denies that anything in amiss. Mr Pik Botha cynically argues that he would do it again.

Among the many, many questions which therefore have arisen we might again ask, what we are to make of massive financial support to a tradition that has never undertaken any actions on behalf of its members or conducted a single campaign.

Is it reasonable, conclusion not to be drawn that such money funded and enabled the "rooideeke" who are surely UDF's "members", or "supporters" — to import and unleash their reign of terror on the communities in the Transvaal?

What conclusions must we draw from the fact that there was a massive increase in violence after the two incoming rallies funded by the government?

Who paid for the bursting (and other expensive) into the Transvaal of thousands of men from Natal for Inkatha rallies which were nearly always followed by bloodletting in the Transvaal?

Interference in Namibia

Where to whom and for what purposes is the nearly R600,000 in the Secret Services Account used?

Whom will General Ronnie van der Westhuizen and his Security Police, so efficient in the past in dealing with anti-apartheid forces, solve some of the hideous acts of indiscriminate killings and assassination of numerous political activists?

Does Mr Pik Botha really want us to believe that the government, at Cabinet level, would authorise interference in the political process in Namibia but then they have not and do not intend doing the same in South Africa?

Further, are we expected to believe that such interference would be limited to financial assistance only and not also to the myriad destabilisation tactics witnessed in South Africa, Namibia and other neighbouring countries?

The wealth of evidence, the recent revelations and the government's inability and unwillingness to openly and honestly provide credible answers to these and many other questions must lead to the inevitable conclusion that it has paid means most foul to subvert the democratic process to keep hands on the lever of control during and beyond the transition period.

Restore trust by dismissals

The government has flung the trust and good faith that so many both at home and abroad placed in it back in their faces. It shows itself unfit to supervise a transition to peace and democracy.

The government and the country are in a crisis and negotiations are balanced precariously on the brink of collapse.

The trust and confidence of all South Africans and the peoples and governments of the world must be restored by the dismissal of ministers Malan and Vlag.

A multi-party commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence must be established and the R600,000 Secret Service Account must be opened to public scrutiny.

In a democratic country such scandalous illegal activities would have brought down the government.

In South Africa, where the government rules illegitimately with the mandate of a small white minority, we rely on extra-parliamentary measures such as mass gatherings and demonstrations to make our point.

Consensus on interim government

Until we have travelled irreversibly down the road towards a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, these pressures must be maintained.

There is, both at home and abroad, increasing consensus on the need for an interim government which can exercise control over the security forces, the civil service, the state-controlled media and all other government institutions during the process of transition.
Funds scandal: Boycott called

Johannesburg — The ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party (SACP) have called for an immediate boycott of white-owned businesses in the PWV region in response to the government slush-fund scandal.

The boycott, which came into effect yesterday, is aimed at all white-owned businesses in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Soweto, the East Rand and the far East Rand.

The three organisations said the boycott would be monitored "without enforcement and policing", and reviewed periodically.

The statement said the call for the boycott was sparked by the recent disclosure of "clandestine funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Uvusa by the security police".
Malan, Your Loss Posts in Resolute

By Barry Steenkamp
De Klerk will have to take further steps

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P.W. de Klerk has responded to growing pressure to clean up the government's act by sidelining his two security ministers.

However, Mr de Klerk will still have to announce further decisive steps to defuse his worst political crisis yet when he faces the nation on television tonight.

Apart from the measures announced last night, Mr de Klerk is expected to promise reforms to legislation governing the use of secret funds and could reveal the names of a number of organisations that have benefited from the government's slush funds in the past.

He could also announce the scaling down or ending of some dirty tricks projects but government sources have ruled out a complete disclosure or multi-party control of secret projects in future.

As Mr de Klerk was huddled with his advisers in a crucial State Security Council meeting yesterday, opposition organisations issued a fresh wave of demands and announced wide-ranging steps to put pressure on the government to clean up its act following the Inkatha controversy.

The ANC's national executive committee will meet tomorrow to draft a comprehensive plan of action to protest the government's subversion of the democratic process and respond to Mr de Klerk's long-awaited announcement.

Coalition

ANC spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel said the NEC may decide to call on ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to cut short his South American tour should Mr de Klerk's response be considered inadequate.

In Cape Town more than 90 political, religious, business, worker and student organisations yesterday banded together in a "fledgling coalition" to protest against the government's selective funding of political organisations and its role in "fomenting violence".

And in Johannesburg, the ANCSACP-Cosatu alliance in the Witwatersrand announced an immediate consumer boycott for the region aimed at "all white shops in general and big business in particular".

Cosatu announced at its congress that it had already decided to organise a nationwide general strike and a mass tax boycott to protest the Inkatha funding scandal.

The Western Cape campaign has the support of bodies like the ANC, the SAP, the PAC, the DP, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, the Western Province Council of Churches, the Muslim Judicial Council, the South African Union of Jewish Students, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, the Call of Islam, the Western Cape Civic Association, the Western Cape Traders' Association, the Black Sash, the Civil Rights League, Cosas, Nusas, the Muslim Youth Movement and the SA Commercial and Allied Workers Union.

Individuals supporting the initiative include the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Professor Jakes Gerwel and Mr Franklin Sonn.
Manuel calls for 'control' of forces

CT 30/7/91

By Peter Dennehy

MEMBERS of the security forces should be placed under independent control, Western Cape ANC leader Mr Trevor Manuel told over 300 students at Stellenbosch University yesterday.

He was speaking at a Nusas-organised public meeting about the recent scandal regarding collusion between the security police and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Asked whether negotiations with an opponent who cheated and lied should not be abandoned, Mr Manuel responded that the negotiation process was in fact in the interests of those who were oppressed.

"It is not in De Klerk's interests to introduce democracy here," he said. "We could turn our backs on the process and walk away, but would that be right?"

DP MP Mr Jan van Eck, who spoke at the same meeting, was asked who he thought had leaked the documents that had given rise to the scandal.

"I don't know," he confessed. "There may be people within the security forces who don't like the negotiation process. Or it might be people with consciences that are bothering them."
Smash all barriers —Dhlomo

SOUTH Africans needed to join an urgent campaign to search for ways of reaching a multiparty democracy and national reconciliation.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the "Institute for Multiparty Democracy" said this in an address in Durban to the Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa.

He said black South Africans could dismantle much of the barrier between whites and blacks if they demonstrated they understood the fear and uncertainty at the root of many whites' reluctance to share equally.

"We can travel down the path of negotiated peaceful transition demonstrating by example that a nonracial society holds no terrors for those presently in a position of privilege," he said.

Dhlomo said a post-apartheid South Africa had to be seen to be a more attractive place to live and work in.

He highlighted the need for accountability, saying "recent events surrounding the Government's abuse of public funds underline the importance of accountability in any democracy, worthy of the name."

Democracy demanded South Africans unlearn all the experiences of past decades, with the country's leaders showing the way.

"Those leaders who are not prepared to reach out to erstwhile enemies or to make compromises in search of a win-win solution to our socio-political problems, will fail to make the transition to post-apartheid South Africa."

Dhlomo ascribed much of the violence in the country to the absence of a democratic culture conducive to political tolerance and freedom of association.

He hoped the time would come when South African leaders would realise that their failure to promote and encourage political tolerance had become one of the biggest stumbling blocks to democracy. —Sapa.
THE style of the two security Ministers who have been demoted have always differed considerably.

Mr Adriaan Vlok, 53, the Minister of Law and Order who has been in the post since 1986, is known as a mild-mannered man, eager to please.

General Magnus Malan, 61, who has been Minister of Defence since 1989, is more of a political bull in a china shop, and an abrasive politician.

He was chief of the SADF from 1976 to 1980. He was a protege of former president Mr P W Botha and as a politician he has retained the style of a general used to giving the orders.

The two men had one thing in common: their intense loyalty to the police force and the defence force. This led to criticism that they went too far in trying to protect their departments against criticism and that there were cover-ups.

While there were ANC allegations of police involvement or complicity in the current violence and assistance being given to Inkatha, Mr Vlok maintained that the police as a force were not participating and were not the cause of violence.

The government has been willing to investigate some incidents but allegations have continued.

Mr Vlok has recently stated that the creation of an apolitical police force is the ideal and that measures which have involved the police in party political matters have been removed.

Mr Vlok has maintained that he was willing to reconsider his position if he was an impediment to negotiations.

What finally cost him his job was the disclosure that the police had channelled state funds to Inkatha and to the trade union Uwusa.

His handling of the affair was unconvincing and unmasked a cover-up similar to the earlier stages of the 1978 Information scandal.

General Malan has usually been defiant in the face of allegations of “dirty tricks” operations by the SADF.

For long his attitude was that the country was involved in a low-intensity war situation and the special circumstances demanded special methods.

He also often seemed to be used by the government to make sharp attacks on the ANC while other government leaders such as President De Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen maintained a more reasonable attitude.

It appeared as if General Malan has a political role to play to show some Nationalist supporters that the government had not become “soft” on the ANC.

Since last year his image has been severely dented by disclosures about the “dirty tricks” operations of the shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau in the defence force and his admission that he had for long not known about this.
The new line-up

The new horizon in the world of fashion. July '72.

The Angora suit is the coming fashion trend of the year.

A new collection of Angora suits is now available in stores.

And what about the suits? They're in stock, too!

Now's the time for work.

1939 Year: Founded 1937

Serve - In and out

President of the Council

-Alvin Dunn, President, March 1971
Night of the Long Knives as President acts against key ministers

VioK, Malan

How few sacked
FW faces the nation today
Political Staff and Sapa

President De Klerk faces the nation this evening on the imminent funding scandal. In a press conference to be televised live from the presidential residence in Pretoria at 6pm, he will explain his stance on the allegations which have rocked the government.

Yesterday, the State Security Council gave him a briefing on the security situation.

It is understood that the meeting was attended by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Kok Liebesberg, and the Commissioner of Police, General John van der Merwe.

De Klerk, head of the National Intelligence Service, was said to have prepared a report for the SIS on how the public and the international community were reacting to the reports and his response to specific allegations made by the opposition parties.

In addition, the SIS is thought to have seen departmental reports on funding which may become future embarrassment, given the likelihood of further "leaks" to the media.

Political Staff

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok were called suddenly to Pretoria, President De Klerk's official residence, on Sunday afternoon.

They had no inkling of the reason until Mr De Klerk planned to tell them. The ministers had been part of his team at the Union Buildings on Friday, planning his much-anticipated news conference on the Inkatha affair.

They had no idea they would be key elements of today's strategy.

There was no sign of demolition. Mr Vlok, under the most fire for the police's role in funding two other racist rallies and the Inkatha的事, had no signal from the microphones in the presence of Cabinet ministers, deputy provincial and provincial administrators last Monday and Thursday that he was about to be shifted.

To his aid, it was Mr Vlok going about business as usual — with no hint of dramatic moves around the corner.

His aides judged him to be "serious but confident", and painstakingly helped him plan a response on Saturday to accusations in the Press that he had lied and told a lie when he had said no to television a few days previously that every cent spent on union had been accounted for.

General Malan and Mr Vlok appeared not to recall Mr De Klerk separately after the telephone call on Saturday, not saying each other at the Brynwood residence. It is not known how many others involved in the shuffle drove through the gates of Pretoria to hear their fate that afternoon.

Two veteran survivors

Both outgoing security ministers, who had become specific targets of repeated calls for government heads to roll, said theirswell second until yesterday afternoon — after attending a lengthy Safety and Security Council meeting what Mr De Klerk's announcements tonight.

They then said theirsees, Mr Vlok first informed police commissioner General John van der Merwe, his personal staff, and the generals at police headquarters, Wachtzorp.

Aides to both men were shocked. They thought their ministers were about to wash the storm. Both were veteran survivors by now.

General Malan has been said to be due to Mr De Klerk and his referendum says — a relic of the old Afrikaner Republic. The general's tenure suggests that the era of the insecure, who directed the "total onslaught" approach under Mr PW Botha is finally at its end.

Mr De Klerk has in the past moved to bring intelligence and security operations more directly under Cabinet control.

Last night General Malan took leave with his chin up and some humour: "I've beaten the Reds. Now I can return to the Grove" (the role as Water Affairs and Forestry chief).

'Give everything to SA'

The crime was always greater than the person, noted the defence minister of several years ago. "The military success of the SADF in the last four years in southern Angola paved the way for the present political dispensation in South Africa."

General Malan said Armstrong achieved indicates SA's political independence through these years. Yet given all the interests and the security, now I've been called to serve in another cause, I will do so with great dignity and (Mr. Roelof Meyer) succeeds me. I will help where I can.

Among the stunned listeners as Mr De Klerk told his immediate staff yesterday was Brigadier Leon Mint, his well-known spokesman:

'I've worked with him since he's been a deputy minister when the 1984 unrest broke out, and both he and I know the breakdown of a marriage."

He has done wonders for the country. Since the day he took over he has already worked days, all night, setting a perfect example to the police.

He was always on the ground with the men. He was never an armchair minister. I worked very hard for him because I believed in him.'
More revelations on ‘Inkathagate’

LONDON - Millionaire zoo-owner John Aspinall and Australian media magnate Kerry Packer last year set up a secret trust fund for Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, according to London's Independent on Sunday newspaper.

This is the latest shock revelation in a series made by overseas newspapers as the “Inkathagate” scandal continues to grow.

The newspaper quotes secret bank records, obtained in Johannesburg, as showing that the cash is being used to repay slush funds channelled into Inkatha by the South African Government.

Fund
The newspaper claims that on September 11 last year Aspinall and Packer, not previously known to have taken an interest in South African politics, were the major contributors to the opening trust fund, with other unnamed supporters.

The fund is solely in Buthelezi's name at the First National Bank, Umlazi. There is no Inkatha control over the account, which is numbered 4529040806.

A withdrawal was made from the account on Tuesday to reimburse the Government for its donations after sensational disclosures of support for Inkatha by Pretoria and the security police.

Neither Aspinall nor Packer were available for comment at the weekend, but it is doubtful whether anything either could say would defuse the shock, dismay and sensation which “Inkathagate” has caused in Britain.

Scandal
The story continued to preoccupy large sections of the British weekend press, with the Independent on Sunday devoting a further full page inside to a detailed account of Buthelezi “at bay” over the scandal.

It also repeated allegations of a growing anti-ANC plot, predicting that further revelations on finance and violence are likely.

The newspaper lists the alleged use and bankrolling of Inkatha by the police and Government, provocations of the ANC by Zulu warriors, an "ambitious dirty tricks campaign", reportedly run by the army to help Inkatha foment violence between blacks and discredit the ANC, the commuter train killings, official funding of Umusa, police hit squads operating in KwaZulu, and army plans to manipulate the forthcoming Angolan elections, as evidence of a mammoth conspiracy between Pretoria and Inkatha.

In similar vein, The Observer reports "De Klerk’s fall from grace" at considerable length. It regards the President’s decision to free Nelson Mandela as possibly "part of the political skulduggery", and dismisses out of hand claims that neither Buthelezi nor De Klerk knew of the secret funding of Inkatha.

The Sunday Times says it was "almost like the old days in Pretoria last week as liberals screamed foul and shifty-looking white government ministers desperately tried to explain away a scandal about secret funds used to undermine black organisations".

Sinister
After 18 months of being regarded as the "Afrikans nice guy", De Klerk, the paper adds, was suddenly accused of being "a double-dealing, old-style South African politician".

At best he had allowed a sinister government-funded campaign against the ANC, at worst he may have orchestrated it.

The Sunday Telegraph devotes a lengthy report to Mr Oscar Dlamini’s advice to De Klerk on surviving the scandal.
Govt should first quit - callers

THE National Party Government cannot form an interim government alone but "progressive" liberation movements should meet the Government after it had resigned to decide on the issue.

Callers to the Sowetan Radio Metro Talkback Show discussed the issue with DJ Tim Modise yesterday.

Thami Macwela of Soweto said an interim government should not consist of either the government or the liberation movements of a particular country.

"A neutral and impartial party will be nominated to manage the country's affairs while a new constitution is being discussed.

"The Government must resign and as a political party sit down with liberation movements to decide on the new constitution," he said.

Shanda from Tembisa supported him. He said the all-party conference proposed by the Government would give the "homeland puppets" a say in the issue.

He, however, said organisations like the PAC and Azapo who are not keen on the interim government should give the ANC's call a chance.

Christopher of Soweto said liberation movements should together with the Government form an interim government and should be voted in by the whole population.

Joe from Tembisa suggested the OAU and United Nations should oversee the transition which would be discussed by the PAC, ANC and Azapo while excluding Inkatha.

Peter from Kagiso said he did not understand why the ANC had to push for an interim government while other liberation movements were having reservations about it.

He suggested they all get together in a consultative conference to reach consensus and work on the finer details of the issue.
FW Sidelines MALIAN, VOK
posis in up to negotiations
One VP vertiges get key

Repair Government credibility
Cabinet shuffle should help
Vlok, Malan
are sidelined

His only explanation for the move in last night’s statement referred to the need to “moderately lighten” the work load of senior Ministers.

In Mr Meyer, Mr Wessels and Mr de Beer, Mr de Klerk has, however, pulled three of the NP’s best-known verligtes into key Cabinet posts.

Mr de Klerk’s Cabinet shuffle — the most dramatic since he came to power — took political observers by surprise. Senior Government sources had suggested that Mr de Klerk would not fire or sideline Mr Vlok and General Malan now, for fear of being seen to be bowing to political pressure.

Dr van der Merwe — the man in charge of black education — will prepare the National Party for negotiations, and control the marketing and expansion of the party. He will retain his Helderkrus seat.

Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Gert Kotze will retire from the Cabinet on October 1, but remains an ordinary MP.

The Cabinet shuffle took Mr Vlok’s staff by surprise and Brigadier Leon Meled, his long-time spokesman, last night paid sad tribute to him.

“He was a great communicator, a wonderful Minister for the police, and is greatly admired by the SAP for his hard work, loyalty, fairness, discipline, ability and foresight.”

Other changes include:

- In addition to his new Defence portfolio, Mr Meyer retains control of the former Bureau for Information, now the SA Communications Service.

- Armscor is to be rationalised, with eventual transfer from the Defence Ministry to the Ministry of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprise.

- In addition to his new Cabinet post, Mr Wessels takes on Local Government in the Assembly.

- Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers acquires Development Aid.

- Chief NP spokesman Renier Schoeman is promoted to the post of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
President de Klerk had given in to ANC demands on General Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said last night.

He described the Cabinet shuffle as "panicky". But the pieces of portfolios had been assigned in ways which did not fit.

The CP was bound to win Virginia, vacated by Education Minister Piet Claise. "Everyone knows it," he said.

"Things are crumbling. This is a puncture he won't be able to fix. It's too big."

Colin Eglin, Democratic Party MP, said General Malan and Mr Vlok had probably been kept in the Cabinet to keep the NP intact and prevent by-elections.

Reelf Meyer and Hernus Kriel were untried in this field. "In that sense, a question mark hangs over them. But at least they aren't associated with the CCBs, with secret operations, or collusion. They aren't tainted with the dirty tricks of the past."

Mr Eglin described the shuffle as without real reform, "Mr de Klerk didn't seize the opportunity to consolidate education under one ministry and hasn't introduced any new blood from outside. Far-reaching though the changes are, they have a ring of caretakerism about them."

Boerestaat Party leader Roelf Ter Tonder said the sidelining of Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan showed the Government had given in to the demands of the ANC.

The reshuffle showed President de Klerk had become totally left-wing and had put the process of handing over into top gear. A black majority government could be installed sooner than expected.

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez, who had been in the forefront of those calling for the two men's dismissals, said the demotions were "a stroke of genius by De Klerk."

"It is certainly not what I would have wanted to see. I would like both of them out of the Cabinet - but it was a much more imaginative step than anyone would have thought President de Klerk capable of."

Barney Desai, information secretary of the PAC: "Had this been a democratic government, in the accepted sense, this entire government, starting from the president downwards, would have had to resign because of the appalling scandals that they have been engaged in. They have been guilty of deception and gross misuse of taxpayers' money."

Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrikse, called the moves a panic reshuffle.

Abe Williams as Deputy Minister of National Education and Planning was a reward for "betrayal of the Labour Party."

-Political Staff-Sapa-Own Correspondents
De Klerk

Drastic changes to policy on secret funding expected from

[Signature]
Three other Ministers quit in shuffle

Vlok, Malan resign from the Cabinet

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk announced last night that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan had resigned after the scandal surrounding government's donations to Inkatha.

It was believed late last night that Vlok would be replaced by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Malan by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hermie Kriel.

Two other Cabinet Ministers and an own affairs Minister also resigned their positions yesterday as government moved to reorganise education and prepare for the negotiation process.

A Cabinet shuffle, including a major reorganisation of the education portfolios, was finalised at last Wednesday's Cabinet meeting.

Yesterday's announcement is understood to have been timed to coincide with President F W de Klerk's official response to the Inkatha funding scandal this evening.

Skilled negotiator, constitutional expert and Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe leaves his post next month to spearhead the NPs move towards multiparty negotiations.

Piet Clase resigned

SILLY PADDOCK

as Own Affairs Education and Culture Minister and as MP for Virginia. Water Affairs Minister Gert Kotze also, announced he had resigned his post, but would retain his parliamentary seat.

The resignations would be effective from October.

It is understood Van der Merwe was selected for the new party post because other government leaders are still needed in the Cabinet.

With his experience as former Information Minister and his association with left-wing organisations in his current capacity, Van der Merwe was considered the right choice to sell NP policies to black constituencies.

In a statement last night De Klerk, To Page 2.

Cabinet

speaking in his capacity as NP leader, said the NP needed to increase its information capability since opening its doors to all races earlier this year.

"At the same time, the approaching constitutional negotiations are also placing new demands on the NP in respect of expertise and manpower requirements."

A need had arisen for the services of a senior person with wide and appropriate experience to head the NPs total marketing and expansion.

Van der Merwe would also be involved in the NPs planning and preparations for negotiations.

Van der Merwe said in a separate statement he was honoured to accept the special assignment.

It is understood government believed it could afford to let Van der Merwe go as he had completed laying the foundation for a new unitary education system following negotiations with education groups across the political spectrum. The second stage of these negotiations was due to start soon and would not be as sensitive.

Clase's resignation came as a surprise to senior government officials who said they were certain he had wanted to remain in government. One source said it was probably a signal from De Klerk that own affairs ministries were becoming defunct.

Observers said De Klerk would probably consolidate the education portfolios and thereby decrease government spending.

A source said he did not think De Klerk would replace Clase.
The old Cabinet and the new

F W de Klerk — State President
Pik Botha — Foreign Affairs
Gerrit Viljoen — Constitutional Development
Magnus Malan — Defence
Dawie de Villiers — Public Enterprises and Economic Co-ordination
Kobie Coetsee — Justice and Correctional Services
Barend du Plessis — Finance
Amie Venter — State Expenditure, and of Regional Development
Elie Louw — Manpower
Adriaan Vlok — Law and Order
Gert Kotze — Water Affairs and Forestry
Stoffel van der Merwe — Education and Training
Gene Louw — Home Affairs
George Bartlett — Mineral and Energy Affairs
Henri Kriel — Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing
Rina Venter — National Health and Population Development
Jacob de Villiers — Public Works and Land Affairs, and Development Aid
Louis Pienaar — National Education and Environmental Affairs
A J (Kraai) van Niekerk — Agriculture
Org Marais — Trade and Industry, and Tourism
Piet Welmemoed — Transport
Deputy Ministers
Roelf Meyer — Constitutional Development and Information Services
Wynand Breytenbach — Defence
Theo Alant — Finance, and National Education
Leon Wessels — Foreign Affairs
Andre Fourie — Planning Affairs
Danie Schutte — Justice and Correctional Services
Piet Marais — Education and Development Aid
Tertius Delport — Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs
Johan Scheepers — Law and Order
Tobie Meyer — Agriculture
David Graaff — Trade and Industry and Tourism

Deputy Ministers
Wynand Breytenbach — Defence
Japie van Wyk — Finance, Water Affairs and Land Affairs
Theo Alant — Finance and the National Intelligence Service
Abe Williams — National Education, and Planning
Andre Fourie — Provincial Affairs and National Housing
Danie Schutte — Justice, and Education and Training
Tertius Delport — Constitutional Development
Johan Scheepers — Law and Order, and Development Aid
Tobie Meyer — Agriculture and Agricultural Development (House of Assembly)
David Graaff — Trade, Industry and Tourism
Panie Schoeman — Health Services and Welfare (House of Assembly)
Renier Schoeman — Foreign Affairs
**FW 'must act for all of us'**

By Katez Nyatsumbi
Political Staff

President de Klerk would have to act as the country's leader and not merely as the leader of the National Party if he is to restore the confidence of the majority of South Africans and of the international community, according to ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki.

He also said, that "whatever might be hitting the headlines at the moment", there was reason for hope about the future.

Mr de Klerk, who has so far remained tight-lipped on the funds-for-Inkatha scandal, is expected to make his pronouncements on the matter today.

Widely expected to be announced by the President is the exercise of tighter control of Government secret funds.

Addressing the first British-South African conference at Jesus College in Cambridge, Mr Mbeki said President de Klerk would have to rise above being NP leader and become "a leader of South Africa" if he was to restore the confidence of the majority of South Africans and of the international community.

He said that would be necessary if South Africans and the world were to know they were dealing with a man of integrity who was committed to change and "would not do what they (the Government) have been discovered to have done".

Mr Mbeki said although the disclosure of the SAP funding for the IPP and its United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwuwa) had strained relations between the Government and other political parties, rapid movement towards an all-party conference would help put the negotiation process back on track.

The ANC international affairs director said this was not the time for parties "to be engineering as though they were preparing to contest seats in Parliament".

It was in the interest of negotiations that each party should be as strong as possible to carry it with the support of its constituency.

"As much as the ANC would not wish to see the NP weakened the NP should avoid trying to weaken the ANC.

"It is wrong to believe battle has already been joined to see who will emerge the strongest party in a new Parliament," he said.

However, he added that there was great degree of consensus that it would not require very much to put the peace process back on course, and that it remained possible to move quickly to an all-party conference.

Mr Mbeki said共识 had been reached on a number of important issues among the major political actors in the country, and he believed South Africa had "arrived at a point which is very hopeful, whatever might be hitting the headlines at the moment".
Cabinet:
The new men

A rise through the ranks to the hottest seat of all

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

NEW Law and Order Minister HERNUS KRIEL has risen rapidly through the ranks of the cabinet to the hottest seat of all.

Clearly a man of the PW de Klerk era rather than the PW Botha era, he was not even a deputy minister under Mr Botha and leaptfrogged into the cabinet over the heads of many deputy ministers who had been waiting in the wings for years.

Mr de Klerk put him into the key position of Provincial Affairs and Planning in his new cabinet late in 1989, to handle the issues of separate amenities and group areas just when these were becoming critical areas of the negotiating process.

In retrospect, Mr Kriel seems to have handled the problems deftly, easing out segregated facilities and group areas with less trauma than one might have expected, given the attitude of many whites at the time.

But at the time, Mr Kriel's approach was a little puzzling and enigmatic. He conveyed a veritable image on the one hand — made more credible by the stand he had taken on apartheid issues as a Cape provincial councillor — but was also capable of expressing some remarkably anachronistic-sounding sentiments.

When the issue of group areas was still extremely touchy, he once remarked to journalists that if blacks wished to bargain with the National Party for the scrapping of group areas, they must be prepared to give up something equally dear to their own culture — and mentioned the lobola system as an example.

Certainly Mr Kriel also expressed some hearteningly liberal sentiments. As it became inevitable that group areas were going, he went on record as saying that he would rather live next to a black man with whose lifestyle he was similar to his than to a white man who spent all his Sundays repairing his car.

After his successes with group areas and separate amenities Mr Kriel concentrated on the extremely difficult problem of squatting where some of the old ambitions about his approach we also felt.

His announcement this year of so-called "hut squads" to react rapidly to new occurrences of squatting smacked rather ominously of the old era — but again this might have been an example of strategising to placate the right rather than substance.

How he handles his new job, the most difficult of portfolios, will be crucial to the success of Mr de Klerk's reforms.

His legal training is at least one obvious asset that he takes into the job.

A central figure in the process of negotiation

SHAUN JOHNSON, Political Staff

DURING this year's parliamentary session, Nat backbenchers still referred to KOELEF MEYER as "Koelie" because of his youth and fresh-faced, cherubic looks.

They are unlikely to persist with the habit. Meyer, 44, the erstwhile "lightweight" MP for Johannesburg West, is about to become Minister of Defence, and one of the very central figures in the government team which will oversee South Africa's transition to democracy.

One would struggle to name a Nationalist politician more distant in style and image from the door, warlike General Magnus Malan than Koelof Petrus Meyer. Since March last year the key aide de camp to Constitutional mastermind Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Meyer was who attended most of the "working group" sessions with the ANC and who insisted, whenever the negotiating process faltered, that there was a way forward.

He openly took a conciliatory view on Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani — saying, by starting contrast to General Malan, that he was a man with whom he could do business — and he is well liked in ANC circles.

Whenever "doves" were identified in the government's inner sanctum, Meyer's name featured prominently. He also took responsibility for briefing the media on developments in the rollercoaster peace process, and won admiration for his, sophisticated and substantive, rather than rhetorical, interpretations of events.

But none of this is to say that the likeable and, in earlier days, somewhat shy (and "laid back", according to a colleague) Meyer is a "soft touch" as a politician. As he has grown in stature and confidence — the speed of that process has been astounding — he has revealed himself to be a deeply committed Nationalist, and a proponent of a negotiated settlement based on power-sharing, not a handover of power. On a personal level his negotiating opponents will find him much easier to deal with than General Malan, but they expect a "pushover" at their peril.

Meyer was born in Port Elizabeth and studied at the University of the Orange Free State. He practised law in the late 1970s, before being elected to parliament in 1979. He was soon appointed influential standing committees, including that on Constitutional Development, and served as an NP Whip.
A reservoir of goodwill from black leaders
Pioneered contact with pro-ANC groups

SAM DE BEER, one of the earliest veterans, has at last been appointed to the cabinet as Minister of Education and Training, after waiting many years in the wings as deputy minister or minister in the Ministers Council in the House of Assembly.

It is especially ironic that Mr de Beer should have taken so long to get there. At a time when Mr de Klerk was still regarded as a diehard conservative inseparably wedded to group rights and stifling any attempts by his MPs to open dialogue with the ANC, Mr de Beer was quietly pioneering contact with radical pro-ANC groups in the education field way back in the dark and bloody days of 1985.

His early efforts to go the route of negotiation rather than confrontation were thwarted by the prevailing securicrat thinking favoured by President Botha and this may have contributed to a period of relative stagnation for him in politics.

After this venture into the frontline he occupied a series of positions in the Ministers Council in the House of Assembly, and in Mr de Klerk's previous cabinet shuffle acquired several portfolios and became the only own affairs minister who did not also have a cabinet portfolio.

Mr de Beer, a trained dominie is also a keen and capable sportsman and he and his vivacious wife Ansie have run several Comrades Marathons.
Opinion

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
SANSTREET

PRESIDENT De Klerk has stuck to the time-honoured National Party tradition of not firing Cabinet Ministers — no matter how much they deserve such a fate.

The new government team he announced on Monday is certainly a decisive shift from the era when seccuracrats and PW Botha sycophants reigned. Although a number of further Cabinet changes can be expected when negotiations really get going, Mr De Klerk has started to put his stamp on the team likely to lead the Nationalist government through the tricky transition period.

He has signalled his intention to dismantle the security empire built by his predecessor and cut away a lot of dead wood by promoting younger, more able, reformists largely untainted by the worst excesses of the PW Botha era. Although Mr De Klerk stopped short of widespread demands to fire his security ministers, the way in which they have been sidelined amounts to, as some of his critics have pointed out, an admission of guilt.

It is also the clearest acknowledgement yet that the security forces have not been properly brought to heel or adapted to the demands of the new South Africa.

Clipping wings

One significant element of Mr De Klerk’s government reform has been the reduction of power and political influence of the security forces, symbolised by the once all-powerful State Security Council — often dubbed the ‘Super Cabinet’.

Soon after assuming office he downgraded the SSC to a Cabinet sub-committee and began clipping the wings of the controversial, seccuracrat-dominated joint management centres which often had agendas quite separate from the ruling party.

With the removal of General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok, both long-standing members of the State Security Council, Mr De Klerk has gone some way towards breaking up the old boys’ network which brought so much discredit to his reformist administration.

Significantly, the stalwarts have been replaced by two party loyalists without the baggage of their seccuracrat predecessors — Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Hernus Kriel — to reassert party control.

The switch is all the more noteworthy since General Malan barely let a day go by without indulging his favourite passion of ANC-bashing, often singling out Umtonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani, while Mr Meyer is known to have a good working relationship with the ANC leadership and has been publicly praised by Mr Hani.

Given Mr Meyer’s skill in negotiating tricky situations, he could well be entrusted with the task of merging MK with the South African Defence Force as well as the homeland armies. On the other hand, he may have been given Defence in a caretaker capacity, only to be moved to the National Party’s talks team once negotiations start.

At the height of his influence under PW Botha, General Malan said virtually what he liked because his minder liked what he said, but he has been publicly magnanimous about his fall from grace, describing it as a shift in battle focus from the “rude” to the “green”. It remains to be seen whether he can restrict himself to the rigours of dealing with water, trees and whitewashing housing.

Mr Vlok was generally regarded as a likeable figure who worked hard — a point even privately conceded by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela — but he was ineffective in asserting his authority and exercising the hard-nosed discipline necessary to re-educate the police into a more neutral role.

Delicate issues

His successor, Mr Hernus Kriel, whose first reaction to his promotion was that the police needed more credibility, faces the formidable challenge of transforming the force and weeding out the rogue elements which have been giving it a bad name.

His long political experience and no-nonsense approach should help him to cope but he will have to curb his appetite for making ill-timed and sometimes insensitive statements on delicate issues.

In another significant departure, Mr De Klerk has decided to tighten his party’s grip on the intelligence community by appointing, for the first time, a deputy minister, Dr Theo Alant, to be the political head of the shadowy National Intelligence Service.

The old seccuracrat culture was symbolised by the head of NIS, Dr Niël Barnard, recalled from the obscurity of the University of the Orange Free State to take over service in after the Info scandal in which the old Bureau for State Security was deeply implicated. A further march towards Mr De Klerk’s determination to break up the old security empire is his emphasis on the replacement of Armscor

Marginal seat

The departure of the low-key Mr Gert Kotze and Mr Piet Clase, both promoted by Mr Botha for reasons he can best explain, come as a breath of fresh air. Mr Clase has had persistent problems understanding, let alone staying in step with, the march towards the new South Africa and has routinely served as a brake to the removal of apartheid in education.

The fact that the NP now faces a tough by-election in his marginal Fratina seat, which it could well lose to the Conservative Party, is an indication of how little his services were valued during the period of transition.

Mr Kotze’s retirement as a minister has been in the cards for some time and he could have no more worthy successor than General Malan in his obscure portfolio.

To fill the gaps in his Cabinet, Mr De Klerk has promoted four younger, more committed, reformists who are among the most able in an NP caucus not blessed with the range of talent the State President might have liked. Roelf Meyer, Saim de Beer, Piet Marais and Leon Wessels will be the figures to watch.

The freeing of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe from the Cabinet to rally support for the newly opened NP and gearing it for negotiations makes sense in terms of Mr De Klerk’s power-sharing strategy in a future dispensation.
Answer not a 'takeover' election

PORT ELIZABETH. — A future "winner-takes-all" election will leave large segments of the population dissatisfied — in turn leaving the door open for further instability, conflict and violence. Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Dr Viljoen was addressing the annual conference of the Institute for the Study and Resolution of Conflict at the University of Port Elizabeth. He also said no party should be negotiating for a takeover. Rather, they should be negotiating for a new constitution that would best serve all the people of South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said that from his experiences he was convinced that in the end there would be much common ground for all participants to negotiate solutions to their differences. He was hoping the issue could be addressed by a multi-party conference, which should be as comprehensive as possible, he said. — Sapa
SECRET BUDGET EXPLAINED

SUSHI FUND FOR

Johannesburg — Only R36 million from the Special Defence Account would...
Nat 'empire' is falling, says Dr No

DURBAN. — Reaction to President de Klerk’s major cabinet reshuffle poured in yesterday, and comments ranged from describing the move as “total panic” to “a stroke of genius”.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said South Africans were witnessing the fall of the National Party “empire”.

“The resignation of three senior ministers, the demotion of two more, and the promotion of political lightweights to the cabinet makes it very clear there is a serious degree of turmoil within the ranks of the NP,” he said.

Dr Treurnicht said the biggest surprise, however, was the survival of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The Democratic Party’s caucus chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday described the move as “an interim measure taken under pressure rather than that of a fundamental re-appraisal of the role the cabinet has to play in leading us to a new South Africa”.

The DP spokesman on education, Mr Roger Burrows, said the resignation of Mr Piet Clase “as Minister of Education and Culture, and from politics” would be “greeted with relief by most South Africans”.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendriekse said Mr de Klerk’s cabinet reshuffle could in no way restore confidence in the government.

Mr Barney Desai, information secretary of the PAC, said the entire government should have resigned.

“They have been guilty of deception and gross misuse of taxpayers’ money,” he said.
Fev Guilty, Says ANC's Omar

The ANC's statement on the issue was not presented.

Two senior ANC members billed to speak at the ANC's National Executive Committee meeting said:

"We are deeply concerned about the recent developments."
Two ministers 'a stumbling block’

SIDELINED ministers General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok had been removed from their portfolios because they were becoming a stumbling block to negotiations, President F W de Klerk admitted last night.

However, he added that the two ministers had been retained in his restructured cabinet because he still had confidence in them.

Mr de Klerk said his decision to reshuffle his cabinet did not amount to an admission that the government had done anything unacceptable.

"What I am admitting is that this has become a divisive matter, a matter which is becoming a stumbling block in what we must now concentrate on in South Africa, and this is to start negotiations, and it is a stumbling block in the way of building trust."

He said all the actions and announcements made last night were aimed at removing distrust "as far as it is possible" and to get "in the business of building and working for a new South Africa and reconciliation".

He acknowledged that the security forces had become controversial and he hoped the moving of the two ministers would stop the constant attacks aimed at the security forces.
FW was ‘unaware of secret funding’

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night that he was unaware that secret funds had been channelled to Inkatha and its union affiliate, Uwusa, until this was disclosed in the Weekly Mail.

However, he conceded that as a member of the cabinet he was aware of the decision to bankroll anti-Swape parties in Namibia in the pre-independence elections.

He was asked at a press conference in Pretoria whether he was aware that this contravened the 1983 Agreement in which South Africa pledged to remain neutral in the election, but he did not respond directly to the question.

He did say: “Swape has been assisted financially, and royally, from across the world.

“Apparently, in international ethics, governments provide support to parties outside their boundaries if those parties support their own principles and priorities.

“We have a marvellous case in South Africa — the ANC. From one country alone in Europe since the 1960s the ANC has received in the vicinity of R270 million. Ask them to disclose who paid for their congress in July in Durban.

“South Africa also had the right to do the same and support movements adhering to democratic principles,” he said.
Steps to curb secret funds

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK
HOT on the heels of the
dramatic sidelining of his
two security ministers,
President FW de Klerk
last night announced far-
reaching steps to slash and
control secret funding.

In an attempt to defuse the
secret fund scandal and restore
trust in the negotiation process,
he said all financial support to
political organisations had been
ended, and comprehensive
probes into clandestine projects
instituted.

Mr de Klerk told a press
conference in Pretoria, televised live
on SATV, that he knew nothing of the
secret channel of pub-
lic funds to Inkatha and its trade
union, Uwusa, until this has been
revealed by the Weekly Mail.

But last night he had been aware of the cabinet's decision to
department anti-Swapo parties
during the pre-independence elec-
tions in Namibia, despite an
international agreement
prohibiting this.

Mr De Klerk also said General
Magau Malan and Mr Adriaan
Vlok had been removed from their
portfolios because they were becoming stumbling blocks to
negotiations and the building of
trust.

He emphatically denied that
either the police or the defence
force were involved in the "institution
of violence", and promised that
"relentless action will be taken
against any members of the sec-
curity service inciting or assis-
tance members of Inkatha or any
other move to perpetuate
violent actions".

The Conservative Party's deputy
leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg,
said last night the President
had not got himself out of trouble.
"He has a whole lot of explaining
to do," he added.

Among the steps he announced
were:

- An assurance that all special
secret projects which had been
considered to constitute
support to legitimate political
organisations had now been
cancelled, "subject to the speedy
conclusion of some contractual
obligations";

- A complete review of all leg-
islation related to secret funds, to
ensure that there were proper
mechanisms of control to prevent
malpractices, but also to allow for
"essential secrecy";

- The "complete termination
of the role of all security services in
special projects falling outside
the normal area of their line
functions";

- As an interim measure in an-
ticipation of the new legislation,
Mr de Klerk intended appointing a
small advisory committee from the
private sector "to advise me on exist-
ing secret special projects". The
committee would have to advise
him on whether existing projects
could possibly benefit political
organisations, and adjudicate
whether existing projects were in
the broad national interest;

- Special secret projects would
be restricted to the minimum, and
he said "once again, the scal-
pel has cut deeply"; and

- The Judicial Commission of
Inquiry into Preventing Public
Violence and Intimidation would
be appointed soon, following
through consultation with other
parties. The objectivity of the
members had to be beyond question.
Mr De Klerk stressed, because he
did not want to spark a political
storm when their names were an-
ounced.

"All these actions and an-
nouncements are aimed at re-
moving distrust as far as possible,
and getting on with the business of
building and working for a new
South Africa and reconciliation," he
said.

Turning to allegations of secu-
ry force partiality and involve-
ment in violence, he said that any
evidence that emerged in this regard would be thoroughly investigated.

Mr De Klerk appealed to members of the public to present "concrete evidence" of security force involvement in violence in sworn statements to the new commission.

"The government has nothing to hide in this matter. We do not have a double agenda, and it is untrue that we have a strategy to disrupt our opponents."

Referring to mounting demands for an interim government, he said the government had no desire to be both a player and the referee during the transition process.

He ruled out demands that the present government should relinquish these powers "to some other temporary regime", as this would violate the country's sovereignty.

However, he had an open mind to other transitional arrangements, but emphasised that these had to be the result of negotiations.

"As far as I am concerned, they can be the first item on the agenda."

- The government last night admitted that two other political organisations — in addition to Inkatha and Umsa — were secretly funded by the taxpayer.

In an annexure to President De Klerk's statement, the government conceded that money was paid to the Federal Independent Alliance and the Eagles youth organisation.

However, since these organisations had become politically controversial, it had been decided to end all assistance to them from secret funds forthwith, subject to the completion of contractual obligations.

The government also disclosed that the SADF had trained 150 Inkatha members in security and VIP protection in 1984, but said this was terminated in 1989 and trained members were incorporated into the KwaZulu police.

FIDA was funded because it advanced "the cause of stability and order, as well as to serve as a bulwark against intimidation".

The Eagles, which was founded in the Free State, was created to give opportunities "for scholars to be educated in principles of personal discipline and security without militancy".

The statement that any covert funding had gone to the National Forum, the United Municipalities of South Africa and the United Civic Association of South Africa, but Umsa and Ucasa had received open support "on a moderate scale to meet administrative expenses..."

"Comparable assistance has been given to the ANC, for example in relation to the Groote Schuur conference."

The government did not want to abuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in the negotiation process.

- The fact secret funds are used is not a licence for crime. Any transgression of the laws of the land will not be tolerated."

Mr De Klerk said that only R13.7 million of the R330 million allocated for secret accounts would be spent during the current financial year on special secret projects, and a further R25.9 million from the Special Defence Accounts had also been allocated to such projects.

"In 1990/91, therefore, the expected expenditure on secret projects will be a total of only R45.6 million and not R380 million..."
This is the full list of the Ministers new Cabinet:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minister</th>
<th>Portfolio</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr F W de Klerk</td>
<td>State President, Portfolio of the State President, National Intelligence Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr H P Bulski</td>
<td>Minister of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Constitutional Development Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr G van Wyk</td>
<td>Minister of Constitutional Development, Constitutional Development Service, Water Affairs and Forestry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guent M de M Malan</td>
<td>Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, Water Affairs and Forestry, Housing and Works, Housing and Works, Cabinet Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr Dawie de Villiers</td>
<td>Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises, Office for Privatisation, Transport, Eskom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr H J Coetzee</td>
<td>Minister of Justice and Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly, Justice, Administration, House of Assembly</td>
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FW and others just as guilty, says Omar

Political Staff

THE African National Congress was certain to make a strong statement that the governing of the country could not be left to the National Party. National executive council member Mr Dullah Omar told about 100 people at an ANC meeting in Mitchell’s Plain last night.

Mr Omar delivered the main address after the main speaker, Mr Patrick “Terror” Lekota, failed to arrive.

Chairman Mr Neville van der Rhee said Mr Lekota had phoned him in the afternoon to say he was unable to fly to Cape Town from Johannesburg for the meeting.

And he said ‘Ilu had prevented two other speakers, Municipal Workers Union office-bearer Mr Salle Manie and ANC stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki, from attending.

Referring to President de Klerk’s clean-up, Mr Omar — who was due to leave for an NEC meeting in Johannesburg at 3am today — said Mr de Klerk and his government were just as guilty of funding Inkatha as ministers Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan.

He said it was not good enough to shift Mr Vlok and General Malan to other positions in the Cabinet.

“We think they should have been sacked from the government.”

He said one of the first things a new democratic government had to do was to apologise to the rest of Africa for the havoc wreaked by the SA Defence Force.

The ANC had to double its efforts to remove the apartheid government.

“That means we must mobilise.”

He said ANC members had to extend the hand of friendship to other organisations.

“We must be very careful how we conduct ourselves. We must remember people in other organisations are not our enemies.”
Tottering on a tightrope

De Beer

Politcal Staff and Sapa

OPPONENTS to the left and right of President de Klerk believe his televised news conference was unimpressive and unconvincing.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said Mr de Klerk's performance had been "a most difficult and rather unimpressive act of tightrope walking".

He said Mr de Klerk's effectiveness had been reduced by the folly of his government.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa said: "Apart from resuming his Cabinet, Mr de Klerk's statement that his government has no double agenda rests solely on assurances for the future."

"Confidence and trust will be built up only if and when his promises take effect."

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht disputed Mr de Klerk's statement that he had confidence in demoted Law and Order Minister Mr Adrijan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

He said they were not only sidelined but had been demoted and humiliated.

Dr Treurnicht said if Mr de Klerk had confidence in the two ministers they would not have been moved and the president would have weathered the criticism.

He accused Mr de Klerk of bowing to demands by demoting the ministers, weakening his own position in the negotiation process.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman said Mr de Klerk had been defensive and unconvincing, and was not in command of the situation.

He said Mr de Klerk had made no attempt to reveal the full extent of the secret funding and had ignored demands made by the tripartite alliance in the wake of Inkathagate.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said Mr de Klerk had apparently planned to move from a multiparty conference to a form of transitional government.

This was totally unacceptable to the HNP, which would do all in its power to resist it.
ALL EYES ON RF: Part of the press corps focus their cameras on President Dewey and other keynotes during the news conference.

Mr. Cool handles the pressure—

R.C. W. WELLS

COMMENTSARY
De Klerk: ANC meets

(Cont from page 1)

that the security forces were involved in violence on Inkatha's side.

He rejected this and said that neither the police nor the defence force was involved in the "instigation, promotion or commission of violence."

The Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation was being established by law to investigate this sort of allegation.

He said he hoped the commission would be appointed soon and when it was he would use his powers under the act to have concrete allegations of security for involvement in violence investigated.

"The government has nothing to hide in this matter. We do not have a double agenda and it is unfair to say that he has a strategy to disrupt out opponents."

The planned Commission of Inquiry on violence and the private sector committee to monitor secret funds which would be manned by highly-respected members of the public were an attempt to prove that the government had no fears that its hands were not clean.

Outlining steps that had already been taken to scale down secret projects, Mr De Klerk said many had been cancelled since he began an investigation into them in November 1989.

The anti-sanctions activities of the Department of Foreign Affairs had been reduced "dramatically" in keeping with international events. In 1989-1990 and 1990-1991 spending had dropped to 40 percent of what it had been in 1988-1989 and in 1991-1992 it would drop to only 25 percent of the 1988-99 figure.

When all sanctions had been lifted it would drop away completely.

He said he believed the controversy over secret funding had damaged Inkatha's image but it still remained an important role player in negotiations.

He did not think the controversy would prevent negotiations getting off the ground. "I am confident this phase will pass and won't cause any delay", he said.
No more secrets - FW

STATE President FW de Klerk vowed last night that the old style of secret funding was dead.

He said the Government had no secret agenda. He promised that new controls on secret projects would be introduced.

De Klerk was speaking in Pretoria against the background of the Inkathagate scandal in which the Government has admitted that it funded Inkatha out of public money.

De Klerk pledged that any secret activities undertaken from now on would be in terms of "international norms" and would be judged against what happened in "other democratic countries".

There would not again be State funding of specific political parties or organisations inside South Africa.

An advisory committee made up of representatives from outside the Government would be established to advise him on secret projects, De Klerk said.

He said he had an open mind on how the country would be governed during the transition to a new constitution.

He said as far as he was concerned transitional arrangements could be first on the agenda of a multiparty conference. The only rule, said De Klerk, would be that such arrangements had to be
Never again, says De Klerk

In accordance with the present constitution. On violence De Klerk pledged once again that "relentless action" would be taken against any member of the security forces guilty of organising or promoting violence. He said the rejected with "indignation" a reported comment from ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela that he (De Klerk) was promoting his cause over the corpses of ANC supporters.

De Klerk also repeated that he was serious about negotiations and "creating a new political playing field" in South Africa.

He called on all leaders to abandon the politics of "confrontation and posturing."

He offered a defence of secret projects saying they had been necessary during the time of sanctions and South Africa's global isolation.

Earlier, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis said R42,6 million was spent this year on what could be called special secret projects.

Du Plessis gave no further details.

Du Plessis said the total Government budget for this year for "special secret projects" was R380 million.

Meanwhile two other other organisations, in addition to Inkatha and Uwusa, received secret funds from the Government, it was revealed last night.

An annexure to a statement by the State President said money was paid to the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance and the Eagles youth organisation.

It was also revealed that the South African Defence Force trained 150 Inkatha members in security and VIP protection in 1986.

It said Fida was funded because it advanced "the cause of stability and order, as well as to serve as a bulwark against intimidation".

UMSA and UCASA did receive "open support on a moderate scale to meet administrative expenses".

"Comparable assistance has been given to the ANC, for example in relation to the Groote Schuur Conference."
Theecdotes is a.

polfcalsonnel

The presidenshike. Music during the concert will be provided by Dr.

nusung a Friday. Shopping will be among the other activities comforters.

hat line 1200 at afternoon at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg.

shoppe's lidl will represent Chadpco West Extension during the

Bids to raise cash

ANC, IFP join in

SOWETAN Wednesday July 31, 1991
FW is 'unconvincing'

Opponents to the left and right of President FW de Klerk's Government believe his televised news conference was unimpressive and unconvincing.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said De Klerk's performance was "a most difficult and rather unimpressive act of tightrope walking".

"He expresses confidence in Malan and Vlok even as he removes them from their jobs. He says he will not do anything to meet Mandela's demand, even as he does so. He says he opposes in principle the appointment of a neutral arbiter, even as he says that in some circumstances he will accept one," said De Beer.

The Pan Africanist Congress said it continued to view the Government as completely tainted by corruption, despite State President's international broadcast.

"We do not accept that the SAP and SADF are not heavily implicated in the violence that has swept our country... the evidence to the contrary is overwhelming. He unashamedly stands by discredited ministers and even asserts that he has full confidence in them, as evidenced by his inclusion of them in his new Cabinet."

The PAC accused him of trying to co-opt leaders of South Africa's liberation movements into his Government after he announced the Government would consider transitional measures during negotiations.

The Conservative Party's chief whip, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said he did not believe De Klerk's performance.

"He is not out of trouble. He still has a whole lot of explaining to do," Hartzenberg said.

A spokesman for the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Neil Coleman, said De Klerk was defensive, unconvincing and was not in command of the situation.

Coleman said nothing new was said except his announcement of an advisory committee from the private enterprise.

He said the committee would reinforce Cosatu's perception that the Government had an unholy alliance with big business. Coleman warned businesses to carefully consider the situation before becoming involved with the committee.
De Klerk's promises likely to win back world's confidence

By Helen Greens

NEWS
Axing came like a bolt from the blue

Sowetan Correspondent
DEFENCE Minister General
Magnus Malan and Law and
Order Minister Adriaan
Vlok were called suddenly to
Libertas, President FW de
Klerk's official residence, on
Sunday afternoon.

They had no inkling of what
De Klerk planned to tell them.
They had been very much part of
his team on Friday, planning to-
gether at a meeting at the Union
Buildings how to tackle his much-
awaited news conference on the
Inkathagate row.

They had no idea they were
going to be key elements of that
strategy.

Demotion

There had been no suggestion
last week of demotion - Vlok, un-
der the most fire for the police
role in funding two Inkatha rallies
and the United Workers Union of
South Africa, had no signal from
the high command of Cabinet
ministers, deputy ministers and
provincial administrators last
Monday and Tuesday, that he was
about to be shifted.

To his aides, it was Vlok going
about business as usual with no
hint of dramatic moves around the
corner.

His aides judged him to be
"serious but confident" and
painstakingly helped him plan a
response on Saturday to The
Weekly Mail accusation that he
lied when he said on TV a few
days previously that every cent
spent on Uwusa had been ac-
counted for.

ADRIAAN VLOK

Malan and Vlok apparently
met De Klerk separately after
the telephone calls on Sunday and
did not see each other at the Bryn-
toria mansion. It is not known
how many others involved in the
shuffle drove through the gates of
Libertas to hear their fates individu-
ally that afternoon.

Both of the outgoing security
ministers, who had become spe-
cific targets of repeated calls for
Government heads, kept their aw-
ful secrets until yesterday
afternoon - after attending a long-
thy State Security Council meet-
ing which discussed De Klerk's
forthcoming announcement.

They then told their staff.

MAGNUS MALAN

Vlok first informed police com-
missoner General Johan van der
Merwe, his personal staff and then
the generals at police head-
quarters, Wachhuiz.

Aides to both men were
shocked. They thought their min-
isters were again about to weather
the storm. Both were veteran sur-
vivors. The officials did not
suspect that De Klerk was con-
templating axing their bosses.

Last night Malan, considered
by Government critics to be bur-
densome political baggage for De
Klerk and his reformist ways - a
relic of the old South Africa when
securocrats were unassailable in
Government, took his fate with
chin held high - and some
humour:

"I've beaten the Reds," he
said. "Now I join the Greens," he
quipped, anticipating his role as
the new Water Affairs and
Forestry chief.

The cause was always greater
than the person, noted the Defence
Minister of almost 11 years.

"I have served the SA Defence
Force and Armscor over many
years to the best of my ability.

"The military successes of the
SADF in the late 80s in southern
Angola paved the way for the
present political dispensation in
South Africa."

Malan said Armscor had,
through its achievements, guaran-
teed South Africa's political inde-
pendence through these stormy
years.

"I gave them everything in the
interests of security of all South
Africa's people. Now I've been
called to serve in another capacity.
I will do so with devotion.

Stunned

"A good man (Mr Roelof
Meyer) succeeds me. I will help
him where I can."

Among the stunned listeners
when Vlok told his immediate
staff yesterday was Brigadier
Leon Meillet, his spokesman:

"I've worked with him ever
since he became a deputy minister
when the 1984 unrest broke out,
and this is like the breakdown of a
marriage.

"He has done wonders for the
country. Since the day he took
over he has never stopped work-
ing, day and night, setting a per-
fect example to the police.

"He was always there on the
ground with his men. He was
never an armchair minister. And I
worked very hard for him because
I believed in him."
Overhaul for laws on funding

Private sector to help assess secret projects

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk last night announced a review of all legislation affecting secret state funds and, as an interim measure, the appointment of a private sector committee to advise him on the validity of continuing covert projects.

In his first comprehensive news conference since the Inkhatho funding scandal broke 12 days ago, De Klerk reiterated the government view that the actions had been approved during a period of conflict, and therefore justified.

However, government accepted the necessity for political confidence regarding the sensitive issue of secret funding. “It is a fact that this confidence has been shaken, and that it is necessary to restore it.”

In a brief reference to the Cabinet shuffle announced yesterday which included the demotion of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, De Klerk said the fact that they had been retained in the Cabinet showed he still had confidence in them.

However, he said, “It is most important that we ensure that our security forces must not be controversial. They have become controversial, and I hope these steps will alleviate attacks on them”.

De Klerk said the legislative review would set out to ensure that:

- Secret actions may be undertaken only if they complied with specific norms and generally accepted principles in the democratic world;
- Political organisations may not be financed from secret funds;
- There would have to be proper mechanisms of control which would prevent malpractices and ensure essential secrecy; and
- All security services would terminate secret projects falling outside the normal area of their line functions.

De Klerk said the private sector committee whose composition he did not specify would advise him on whether secret funding met the requirement that they did not benefit political organisations.

We incorrectly reported in the national edition yesterday that President de Klerk had announced the resignations of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen and Defence Minister Magnus Malan. The error was caused by communication problems ahead of the official announcement that the two Ministers had been demoted within the Cabinet.

Business Day regrets the error.

It would also advise on whether the continuation of the remaining projects was in the national interest, and on the adequacy of existing control mechanisms.

He said it was necessary to restore confidence, and the proposed body from the private sector, especially if they are well known and accepted as men of integrity, would go a long way to achieving this.

“I want to establish in the public eye that I am subject to that advice and want to re-establish trust where it has been shaken,”

To Page 2

Secret projects

De Klerk said (31 Aug 91)

Government was serious in its endeavours to establish “an equal political playing field”. Its aim was to restrict special secret projects to the minimum.

He rejected allegations that government had a double agenda and said it had not adopted a strategy to destabilise its opponents, namely the ANC. “I take very strong exception to this.”

Municipalities of SA (Umsa) and Urban Councils’ Association of SA (Ucos).

Referring to the call by opposition parties for an interim government, he said government had accepted the need for certain “transitional arrangements”.

“And as far as I am concerned, they may be the first item on the agenda” of a multiparty conference.

From Page 1
Cabinet shake-up 'a sign of turmoil in NP ranks'

PRETORIA — The Cabinet re-shuffle showed serious turmoil in the NP ranks, CP leader, Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

"We are witnessing the fall of the NP empire." Treurnicht said in a statement it was a "sorry attempt" at placating the ANC and its international allies.

In Cape Town, DP caucus chairman Colin Eglin said President F W de Klerk's shuffle was without real reform. It has the ring of an interim measure, taken under pressure, rather than that of a fundamental reappraisal of the role the Cabinet has to play in leading us to a new SA.

Treurnicht said the biggest surprise was that Foreign Minister Pik Botha had "survived intact" despite the fact that he had been at the heart of the funding scandal.

The retention of his position under the circumstances is surpassed only by the shameless refusal of the government to do the honourable thing: resign, call an election and forget about an interim government," said Treurnicht.

Eglin said de Klerk had lost a golden opportunity of introducing new blood into the Cabinet and of consolidating the various education departments into a single ministry.

DP education spokesman, Roger Burrows, said Piet Claise's resignation (as Minister of Education and Culture and from politics) would be greeted with relief by most South Africans. The appointment of Piet Marais in Claise's place meant a significant change in the political ethos to a more enlightened approach.

In the ANC's initial response deputy president Walter Sisulu said on Monday night Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan should have been fired.

**Crisis**

In Mexico City ANC president Nelson Mandela slammed De Klerk over the funding scandal and threatened to pull out of negotiations.

"We have to decide whether to continue discussions with a government which is negotiating with us in bad faith," Mandela told a meeting.

However, Mandela declined immediate comment on the shuffle.

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee yesterday asked if the appointment of a new Education Minister would lead to a quick resolution to the crisis in black education.

"Clearly, as long as the administration of black education remains in the hands of those who constitutionally do not do or who are not representative of the community they purport to serve, no permanent, qualitative or meaningful change can be expected," the NEC wanted in a statement.

"The NECC hopes this period leading up to the establishment of an interim government, will see the newly appointed ministers and the government taking decisive action to construct a single, non-racial and democratic education department."

The End Conscription Campaign said it hoped Malan's removal from the Defence portfolio signalled De Klerk's intention to curtail military influence on policy-making.

Transkei's ruler, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, said De Klerk's shock shuffle was "hardly likely to stem the tide of violence".

Labour Party leader Allan Hendriekse said De Klerk's image had been irreparably damaged and his cabinet shuffle could in no way restore confidence in government.

The shake-up was an admission of guilt. About 10 people were arrested yesterday when they attempted to stage a demonstration outside De Klerk's Cape Town office, Tyunhuys, in protest against government funding of Inkatha. — Sapa
Viljoen wants talks to go full-steam ahead

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday launched a renewed appeal for negotiations to proceed as quickly as possible.

Viljoen warned an audience at the University of Port Elizabeth that dominance by “one or a few parties” over others in the negotiation process would lead to further instability.

He laid renewed emphasis on the protection of minority rights by warning that a new SA “should not be the same as the policies of the past and of other African countries by suppressing the rights of minorities and individuals.”

He did not refer directly to the Inkatha scandal, but said government was “doing its utmost to remove any obstacles to the negotiations process”.

A “winner takes all” process in which a numerically superior party was able to dominate the political scene, would lead to later dissatisfaction and dissent, he said.

If a simple majority was allowed to prevail in future negotiations, he said, the interests of the “heterogeneous, plural society in SA will not be properly taken care of”.

To protect individuals’ rights, he reiterated government’s proposal for the establishment of a “second chamber” representing minority and regional groups, which would have veto power over decisions passed by the legislature.

In an apparent reference to the ANC, Viljoen criticised groups which placed ultimatums on the removal of obstacles to talks about talks, and said they should instead seek to solve perceived problems through dialogue.

He also suggested that the legislature and executive could be separated to a greater extent than they are now.
2 ‘stumbling blocks’ removed

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk said last night he had moved Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan from their posts because their “controversial” positions were proving a stumbling block to negotiations.

At yesterday’s press conference in Pretoria, Mr de Klerk defended the spending of secret funds in the past and stated firmly that neither the police nor the Defence Force were involved in the instigation of violence.

Asked why he had then demoted the two Ministers, Mr de Klerk said he would not have appointed them to his Cabinet, or retained them in his present Cabinet, if he did not have confidence in them.

But he said it was vital to ensure that the SADF and the SAP did not become controversial and a stumbling block to negotiations.

He denied he had given in to pressure from anyone to demote them and said the moves would allow the SAP and SADF to play their role properly.

“If I had aimed at satisfying the ANC demands, I would have suspended them, which is what the ANC again demanded today.”

The decision had been in the best interests of the country and the negotiating process, he said.

Mr de Klerk said he did not think the removal of the Ministers would affect security force morale, although there were officers in both forces opposed to Government policy.

He conceded that individual policemen and members of the SADF might have taken sides in township violence without the knowledge of their superior officers, but strongly denied this was Government policy.
Verligtes now in the saddle

Sam's patience pays off

The Star Wednesday July 31, 1991
Hurrays as Clase packs

South Africans will miss the departure of Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase, who retires at the end of August.

Renowned educationist Professor Johan Muller yesterday described Mr Clase as a bad Minister whose "passing nobody will mourn".

"He carried the brunt of the education reform movement, but did not please most of us."

Professor Muller said Mr Clase had been viewed by many as an obstacle to integration in education, and deepened the controversy in his administration when he came up with the A, B and C models.

The models, introduced in September, serve as guidelines for the admission of black pupils to white Government schools.

In terms of the models, white schools determine their own admission policy through votes by parents.

The announcement was greeted with howls of derision and dismissed as the entrenchment of the racist concept of "whites only" schools.

Among the other most-criticised aspects was the insistence that the schools retain a majority of white pupils and adhere to the principle of "education with a Christian and broadly national character."

Professor Muller said that even with Mr Clase's departure, the models would remain.

"The national need is for white education to be speedily de-emphasised and dissolved into national education."

Democratic Party education spokesman Roger Burrows said he was pleased that Mr Clase's replacement would be considerably more virile, and called on the State President to seize the opportunity to create a single ministry.

"Although a good administrator, Mr Clase's political conservatism and obstinate refusal to face the reality of a changed South Africa contributed much to our education crisis," Mr Burrows said.

Mr Clase received praise from the Teachers Federal Council, which said he had handled his portfolio well.
His style a far cry from Magnus's

During this year's parliamentary session, Nat backbenchers still referred to him as “Roelfie” because of his youth and fresh-faced looks. They are unlikely to persist.

Roelf Meyer (#4), the erstwhile “lightweight” MP for Johannesburg West, is about to become Minister of Defence, and one of the very central figures in the Government team which will oversee South Africa's transition to democracy.

One would struggle to name a Nationalist politician more distant in style and image from the doire, warlike General Magnus Malan than Mr. Meyer.

Mr. Meyer it was who attended most of the “working group” sessions with the ANC and who insisted, whenever the negotiating process faltered, that there was a way forward.

He openly took a conciliatory view on Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, and he is well liked in ANC circles.

He also took responsibility for briefing the media on developments in the roller-coaster peace process, and won admiration for his sophisticated interpretations of events.

Mr. Meyer has revealed himself to be a deeply committed Nationalist and a proponent of a negotiated settlement based on power-sharing. His negotiating opponents will find him easier to deal with than General Malan, but they expect a “push-over” at their peril.

In many ways, he is a much more difficult target for attack than the glowing general. He is also not implicated in allegations of SADF “dirty tricks” and may therefore be able to deflect some pressure away from the military.


It is testimony to his deft touch in communicational matters that as Minister of Defence he retains responsibility for the former Bureau for Information, now known as the South African Communications Services.

Mr. Meyer's appointment cannot but be welcomed by those outside the NP and extended State structures who favour speedy progress in negotiations.

It remains an open question, however, as to how his elevation will be greeted within the full NP caucus and, much more crucially, the SADF.
Strange environment for Kotze

THE RESIGNATION of Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Gert Kotze has been hailed in environmental circles as long overdue, since the Minister had had little understanding of environmental matters.

Mr Kotze was Minister of Environment and Water Affairs from 1987 to November 1999, when his portfolio was changed to Water Affairs and Forestry.

During the past four years Mr Kotze has come under fire on a number of issues, in particular the proposed culling of 30,000 seals on the Cape’s west coast. Environmentalists attacked him for not stepping in to halt the dam mining at St Lucia in northern Natal.

Nan Rice, secretary of the Dolphin Action and Protection Group, endorsed Mr Kotze’s resignation, saying his environmental portfolios were “obviously beyond his scope”.

Adding weight to this opinion, Wildlife Society director Tony Ferrar said Mr Kotze had showed little inherent understanding for the issues, carried little weight in the Cabinet and was not serviced by his staff.

The hallmark of Mr Kotze’s latter-day career was the measure in which South Africans became more aware of “green” issues.

Despite criticism from many quarters, he did notch up some achievements:
- The promulgation of the Environmental Conservation Act.
- The principle of integrated environmental management was adopted as a mechanism for developers, but no legislation to enforce it was created.
- The creation of the first Agreement Park in South Africa – the West Coast National Park near Langebaan, which incorporates local inhabitants.
- The reintroduction of elephants into the Knysna forest.

Mr Kotze will remain MP for Malmsbury. Sources say this is to avoid a by-election in a constituency which would almost certainly fall to the Conservative Party.
The sidelining of Maggs Malan and Adriaan Vlok has diverted attention from an extraordinary fact — President de Klerk has created a Cabinet in his own image by bringing in three outspoken young verligtes.

SHAUN JOHNSON and PETER FABRICIUS look at new Ministers Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Sam de Beer — the new posse of reformist deputies.

**Wessels garners goodwill**

WHEN Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels made his dramatic personal apology for apartheid in Parliament in February, political observers knew something was up, but weren't quite sure what it was.

There were two theories: either Mr. Wessels, the archetypal "nice guy", was simply being true to his conscience by saying mea culpa, or he was also testing the water for the entire National Party on the issue.

Reformist-minded younger Nats were thrilled with him, although nervous about the consequences for his career; others hinted that President de Klerk was not pleased, and that Mr. Wessels would find himself frozen out for a while.

Yesterday's events suggest that his critics were wrong. The charming, sincere 46-year-old has been given the crucial Cabinet portfolio of Planning, Provincial Affairs, and National Housing — filling the shoes of a man many years his senior.

The impression is inescapable that Mr. Wessels, along with the rest of the President's clutch of verligte deputys, is poised for elevation.

His new ministry is important and will assume an ever higher profile in the day-to-day elements of the negotiating process — dealing more with "on-the-ground" issues than constitutional policy.

His "open-door" policy, his easy-going style, his "honest during his tenure as deputy to Pik Botha and on occasion companion to President de Klerk on trips abroad, will be a plus.

But, moreover, as a senior Cabinet member, his influence on the transitional phase cannot be underestimated.

Mr. Wessels was born in Kroonstad in the Free State. After graduating from the University of Potchefstroom he practised as an advocate.

In 1974 he became MP for Krugersdorp, and gained nomination — and election — as an MP three years later. He cut his political teeth in senior positions on NP parliamentary standing committees and study groups, before being appointed Deputy Minister of Law and Order in 1986. A year later he moved across to Foreign Affairs as deputy Foreign Minister and held this position until his promotion this week.

He brings to his new job a considerable reservoir of goodwill from black leaders at both the national and regional levels.

In February, one ANC-aligned township activist remarked: "If all the Nats were like Leon Wessels, we could have a deal before the end of the year."

He is likely to be treated with less suspicion than might have been reserved for other, "older school" Nats.
Rush to get poverty net in place by VAT deadline

GOVERNMENT is racing against time to get its R220m poverty safety net in place before VAT starts on September 30.

The nuts and bolts of the mechanism will be finalised after meetings at the beginning of next month involving a wide range of interest groups, a spokesman for the National Health Department said yesterday.

The outcome of these meetings would be crucial in determining the criteria for the allocation of funds.

The spokesman said the allocation would be decided by a committee, which still had to be appointed. Sources said efforts would be made to appoint a committee with "grassroots credibility".

The department confirmed non-government organisations would play a major role in fighting poverty, as government would have to rely largely on the infrastructure of private aid organisations active in the community.

Any organisation that believed it should be part of the programme could apply to the committee for funds.

"To ensure the involvement of interested parties, two days of discussions are planned for the beginning of next month. Working groups will be formed to talk about the exact way in which the special relief fund will be administered, co-ordinated and monitored," the spokesman said.

Non-government organisations and local authorities would mainly be responsible for implementing the programme, while the committee and the Department of National Health would co-ordinate and monitor. Finally, had not been reached on the involvement of other state departments.

The spur for the programme was largely the charging of VAT on foodstuffs other than maize and brown bread. National Health said existing state schemes to combat protein deficiency in children younger than six years old would be expanded to involve more local and regional authorities.

"We also intend adding other foodstuffs to the current provision of milk to these children."

"The plan includes food aid to pregnant and lactating women whose weight is below normal."

National Health is finalising the programme after initial research and recommendations by a committee headed by Finance Deputy Director-General Estian Callitz.
European politicians' visit important

Claim 200 jobs

Stayaway could

-rise in midbus
BILLY PADDOCK

talks back on track

shrewd move to get

Cabinet shuffle a

RESIDENT P/ A KERNE

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Keep party politics and development apart

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Idasa: failure would be devastating

Own Correspondent and Sapa

Time will tell whether President de Klerk has regained the confidence of his negotiating partners, the press, the public and the international community, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa said last night.

In a statement reacting to Mr de Klerk's televised media briefing, Idasa said assurances that the Government had no double agenda would only become apparent in the future.

"Confidence and trust will only be built up if and when Mr de Klerk's promises take effect. "He has taken a considerable risk in focusing attention once again on the integrity of his word -- if only because any future failure by the Government to live up to its promises will have devastating consequences for himself and the country."

Crucial

Idasa said it was to be hoped that the commitment to negotiations and a multiparty conference would get back on track as soon as possible.

The composition of the advisory committee on secret projects was "crucial," Idasa said, adding that the individuals on the committee "must command the respect of the broadest possible spectrum of citizens."

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said Mr de Klerk was defensive and unconvincing and was not in command of the situation.

Whilst Cosatu officials refused to issue a more considered response later, Mr Coleman said there appeared nothing new in what Mr de Klerk had said except the announcement of an advisory committee from the private sector to advise him on existing secret projects.

Mr Coleman warned businesses to consider the situation carefully before becoming involved with the committee.
S. A. Govt. & Politics - 1991

August.
Parsons lauds FW's confidence boost

By Michael Chester

Decisive action by President de Klerk over the Inkathagate scandal may have averted major damage to the economic outlook for South Africa, according to the SA Chamber of Business.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons yesterday congratulated the State President on the swiftness of moves aimed at restoring international trust by way of the latest Cabinet shuffle and plans to appoint a committee to act as watchdog on future spending from Government secret funds.

Mr Parsons told businessmen at the opening of an exhibition run by the Sandton Chamber of Business:

"Whatever the reasons for previous decisions on outside political funding, in the changed circumstances now prevailing in South Africa it is essential that these issues be handled in future in ways which maintain and build confidence here and abroad."
UK welcomes Cabinet changes

By Mike Silman
Star Bureau

LONDON — In what constitutes the warmest foreign reaction so far to changes announced by President de Klerk in the aftermath of the Inkatha gate scandal, the British government yesterday said it hoped that measures taken by Mr de Klerk would restore confidence in the peace process in South Africa.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "We welcome the steps announced by President de Klerk as evidence of his determination to ensure that unacceptable covert activities are stopped.

"We hope that the various measures he has announced will restore confidence in the political process and encourage South Africans to proceed with their main task, the negotiation of a new constitution."

The British government, which has been at the forefront of moves to lift international sanctions against Pretoria, arguing that Mr de Klerk's reforms were irreversible, is believed to have been deeply embarrassed by the Inkathagate scandal.

Sources at the Foreign Office said the UK government believed the "departure" of General Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, coupled with steps to review secret funding activities, were astute moves on the part of Mr de Klerk, "given his need to look over his shoulder" while at the same time taking steps to restore confidence in the security forces."
We can end apartheid on our own

By Ramsay Milne
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — African National Congress President Nelson Mandela, continuing the hard line he has followed throughout his six-country tour of the Caribbean and Latin America, including Cuba, said today the ANC was strong enough to end apartheid without help from the South African Government.

"We are powerful enough to bring peace with or without the Government," said Mr Mandela, reacting to the continuing scandal swirling about President de Klerk's head over the Government's secret funding of Inkatha and other organizations.

Mr Mandela, speaking in Mexico City, on the final leg of his overseas trip, said the ANC wanted to continue negotiations to end apartheid with the Government, but only "if the Government makes a complete disclosure of their crimes".

Mr Mandela's comments in Mexico City were widely broadcast in the United States as he prepared to leave for Brazil, his final stop before returning to South Africa.

Describing President de Klerk's government as "a discredited regime", Mr Mandela said an interim government was the only way to ensure a peaceful transition from apartheid.

Dismiss

He said the demotion of two senior Cabinet Ministers, General Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, as a result of the revelations, "was not sufficient".

"He (President de Klerk) said nothing about what was revealed, except to say he will not do it again," said Mr Mandela.

"We therefore dismiss the statement."

Mr Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, called his Mexican visit "a great success" and said the Mexican government had agreed to give the ANC money but did not say how much.
US offers billions to SA, ANC dithers over plan to finance historic turning point

By Hugh Robertson

WASHINGTON - The Washington Post reported that the US government has offered billions of dollars to South Africa, leading to speculation about a historic turning point in the ANC's governance. The report suggests that this financial assistance could potentially influence the ANC's decision-making process, as it faces internal and external pressures.

The article highlights the complexity of the situation, with ANC members divided on whether to accept the US offer. It notes the importance of this decision, as it could have significant implications for the stability and direction of South Africa. The report also mentions the need for a careful approach, as accepting the funds might raise concerns about foreign influence on South African politics.

The post-crisis period has seen a shift in South African politics, with the ANC facing increased scrutiny and criticism. The financial offer from the US is seen as a pivotal moment that could shape the future of the country.
HARARE — Zimbabwe's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, has welcomed the moves by President de Klerk to restore confidence shaken by the disclosures of secret funding of Inkatha.

Dr Shamuyarira said Mr de Klerk's actions had gone some way to demonstrate good intentions.

The removal from their security positions of General Malan and Mr Vlok, and more importantly, the measures to remove the secret slush funds were steps in the right direction, he said.

The next step should be discussion between the various political groups and the Government on the new constitution.

"The feeling at the recent OAU ad hoc committee meeting in Abuja was that enough time had been spent on preliminaries. It was time now to move to the constitutional dispensation. President de Klerk's actions have gone some way to making this possible."

*The slush fund scandal*

— Page 10.
HUGH ROBERTON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — A multi-billion dollar internationally-backed aid package for South Africa, described as "big enough to finance a historic turning point" in the country's development, is being discussed in the United States Congress.

This was confirmed today by Congressman Stephen Solarz of Michigan after a blistering argument over the plan with Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of the anti-apartheid pressure group Trans-Africa, at a hearing convened by the Africa sub-committee of the House of Representatives.

During their angry exchange Mr Solarz accused Mr Robinson of holding up the plan.

And he criticised the African National Congress for dragging its feet in responding to a formal proposal contained in a letter sent to the ANC more than a month ago.

"What is so difficult about saying 'yes' to billions of dollars in aid — especially if it will be channelled to a post-apartheid government?" he asked.

"Several months"

Mr Solarz afterwards disclosed that the proposal had been under discussion in both houses of Congress for several months and that extensive consultations had already been held between members of Congress, ANC leaders and other interested groups.

"The objective is to initiate in the US Congress a multinational, multi-billion dollar aid package which will be made available to South Africa after a new constitution has been agreed to, and after free and fair elections have brought a new government into power," he said.

He declined to specify the amount, but said: "It is large, very large — enough to make a historic difference to South Africa."

Incentive

"Our intention is to encourage the process of peaceful negotiation in South Africa by providing an important additional incentive to the parties to reach a settlement, and to give them confidence which comes from knowing that a significant source of new capital will be available for reconstruction and development."

"Mr Solarz — one of the strongest critics of the South African government on Capitol Hill for more than a decade — emphasised that no funds would be made available to the present South African government."

"Post-apartheid. reconstruction and development under the control of a new, freely-elected government, is what we have in mind.

"But we are anxious to get this started as soon as possible so that the fund can play a role in helping the negotiation process and in stabilising things, and so that there is a guarantee that the money will be there when it is needed."

He said that during an international conference in Cape Town this year he had discussed the matter informally and in general terms with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC officials, including Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Chris Hani.
Behind the scene of the reshuffle

It was yet another surprise at the last minute to see Mr. de Klerk's resignation. The cabinet was being reshuffled at the last minute, with the Prime Minister, F.W. de Klerk, resigning his post and being replaced by Mr. de Klerk. The disclosure of his personal affairs was by all accounts a shock to everyone. The Prime Minister, who had built up deep personal relationships with many of his colleagues, was caught off guard.

But it was philosophical, reminding them that he had always said there was a time to come and a time to go, and that he was looking forward to the challenge of the new job. His spokesman, Brigadier Leon Moolman, admitted that the parting was like the breaking of a marriage.

General Malan, whose term from Grace was perhaps the longer of the two, all the way down to the lowly ministries of water affairs and forestry, broke the news to his personal staff with Spartan restraint and no emotion. He managed to leave with some aplomb. "I've beaten the Reds. Now I join the Greens." General Malan's long-time spokesman, Dr. N.M. Stoffel, printed his boss as a "great man" and said he admired him for the humour with which he had handled his exit. One source said that the occasion at the height of the CUB scandal was a bit of an embarrassment. He had walked up to a group of journalists and said goodbye. Both ministries were flooded with telegrams, telephone calls and messages of support from members of the two services, sources said.

Some, probably all, of the Ministers who were to receive good news were summoned to the Union Buildings on Monday. For some it was a bit of a relief in coming from the cold. Sam de Beer, a successful former Deputy Minister for Black education who had languished for two years in the Union Affairs Council, was told at 9 am on Monday that he was going on the road. The Prime Minister, who had been keen on the idea of a new, full Minster for Black education, was won over by the idea of using the opportunity to bring in a new, full Minster for Black education.

The news leaked out to the country in drizzles and downpours, contrary to Mr. de Klerk's crisp, comprehensive announcements of Cabinet reshuffles. First came separate statements by Education and Culture Minister Piet Clews and Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Gert Kotze that they were leaving the Executive. Then followed Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe's statement that he would be leaving the Cabinet to prepare the National Party for negotiations.

Journalists scratched their heads. Was this all? Was Mr. de Klerk crying with the joy of having his Cabinet on the eve of expected major announcements?

In retrospect it seems that Mr. de Klerk may have been trying to create the impression that more important announcements come when he is on his head. In the wake of the CUB scandal, the vacancies created by the retirement of the three were not very convincing.

As the pressures for the first elections of the new government were about to roll, came the bombshell:

"It is likely Mr. de Klerk told him that as a relatively young man, he still had a future in politics which would be jeopardised if he stayed on in his post much longer." The disclosure of his personal staff was by all accounts a shock to everyone. The Prime Minister, who had built up deep personal relationships with many of his colleagues, was caught off guard.

But it was philosophical, reminding them that he had always said there was a time to come and a time to go, and that he was looking forward to the challenge of the new job. His spokesman, Brigadier Leon Moolman, admitted that the parting was like the breaking of a marriage.

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Thumbs-up for FW from 75 percent of callers to The Argus

SHARKEY ISAACS and SORCHA VASEY
Staff Reporters

THIS latest Argus phone-in poll had the lines buzzing as readers gave a huge thumbs-up for explanations by President De Klerk on secret slush funds and his steps to get negotiations back on track.

The questions were: 1. Were you satisfied with President De Klerk’s explanations on TV on Tuesday night? 2. Did you think the steps he announced would put negotiations back on track?

Seventy-five percent of the 630 callers said “yes” to both questions.

Argus readers from as far afield as Bredasdorp and Somerset West had the lines humming and kept calling until well after the 9pm deadline.

“Give peace a chance”; “give De Klerk a chance” was the overwhelming plea.

Many described him as being “so dignified, calm and well-spoken”. Others said he had his finger on the button and was able to deal with any question without fumbling or blustering.

Mr De Klerk was said to be everything from “eloquent, brilliant and open” to “a complete liar” and “a more professional liar than Mr Pik Botha”.

At least 50 callers said they were unhappy with the media questions at Mr De Klerk’s Press conference.

Mr Arthur Conin of Penlands said he was unhappy with the coverage given to the events leading to Mr De Klerk’s announcements.

“This government must resign. I am going to take a firm stand about not paying taxes,” said Mr Barry Godwin of Cape Town.

“Mr De Klerk would go further by himself. He is good, but the government is not,” said Mr Sulema Faarid of Middelburg.

Mr Dawood Parker of Paarl: “Why did he take 10 days to speak? Why shuffle your Cabinet if nothing is wrong? I am not satisfied.”

“The government has really shocked us. They could have spent that money on South Africans who need it,” said Miss Carol Jackson on behalf of the Civic Association in Hanover Park.

“I am an Afrikaner but I believe they should sack the whole Cabinet. There is no alternative,” said Mr Andries Hanekom of Kenilworth.

Mr Ian Forbes of Milnerton said no to both questions. He was not satisfied with Mr De Klerk’s explanations and said he doubted whether the steps announced would put negotiations back on track.

“I want to see some real action to stop the rot in high quarters,” he said.

Miss Patricia Moses of Crawford, Athlone: “Three cheers for the State President.”

Mr Nielen Marais of Wynberg, who also said yes to both questions, emphasised there was a need for a process of negotiation.

Mr Reinhold Diekmann of Milnerton said he regarded the State President as a puppet who jumped to whatever Mr Mandela or President Bush said.

Mr Kelvin Swart of Ottery said he was more than satisfied with the State President, who he believed had handled himself well and dealt with all questions from the media.

“With the State President you know what you’ve got, but everyone else is a bit dubious about what you haven’t yet got,” Mr Swart said.

Mr Theo Wakefield of Kuils River was not satisfied with Mr De Klerk’s answers. “The ANC should stop negotiations until General Malan and Mr Vlok are totally removed”,

Mr Abraham Moses of Crawford: “I take my hat off to the State President.”

Mr Claude Mullins of Mitchell’s Plain said Mr De Klerk was a “more professional liar than Mr Pik Botha”.

Mr Hennie Janse of Kuils River: “Mr De Klerk is the coolest man around and we need cool-headed people in the government.”

Mr Peter Brown said Mr De Klerk was a man of considerable integrity and described his announcements as a “stepping stone to the final answer”.

Mr Mervyn Gopalsamy of Pelican Park: “I am very satisfied with Mr De Klerk’s answers. He is the right man at the helm and he will deal with everything into the negotiations.”

Mrs Daria Surve of Rylands said no to both questions. On the question of negotiations getting back on the track she said, “What is good enough for the ANC is not good enough for me.”

Mrs Joan Clemo of Rondebosch described Mr De Klerk’s explanations and moves as “a pathetic attempt at covering up.”

She said, “The whole thing is just a cover-up. Why didn’t he fire them (General Malan and Mr Vlok) or ask them to resign instead of reshuffling them?”
Total training for all democrats

The Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD) has an ambitious programme: to develop a democratic culture in South Africa.

The IMPD will offer training workshops for district leaders and councillors. These will be the first of many programmes to be held.

Director of Programmes, Dr Seshi Chongo, says on returning from the months ago. But what else has the Institute to offer?

Considering that the Institute was launched less than six months ago, it is not bad. Eastman Cape and the Change Free State. This is not bad, 304/4

So far, it will hold offices in the Northern Transvaal, the Western Cape and the Western Cape. By the end of the month, it will launch Regional Offices in Natal, South Africa.}

The political parties are expanding beyond the PWV area. In the meantime, the QUEST Programme has been opened.

In South Africa, 1 to 7, 1991
Come clean, FW!
We've heard about Inkathagate, now tell us about the rest

ANGER SPREADS: Dawood Khan of the Western Cape Traders' Association wrestles with police during protests outside Tyynhuis on Tuesday against the government's "slush funds"

PHOTO: MOHAMED

By Mono Badele and Rehana Rossouw

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk this week set out to put the minds of the public at rest over the Inkathagate scandal. What he still has to tell is the whole story about South Africa's Special Forces.

SOUTH's inquiries into the existence of these "recco units" revealed an army operating "in the shadows".

At his Pretoria press conference on Tuesday night, De Klerk was at pains to declare that his government does not have a separate agenda; what he did not spell out clearly was whether the military arm of the government had its own political agenda.

The SADF Special Forces directorate, based in Pretoria, controls recco units throughout the country.

For years these units were accused of atrocities against people in Angola, Namibia and Mozambique; now evidence is emerging about their operations on their home soil.

"What he will be liable to reveal is the clandestine fight against the ANC conducted by these forces."

The special forces could be described as the "fifth arm" of the SADF — the others being the army, the navy, the medical services and the air force.

The special forces consist of five reconnaissance commandos or regiments: based in Durban (One Recco), Pretoria (Two Recco), Springs (Four Recco) and two in Pietermaritzburg (Three Recco and Five Recco). The regiments are funded directly through the SADF budget and consist of permanent force members, conscripts and citizen force members. Their existence first became known in the early 1980s and they are believed to have been established in the late 1970s.

Recruits are required to pass thorough physical and psychological tests before being admitted to training. Defected recco members and mercenaries in the frontline states allege that the recco regiments were involved in assassination attempts on South African and Namibian activities. There are claims that the same unit trained MNR operatives. It is also claimed that the recco regiments engage in covert operations against groups perceived as "state enemies".

INTRODUCING SOUTH'S STUDY BEAT Pages 26 and 27
Failed dismally
Pretoria accords has

From Momo Bedia
SOUTHERN AFRICA I TO 7 1991 5

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\[\text{Johnamensingh}\]

\[\text{SOUTH AFRICA TO 7 1991 5}\]
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk's proposed formation of a private sector committee to oversee the expenditure of secret funds was slated yesterday by Cosatu and opposition parties.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said yesterday that there was no indication at this stage who might be drafted onto the committee, or what its eventual size might be.

"In view of the urgency of the matter, the State President will make an announcement as soon as details are finalised," he said.

However, Cosatu said the decision to hand-pick individuals from big business to "scrutinise" these projects under conditions of secrecy, would reinforce the perception of union members that business was in an "unholy alliance" with government.

"Already big business is implicated in supporting Inkatha and Uwusa's vigilante and union-bashing activities," Cosatu said in a statement.

"We want to suggest to businessmen who are approached to serve on this committee to think twice before accepting, since they will be seen to be in cahoots with a government cover-up," Cosatu said.

A Democratic Party finance spokesman, Mr Jasper Walsh, slated the proposed formation of the private sector committee to vet secret funds as a "tardy attempt" to introduce control over such expenditure.

The PAC's information secretary, Mr Barney Desai, yesterday questioned the criteria to be used to select the private sector committee.

"In the interests of peace and democracy the PAC urges all our countrymen to demand the immediate convening of an elected assembly to draw up a new constitution," Mr Desai said.
UK press lauds FW's strategy

OWN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON.—Respect for President F W de Klerk's handling of the Inkathagate scandal has been expressed by influential sections of the British press.

The Financial Times was the most restrained yesterday, saying it was "too early to say that Mr de Klerk has restored his credibility".

However, the cabinet changes had made it clear that Mr de Klerk's commitment to ending apartheid was "undiminished".

The FT said "the ANC and other leading political parties should be given a greater role in policymaking — but an interim government would be impracticable.

The Independent said Mr de Klerk had "turned to his own advantage what initially looked like a serious setback".

If Mr de Klerk's new ministers succeeded in controlling and partly re-educating the security forces, the Inkathagate episode would have served a good purpose, the Independent said.

The Guardian said Mr de Klerk had emerged from "Inkathagate... outwardly unscarred".

However, the ANC had gained most from the incident. Its warnings that sanctions had been ended prematurely "are now being taken seriously" and its proposal for an interim government "gained more credibility".
Cosatu vows to use mass action

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

COSATU yesterday promised to embark on a programme of mass action to protest against President F W de Klerk's failure to respond "adequately" to any of the demands of anti-apartheid organisations.

The threat came amid widespread charges from political organisations that the government was not prepared to come clean on secret projects or state-sponsored violence and could not be trusted to enter good faith negotiations.

The ANC's national executive committee — which held a marathon meeting yesterday to formulate its response to Mr De Klerk's attempts to clear the air after the secret slush fund scandal and allegations of security force collusion in violence — last night called off a planned press conference.

The organisation will now spell out its response later this morning.

The latest wave of militancy coincided with the refusal by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis to provide any more details on government funding projects.

Mr Du Plessis told Sapa yesterday that at no stage was it the intention of the government to make a full disclosure on how many secret projects had been cancelled, or were under consideration, or would be continued.

"The government has already given as much information ... as can be deemed necessary for the public to form a reasonable understanding of the whole issue," he said.

According to reports more than 40 projects were being shelved following Mr De Klerk's promise to cut back on secret projects on Tuesday night.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed that the police yesterday paid the last instalment of the R1,5 million earmarked for the anti-ANC United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa). He said the programme officially ended yesterday but would not disclose the amount to be handed over to Uwusa by the SAP.

Meanwhile, Cosatu announced that it would consult with its political allies on the form its mass protest action would take.

Cosatu declared that the state president this week had "failed to provide the answers which the country and the international community have been demanding about the government's role in undermining anti-apartheid organisations and sponsoring the violence".

Although it stopped short of saying it would urge the ANC to pull out of the negotiation process, Cosatu said Mr De Klerk's response to the crisis showed that the government was "not yet prepared to enter into good faith negotiations".

"(President) F W de Klerk refused to admit any wrongdoing on the part of the government, or come clean on covert activities which they have undertaken, and are continuing to undertake.

"All he could do was to rehash old measures which were announced several months ago, measures which have clearly failed to bring the violence to an end, or create confidence that the government is serious about overseeing the transition process in a fair and impartial way," Cosatu said.

The giant trade union federation said there was "not one good reason why the people of South Africa should trust this government to honour the undertakings made by De Klerk".

THE Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, and the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, are to speak at a rally concerning the "Inkatha" scandal in Cape Town City Hall at lunchtime today.

Democratic Party, ANC and religious leaders will also address the rally.
The 12 days that shook the govt

JULY 1991 will be remembered for the 12 days that shook the NP government and the country. Looking at the Inkhathagate crisis from a long-term perspective, it could prove to be a blessing in disguise.

President De Klerk, the NP and the reform process can never be the same again. During his TV appearance, Mr De Klerk gave a clear indication of a much more careful approach to sensitive matters by the government.

Despite Inkhathagate having created an atmosphere of mistrust and even hostility between the government and the ANC, it is quite likely and even probable that it will cause an acceleration of the reform process. The severity of the scandal is such a nature that it cannot be used to forge a new definition of what Mr De Klerk has called the "irreversibility of the reform process."

The new type of irreversibility will be the rule rather than the exception. Mr De Klerk has described the situation as "a model for the future." The problem is that the NP government no longer has any credibility.

The transformation process will have to begin with the end result of negotiation still in future as controllable by the NP as it so keenly wants.

Beyond the Inkhathagate crisis, the government's bargaining position was relatively too strong vis-a-vis the position of the ANC and other potential negotiation partners, to allow an orderly, constructive and meaningful negotiation process. Almost all of the resources or negotiation "chips" were in the hands of the government.

During the first half of the year, the political scene was dominated by all kinds of rumour and allegations that the government, or certain elements within the government, were involved in deliberate actions to make the playing field more unequal for the ANC. Unfortunately Mr De Klerk did not address the allegations about the NP's involvement in "electronic eavesdropping," specifically during his new conference.

Reform too little

One of the most unsatisfactory aspects of Mr De Klerk's new conference was that he has shown— as in the case of apartheid— no remorse for the chain of events that brought Mr De Klerk to the forefront. He runs the danger of attaining the reputation of insensitivity.

Mr De Klerk's reshuffling of the Cabinet and his announcements about stricter control of secret funds are characteristic of the NP reform initiatives— always too little too late. If Mr De Klerk could have announced these measures in the June conference, they would have been more believable.

Reactions of the senior securocrate towards their new ministers will be watched with keen interest. Their reactions will be an indication as to what extent Mr De Klerk has been (or still is) a captive of the securocratic establishment.

Mr De Klerk's efforts during his press conference to give assurances about the government's impartiality were not convincing. He overstated his case in an almost desperate attempt to regain his (much advertised) status as a "man of integrity."

During his prepared statement, Mr De Klerk stated emphatically that "the government has no intention of being a player and referee at the same time." He failed dismally, however, to explain how the problem surrounding the legal status of the NP-government is going to be resolved to the satisfaction of all participants.

Impartiality

At times Mr De Klerk pushed his case for impartiality to such lengths that he created an impression that the government had opted to be only an impartial referee during the negotiations! But in answering a question he rejected the idea of an arbiter for the negotiations and stated that the NP would play an active role — but without domination (sic) — during the negotiation process!

The central question remains: when will the NP government maintain neutrality and on what issue, and how will it decide on the thin line between partiality and impartiality?

An unfortunate result of the 12-day saga is that Pik Botha is still Minister of Foreign Affairs. After watching his TV conference for the third time, it was impossible for me to suppress a strong feeling of indignation.

With his arrogance, his self-righteousness and his obsession to score silly debating points by not answering the question or twisting the "truth", he clearly insulted the intelligence of the viewers. If the normalisation of international relations is still a high priority for the De Klerk government, Pik Botha should be removed from Foreign Affairs as soon as possible. After his kragdaghlen on TV many countries will be inclined to maintain sanctions only to spite Pik Botha.

Media role

One of the most valuable results of Inkhathagate could be the restoration of the role of the main news media in South Africa. Since February 1990, the...
runs the danger of attaining the reputation of insensitivity.

Mr De Klerk's reshuffling of the Cabinet and his announcements about stricter control of secret funds are characteristic of the NP government - always too little, too late. If Mr De Klerk had to announce these measures at the beginning of the year, it would not have looked like crisis management by a panic-stricken State President.

Every keen and critical observer of the political process was aware, at the end of last year, that the balance of power within the NP establishment had shifted - more or less since August last year - towards the hawks in the Cabinet and towards security civil servants. At the end of the new conference we were still in the dark as to why the State President did not take appropriate steps at a more opportune date.

The reasons he supplied for shifting two senior ministers to humiliating positions was not convincing, in the weeks ahead the minimum sanctions only to spite Pik Botha.

Media role

One of the most valuable results of Inkhathagate could be the restoration of the role of the mainstream media in South Africa. Since February 1990 the mainstream newspapers - including many of the English language newspapers - were perhaps too supportive of the De Klerk government. During the 12-day crisis the newspapers published by National Pers were pathetic in their attempt to offer all kinds of silly excuses for Inkhathagate. Their main point of defence was to remind every human being that he should not forget that he was also born in sin!

In sharp contrast, the English language media made a tremendous contribution to uncovering the truth of affairs and to hammer home the need for drastic measures. Hopefully these newspapers will retain this critical attitude.

Given the unrepresentative nature of Parliament, an open, critical and investigative media will be indispensable during the transitional process. Mr De Klerk, in fact, invited the media to scrutinise his actions in future.

One-sided

The SABC had its bright moments during the crisis and beat a hasty retreat towards its old one-sidedness. Surely the ANC and other negotiating partners must be granted regular slots on TV to put their case and to set straight the terribly distorted picture constantly created by the NP and its supportive media.

It may be true that South Africa is no longer in the grips of a terrible winter, as Pik Botha has claimed, but it is far too early to talk about summer. The months and the years ahead could be rather stormy and unpredictable en route to a new South Africa.

Delicate

We are destined to experience what Joseph Schumpeter has called a process of creative destruction - it is not possible to create a new South Africa without destroying the old.

Without doubt, Inkhathagate has proved one thing: we still do not know how to manage the delicate process of dismantling the old order and of creating a new one.
DEAR Mr De Klerk,

You're really something. I'm truly impressed by the way you pulled this one off. Your gracioius decision to remove your firing line to "lessen the pressure" on them caught us flat-footed. Even Walter Sisulu could only manage a pathetic "the situation is rather complex and requires to be examined". (Still wondering what crime Pik has committed that he was not honored with your compassion.)

For more than 10 days you exposed your Cabinet colleagues to investigative journalism. You then emerged as the saviour of these ministers and of the nation, the healer of wounds. You are really above it all.

Mr De Klerk, a remarkable crack-filler you truly are but "the healer of wounds"? I refuse to buy that. Who is this "we" that you are so fond of referring to? You speak about "our present system", about the way "our country was excluded from virtually every international organisation", about secret funds meant to counter "our isolation". What do you sound remarkably pre-New South Africa in your perpetual conflating of the apartheid regime with the country and its people.

Mr De Klerk, it is not our country which is isolated. "Our people" — from Helen Suzman to Joe Slovo — if they were known to make common cause with the deepest yearnings of humankind for democracy and freedom, were welcomed all over the world. We have never known anything but open minds, hearts and doors.

You do not seem to appreciate, Sir, that your isolation did not come about as a consequence of a malicious world but emerged from the frustration of the victims of your regime. You seemed to go to great lengths to counter sanctions except to remove what caused it: the absence of a truly democratic state. Even at this late hour you envisage your standing committee managing secret funds for the countering of sanctions.

A point which never seemed to have occurred to you is that we are angry that our money is being used to end your isolation — an isolation that we had consistently appealed and worked for.

You will probably dismiss me as being among those whom you describe as "malicious people making capital out of the present controversy". "Malicious" as I refer to 'us symbolically? I love this country as much as any other patriot. You remain convinced you speak for the silent majority, Mr De Klerk, the majority is no longer silent: and, indeed, they have been rather vociferous for a long time. More than a million workers spoke at the recent Cosatu congress and if the establishment press was not so obsessed with Charles and Df's anniversary plans then you might have heard the voice of your silent majority a bit louder.

May I ask you, Sir, when will you stop arrogating to yourself the role of speaking for a majority perfectly capable of functioning for itself through its authentic, by the way trade unions, democratic and religious organisations? Your government has consistently attempted to create illusions of loud majorities who will sing your praises. Now that your trade unions have been exposed to know neither trades nor unionising, you claim the majority is silent and that you speak for them.

The truth is your "we" is still synonymous with a white minority, racist "we". Your language is not authentically inclusive.

In your entire handling of public affairs, from the long delay in facing the nation to your pulling the rug from under the feet of the ANC by sidelining two ministers you have shown once again that you are essentially a shrewd and calculating politician.

You did not say a word about Inkhatha unil journalists refused to let you off the hook. At times you even suggested that the ANC was "in-frenzy" rather than your government. We are yet to hear why Buthelezi's secretary has died. And, Mr Rushdie, we are yet to hear why a major in the Security Police could have misrepresented Buthelezi, a friend. (I shudder when I think of the consequences for the major's political enemies if he could do this to his friends... and I wonder about a State President and a cabinet who depend on an army of such majors for pre-borderead inputs. Come, come, Major Botha, the lies, the misinterpretations and misrepresentations are too ghastly to contemplate. Out with the truth.)

Mr De Klerk, you wax eloquent about the Westminster system when you refuse to say why Magnus and Adrian were denoted when they did nothing wrong. Yet nowhere under the Westminster system would a minister or a cabinet have survived if they were guilty of one-tenth of that which yours have been caught with.

The truth is you and your government are not above the mess that our country is in.

You have announced several measures to clear up the mess — some of them not entirely without merit. However, does it not occur to you that, after so many blunders, you no longer have the right to be sole fixer; that our country needs an independent to prepare the way for a constituent assembly.

Yours etc, F Esack

PS. Why does Pretoria insist on giving me a passport which is only valid for five years? Do some of your folks think that the toothpaste can go back into the tube?
Wessels poised for elevation all along

Political Staff

WHEN Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels made his dramatic personal apology for apartheid in Parliament in February this year, political observers knew something was up, but weren’t quite sure what it was.

There were two theories: either Wessels, the archetypal “nice guy”, was simply being true to his conscience by saying mea culpa, or he was also testing the water for the entire National Party on the issue.

Reformist-minded, younger Nats were thrilled with him, although nervous about the consequences for his career.

Others hinted that President FW de Klerk was not pleased, and that Wessels would find himself frozen out for a while.

Monday’s events suggest that his critics were wrong. The charming, sincere 45-year-old has been given the crucial Cabinet portfolio of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing – filling the shoes of a man many years his senior.

The impression is inescapable. Wessels – along with the rest of De Klerk’s clutch of veritable “deputies” – was poised all along for elevation.

Studied law

Despite its soporific title, Wessels’ new Ministry is important, and he will assume an ever-higher profile in the day-to-day elements of the negotiating process – dealing more with on the ground issues than constitutional policy.

Wessels was born in Kroonstad in the Free State and, like most other reformist NP deputy ministers, studied Law. After graduating from the University of Potchefstroom – where he was chairman of the Students’ Council and later President of the Afrikaanse Studentebond – he practised as an advocate.

His open door, unassuming, easy-going style, honed during his tenure as deputy to Pik Botha and on occasion companion to De Klerk on trips abroad, will be put to good use. But, moreover, as a senior Cabinet member, his influence on the transitional phase cannot be overestimated.

He brings to his new job a considerable reservoir of goodwill from black leaders, at both the national and regional levels.

In February, one ANC-aligned township activist remarked, and the view was not his alone: “If all the Nats were like Leon Wessels, we could have a deal before the end of the year.”

He will be treated with less suspicion than might have been reserved for other, older school Nats.

At the end of the Parliamentary session, Wessels privately (and good-humouredly) lamented the fact that his duties as Deputy Foreign Minister were so onerosous that he hardly ever had time to indulge his passion for golf. On that score, his position is about to worsen considerably.
President FW de Klerk's new Cabinet could further its cause very significantly and set the pace for the negotiating process as well as improve the image of the Government for the duration of the present constitution.

While the reshuffle had its immediate cause in the Inkhathagate scandal, it has also given De Klerk the opportunity to prepare the NP (as the negotiating partner) for constituency building in the short to medium term and in the second instance to give the NP (as the Government) a better face while it attempts to win friends and influence people.

De Klerk delayed his response to the Inkhathagate issue, delivering it just in time to make it easier for the American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Hank Cohen, who yesterday testified before the United States Congress on why the Bush Administration lifted sanctions against South Africa.

Police

By demoting Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, De Klerk has done much to appease the Government's critics inside and outside the country.

He gave the Minister of Planning Provincial Affairs and National Housing, Mr Hernus Kriel, Vlok's post.

Kriel is believed to be a tougher securocrat than Vlok, and he will be able to control the police force in preparing them for a new South Africa. He is, however, by no means a liberal.

Kriel is the person of whom the Labour Party's the Rev Allan Hendricke says: "He is apartheid with a smile."

Vlok takes over Correctional Services, the second portfolio of the Minister of Justice (and Correctional Services). This is not the most exciting position by any standards, and particularly not in the light of recent upheavals with the release of first-time offenders.

Similarly, the political prisoners' issue has not been resolved yet and the new move places Vlok directly in the line of fire again.

Nevertheless, with the promotion of Kriel to Law and Order, a third sensitive position opens up, one that has to address the needs of millions of black people, the National Housing portfolio.

Apology

Who better (for De Klerk) to place in this position, than the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels - the only Cabinet Minister and NP member who has formally apologised for apartheid.

In an interview with Wessels earlier this year, he explained that he had seen the misery that apartheid had brought to black people and said if he were black, he too, would have been radical.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan has literally been sent into the wilderness - he has been given the portfolio of Water Affairs and Forestry.

Promoted

De Klerk then - with one eye on constituency building among black people and another on the negotiation process - promoted into the position of Defence Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer.

Here De Klerk scored the most points. Meyer has been part of the intellectual contingent of the Government's negotiating team and is known to be on good terms with certain key elements within the senior ranks of the ANC - in his present capacity, Meyer is the counterpart of Mr Chris Hani, chief-of-staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Meyer retains control of the South African Communications Service (formerly known as the Bureau for Information).

Crucial

And, then to crown all of this, De Klerk has taken the Minister of Education and Training Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who announced his resignation on Monday night, and placed him in the crucial position of preparing the NP for negotiations and taking it through the arduous tasks of constituency building.

Van der Merwe is, along with Constitutional Affairs Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Meyer, very much part of the intellectual content of the Government's constitutional negotiation team.

In the present Cabinet reshuffle, and following the resignations also on Monday night of the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clasen and the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, Mr Gert Kooze, De Klerk has:

* Promoted Deputy Minister Piet Marais into the Education and Culture post.
* Promoted Own Affairs Minister Sam de Beer to the Education and Training portfolio.
* Kent Viljoen as the Minister of Constitutional Development, but has given him the added responsibility of local government from the Ministry of National Housing and Planning.

Welfare

* Moved Post and Telecommunications from Dr Dawie de Villiers to Transport Minister Di Piet Wigelmoed.
* Relieved the Minister of State Expenditure and Regional Development Mr Amie Venter, of his Public Service portfolio.
* Given Dr Rina Venter, the Minister of Health, the extra responsibility of Welfare in the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly.

As the final theatrical stroke of genius and again with a view to constituency building among black people - or coloureds - De Klerk promoted to the rank of deputy minister the first coloured person, Mr Able Williams.

Transition

Williams will be the Deputy Minister of National Education and Planning.

The reshuffle of the Cabinet is a clear indication by De Klerk that his Government was ready for the transition period - if only there can be consensus on what a "transitional agreement" is.

The shake-up becomes effective on August 30.
Axing is not enough - callers

General Magnus Malan and Mr Allan Vlok should be sacked from the Cabinet, South Africa's Daily News said yesterday.

The paper from Pretoria states that the new members of the cabinet do not take responsibility of South Africans seriously.

"The two are still part of the decision-making body for this country and that is not satisfactory," it said.

Money

Samuel said the recent shooting had destroyed the trust in Vlok and Malan in the National Party government.

He said the demotion of confidence in Vlok and Malan was not enough.

"I think Dr Klerk did not think about them because he was going to save all the taxpayers' money," he said.

Confidence

Vuyiswa from Orlando West said Dr Klerk's action showed he had no confidence in the thousands who had died under the Malan and Vlok government.

She said his action destroyed the confidence we had in him.

"Peter from Soweto, sympathetic to Vlok and Malan," he said.

He said they should have been kept in charge because they had experience and ability to bring our town back.
ANC warns on negotiations

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Cabinet and the ANC leadership met behind their respective closed doors yesterday for what the Government perceives as an autopsy on the Inkathagate scandal, and the ANC as a fill-off of the issue.

In a separate statement, the ANC-aligned Cosatu yesterday warned that the negotiation process was in jeopardy, following State President FW de Klerk's "refusal to admit wrongdoing on the part of his Government" in the Inkatha funding debacle.

Senior ANC sources have also indicated there was "gross dissatisfaction" among the leadership of the movement with De Klerk's response to the slush funds issue, and that a major showdown was looming.

Controversy

Government sources on the other hand believe that De Klerk had adequately dealt with the crisis and that the controversy had been laid to rest.

According to the ANC, its demands for a multiparty commission into secret Government funds and indemnity for people who came up with evidence relating to covert operations, as well as the prosecution of persons implicated by a commission, were brushed aside by De Klerk along with the demand for the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The sources said that by simply demoting Vlok and Malan, De Klerk was "only covering the Government's tracks". "They (Vlok and Malan) have now gotten away with everything," the source said.

Cosatu said that the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance had put forward a package of measures which De Klerk had to implement in order to move the negotiation process back on track, but that the President had "failed to respond adequately".

During his speech on Tuesday night, De Klerk confirmed his "confidence" in Vlok and Malan. He said that with the reshuffle he had removed them from the controversy. "I hope that this (demotion of Vlok and Malan) alleviates the attacks on the integrity of the security forces," De Klerk said.

A formal response to De Klerk's reaction to Inkathagate was to be decided at yesterday's ANC meeting. Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC's department of information and publicity said earlier in the day.
SA need not drop norms, whites

THE South African nation is coming out of a period characterised by racial diversity that often led to conflict and confrontation, says the executive director of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce.

Mr Mofazi Lekota told a breakfast club in Cape Town that apartheid had succeeded in dividing the South African nation.

He said one of the challenges facing South Africans today was to identify those things they have in common and build on them in order to share a peaceful future.

Lekota said South Africans had to transform their country into a democratic state and that an internationally tested and proven mechanism of democratising society was that of one-man one-vote.

He said the process through which this democracy could be attained was through a constituent assembly and an interim government.

He said affirmative action should not imply dropping standards or dropping whites. He also appealed for more black role models.
US team coming to discuss big aid offer

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Congress is to send a team of staff experts to South Africa next week for urgent consultations with ANC leaders on a proposed multibillion-dollar aid package for the country.

At the same time members of Congress will hold meetings in Washington with the ANC's Chief Representative in the United States, Lindiwe Mazibuko, and her staff, to discuss details of the scheme which was the focus of an unprecedented clash between anti-apartheid campaigns this week.

The hope is that "hitches and misunderstandings" can be ironed out so that a formal initiative can be launched in Congress to win support for what has been described as a fund large enough to finance "an historic turning point" in South Africa's development.

In the meantime, the draft of a proposed letter to President Bush, in which he is asked to begin making allowances for the aid plan in his next budget proposals to Congress, has been circulated on Capitol Hill.

Initiators of the plan hope to canvass "unanimous, or near-unanimous" approval for it in Congress before the letter is sent to the White House. It is likely to be followed by a "sense of Congress" resolution, demonstrating bi-partisan support.

It is the President's prerogative to draw up a budget and to present it to Congress, but because budgets also have to be approved by Congress, there is frequent prior consultation on foreign aid and other matters.

At this stage it is not known what Mr Bush's response to an initiative from Congress on aid for South Africa would be, but sources say they have "very good cause for optimism".

What some are concerned about is a perceived uncertainty and procrastination in the ANC and major American civil rights groups whose backing is regarded as essential.

But delays are not seen as ANC disapproval of the plan. Rather, there appear to be some reservations about the implications of such a major multi-national aid scheme and the strings that might be attached to it.

Indications are that the ANC supports the idea in principle, but wishes to study the obligations which a future government might be under if it were to accept such assistance.

Supporters of the initiative are anxious to get it underway before negotiations begin on a new constitution in South Africa because they believe it could be an important incentive to the parties to reach a settlement.

They stress that the intention is to provide the aid only after a new constitution has been negotiated and after free and fair elections have brought a new government into being.

But they add that with the approval of all parties some aid may be advanced to "neutral non-government entities" to finance such projects as housing.
Leading Articles

heads when the pressure was at its most
ferocious, during the hit-squad row. He has
given the impression now that his reshuffle
— while certainly taking into account politi-
cal realities — was done in his own good
time. It is significant that the ANC has not
felt able to crow, even though one of its key
demands has been effectively met.

To portray De Klerk’s Cabinet reshuffle
as a step forward would be convenient. But it
would also be inaccurate — just as it was
wrong to describe the stirring Dunkirk evac-
uation in 1940 as a victory. What we had this
week was a very effective salvage operation,
an exercise in damage control.

De Klerk now stands not too far from
where he did before the Inkatha scandal
broke. Ostensibly he is in a stronger position
because he has a fresh team, built more in his
own image — but it remains untested.

The fact remains, however, that — In-
katha scandal or not — the problems in the
way of a negotiated settlement that leads to
stable democracy are enormous.

Whatever the ANC says, there can be no
doubt that reform is irreversible in the legal
sense. Apartheid laws will not be reintro-
duced. Even if no settlement is in place by
late 1994, when the next white general elec-
tion is due, De Klerk will find a way of
deferring a poll — and, therefore, any possi-
bility of a CP victory.

The dangers to reform are more compli-
cated and they might defy even a coalition
interim government dominated by ANC and
Nat members. The biggest problems are
political violence, unemployment, crime, the
lack of housing and the education crisis. Po-
tical goodwill alone will not solve them
— though it would help if the ANC played
its part by rejecting socialism and calling for
an end to all sanctions.

What is needed is good government, with
immediate effect. And this is where De
Klerk and his new Ministers have to make up
a lot of ground. It is where his tendency to sit
tight, allowing his Ministers and bureaucrats
great leeway, has been damaging to the pro-
cess. And in areas where the officials badly
need help — as in fighting inflation and
equalising education — De Klerk has been
conspicuous by his lack of public commit-
ment.

The absurd own affairs administrative
divisions may well be unavoidable until a
new constitution has been drawn up, but they
are run with no imaginative sense of wider
issues and officials are apparently allowed to
block reform by going by the book or by
quoting old and meaningless budgets.

In education, De Klerk has been content to
watch his Ministers, through sheer inertia or
lack of sensitivity, provoke crisis after crisis.
White schools and colleges were closed and
teachers made redundant, while thousands
of blacks were without classrooms or teach-
ers. These reforms have been grudging, to
say the least, as the illiterate under-class
grows steadily in number and frustration.

The Justice Department’s handling of the
recent amnesty for first offenders was bun-
gled so badly that a general perception arose
that the jails were simply being emptied.
This disaster, along with the reckless agree-
ment with the ANC to allow murderers to be
classed as political prisoners, has seriously
damaged the integrity of the law.

No satisfactory policy, even on an emer-
gency basis, has been drawn up to deal with
the squatting problem and all De Klerk’s
men appear to be confused about the issue of
compensation for those dispossessed of their
land by apartheid laws.

The State President’s vital political per-
ception was that apartheid in all its forms
had to go, his greatest political achievement
so far is that he has persuaded his party to
accept his vision.

He refused to make bargaining chips of
apartheid laws; instead of being dragged to
the table, he has always given the impression
of being impatient to get negotiations going
as soon as possible. And he has the advan-
tage of knowing that behind the grandstand-
ing, the NP and the ANC are like Siamese
twins — the one cannot move forward with-
out the other. Even in the full blast of the
Inkatha scandal, the ANC did not threaten
to call off negotiations — it has no alterna-
tive to talking.

But statesman-like vision and courage will
be worth nothing if the country is not gov-
erned properly. The finest constitution is no
defence if the conditions have been created
for anarchy.

De Klerk’s success so far has depended on
always being one step ahead, on outflanking
the opposition. It is a risky business riding
the reform tiger. He will have no respite in
avoiding being devoured by it.
Walter Scott said it

"O, what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practise to deceive."
- Sir Walter Scott.

PRESIDENT De Klerk should keep this famous quotation in mind when he considers further actions on the way to negotiations. It simply means that openness is after all the best policy and that once a government becomes involved in shadowy projects such as those which have now been revealed by Inkathagate it becomes entangled in them more and more and the deception increases.

The latest secret projects scandals have again illustrated what can essentially be described as the Nat mentality. This is that the end justifies the means. Once this is accepted no rules need apply.

This attitude stemmed from the "total onslaught" or "low-intensity war" theories which developed especially under Mr P W Botha.

The bombast and bluster of Mr Pik Botha with his "I would do it again" attitude showed that much of this mentality remained in government circles, even after the 1978 Information scandal.

Dr Connie Mulder and his men also believed that they had "done it for their country" because extraordinary circumstances demanded extraordinary methods. This was, and is, a fallacious and dangerous attitude, useful only to hide a multitude of political sins.

Although a big clean-up and better control were promised, the mentality remained and the secret projects again took root, not that they ever stopped completely, especially at the time of sanctions.

The one question Mr De Klerk dodged during his quite frank Press conference was what he thought of his Minister of Foreign Affairs' attitude.

Instead he asked to be reminded of when the Information scandal had happened so that he could say that he had then only just become a Minister and that he had not been involved.

In what DP leader Dr Zac de Beer described as a "most difficult and rather unimpressive tightrope act" Mr De Klerk still backed the secret projects of the past although he said they were now being cut down drastically, that legislation would be reviewed and present projects re-evaluated by the private sector committee.

The excuse that the money given to Inkatha was not for party political purposes was to say the least extremely flimsy. Obviously this political movement could be boosted by huge rallies arranged with money given by the State. On the other hand Inkatha has now taken a big knock after the latest disclosures.

What has also emerged is that the government took the sanctions threat extremely seriously, although some leaders, including Mr De Klerk, while not exactly poo-pooing the threat, often stated that South Africa could live with sanctions and that they were not going "cap in hand" to foreign governments to ask for their lifting. Inside the web of secret anti-sanctions operations was started. Now the president has said that sanctions were beginning to strangulate South Africa.

Mr De Klerk maintains he is not doing things in order to please Mr Mandela and the ANC, but he has at least partly heeded ANC demands by shifting General Magnus Malan and Mr Adrian Vlok from their controversial departments.

The reason he gave was that it had in fact become necessary because these departments had become so controversial because of the constant attacks on the two Ministers. These attacks were, on the other hand, not only on the Ministers, but because of deeply rooted suspicions and some disturbing indications elements in these departments were also involved in dirty tricks.

While Mr De Klerk has exonerated the departments as such, he has conceded that there may be rogue elements acting without the knowledge of their superiors and he has promised an investigation if evidence is provided.

As usual, Mr De Klerk played his cards close to his chest when it came to the Cabinet shake-up. His plans did not leak out because he consulted only a few of the top Nationalist leaders.

It is traditionally the prerogative of the president to appoint the Cabinet.

Mr De Klerk only consulted the provincial leaders of his party. None of the other Ministers appeared to know about it. Also consulted or simply told were of course those affected by the changes.

Commentary by TOS WENTZEL
'FW takes SA back to days of Rubicon'

Staff Reporters

President de Klerk's TV address on Tuesday took the country back to the days of PW Botha's Rubicon speeches.

ANC spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel said this at a meeting in the City Hall yesterday called by 20 organisations, including the ANC, PAC and the Democratic Party, to protest at Mr De Klerk's handling of the Inkatha funding scandal. The meeting was attended by 300 people.

"Mr De Klerk failed to rise to the occasion. He did not address the question of mercenaries and death squads," Mr Manuel said.

Calling for a constituent assembly, Mr Manuel said the government's actions had proved that the country still did not have a government to take it into the future.

"(Mr) De Klerk wants to be referees and a player, and also collect the gate-takings," he said.

The PAC's Mr Kwedi Mkalipi called on the government "to make way for the convention of a constituent assembly and all South Africans to prepare for a one-man one-vote election".

He said Mr De Klerk's address had not changed the PAC's views on the government.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the country was facing a moral crisis. "This is the issue. How can you trust people who acted this way. What else did they do? That is why we want a full disclosure to a panel of accountants agreed to by political parties, government, churches and trade unions."

Auditing secret funding of organisations would be a break with the past, he said.

"We must deal with the past otherwise it will haunt us."

South Africa needed an interim government soon, trust had to be restored and negotiations had to be put back on track "otherwise doomsday will be upon us".

Mr Trevor Manuel

President De Klerk

Mr Nelson Mandela

He said he would not call for a lifting of sanctions yet.

The government had been provided with information about police collusion with impi, he said.

He rejected Mr De Klerk's proposed judicial commission on violence, saying it was only meant to serve white interest.

He called for an independent commission of inquiry whose terms of reference had been agreed upon by churches and political organisations.

The Democratic Party knew that Mr De Klerk and his Cabinet had to take overall responsibility, said MP Mr Jasper Walsh.

The party did not support Mr De Klerk's plans to appoint a monitoring committee from the private sector and questioned whether a judicial commission would satisfy demands for public control.

Changes to the constitution were necessary to restore faith and get negotiations back on track.

"Such changes should enable the establishment of an all-party government of national unity. Such a government should steer South Africa through the difficult period of transition that lies ahead."

The National Party had shown it was incapable of this vital task on the basis of its past record, admissions which were being wrung out of Cabinet ministers and the mistrust created by government actions.

He said negotiations had to continue. "In order to do so Mr De Klerk and his government must come clean. They have to root out all perpetrators of evil. They have to satisfy the majority that they can be trusted as a negotiating partner."
Interim govt high on the agenda

ANC says it is ready for all-party talks

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are close to agreement on a multiparty conference that could usher in a form of interim government and agreement on ground rules for full-scale negotiations.

The ANC yesterday slammed government for its involvement in secret funding and alleged involvement in violence, and said an interim government had now become a matter of urgency.

Government and ANC sources confirmed yesterday that a "significant degree of consensus" on convening a multiparty conference had been reached in informal talks between government and ANC representatives over the past two months. The talks concentrated on the mechanics of convening such a conference.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC), which met into the early hours of yesterday morning, reflected the consensus when it swept aside obstacles to preliminary talks.

The NEC said it was now prepared to speed up the process and to take the ANC into a neutrally convened conference leading to an interim government of national unity.

The declaration was part of the ANC's official response to the Inkhata funding scandal.

In addition to casting government, the NEC took a hard line on Inkhata and said it was reviewing its relations with the organisation at all levels.

It said participation in a multiparty conference would be conditional on feedback from allies and regions.

ANC conference involving ANC, PAC, Azapo, trade union and other groups this month will attempt to agree on a patriotic front.

"In view of the present crisis we are prepared to engage in consultations with ANC regions and branches, our allies and other democratic formations in order to speed up these processes so that an interim government can come into being," the NEC statement said.

Among the characteristics of an interim government envisaged by ANC spokesmen yesterday were: a presidency of more than one person; a role for the NF; command by the interim authority of "some of the key sectors of the state"; and an element of power sharing.

Ramaphosa did not exclude any parties or groups from the conference and said the ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said at a news conference that he expected the process of consultation to be completed soon.

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ANC

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Jackpot, PA perms

Derek Wishnag

JACKPOT

APR 15 1978

11 MAN O' WAR
120.00 2.00
12 BLACK CAVIAR
186.60 2.00
13 TWIN POWER
176.60 2.00
14 BALIA
93.60 2.00
15 BASSI
87.20 2.00
16 KENTISH DAWN
47.20 2.00
17 BAYOU SONGS
47.20 2.00
187.20 2.00
19 BAYOU SONGS
47.20 2.00
20 BAYOU SONGS
47.20 2.00

Graham Potter

GREYVILLE BETTING

RACE 11: 3-1 Bold Chansal, S-1 Native Warrior, S-2 Keykule, Swell Stream, 1-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 2-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 3-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 4-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 5-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 6-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 7-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 8-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 9-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 10-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 11-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 12-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 13-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 14-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 15-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 16-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 17-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 18-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 19-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 20-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward.

RACE 12: 3-1 Golden Step, S-1 Valiant, Come Along, 7-1 Equal, 2-1 Benoit, Dream, 1-1 Swift River, 3-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 4-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 5-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 6-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 7-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 8-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 9-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 10-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 11-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 12-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 13-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 14-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 15-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 16-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 17-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 18-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 19-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 20-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward.

RACE 13: 3-1 Golden Step, S-1 Valiant, Come Along, 7-1 Equal, 2-1 Benoit, Dream, 1-1 Swift River, 3-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 4-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 5-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 6-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 7-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 8-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 9-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 10-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 11-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 12-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 13-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 14-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 15-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 16-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 17-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 18-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 19-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward, 20-1 Matching Man, Or Bogy, Respect, Gift, Victory Reward.

Best bets...

DURBAN. Stewart Lawry's best bets for Saturday at Greyville tomorrow are:

FAIRY TALE. In the

De Werk most favourite early.
THERE WAS a painful, nasty, falling-out among old apartheid allies on Capitol Hill this week which heralded the end of an era of campaigning on South Africa.

Two leaders of the anti-apartheid struggle, Stephen Solarz, a congressman from Michigan, and Randall Robinson, executive director of the most powerful anti-apartheid civil rights group, Trans-Africa, faced one another in an angry confrontation which ended in a flurry of bitter words and recriminations.

The occasion was a hearing on South Africa convened by the Africa Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, and the fight exploded at the end of a numbing litany of familiar complaints — from a long list of familiar witnesses using familiar language to denounce the evils of the apartheid regime and its friends in the Bush administration.

Just when the tedious ritual seemed about to end, Mr Robinson launched into an attack on the subcommittee (by then reduced to three bleary-eyed members) on the Democrats, the Republicans, the President, the Congress, and US society in general, which left the few remaining spectators gasping.

When I used to testify before this panel, the panel would be full. The place would be packed. What I see today is a sorry show," he said.

"Only three congressmen. Look at it. It's nothing less than a disgrace."

Mr Solarz fixed him with a stony glare. But Mr Robinson is not the sort to read body language or take hints. "This is symptomatic of a broader and deepening pattern everywhere," he went on.

"The Bush administration is getting knee-jerk obedience from Congress on this issue. I am disgusted with the performance of the Democratic Party. I didn't expect any better from the Republicans, but the Democrats are a disgrace."

"We could do with a little less self-righteousness," said Mr Solarz as he attempted to explain why so few congressmen had shown up.

But Mr Robinson was having nothing of it. "If you think the Democrats control both Houses of Congress, they could have done more about sanctions. They are a sorry lot and my criticism of the Democratic leadership stands."

Enough is enough, decided Mr Solarz, and red-faced with anger he fired back: "Mr Robinson, let's not fool one another. You know that on sanctions it is a done deal."

"You know it, and I know it. You know, and I know, that there are no votes to get sanctions put back. You know, and I know, that there are not enough votes to override the president."

"You know all this, and I know all this. People everywhere are aware of it. It is not a secret."

And then came the coup de grace: "What we are talking about is yesterday's issue. The question now is, where do we go from here?"

There they stood. The old order clinging to yesterday's issue, fuming about the evidence of chronic disinterest, boredom, indifference, and the new order brutally turning his back on "yesterday's issue" and issuing the unavoidable challenge: Where does the US go from here?

Mr Solarz then began to spill the beans over a deeper rift. It transpired from another fiery exchange that there had been confidential discussions for months about a multibillion-dollar, multinational aid package for South Africa.

Was this, perhaps, where the US should go in the post-sanctions era?

No, said Mr Robinson. "I will not approve a cent for the present South African Government."

His patience wearing thin, Mr Solarz said: "Aid for a post-apartheid government, after a new constitution, and after free and fair elections. In fact, when I raised this with Mr Mandela he said that even before a new government, there could be some use for aid in housing, and that it could be channelled through a non-government trust."

"But, anyway, let's say it would only be for a post-apartheid government."

The old order gave an evasive reply: "I have another problem. I think we ought to defer to the people of South Africa on this. We ought to review it with the ANC."

After the meeting was closed, the two men marched out, still flushed with anger.

One student witness said: "When will they listen to their leaders? Didn't Nelson Mandela tell them that if they didn't use imagination and flexibility, they would be left holding the empty shell of sanctions?"
Divided right wing facing crisis

In a time of political transition, unity among similar-thinking organisations is important in pushing home an ideal. But in the broad right wing, unity is suffering on a number of fronts, reports HELEN GRANGE.

MRDER plots, accusations of spying and violent rhetoric is plaguing the right wing at a time when rightwingers sorely need unity, if only for the urgent objective of getting their hunger-striking prisoners freed.

Personality differences have always been a feature in the broad right wing, but recently these antagonisms have peaked, resulting in an alleged death plot involving members of the Afrikaans Weerstands beweging and Boere Weerstands beweging leader Andrew Ford.

AWB official Piet Rudolph was subsequently named in court as the man behind the plot — and shortly afterwards, an angry Mr Ford accused Mr Rudolph of being a police agent attempting to sow dissent in the right wing.

The incident, although it may be a personality squabble dismissed by rightwingers as a storm in a teacup, is nevertheless indicative of deep-rooted problems which have been undermining the strength of the movement for some time.

To start with, the fact that there are a great number of right-wing groups, many of them secretive about leadership and membership, has opened the way for antagonistic power struggles.

A renewed introduction recently of militaristic right-wing groups, including Mr Ford’s BWB and a group calling itself the Boer Republikeinse Leër (Boer Republican Army) is evidently causing angered territorialism among more established right-wing leaders.

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche, questioned on the Rudolph/Ford incident and the prospects for alliances in the right wing, commented angrily: “I am not interested in other people. I don’t want them in my movement.”

Mr Rudolph, who recently joined the AWB, added: “These people (the BWB) are small fry, and they are working on the instructions of somebody, possibly the Government. They are trying to get us off the track.”

The question of the extent of State infiltration of the right wing is one that is known to be causing some consternation in the movement’s leadership. It is weakening morale and creating damaging suspicion and intrigue.

Compounding these problems are the deeper political divisions which have largely come about because of differences on broad right-wing philosophy.

According to Professor Alkmaar Swart of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB), there has been some watering-down in certain right-wing groups, including the AWB, of the philosophical purity striving for by the “Boer people”.

“There are too many diverse viewpoints being accommodated in the broad right wing. The methods of achieving the Boer nation-state ideal are quite controversial because of these deviations in attitude.”

Explaining, Professor Swart mentions that the AWB has been “talking, directly and indirectly, to the ANC.”

“There is a tendency to accommodate other views to broaden support. There has also been a move away from the pure Calvinist-Protestant religious principle towards an incorporation of liberal theology.”

The BVB is adamant, however, on the Calvinist principle in its vision of a Boer republic, and will not allow other viewpoints to undermine this principle.”

The leadership of the Mr TerreBlanche, in this context, has exacerbated division in the right wing, not only because of what is seen as his deviation from pure right-wing philosophy, but also because of his personal past.

Commented Professor Swart: “The BVB would never form an alliance with the AWB as long as Mr TerreBlanche is the leader.” It is understood that a number of prominent rightwingers feel the same way.

But in spite of the rifts in the movement, there is a definite optimism among some leaders, who insist that when the right wing is up against a crisis, there will be unity in deference to one all-embracing aim — the ideal of a Boer state.

Boerestaat party leader Robert van Tonder comments: “The right wing has never been unified, but in a time of crisis, we stand together. This can be seen throughout history, notably, the occasion when a number of splinter right-wing groups joined in the objective of ousting General Jan Smuts.”

“We have never had the British herd mentality,” he quips.

Professor Swart agrees to some extent that the current cleavages in the right wing are not potentially dangerous to the movement. “They are not disturbing. We are in the process of sorting them out.”
Step aside, Mandela tells Government
Double agenda: 'FW is involved'

Staff Reporter

THE government was trying to destabilise its opponents during the transition process, Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber said last night.

Mr Harber, with Mr Kobus Jordaan, DP MP, spoke to about 36 people at a DP meeting at the University of Stellenbosch last.

He said newspapers had shown "firm and irrefutable evidence" over the past two weeks that President F W de Klerk was involved in the state's double agenda.

Mr De Klerk had failed to address claims of security force collusion in violence with the "same boldness" he has shown in other instances.

"This has raised the suspicion again and again that Mr De Klerk is implicated in the double strategy," He was using the security forces to destabilise opponents while at the same time propping up future allies with taxpayers' money.

The government had said that all the money which went to Uwusa had been properly accounted for and that it had been verified by the auditor-general.

The auditor-general's report on secret funds was in question because documents in his newspaper's possession showed that Uwusa had no financial records.

There was no paper to prove what was being done with the money and Uwusa was in fact being sued because it had not paid its rent, Mr Harber said.
ANC, govt 'close to' agreement

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the ANC are close to agreement on a multi-party conference that could usher in a form of interim government and agreement on ground rules for full-scale negotiations.

The ANC yesterday stated the government for its involvement in secret funding and alleged involvement in violence, and said an interim government had now become a matter of urgency.

But government and ANC sources confirmed yesterday that a "significant degree of consensus" on convening a multi-party conference had been reached in informal talks over the past two months.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC), which met into the early hours of yesterday morning, reflected the consensus when it swept aside obstacles to preliminary talks.

The NEC said it was now prepared to speed up the process and to take the ANC into a neutrally convened conference leading to an interim government of national unity.

The declaration was part of the ANC's official response to the Inkatha funding scandal.

In addition to castigating the government, the NEC took a hard line on Inkatha and said it was reviewing its relations with the organisation at all levels.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at a news conference that he expected the process of consultation to be completed soon.

"We are more convinced than ever that the de Klerk government is the obstacle that stands between us and the resolution of South Africa's problems. We still want obstacles removed but the best possible way is the removal of the government itself."

SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo said there were no real obstacles to ANC participation in a multi-party conference.

"We will be faced with obstacles until the end of time. Subject to consultation with our allies, we are clearly prepared to move towards an all-party conference and that all-party conference must discuss the creation of an interim government."

The ANC's willingness to enter multiparty talks comes after President FW de Klerk said at his international news conference earlier this week: "I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure a constitutionally accountable manner that the government is unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in a negotiating process."

Power sharing

The ANC NEC in turn said the government's funding scandals had pushed the issue of an interim government to the top of the agenda. The NEC said the ANC was aiming to speed up the process leading to an interim government through a patriotic front. A conference involving ANC, PAC, Azapo, trade unions and other groups this month will attempt to agree on a patriotic front.

Among the characteristics of an interim government envisaged by ANC spokesmen yesterday were a presidency of more than one person and an element of power sharing.

Mr Ramaphosa did not exclude any parties or groups from the conference and said the current church-backed peace process could convene the talks.

The ANC also called on the government to establish a multi-party commission to investigate government involvement in violence and secret funding, and to disbanded counter-insurgency units.
Virginia defeat predicted for Nats

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Political analysts believe the National Party has virtually no chance of winning the Virginia by-election arising from the resignation of Mr. Piet Clase, the local MP and Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly.

Mr Clase won the seat by only 47 votes in the 1989 general election and some observers believe the National Party could lose by more than 1 000 votes in the by-election scheduled for October.

The Free State constituency is close to Ladybrand, which the CP took from the National Party with a 7% swing in the May 22 by-election this year.

Statistician Mr Donald Simpson says the shift in voting could be even greater than that in Ladybrand and points out that the CP will have had considerable time to organise by polling day.

A CP win would give them seven of the 14 Free State seats.
Ex-spy: Boss link to Inkatha

Tutu won’t call for end to sanctions
See PAGE 4

Medical aid tariffs to rise

Inkatha scandal:
Kaunda lauds

LUSAKA — Zambia’s President Kenneth Kaunda has applauded President F.W. de Klerk for his impartial and effective handling of the slush fund scandal that plunged Pretoria into a political crisis.

In a special message published in the Zambian Press yesterday, Dr Kaunda said he was heartened by Mr De Klerk’s response to the scandal and the ANC’s favourable reaction to the crisis.

He stressed that “these measures you have taken to reorganise your cabinet are certainly a step in the right direction.”

Dr Kaunda said Mr de Klerk had taken courageous steps in his determination to march forward with the rest of the nation.

“There is added joy in our minds, hearts and souls which comes as a result of the reported favourable reaction of the ANC, one of the main actors in South Africa’s political theatre,” he said.

The Zambian leader also sent a similar message to acting ANC president Mr Walter Sisulu, praising him for what he called “good reaction”.

However, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has criticised Mr De Klerk’s action as “insufficient.” — Sapa
The ANC yesterday said the Government was a stumbling block to peace and democracy in South Africa and had to be removed.

Mr Pallo Jordan said the Government's inability to come clean on the Inkatha funding issue and other covert destabilising actions "completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player".

"De Klerk's insistence that his Government continue to govern while his party engages in 'multi-party' talks is an attempt to separate the inseparable," Jordan said.

The implication is that the NP would put forward its policies at the negotiating forum while governing the country according to the same policies.

However, in his speech on Tuesday De Klerk emphasised the urgency of an interim authority during the transition period.

"The Government has no desire to be player and referee. It wishes and has to be impartial."

"I have said on more than one occasion that there is a need for transitional measures to overcome this problem," he said.
Resign call to Cabinet

By MONK NKOMO

STATE President PW de Klerk and his Cabinet should resign and pave the way for a constituent assembly if he is to be trusted, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Mosewe has said.

Speaking at a memorial service in Atteridgeville to honour prominent PAC member Mr Robinson Dimakatsa Matheke who was buried in Sweden on Wednesday, Mosewe said the South African Government was illegitimate.

Overthrow

The explicit intention of the PAC was to overthrow the "white, racist, minority, settler regime" and replace it with a democratic government.

"If De Klerk is to be trusted, he and his Cabinet should resign and agree to a constituent assembly where all racial groups will be equally represented and genuine and fair elections held for a new, nonracial and democratic South Africa."

"The PAC rejects a multiparty conference which is a strategy to divide liberation movements while the white minority regime holds the upper hand."
A week ago, in the wake of the Inkatha funding revelations, government seemed in shock and disarray. There was talk that President F W de Klerk had lost control of his own administration; that he dared not sack senior Ministers; that the African National Congress would benefit from an international backlash against Pretoria. The crisis was essentially one of credibility and it was the most serious De Klerk had faced since taking office nearly two years ago.

Confident assurances from NP insiders that government would try to sit out the Inkatha funding storm proved to be wrong. De Klerk realised that nothing less than a drastic Cabinet reshuffle was needed. But he did delay public action for days after the scandal broke, which suggests that he was surprisingly at what came out and needed time to consider his next move. No doubt there were hard words during the Cabinet bush retreat last week.

De Klerk’s tactical handling of the crisis is interesting and offers new insights into his style of leadership. He stays calm and silent; carefully considers his strategy; distances himself from the hurriedly; allows senior Ministers to take the heat; delays action to let the dust settle; and acts swiftly and decisively.

His first move was to send Foreign Minister Pik Botha in last week as nightwatchman to deal with whatever “Inkathagate” boomerangs could be thrown at him by the international press and a live TV audience. This served to take the pressure off De Klerk, while giving him another chance to test the wind. It may also have been Botha’s chance to cement his own position — or avoid losing his neck.

Botha’s blustery performance may have lacked oratorical elegance, but it was curiously effective. It probably impressed the white voters much more than it did the cerebral analysts. And it seems clear that, in tone and content, Botha’s defence was sanctioned in advance by De
A question of trust

Wednesday night's speech to the nation may have absolved President F W de Klerk from any particular blame in the secret funds scandal — in the eyes of his supporters. But it leaves many questions unanswered. Not least of these is an apparent unawareness among our leaders of the actual financial damage they can do to the country through their idle slips and cavortings.

To send the discount on the rand from below 8% and therefore point the way towards a unified currency, with all that means — to 14% in a week is no mean feat.

W Botha did something comparable. It is an indication of how precocious people in general and investors in particular feel the credibility of the current government to be.

A sort of inverse law of political gravity has been at work: the greater the distance from P W Botha became, the more the public began to feel that the malign influences of the eighties had begun to wane. That was an illusion, for there has been a consistent undercurrent of concern that the past and past behaviour — is not so easily shed. What the Nationalists once did, they could do again.

That is why when the revelation of the Inkatha funding broke there was immediate suspicion that we were seeing only the tip of an iceberg. That had been the case in Info — then lying and deceit were eventually traced to the highest office in the land. Would it happen again? People asked that question and wondered: Why not?

De Klerk's reforms were immediately felt to be fragile and foreign investors began to move out funds. Any exact reckoning of the cost is impossible — since no-one can quantify forgone investment. The reassurances in De Klerk's speech and press conference will remain weak for some time to come, and that will mean that the economic upturn will be deferred for want of any serious underpinning by the world's bankers.

De Klerk said that many secret projects had been terminated — and that the money involved was "only" R42,6m for 1991/1992. But why, since the presidential review of these projects began in late 1989, were those specifically relating to Inkatha allowed to continue beyond February 2 1990 without some attempt to create monitoring mechanisms which could warn of the dangers that lay ahead?

This is not to use hindsight solely for its notable precision. De Klerk stated that he wanted a just and democratic "New South Africa." He would therefore reform. Yet his choice of strategic reform was not dissimilar to that of P W Botha, though, with its higher targets, it captured the imagination of the world. De Klerk chose to reform incrementally; and in the light of that perception, the secret projects must continue to be interpreted as a ruse to favour the Nationalists politically. They would have hidden allies.

In other words, De Klerk is doing now what he should have done when he was elected to office. He has regained the political high ground through his appeal to begin the multi-party talks "tomorrow," and this aspect of his presidency in relation to the Cabinet reshuffle is considered in the following pages.

However, the cold sense of worldwide disillusionment he has created around SA will not quickly abate. In that sense the damage has been done and his actions in streamlining the Cabinet for reform and eventually eradicating all secret political projects will bring the ANC closer to power. Since the leader of the ANC has just been in Cuba extolling that nation as a socialist model ("our second home," said his wife), investors will not look kindly on that prospect either.

So when De Klerk said: "We do not have a double agenda," it was not only the cynics who thought: "Not now, you don't."

In fact De Klerk has made the best of a very bad job. The problem with Inkathagate was not that relatively small sums of public money were secretly wasted on a lost cause. It is that the political links between the Nationalists and Inkatha — once exposed — put everything in doubt, starting with the credibility of reform.

We do not believe that if there had been no exposure, there would have been no problem. The links, we must assume, would have remained — pending a crisis of conscience in some bureaucrat with access to the papers linking Foreign Minister Pik Botha's department to the police and Ulundi. Exposure would have come sooner or later — and if it had come, say, in the middle of the multiparty talks, what damage would not have been done then?

It is a good thing that the private sector will be asked to advise De Klerk on these secret projects. In fact, this sector is a notably suitable choice for such a panel since it has been made poorer by the fact that De Klerk left a moral time bomb under his reforms — from their inception.

He remains the best president we could have under the circumstances — but the choice is limited. And even the most tempestuous love affairs must come to an end when one of the partners loses trust in the other. We don't, of course, mean that the ANC has lost trust in De Klerk — it says it never really had any, though what it never really had was choice.

We mean that the selfsame private sector which will now be drawn into these subterranean matters — if only to assist De Klerk in rooting them out — has a little less trust in him.

The sad truth of the world — in economics as much as in politics — is that nothing is strange a second time. With De Klerk, there was never meant to be a second time, no second Info, no "double agenda." The President has now said, in effect, that the secret funding had historical causes; that the matter merely dragged on into the fine new era.

He is saying: "Trust me."

Well. We may trust him — but what about those foreign investors? In the coming weeks the discount on the financial rand will tell us whether they propose to do so again.
CABINET RESHUFFLE

Streamlining for reform

President F W de Klerk’s Cabinet shake-up this week finally reined in the powerful security establishment created by P W Botha and took a major step towards establishing a single education department.

The effective demotion of Magnus Malan from Defence to the Water Affairs & Forestry post — considered the most lowly in government — and the intended removal of Armsscor from the Department of Defence signalled the most significant downgrading of the military establishment since the NP came to power.

The promotion of Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer to Malan’s post further indicates De Klerk’s determination to pull the military into the reformist line. Meyer, regarded as a rapidly rising young star in the NP, is one of the most enlightened senior Nats and is seen as a skilled negotiator. He is respected by ANC leaders and has an amicable working relationship with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani.

It’s not inconceivable that one of Meyer’s tasks will be to restructure the senior officer corps of the SADF and prepare the force for integration with MK — a course firmly and repeatedly rejected up to now by Malan and some senior generals.

The pending removal of Armsscor from Defence and its placing under Dawie de Villiers’ Ministry of Economic Co-ordination & Public Enterprises confirms that the organisation’s future lies in the development and marketing of industrial technology in SA and abroad, and the exploitation of international arms markets, rather than as the main supplier to SA’s own war machine.

Malan’s political future is now in question. His new post is regarded as a humiliation.

Meyer

De Beer

Kriel

Van der Merwe

There seems no logical reason why he didn’t simply retire from politics — unless the NP is trying to avoid by-elections at all costs.

The sideways shoo in of Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to the Correctional Services post (previously part of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee’s domain), is regarded as long overdue and surely signals the end of the road for an ineffectual Minister who was manipulated by SA Police generals and unable to translate his commitment to restructure the SAP into action.

In addition, Vlok’s involvement in Inkatha as political head of a supposedly politically neutral police force left De Klerk little option but to relegate him if he hoped to retain credibility for his reforms.

Replacing Vlok with Planning, Provincial Affairs & National Housing Minister Hennie Kriel was not unexpected (Current Affairs February 15). Kriel’s handling of the land reform measures this year was considered insensitive, and his views on aspects of past actions in terms of apartheid laws have been widely condemned, but he is regarded as a tough, no-nonsense politician who will stand up to a police force seen as lagging behind the reform initiative.

As with the SADF, a priority is to restore the SAP’s credibility and neutrality and rid it of elements unsuitable to serve a nonracial, democratic SA.

The moves in education — the replacement of Stoffel van der Merwe by Sam de Beer as black Education Minister, and of Piet Claye by Piet Marais as Minister of white own affairs education — are regarded as politically significant and a move towards a single ministry.

Van der Merwe, an arch verligte, never really got on top of his task and always seemed more comfortable explaining government’s broader reform initiatives than dealing with the seemingly insurmountable problems of black education. As an ordinary MP, he will now head an NP marketing drive — but is considered a prime candidate for the party’s constitutional negotiating team when talks eventually get off the ground (Current Affairs February 15).

De Beer, a former Deputy Minister of black education, is likely to devote more energy to the job, though he is unlikely to have much success in solving the problems until additional financial resources are pumped into black education.

In spite of a statement that he wants to spend more time with his family, Claye’s resignation as a Minister and from parliament (an action which has surely handed the marginal Virginia seat to the CP on a plate), indicates a high degree of frustration. Claye has been burdened with trying to sell the most difficult aspect of NP policy: the gradual integration of white schools, while retaining key elements of segregation. He has been hammered from both Left and Right.

DP education spokesman Roger Burrows says Claye may have simply become fed up with continuously being portrayed as government’s ogre and with being unable to satisfy anyone.

With his conservative outlook, he was probably also not too keen on the prospect of piloting further education reforms through parliament next year. His decision to quit parliament indicates disillusionment with the NP.

Burrows says the promotion of verligte Deputy Minister of Education & Develop-

DAMAGE CONTROL

President F W de Klerk, at an international press conference on Tuesday, defended previous secret funding to combat SA’s isolation. But he said secrecy was not a licence for irregularity; laws were under constant review; and some secret projects had already been cancelled.

Among the other points made by De Klerk as the FM went to press:

☑ The covert funding budget for 1981/1982 year was indeed R350m — but for the entire National Intelligence Service. Only R42,6m have been spent on secret projects;

☑ The security forces have not been involved in the instigation or promotion of violence and “relentless” action is promised against any contravention; and Government has no double agenda.

De Klerk also reiterated his keenness on launching a multiparty conference and he indicated flexibility on transition arrangements. He raised again the possibility of a broader-based Cabinet but rejected an interim government.
CURRENT AFFAIRS

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ment Aid Piet Marais to Cape's post (in addition to his appointment as Minister of Administration in the main Cabinet), is an important move and shows the way De Klerk intends to move on education reform.

Burrows says it's also significant that the reshuffle has subordinated all white own affairs portfolios to Ministers with more important main Cabinet posts. This clearly indicates a phasing out of own affairs without changing the constitution. While De Klerk may have been expected to use the opportunity to create a single education ministry, he has paved the way to do so, possibly later this year, Burrows believes.

The promotion of Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels to Kriel's post means another vertigina will handle the sensitive issue of local government reform.

Water Affairs & Forestry Minister Gert Kotze is quitting the Cabinet but will remain an MP. The move is not seen as politically significant.

Three new Deputy Ministers are appointed: former NP information chief Renier Schoeman to Foreign Affairs; MP for Sunnyside Fanus Schoeman to National Health and Health Services & Welfare in the House of Assembly; and former Labour Party stalwart and recent NP recruit Abe Williams to National Education & Planning.
Reversal of Fortunes for FW

Patrick Lannon looks at the balance sheet on the Inuksha Fund scandal
Slush money 'used to indoctrinate UK MPs'

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

A member of the British House of Lords, in Johannesburg as a guest of the ANC, said yesterday that he believed Government slush funds were used to drive the anti-sanctions movement among British MPs.

Lord Hatch, who was banned from South Africa in 1969 and allowed to return only last year, was speaking at a press conference at the ANC's Johannesburg offices.

He said he believed the Government had used slush funds to indoctrinate British MPs who took an active stand against sanctions.

"I want to know how many British MPs have benefited from the practice of inviting people here, giving them free tickets, in order to put the National Party's case to them."

He also said of the Inkatha funding scandal: "It is one thing for a political organisation to get funds, but totally different for a party inside the political process to fund another party."

He believed the only reason the Government had funded Inkatha was to set up a National Party-Inkatha alliance.
No regrets over funds, says alliance

Although unaware it had received funding from the Government, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) said yesterday it had no objections to the use of Government money to help fight "genocidal" sanctions.

"Fida's only regret is that the Government did not see fit to inform the party of its funding as Fida would not have been ashamed to accept it," the organisation's executive committee said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

The party's financial statements and other related documentation were investigated thoroughly by the British Embassy and by an unnamed senior South African journalist. "They could find no evidence of Government funding.

"The executive committee of Fida has learnt with surprise that it had also been funded by the Government," the statement added.

"We can only conclude that such funds could only have been given to it through anonymous donors.

"However, the executive committee wishes to state that it had or has no objections to the Government's use of funds to help fight genocidal sanctions," it said. — Sapa.
NEC: interim govt vital after scandal

By Kaisier Nyatomba
Political Staff

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) yesterday reiterated its demand for an interim government in the light of the Government's funds-for-Inkatha scandal, and said it would review its bilateral contacts with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party at the national level.

At a press conference in Johannesburg after the NEC's meeting ended late last Wednesday, ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said that while the Government had acknowledged the need for change through negotiations, it had also tried to subvert the process.

"At the heart of the crisis is the credibility of the De Klerk Government," Mr Ramaphosa said.

"Its failure to make a clean breast and tell the country the truth, combined with its bland admission that it undermined the Namibian independence elections after making a solemn undertaking not to do so, completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa."

Mr Ramaphosa said President de Klerk's handling of the scandal had "raised the issue of an interim government of national unity to the top of the agenda". The ANC was committed to reaching that goal through the path of a patriotic front conference which would lead to an all-party conference.

The ANC leader said the IFP's involvement with the slush funds and its implication in the violence, "coupled with the woefully inadequate responses of its leadership", had seriously brought into question its legitimacy as an independent political force.

The ANC-led tripartite alliance was therefore conducting "an immediate review" of its bilateral contacts with the IFP at the national level.

Responding to the Government's insistence that the ANC received funds from abroad, the NEC said financial assistance given to the ANC was a matter of public record.

In another development, ANC president Nelson Mandela and his delegation, on a visit to South America, said the funds scandal had "greatly imperilled the peace process", warning that Mr de Klerk's failure to take "bold corrective action" had seriously damaged the integrity of negotiations.
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Malan's political future is now in question.
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tional press conference on Tuesday, de-
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Klerk as the FM went to press:
- The covert funding budget for
1991/1992 year was indeed R380m —
but for the entire National Intelligence
Service. Only R42,6m will have been
spent on secret projects;
- Political organisations may not be fi-
nanced by secret funds;
- A small advisory committee from the
private sector will be appointed to advise
the president on secret projects;
- The security forces have not been in-
volved in the instigation or promotion of
violence and "relentless" action is prom-
ised against any contravention; and
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De Klerk also reiterated his keenness
on launching a multiparty conference and
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rangements. He raised again the possi-
Bility of a broader-based Cabinet but rejec-
ted an interim government.
Seizing the chance of a lifetime

NKATHAGATE could be the best thing that has happened to the negotiation process so far. But its fall-out could also hold dangers. And one factor which may decide its impact is the strategy of the African National Congress and its allies. The scandal may have had two effects thus far.

The first is to deprive the government of its strongest negotiating chip: the belief that it is far more committed to negotiation and orderly transition than its opponents.

Most South Africans may not believe this. But our trading partners seem to, which is why the government has been winning the diplomatic battle until now. And it is foreign governments which have been the key influence on Nat strategy since February 2: most, if not all, of their key decisions have been taken to influence world opinion.

As long as foreign opinion was happy to allow the government to remain the guardian of the transition, its view that it could continue to control the process remained firm. Now it is far harder for its foreign allies to allow this and the government is under even more pressure to surrender control of some decisions to those outside its ranks.

The steps have been halting — a "private sector" committee to look at secret projects, the renewed pledge of a commission with teeth to examine charges against security forces. But it may well have to go further, for it is now far harder for it to claim that it can alone manage the transition.

The second effect is force a government which has lost the security establishment alone to accept that transition will be difficult unless the police and army are seen to be accountable.

Again, the demotion of Adriaan Vlok and Magau Malan may be a halting step. But it does recognise that the Nats will have to do more to show the security forces are neutral than merely to insist that they are.

FW de Klerk confirmed that he had to reshuffle his cabinet to change the image of the security forces — and so to salvage the government's image as the party of negotiation.

Vlok has been replaced by Henrus Kriel, who may be tough enough to exert more control over the police than his predecessor did. But that may not be enough.

Malan has been replaced by Roelf Meyer, who was quoted days earlier endorsing moves toward interim government. So he may accept that the government alone cannot guarantee the neutrality of the men in uniform.

As always when the government responds, the details of its first reaction are less important than what they symbolise: in this case, that it may now know that it has to prove it is serious about a fair and orderly transition. It is hard to see how it can do that without opening control of the government and security forces to scrutiny of its negotiating partners.

The danger is that the cabinet was right to fear until now that the security forces would not stay loyal unless they were answerable to men who either let them do as they pleased or encouraged them to do it.
Deft footwork: ANC says let's talk

The African National Congress yesterday put the demand for an interim government at the top of the country's political agenda, unlocking the route to the All-Party Conference and constitutional negotiations for a new South Africa.

In a piece of deft footwork, the ANC found a way of taking the negotiations forward on its own terms while keeping the pressure on President FW de Klerk.

Underlying the ANC's strong statement of dissatisfaction with the government was a positive response to De Klerk's appeal to help get the conference 'started expeditiously.'

A statement prepared by a full plenary session of the ANC's National Executive Committee said the only way forward was an interim government of national unity -- which it described as a "transitional authority, with a limited lifespan charged with the task of preparing the country for a democratic constitution and governing the country during this period".

Answering questions at a press conference, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said the ANC would be pressing ahead with the process of peaceful settlement through the All-Party Conference, where the details of the interim government would be negotiated.

Sisulu said that while the ANC would still call for the removal of the obstacles to negotiation -- which have blocked the start of substantive negotiations since February 2 last year -- it had shifted its focus to the removal of the government itself.

"We have become more convinced than ever that the De Klerk government is the obstacle that stands between us and the installation of a democratic government," said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa.

However, the ANC invited De Klerk and the government to join discussions with other political groups to speed up the processes. Ramaphosa said it would be preferable if the All-Party Conference were to be called by a neutral body such as the church, a private sector initiative in getting the peace talks off the ground.

The NEC, whose meeting was called to deal with the "grave crisis" in the country, found few nice words to describe De Klerk's response to the Inkatha scandal.

It was cool about the denunciation of ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, and reiterated its demands vis a vis the dismantling of counter-insurgency units and the establishment of a multi-party commission to investigate state-sponsored violence.

The ANC also said it was conducting an immediate review of bilateral contacts with Inkatha at the national level because of that organisation's involvement with the slur funds and its implication in the violence.

Reading out a statement prepared during the NEC meeting, head of the Department of Information and Publicity Pallo Jordan said the credibility of the De Klerk government was at the heart of the crisis.

"Its failure to make a clean breast and tell the country the truth, combined with its blunder admission that it undermined the Namibian independence elections, after making a solemn undertaking not to do so, completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa."

The ANC, while displaying a tactical ability to drive home its advantage at the government's weakest point following the Inkatha scandal -- its credibility to oversee the negotiating process -- at the same time responded positively to the underlying theme of De Klerk's speech on Tuesday night.

De Klerk said the government had no desire to be the player and referee at the same time. He committed himself to transitional arrangements which would ensure that the government was unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in the negotiating process.
SECUREOCRAT KRIEL NO-SOFT-OPTION

By GAVIN EVANS

HERNUS KRIEL, the new minister of law and order, is a tough securerocrat who has been a member of a cabal of cabinet ministers opposed to President FW de Klerk's liberalisation moves.

This is the view of Democratic Party Claremont MP Jan van Eck, who shocked parliament in March with revelations about a "fifth column" of senior MPs and state officials who had been part of PW Botha's inner circle during his presidency.

Van Eck, who said his information came from "reliable sources within the state", said he had since received further confirmation that this group existed with the aim promoting anti-African National Congress forces, while at the same time professing to back De Klerk to the hilt.

He said the group was formed after Barend du Plessis, the ostensibly vertig but pro-securerocrat finance minister, lost his bid for the state presidency to De Klerk.

He said his state sources told him the cabal was headed by Du Plessis and included (former minister of defence) Magnus Malan, Kriel, National Intelligence Service head Dr Niel Barnard, former South African Defence Force chief Constand Viljoen and presidential assistant Dr Janie Roux.

Van Eck said he was sure of his sources although Kriel had later spoken to him, denying he was a member of the group.

In March, he told Van Eck he had not been picked as the next law and order minister.

Kriel, who served on the National Party's law and order study group, is a "toughie" who, unlike Adriaan Vlok, has the respect of the police generals, Van Eck said.

"Vlok was ignored and isolated by the South African Police, and was given information which was patently untrue. With Kriel they will know who is in charge. He's a man who likes to stick to the letter of the law, but whether he will be willing to control the police is another matter."

A former state prosecutor, businessman and advocate, he joined the NP more than 30 years ago, served three years on the Cape Divisional Council followed by seven on the Provincial Council, the last three as an MEC. He was elected MP for Parow in 1984 and leap-frogged over the heads of senior deputy ministers to become planning and provincial affairs minister in 1989.

Kriel, who is 49, is considered to be on the centre-right of the NP. In an 1988 interview he cited John Vorster as the father of political reform in South Africa, and said the basis for a political settlement lay in the recognition of race groups and the entrenchment of individual rights within a group.

In 1989 he told reporters if blacks wanted to negotiate with the NP for the end to the Group Areas Act, they must be willing to give up something valuable to themselves like the kobokus system.

Earlier this year he announced the formation of "demolition squads" to remove squatters on privately owned land.
The poison

FW removes stings if not

After more than a week of

The government says it still needs the

and on the subject of public

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Time to prove the rumour of violence

RUNNING like a refrain through President De Klerk's hour-long television appearance on Tuesday evening was his insistence that accusations of security force involvement in violence had so far amounted to unsubstantiated rumour.

Many would contest that view. But, since he went on to repeat several times an appeal to people who had evidence to come forward, and personally undertook to have properly motivated evidence examined, the focus must now fall on how this crucial issue is treated.

As far as Mr De Klerk was concerned, the army and the police did not have a partisan brief to meddle violently in the political process, but acknowledged there was no excluding the possibility that individual soldiers or policemen might have operated outside the bounds of policy and orders.

Such cases would be "thoroughly investigated" and "relentless action" would be taken against guilty parties.

This turns on three critical factors.

The first is that whether police like it or not, there is no much faith in their ability to investigate irregularities in their own ranks.

It seems clear attention will have to be given to finding an acceptable alternative.

The second is whether assurances of witness protection are sufficient, and convincing. People will not come forward unless they are sure it will be safe to do so.

The third is whether witnesses are prepared to stand up and be tested.

There is an important responsibility on all sides.

At the heart of it is the essence of a democratic culture: the fearless exercise of justice, whatever the risks.

South Africans will need to recognise that a culture of tolerance and justice can only be successfully inculcated if it is actually seen to be practised.

The government must be seen to be prepared to practise it. So must its accusers.

ONE man whose recent political choices can hardly be faulted is Mr Abe Williams, the former Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

His defection from the Labour Party was a bitter blow to leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse and left loyal Labourites seething.

But his promotion during the past week to President De Klerk's Cabinet — where he plays second fiddle to two Ministers, Mr Louis Piennar at National Education and newly promoted Mr Leon Wessels, who has moved into the Cabinet as Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing — proves that in the short term at least the move was a clever one.

What is clear, though, is that he'll have to work hard at dispelling the impression that this was his political payoff.

IN a mild reproach this week, sociologist Herbert Adam, visiting professor at Cape Town University's Graduate School of Business, ticked off the Press and other commentators for not emphasising the need for trust between negotiators such as President De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He told a gathering of top Cape Town businessmen at an Institute of Directors' lunch that he couldn't understand it.

"Negotiations will proceed, regardless of whether your adversary can be trusted or not. Deals will be struck. Trust might produce harmony, but it's not a pre-condition," he told them.

There was every reason, he suggested to turn a blind eye to the cross rhetoric traded by the Nats and the ANC.

"More agreement has been reached informally than is realised, particularly in the constitutional sphere."

These were not his only interesting observations.

South Africa, in his view, was not heading for a racial showdown.

"If the NP were to rename itself as, say, the Christian Democratic Union and the ANC were to become a Social Democratic Movement, which it is likely to become, then it will almost be an equal power contest, not between a large black majority and a small white minority.

"It will not be a racial contest, but an ideological one. This signalled "room for optimism."

Professor Adam also tackled the vexing matter of the ANC's alliance with the communists, but, contrary to the current wisdom in many quarters, he discounted the desirability of a split in the alliance before a constitutional settlement.

"If the opposition is fragmented before a settlement, we will have a PLO-type situation where you have to negotiate with different factions which will out-radicalise each other. It is always far better to have a strong opponent than a weak one," he observed.

AS an aside, Adam gave an interesting insight into the enigma of government thinking.

He described how he had interviewed seven Cabinet Ministers last year in the pursuit of political truth.

A principal interest was to discover what it was that turned the mighty National Party, what led to its change of heart.

"I asked each one the same question," he said, "and got seven different answers."
The Scentivity Factor

After Inka's death... the men who must mend an image tarnished by mistrust
LONDON — President de Klerk's protestations that he did not know of his government's secret funding to the Inkatha Freedom Party and other anti-ANC groups is still not believed here.

This time it is The Economist which has cast doubt on Mr de Klerk's claim that he did not know of the funding until it was disclosed in the newspapers a week ago.

In a lengthy editorial, which discusses both Mr de Klerk's role in the Inkathagate scandal as well as the roots of township violence, The Economist said it was difficult to believe that Mr de Klerk did not know of the funding.

"The payments were authorised by the Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the most senior member of Mr de Klerk's cabinet, in response to a request from the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok," the magazine says.

It adds: "It is hard to imagine the Ministers not telling their boss."

"Since Mr de Klerk took office in September 1989, Pik Botha has been his intimate colleague. "At the time (of the payments) both Mr Botha and Mr Vlok were members of the State Security Council. "Even if the Cabinet did not hear of the subsidies, it strains credulity to be told that the security council was not informed," The Economist said.

The journal did, however, praise Mr de Klerk for replacing Mr Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan with "younger men, free of associations with his stern-faced predecessor, PW Botha."

It warned that Mr de Klerk's suggestion that private sector individuals take part in a committee to advise him on the remaining secret projects was an unwise move, as it would "revive suspicion that the Government is not much more than the political arm of the moguls who command the economy". 

See Page 13.
FW underscored his dilemma boldly

President de Klerk's address to the nation on the Government-Inkatha funding scandal (I am not yet comfortable with the new term Inkathagate scandal) contained many interesting features. President de Klerk fully grasped the significance of the scandal, which is the destruction of mutual trust between the Government and its potential negotiating partners like the ANC and others. He correctly appreciated the fact that mutual trust more than anything else is the engine that is driving the process of political transition.

Consequently, he went a long way towards restoring this mutual trust. Whether or not he succeeded is a matter that will have to be resolved in the executive committee boardrooms of our various liberation movements and political parties.

He also made history by becoming the first leader of the National Party to clearly bow to the demands of black opposition and sack two of his senior Ministers from their portfolios. Even habitual optimists among us did not expect that he would immediately remove these Ministers. At best, what was expected was that he would lie low for the time being and then remove them after a few months. This in itself was a clear indication of his determination to restore mutual confidence and save the process of transition. It was also an indication of how seriously he took the implications of this scandal.

Significantly, he also left the door open for discussions about an interim government or some form of joint transitional authority. This itself was a change of attitude within the National Party. In the past, a National Party leader would have said, "Consequently, I have decided to establish an interim government and I invite all moderate leaders to participate. Those who refuse to participate will exclude themselves".

He has thus given the ANC some options. If it wants to, it could begin discussions tomorrow on the structure and modalities of a transitional authority or interim government. If it does not want to do this now, it still has another option of making this issue the first item on the agenda at the all-party or multi-party conference.

He also came clean, somewhat, on the question of other organisations that benefitted from the slush funds. Finally, de Klerk the politician also spoke and in so doing he unwittingly underlined the dilemma we will continue to face as long as the National Party (or any other ruling party for that matter) single-handedly oversees the process of political transition as a player and referee.

As leader of his government, he could not totally condemn it because he would be condemning himself. As captain of his Cabinet team he had to praise and not condemn his two colleagues he had demoted. What was controversial was their portfolios and not themselves or the way they administered their portfolios.

Perhaps this is what prompted Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, to describe the speech as "a most difficult... act of tight-rope walking". My own verdict is Mr de Klerk did well in restoring mutual trust under the circumstances. A lot will, however, depend on how far he succeeds to put his words into practice during the next few months.
Keep out of our dorp, CP tells De Klerk

ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

TROUBLE looms at a public meeting to be addressed by President De Klerk in Venterdorp next Friday with a Conservative Party (CP) warning that he will not be allowed to speak there.

Telling him he was unwelcome, the Venterdorp CP branch asked him to cancel his visit. 'The voters of Venterdorp will not allow him to address a meeting anywhere in Venterdorp,' it said, adding that Mr De Klerk had "allowed whites to be fired at by security forces at Goudgevonden".

White blood had flowed. 'We find it unacceptable, while there is still tension, that Mr De Klerk deliberately wants to cause conflict here between whites in the constituency,'

Mr Barend du Plessis, leader of the National Party (NP) in the Transvaal, said the meeting would go on.

'The fact that the leader of the National Party is going to hold a meeting at Venterdorp is not the cause of the conflict,' he said. 'It is the CP which, through statements like this, creates and promotes conflict.'

He added: 'I urge supporters of the CP to henceforth respect this right, just as the NP recognises the CP's right, in this regard. This is how civilised people conduct politics.'
Trust not necessary for talks to succeed

South Africa is on the threshold of constitutional negotiations, but how do we begin? A starting-point and method for getting the process off the ground is suggested here by a specialist in conflict resolution, MR ROBERT CONWAY, executive director of the South African Foundation for Conciliation (Salcon), an independent, non-partisan body.

Safcon, established just over a year ago, is supported by overseas foundations including the Conrad N. Adenauer Stiftung in Germany and other smaller foundations in the United States. It specializes in the resolution of community and political conflict in South Africa.

Much of the conceptual thinking behind Safcon’s establishment derives from seven years Conway spent at Harvard University doing research on conflict resolution. He organized and facilitated problem-solving workshops on South Africa at the university’s Centre for International Affairs.

He is the President of the SA Association for Conflict Intervention and is a member of the American Society of Professional Mediators. He is a law graduate of the University of the Witwatersrand and later obtained an LLB degree from Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas.

The model for the national negotiation process. This initiative has been operational in Natal during the past year and has had the active involvement of the ANC, Inkatha and the business sector at a key decision level. It has succeeded in providing the basis for a skilled negotiation process acceptable to all.

Regional leaders in the government, the ANC and Inkatha are aware of this initiative and have been involved. This initiative needs to be adapted to support and assist with a new national negotiation process. This can be done very quickly. The Inkatha funding ‘crisis’ has been a Godsend to South Africa because it has finally exploded the myth that ‘South Africa can be saved by Nelson and FW trusting each other’. The opportunity must immediately be seized.
DUBLIN. — Future political change in South Africa is subject to a veto by the security forces, according to Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien. That, he says, is the message to be taken from the Inkathagate scandal.

The security forces, he claims, have reluctantly accepted President F W de Klerk's reforms, "even though they have not involved any change in executive power in the country".

But he feels there are limits to the reforms the security forces will accept — and that non-racial elections on a common roll would be one concession too many.

Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

Dr O'Brien was in Johannesburg when the Inkathagate row broke and says in an Irish national newspaper: "I believe that at present the security forces possess a latent and implicit veto concerning the limits of political change."

"General suspicions to that effect were confirmed when Foreign Minister Pik Botha in a TV interview brazened out the whole Inkathagate affair."

Dr O'Brien adds that watching the former Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, speculating on how much money was involved, "one could only conclude that the security forces were operating outside government control or the government was deceiving the public".

He says of ANC rule: "I believe that Nelson Mandela is sincere in his democratic professions and that he would like to see a South Africa with freedom of expression, the rule of law and continuity of democratic process. But I don't believe that the collective ethos of the ANC has time for any of those things."
‘Green light soon’ on talks about talks

DURBAN,  Both the government and the ANC are close to giving a green light to the multi-party conference designed to thrash out arrangements for negotiations on a new constitution.

A government source said yesterday that “a great measure of agreement on the mechanics of convening a multi-party conference” had been reached in informal talks with the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations.

There had been a “measure of agreement” on: which parties would attend; how to bring in those organisations unwilling to participate; who would convene the conference; who would chair it; who would issue invitations; the logistics and financing; the size of delegations, and methods of decision-making, the source indicated.
Time for us to act!

The immediateFlush fund crisis: How the Front Seized the Moment and Axel Two Top Ministers

said the President

The INFLATION

THE MEETING

The decision was taken at the recent Cabinet meeting, which was attended by the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, and the heads of various government departments. The Prime Minister, who is also the leader of the ruling party, stressed the importance of controlling inflation and announced a package of measures to address the crisis.

THE ACTION

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THE PROBLEM

Inflation has been increasing steadily over the past few months, and the government has been under pressure to take action to bring prices under control. The Finance Minister has been working closely with the central bank to develop a strategy to stabilize the economy.

THE DILEMMA

The government has been facing a dilemma: on the one hand, it wants to control inflation to protect the economy from overheating; on the other hand, it needs to stimulate growth to create jobs and increase living standards.

Despite the challenges, the government remains committed to taking action to bring inflation under control.
You Saved?

Who Would

With Kiddi's

MY WAY
**Former Boss chief slams Pik**

**By DESMOND BLOW**

PIK BOTHA should have been the first Cabinet Minister made to resign over the Inkatha fiasco.

This is the opinion of General "Lang" Hendrik van den Bergh, 76, former head of Boss and for two decades the most feared man in South Africa.

In an exclusive interview with City Press on his farm at Bapsfontein outside Pretoria, the former strongman of the Vorster and John Vorster governments also lashed out at the military and "hit squads."

"The money came," he denied a report from Botha's department, quoting a former Boss

Hendrik van den Bergh

and I think it disgraceful, apart from extremely unwise, to have used the police force in paying the money to Inkatha."

"They destroyed the name of the normal policeman," he said.

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**-- End of Article --**
New bank is formed to finance post-apartheid development projects

By EDITH BULBRING

A NEW South African bank which will channel billions of rands into reconstructing a post-apartheid SA has been established in New York, ANC International Relations director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

The bank, which is separate from the Development Bank of Southern Africa, was established after a visit to New York by ANC president Nelson Mandela last June.

The formation of the bank, South African Development Bank, which was spearheaded by the Rockefeller Foundation, is part of a huge multilateral aid strategy designed to form the basis of US policy towards SA after the election of a new government.

A committee which is busy raising capital for the bank includes ex First National Bank MD Chris Ball, vice-chancellor of the University of the Transkei Wiseman Nkuhlu and former US ambassador to the UN Andrew Young.

Formation

Mr Mbeki said the bank had already been established and would be able to finance development projects in SA once a new democratic government was in place.

The formation of the bank was mentioned in a letter drafted by Congressman Stephen Solarz to President George Bush on behalf of a bipartisan coalition to ask him to approve the principle of a South African Democracy Aid Initiative.

The letter says, in view of the progress towards political reform in SA, it is believed the time has come for the US and the rest of the international community to embark on a new multibillion-dollar SA Democracy Aid Initiative.

Such an initiative, which would include development assistance, as well as trade benefits and investment incentives, should commence only after the adoption of a new constitution, the holding of free and fair elections, and the establishment of a democratically elected government," the letter says.

An aid initiative would be crucial in helping to consolidate democracy in a non-racial SA by enhancing the capacity of a new government to deal with substantial development challenges it will face.

The SA Development Bank, which could be included in this aid initiative, could serve as a credible vehicle through which the US, Western European countries and Japan could contribute by direct assistance in achieving a stable transition to a fair and prosperous economy, the letter states.

The aid package should be linked to policies designed both to stimulate expansion of the SA economy and to address the historical inequalities of the apartheid legacy.

"Such policies will have to be characterised by commitments to economic liberalisation and growth in the private sector..."

Approval

Mr Mbeki said he had received a phone call from one of the initiators of the aid plan last weekend asking if he approved of the draft letter.

"I said, 'Of course, we approve, go ahead.'" The matter of channeling American dollars in aid to a new SA government was raised in April this year at a meeting of the Aspen Institute in Cape Town, Mr Mbeki said.

Mr Mandela told Congressman Solarz then that he agreed with this aid proposal, Mr Mbeki said.

A proposed first draft of a letter to President Bush was rejected by the ANC last month. This original letter suggested that Congress might accept the lifting of sanctions if there was a commitment to the aid programme.

"The ANC could not agree to such conditions," Mr Mbeki said.

The second letter was an attempt to gain a commitment for the principle of aiding SA. Once this was achieved, the project then had to be elaborated upon, Mr Mbeki said.

"Once there is commitment to this principle from the Bush administration, we all need to sit down and work it out."
Interim
govt now,
says ANC

The slush fund scandal and President FW de Klerk's response to it had raised the call for an interim government to the top of the agenda, the ANC said this week. (PST 4/18/91)

The revelation of the government's funding scam "completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa," said a National Executive Committee (NEC) statement presented at a press conference in Johannesburg.

"In the light of the current scandals, and the manner in which he has chosen to address them, President de Klerk has raised the issue of an interim government to the top of the agenda," the NEC said.

Information chief Pallo Jordan said details about the structure and leadership of an interim government would be decided through negotiation at an all-party conference.

A plan of action around the demand would be formulated at the patriots front conference scheduled for Cape Town later this month.

The NEC statement said the retention of Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan in the Cabinet underlined De Klerk's refusal to acknowledge crimes of apartheid and "was a 'serious underestimation of the depth of anger among our people.'"

The statement reiterated the ANC's demands for:

- Establishment of a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activity.
- Visible and public dismantling of all SAP and SADF special counter-insurgency units.
- Prosecution of all security personnel implicated in violence.
- Payment of reparation, from government funds, to all victims of State-sponsored violence. - Sapa
Scandal a flash in pan for govt?

The editorial said the new ministers of Law and Order and Defence reported for duty without the proverbial "political baggage" of the past.

Hermus Kriel's experience and political style of not shying away from South Africa's unpalatable political realities made him suited for the difficult portfolio of Law and Order.

The fact Defence was entrusted to a junior minister ahead of Cabinet veterans should confirm a change in priorities from military might to the upkeep of law and order, social questions and better living standards, the newspaper said.

The storm surrounding Inkathagate has unleashed a countrywide "wave of support" for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Rapport.

Even non-members wanted to sign up, Buthelezi told the Sunday paper.

"The IFP has for many years been a showcase of integrity and consistency. I have always stuck to my principles. The public knows this. Even the media knows this," he said.

THE government's well-considered response to the Inkathagate scandal means the "unhappy" incident may in time lead to positive results, Beeld forecast this week.

The new measures surrounding secret funds should lift the Cabinet out of the crossfire while strengthening public confidence, the Transvaal morning daily said.

It added that the removal of Adriam Vlok and Magnus Malan was a clever move by State President FW de Klerk which has largely excised the controversy surrounding the security forces.

But their demotion was symbolic rather than punitive, as no other Cabinet member could have handled their two portfolios differently.

"Still, their current positions became untenable because of the demands of the new politics and the desire to put a distance between the old order and the new approach."
ANC slams FW on "broken promises" - Sapa

TWO recent police actions have cast doubt on State President FW de Klerk's undertaking to guarantee the protection of anyone who comes forward with evidence regarding State involvement in violence, the ANC charged yesterday.

The actions violate the spirit and the letter of De Klerk's promises at his media conference on Tuesday, the ANC said. The police actions are the investigations into the leakage of documents to the Weekly Mail on government slush funds; and a subpoena, in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, served on former SADF Major Nico Basson.

The subpoena requires Basson, of the organisation "Soldiers for Peace", to provide police with the exact location of Felix Ndimene, who charged that the SADF had been directly involved in train massacres and other acts of violence.

"In our view all that needs to be done to locate Sgt Ndimene is for President De Klerk to keep his word and publicly guarantee his personal safety and indemnity from prosecution," the ANC said.

"This is the only means by which we can make a clean break with the past," the ANC said.

Sapa
Fur flies over FW posters

By DAN DHLAMINI

The cold weather could not cool the tempers of NP members in Ventersdorp after their posters announcing President FW de Klerk's visit to the AWB "base" this Friday were stolen or defaced.

As one enters the CP-controlled town one is greeted by defaced placards reading "Kaffir de Klerk, Hotnot de Klerk".

Three Ventersdorp men appeared in court following the theft.

Duan Vogel, 22, Gerhardus van Staden, 22, and Richter Heyneke, 23, allegedly each stole a poster worth R100.

The trio were not asked to plead and will appear again on September 16.

NP supporters in the town said they were infuriated by the mindless vandalism.

But, some women in the company of khaki-clad men told a City Press reporter he was a "hotnot borseikop" and they would not talk to him about a matter which concerned whites.
The British Army at the age of 19 was a major influence on me. I joined the Army at the age of 19 and served for 20 years. During that time, I learned the value of discipline, responsibility, and teamwork. These values have helped me in my career and personal life.

I have always been interested in politics and have been involved in various political activities. I believe in the power of the people and the importance of democracy. I have worked with several political parties and have been involved in many campaigns.

I have had the privilege of working with some of the greatest leaders in our country. It has been an honor to serve under their guidance and to work towards the betterment of our nation.

One of the most important lessons I have learned is the value of hard work and dedication. I have seen firsthand how important it is to work hard and to be persistent in achieving our goals.

I believe that we have made significant progress in our country, but there is still a lot of work to be done. We need to continue to work towards a better future for all of our citizens.

I would like to thank all of my supporters for their support and encouragement. It has been an honor to serve as your representative. I will always strive to do my best for the people of our country.
MK to elect new hierarchy

UMKHONTO we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, meets this week to elect a new leadership and formulate its approach to constitutional talks. Chief of staff Chris Hani is expected to vacate his position to take up full-time work for the SA Communist Party, which has asked the ANC to release him from ANC duties.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday Hani would vacate his Umkhonto post if the ANC's national executive committee agreed to release him.

Hani's move is part of a shuffling of positions within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in the runup to negotiations. He will strengthen the SACP and "Africanise" its image as a precursor to the SACP taking its place separately from the ANC at the negotiating table.

At the weekend, the ANC appointed a full-time negotiating team headed by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. He will be assisted by Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Mohammed Vally Moosa. Slovo will continue as SACP secretary-general at least until the party's congress in December. The ANC was satisfied that his SACP position would not hamper his work on the ANC's negotiating team, Marcus said.

Last week the ANC's national executive indicated it was prepared to enter multi-party talks leading to an interim government of national unity. Marcus said the ANC still expected government to remove obstacles to negotiations before talks could begin.

However, negotiations have been put

Hani firmly at the top of the ANC's agenda.

In an interview in the latest issue of the ANC journal Mayibuye, Ramaphosa said negotiations "should enjoy top priority in all structures of the organisation".

He said consultation with members on negotiations had emerged as the most important task of ANC negotiators.

"To this end it has been decided that negotiations task force should be set up at head office level and should operate as a fully fledged department.

"Through the work of this department we intend to keep our membership and structures not only fully informed but fully involved in negotiations. "We can expect that structures like the regional general councils will be the forum where reports will be made and mandates obtained ... This in my view is going to deepen democratic participation by our membership in this important activity of our organisation".
FW may head for South America next

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is set for a breakthrough tour to South America which could include six nations. Diplomats said countries being considered included Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Chile and Bolivia.

SA government sources said the safari could take place this year but Pablo Garcia Pintos, secretary-general to the Uruguayan president, said in Cape Town on Friday that next year was more likely.

Pintos, on a two-week visit to SA, extended a personal invitation from his president to De Klerk to visit his country. He said there was "a good possibility" that the SA President’s visit would be extended to several other countries.

Foreign Affairs sources in Pretoria said the trip to Uruguay would almost certainly be expanded into a multi-country tour.

Trade, tourism and scientific co-operation could feature on the tour agenda.
The government's role in the AV industry.

Patrick Butler

For Aggressive Talks
Shot in the arm —

Inkathagate —

MULTITYPE
Too early to scrap flag, says HSRC

Future inter-group relations in South Africa could be seriously harmed by demands for the scrapping of Die Stem and the national flag before the new dispensation is in place, Human Sciences Research Council member Dr Charles Malan has warned.

Stressing the Namibian example, where new symbols were introduced only after independence, he said: "There is no doubt it would be putting the cart before the horse if symbols are highlighted at this stage of negotiations in South Africa."

"What is needed is extensive research into the history of old and new symbols and their historic links with the South African people. But investigation into such an emotionally charged issue should not be dictated by politicians."

A comprehensive opinion survey was called for, and this should include public holidays such as the Day of the Vow, said Dr Malan, who heads the HSRC's contemporary cultural studies department.

Also reacting to demands by the ANC for a new flag and anthem, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the national flag should be scrapped as it included the Union Jack: "What country includes the flag of the country which defeated and humiliated its people?"

While Frith van der Merwe said she would be proud to run under a new flag backed by a new anthem "as long as both represented a united, apartheid-free South Africa", Springbok cricket captain Clive Rice said the focus should be on getting back into international sport.

Rally driver Sarel van der Merwe came out strongly for a new anthem, but not "Shoela Sikele, Moj". Instead, he preferred a song about South Africa itself.
Oscar Dhlomo in talks, plea

DURBAN — Government and the ANC should immediately start serious discussions aimed at convening a multiparty conference, Institute for Multiparty Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday.

Dhlomo told the Fedhassa congress that before such a conference settled down to serious business, it would have to discuss thoroughly the structure of a joint transitional authority.

It was no longer possible that government could alone oversee the transition process. He was pleased to note it had begun to appreciate this.

Government and the ANC would have to be pragmatic with regard to transitional arrangements.

It was quite legitimate for the ANC to demand an influential role in a transitional authority, but demanding the entire government resign might not be realistic, he said. — Sapa.
give thumbs-up
ANC and Govt,
NOW AZAPPO, PAC!

THE ANC, AZAPPO, the PAC and

to talk

Yes! We want
Groups set for multiparty talks

From Page 1

conference" and the PAC says it will be "a conference of all parties".

In its response to De Klerk's address the ANC also indicated its haste to get to meaningful multiparty talks about an interim arrangement - especially since the Inkatha funding issue suggested that Government would not rule impartially, the ANC's Mr Falojo Jordan said.

"De Klerk has raised the issue of an interim government of national unity to the top of the agenda. The ANC for its part has been committed to that goal through the path of a patriotic front conference leading to an all-party conference," Jordan said.

In terms of its own political game plan Azapo has not ruled out a negotiated settlement.

Neutral

Mr Lybon Mabasa of Azapo yesterday stressed that any transitional authority would have to be neutral.

"Neutral in a sense that it can quarantine the present security relations that exist in the country," Mabasa said.

A senior PAC source yesterday said that the "conference of all parties" would discuss an interim arrangement, and whether it will in fact be a governing or a monitoring body during constitutional negotiations.

The PAC, he said, was also in favour of adding to the agenda of "a conference of all parties", the issue of a constituent assembly which would draw up a constitution for the country and then take it to the public by means of a referendum.
Ray of hope amid the African gloom

DEVELOPMENTS in South Africa offer a glimmer of hope in a continent enveloped by gloom and doom.

The spillover of a negotiated settlement here to other countries in southern Africa will be substantial in terms of relative peace, security and reduced military expenditure, says former Nigerian military leader General Olusegun Obasanjo.

Writing in Africa Forum, a new magazine aimed at the African elite Obasanjo, the magazine’s publisher, says there is convincing evidence that current leadership on both sides of the “apartheid divide” can bring about a new society of peace, tolerance and prosperity.

“There is a realization that Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr F W de Klerk need each other,” he says.

SA is the cover story of the magazine’s latest issue and a number of experts give their views on developments in the Republic, including three South Africans - Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, director of Idasa, and Mr Kevin Davis, editor of Executive, a Johannesburg-based business magazine.

“The most daunting problem SA must face,” Obasanjo says, “will be how to bring about justice and equality without destroying the economy.”

Obasanjo says the structure and content of the economy is strong and resilient and could cope, given prudent management.

Obasanjo says de Klerk has, in words and in deeds, reached a point of no return.

“De Klerk is a shrewd politician; he understands power and he may not want to be deprived of access to it. Yet there is a need, and an urgent one at that, to establish a permanent structure which gives confidence to all sides.”

“Legitimacy is crucial to any new constitution. It is therefore necessary for an overwhelming number of the constituent assembly for the new constitution to be elected and be seen to be the real representative of the people.

“But if initiative for the process of negotiation is not shared between the negotiators, negotiation can degenerate, or be frustrated, into ultimatum and/or surrender.”

Pupils

“In the SA context, success must be apparent on all sides for them to be able to satisfy their individual constituencies. This will not be easy and it will ultimately depend on the realisation that Mandela and de Klerk mutually need each other.”

Obasanjo says one issue which deserves urgent attention is the rehabilitation of the so-called “lost generation” — black pupils who’ve dropped out of school since the student uprisings of 1976.

“They form a potentially dangerous group if they are not productively re-integrated into society,” Obasanjo says.

Professor Adebayo Adeyemi, the outgoing executive secretary of the UN’s Economic Commission for Africa, says in an article entitled Nirvana or Armageddon? that the most central economic concern is whether SA will, after apartheid, continue to do “business as usual”, and whether a majority government will allow business to be run.

“Taking the Zimbabwean example, an exodus of whites out of South Africa after apartheid and majority rule could have a detrimental impact on the SA economy for quite some time,” he writes.

Adeyemi says the post-apartheid economic and policy agenda should aim, among others, at reducing poverty and inequalities, increased spending on education and training, social services and the remodelling of the entire public administration from enforcing apartheid to implementing anti-apartheid policies and programmes.

He says, however, that it is questionable whether SA will find the resources and the will to implement such a gigantic agenda.

Yet it is also obvious that if the above agenda is not tackled, post-apartheid SA might find itself torn apart in total turmoil from within its many social, political and economic contradictions.

“One has just to hope that, whatever the economic agenda that will face post-apartheid SA, the policymakers will have the will and that the economy will retain enough resilience and strength to go through the transition to economic stability,” Slabbert says.

Slabbert says neither the National Party nor the ANC has evolved a coherent strategy or policy to cope with the kind of transition to which they have committed themselves.

The NP has for years presented a policy of white domination, while the ANC countered with a policy of struggle against domination.

Both policies ill prepared the respective sides for the kind of transitional demands they now have to cope with.

Slabbert says this was evident at the ANC’s consultative conference in December “where they appeared to vacillate between insurrectionary rhetoric and adversarial mass action on the one hand, and exploring the dynamics of serious negotiation on the other.”

“In the same vein, de Klerk in his end-of-the-year address, came across as judge, jury, prosecutor and defendant on the trials and tribulations of transition.”

Slabbert says the dilemma is, however, understandable and is compounded by the fact that there is no clear cut historical precedent for the kind of transition they are trying to bring about.

Transition

If a democratic outcome is to be successfully negotiated, Slabbert says, it would at least be necessary to:

* Negotiate conditions for transition as well as the outcome of transition;
* Create opportunities for multiparty participation in government during transition as well as participation in transformation;
* Include civil society in the process of negotiated transformation and enable it to contribute to the growth of a democratic culture.

Davie says apartheid has been Africa’s equivalent of the Berlin Wall, and now that it is crumbling, Africa and South Africa are discovering one another at staggering speed.
Inkatha scandal will hurt for months, says Parsons

Sylvia Du Plessis

The Inkatha funding scandal would continue to rattle the SA business mood in the months ahead, SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) director-general Raymond Parsons said yesterday.

It was clear business sentiment would remain hostage to political developments until negotiations gave rise to a new constitution supported by the business community and a truly representative government.

Parsons was addressing a news conference on the release of Sacob's latest business confidence index, which slipped to a level of 88.4 in July from June's 88.6, due in part to disclosures that government had helped fund Inkatha rallies. The index was prepared prior to President F W de Klerk's statement on the issue.

Parsons said the "minor" extent of the index's decline and the fact many of its sub-indices reflected an improvement tended to support the view that the economic downturn had bottomed out.

But while all the major parties seemed prepared to put the political scandal behind them and continue with the negotiation process, there would be a need to restore credibility and trust as a basis for talks.

"While this does not mean that a negotiated settlement is no longer possible, it could result in more protracted negotiations because of an increased level of mistrust between the parties," Parsons said.

If this occurred, it would inevitably lead to an extension of the period of uncertainty experienced by business decision-makers.
THERE can be no smooth transition from apartheid to democracy as long as one of the parties tries to monopolise the process and ensure that, by hook and crook, it emerges as the victor at the first elections. The National Party government is not only player and referee, it owns the ground, takes the gate and plays the anthem. We should relieve it of its burden of trying to be selfish and fair at the same time.

We need an Interim Government of National Unity and we need it urgently. An IGNU will not only talk among its members but start pulling together in the national interest. We will begin the process of taking joint responsibility for the future of all South Africans so that the triumph of one does not mean the defeat of the other.

Bugging offices

An IGNU will enable us to make common cause in the joint effort to deal with the problem of violence. An IGNU will end the role of the National Intelligence Service being the Nationalist Intelligence service. It is not only the special operations of the NIC that worry us but the so-called normal operations, spying on the ANC, keeping files on us, bugging our offices and telephones. We know that this continues and will only stop if we have an IGNU.

An IGNU would have an immediate effect on our country’s international position. Right now we have two presidents, each received in a different state, and each asking for different things. An IGNU would enable us to speak with a single voice or at least in a harmonising duet. The phased lifting of sanctions would be a matter of time. Confidence in our country would soar. An IGNU would take responsibility for governing the country in the transitional period when a new constitution was being worked out.

Free and fair

It would secure the peace in an even-handed way, begin the process of integrating the fragmented departments of State and take the first steps towards welding the seven armed forces in this country into a single defence force.

It would also be responsible for guaranteeing that the first elections were free and fair. One of its tasks would be to facilitate the orderly re-incorporation of the Bantustans into South African political life.

The movement from apartheid to democracy is very similar to the movement from colonialism to independence. The one difference is that there is no departing colonising power.

The white minority in this country will stay on and continue to exercise full citizenship and political rights. Sovereignty is expanded to include us. That is why we speak of a transfer of power from a racial minority to the people as a whole. Our equivalent of independence is non-racial democracy.

Colonial fashion

In all the decolonisation processes, an IGNU in one form or another was used. Its objective was to smooth the transition, accustom the majority population and the international community to change, and to give experience of government to representatives of the formerly colonised people.

All these principles are applicable in South Africa. The crucial thing at this moment is for the government to cease operating in colonial fashion, making and carrying out all decisions on its own. Sooner or later the racially constituted government will have to give way. It is far more gracious and certainly more in the interests of the country for it to do so step by step rather than to cling to power until the last moment.

Imagine the disruption for the country if suddenly after general elections under a new constitution are held, a new government comes to office and it has to attend to everything on day one – the army, the police force, the civil service, the economy, education, housing and so on.

Surely it is better for a start to be made now, in particular for ensuring that the process of opening up and integrating the institution of government gets as soon as possible.

Toilets

As for the new incumbents representing the majority of the people, when the first time they enter the Union Buildings they will not even know where the toilets are, let alone have experience of government and of seeing issues from a national perspective.

As its name indicates, an IGNU would draw representatives of all significant parties into government. For over four decades we have effectively had one-party rule.

When we hear of the sports people worried that they will be too old to compete, what about the politicians whose talents have been ignored over the years?

Makes sense

Helen Suzman, where are you now? Will Zach still be able to do the thunders when the National Party monopoly is over? This is just to speak of the whites who have been excluded. What about the Enos Mabuzas, the Frank Chikanes, the Fatima Meers, not to mention, any ANC leaders. The All Party Conference only makes sense if it leads to an IGNU. Talking for the sake of talking, without concrete results, sets us back. Forward and onward to an IGNU!
DURBAN. — A meeting to be addressed by President F W de Klerk in conservative Ventersdorp tomorrow is threatening to become a flashpoint, with right-wingers promising to attend in their thousands.

Yesterday the NP's Western Transvaal leader and Minister of State Expenditure and Regional Development, Mr Amie Venter, urged supporters not to be frightened off by threats from the CP and the AWB. Such threats were a right-wing tactic designed to scare people from attending, he said.

AWB secretary-general Mr Piet Rudolph said yesterday that if people who did not support the NP were prevented from attending the meeting, it would be an abuse of taxpayers' money.
De Beer speaks on new SA scenarios

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Government funding of Inkatha was a serious setback to the negotiation process, but too much was at stake to allow it to ruin South Africa's future, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said here yesterday.

Reviewing possible scenarios in a post-negotiation South Africa, Dr De Beer said only the ANC could capture more than 50% of the vote in proportional representation elections, although even a clear ANC victory remained uncertain.

An ANC-led government would be under severe pressure to address poverty with instant socialist solutions, which would reduce investor confidence and impoverish the country. Another possible election pact could be formed by the National Party and Inkatha — dubbed the "Christian Democratic Alliance".

"If this alliance were to succeed in winning an election — and I think it might, though the figures tend to indicate otherwise — it would be faced with an opposition which would claim the liberation of the black masses had been denied them."

Consequently, South Africa would be back to the politics of system and struggle, attended by mass action, a continued crime wave, political violence and a poor investment climate.

A third possibility, advocated by the DP, was a moderate government of national unity, which excluded extremists on the left and the right. — Sapa
Doubts over Government's trust in talks

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday said the time was not yet ripe for constitutional negotiations to proceed.

They reiterated the demand that Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok should be dismissed and that the Government was untrustworthy to lead the country into a democratic transition.

Miso from Katlehong urged the ANC to withdraw from the negotiations and said a "patriotic front" should be formed as soon as possible.

The ANC should get closer to Azapo and the PAC and the three should get a full mandate from the people of South Africa to negotiate a new constitution.

He felt that talks about talks conducted by the ANC and the Government did not have the backing of the people.

Citing Namibia as an example, Tim from Soweto said a neutral group should be constituted to oversee the transition to democracy.

Raymond felt that negotiations should continue but was sceptical about the "attitude" of the Government.

"The Government believes that liberation movements are still their enemies, which is why it is conducting a double agenda - trying to negotiate on the one hand while funding other organisations."

David from KwaThema, who was also sceptical about the future of negotiations, said the Government had proved to be unreliable and that the liberation movements were compromising a lot by rushing to the negotiating table.
Bilateral talks out, says PAC

THE PAC warned yesterday that the envisaged "transitional arrangement" would be no more than a mechanism which would ensure that elections to a constituent assembly would be free and fair.

The PAC's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said there could also be no bilateral constitutional negotiations between the PAC and the Government.

"Any negotiations on the constitutional future of the country would have to be, among democratically elected representatives of the people of South Africa, he said.

"An interim government based on the current constitution is unacceptable, as we do not want to be managers or co-managers of apartheid.

"We have agreed with

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

the ANC that no constitutional talks should take place until the oppressed have met to map out the way forward at a patriotic front."

He said the Government had assumed the mantle as convener of a conference of all parties while it was "not democratically elected".

The PAC believed that the conflict in South Africa was a national issue and not an individual one, and if it were to start discussions on the constitutional future of South Africa, it would have to be in concert with other liberation movements.
Tragic results if FW addresses meeting

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Thousands of rightwingers will descend on a meeting on Friday to be addressed by President de Klerk in Venterdorp, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has warned.

This bolsters the Conservative Party warning last week that the voters of Venterdorp would not allow Mr de Klerk to address a meeting anywhere in Venterdorp.

However, the National Party has refused to cancel the meeting — with the Transvaal leader of the party, Barend du Plessis, saying the NP would not allow itself to be intimidated.

The AWB, in a statement yesterday, said rightwingers were going to advance on Mr de Klerk's meeting "in their thousands", saying "tragic consequences" would result if Mr de Klerk addressed even a small group of supporters.

The AWB further urged Mr de Klerk to open the meeting to all voters of Venterdorp so they could "clear up urgent matters with him".

NP spokesman Dr Gerhard Kooiman said he would not comment on the AWB's claims, but said there were procedures to prevent disruptions.

The CP and AWB have said the "unfortunate incident" at Goedewonde, where policemen fired at and wounded white 'Boers', had ended bitterness and caustic tensions in the community.

Mr du Plessis said last week that the CP was promoting conflict through its statements and appealed to its supporters to honour the right of all political parties to put their case.
eradicating racism
the only hope for the law may be
Nelson Mandela

ANC and govt moving closer on interim administration, says

ANC's President Nelson Mandela said yesterday that the government and the opposition were moving closer on the issue of an interim administration for the country.

"We have made significant progress in our discussions," Mandela said. "We believe that an interim administration is essential to ensure a smooth transition to a democratic South Africa."

The government has been quick to respond to Mandela's comments, with President Thabo Mbeki saying that the talks were "very encouraging.""We are determined to move as quickly as possible to ensure that the people of South Africa are properly represented in their government," Mbeki said.

Mandela's comments come after a series of meetings between the government and the opposition, aimed at reaching a consensus on the issue of an interim administration.

"The talks have been difficult, but we have made important progress," Mandela said. "We are committed to finding a solution that will be acceptable to all South Africans."
Let's get on with talks — Mandela

PATRICK LAURENCE, The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela has made it clear that the movement wants to press ahead with an all-party conference to plan negotiations on constitutional changes in spite of the recent Inkathagate scandal.

Speaking at a news conference shortly after his arrival from a tour of Caribbean and South American countries he said the call for an interim government of national unity would be urgently addressed at such a conference.

There was no immediate reaction from government circles to his statement but it tallies with what President De Klerk and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen have been saying.

This is that, regardless of differences in opinion between the various parties, an attempt must be made to sort these out at an all-party conference.

'Clean up Inkatha'

Mr Mandela has in the meantime rejected suggestions for interim arrangements before a new constitutional system as unacceptable 'co-option'.

Yesterday Mr Mandela exonerated rank and file members of the Inkatha Freedom Party of blame for Inkathagate scandal and expressed the hope that they would 'clean up their organisation'.

His statement was interpreted by some journalists as invitation to the Inkatha members to bust the Inkatha leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying:

Mr Mandela, however, denied that he was appealing to Inkatha members to rebel against Chief Buthelezi, saying: 'We are not going to dictate what they are going to do. But there are certain things which they must do in order to put their organisation on a basis on which we can continue to talk to them.'

A central theme ran through Mr Mandela's replies to questions in the wake of disclosures that police had funnelled money from state coffers to Inkatha and its trade union ancillary, the United Workers' Union of South Africa. It complicated but did not foreclose the task of negotiating with the De Klerk administration.

Tough stance

But, the ANC leader made clear, the De Klerk administration had itself become an obstacle to negotiations and process towards a negotiated settlement would depend on its replacement by an interim government of national unity to oversee the transition from apartheid to non-racialism.

Mr Mandela refused to retract a remark to which Mr De Klerk took exception — that Mr De Klerk was promoting his administration's cause 'over the corpses' of ANC members.

On Inkathagate he said: 'Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself to be used by the government,' he said unequivocally: 'There is no difference whatsoever between the government and the Inkatha leadership. They are on the same payroll.'
No way back for SA, says top Kremlin man

THE Soviet Union's deputy foreign minister arrived in SA yesterday for a five-day visit, saying there was "no way back" for this country.

Valeri Nikolayenko, the most senior Soviet government member to visit SA, said at Jan Smuts Airport that the main purpose of his visit was to hold talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He said he would repeat President Mikhail Gorbachev's invitation to Mandela to visit the Soviet Union soon.

Nikolayenko is also due to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha, incoming Defence

Minister Roelf Meyer, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Leon Wessels.

Nikolayenko said his visit indicated his government's desire to stimulate the "good moves" the SA government was making, but the two countries' future relationship would depend on whether solutions could be found to the problems of national reconciliation and the removal of apartheid.

SA and the Soviet Union have "interest sections" in each other's countries and Ni-
AWB warning of confrontation

VENTERSDORP. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has warned that thousands of rightwingers will descend on a meeting to be addressed by President De Klerk in this western Transvaal town tomorrow.

"It is the opinion of the executive committee of the movement that if Mr De Klerk addresses even a small percentage of his supporters he could unleash a confrontation which may have tragic consequences," said AWB general secretary Mr E J van der Westhuizen. — Sapa.
'NP subverts democracy'

THE mess Nationalists have found themselves in as a result of the Inkathagate scandal stems from the ruling party's "insatiable desire to subvert the normal democratic process", the Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, said last night.

"They have been doing it for more than 40 years and believe they can continue with impunity into the new South Africa," Mr Soal told a report-back meeting in his constituency last night.

"What President F W de Klerk must understand about Inkatha is that it will not go away until all are satisfied that there has not been a cover-up," he said.

Meanwhile, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday said Mr De Klerk must prove to the entire world that he was a man of high integrity by cleansing his government of malpractices.

Archbishop Tutu, who arrived in Zimbabwe on Tuesday to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, told journalists the revelations of South African government aid to Inkatha were a setback to the attainment of peace.

However, according to the Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, the government's slush-funding scandal was a "blessing in disguise" for the country because it placed negotiations on a far more level playing field.

Mr Jordaan, who was speaking on the implications of the scandal in a panel discussion hosted by Nusas/Sansco at Rhodes University this week, said that before the scandal broke out the power ratio was weighted heavily in favour of the government — "an unhealthy situation".

He said the scandal rammed home the message that the Nationalist government lacked legitimacy, that an interim government of national unity was essential and that power would have to be married to trust.

— Political Correspondent and Sapa
SA 'must change its view of world'

Political Staff

The government and the ANC should set up a non-partisan forum to assess the local impact of international changes, Professor Peter Vale said last night.

He also said South Africa needed to change the way it viewed the world, starting this effort by rewriting school textbooks.

Prof Vale, co-director of the Centre for Southern Africa Studies at the University of the Western Cape, was addressing the Cape Town branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

"It does seem to me that the essential feature of the post-cold war changes is that international clientism, where states become dependent on major powers, has collapsed but regional clientism has been increasing."

"This amplifies South Africa's strength and regional responsibility. This cannot be approached from a narrow partisan point of view."

"We have to assume an African responsibility. This means playing by Africa's rules, not our rules."

"My suggestion is that both sides in the South African conflict look towards establishing a non-partisan forum to try to assess the impact of these changes worldwide on South Africa," said Prof Vale.
Johannesburg — Mr. Nelson Mandela last night demanded the immediate installation of an interim government.


The ANC's commitment to a non-racial government is that the interim government must be a government of national unity, in which all political parties are represented. Mr. Mandela reiterated the ANC's commitment to a non-racial government and the equality of all races.

The idea of an interim government was met with some opposition by some of the major parties in the negotiation process. However, we are not going to go into negotiations blinded by the existing structures of government. We are not prepared to be co-opted into the existing structures of government. The ANC's commitment to a non-racial government is that the interim government must be a government of national unity, in which all political parties are represented.
was aware of it, how can I continue to say that this is a man of integrity?" he said in an apparent reference to the slush funds scandal.

Mr De Klerk had responded in part to ANC demands when he recently reshuffled his cabinet, said the ANC president.

On ANC-Inkatha relations following the scandal, Mr Mandela said it was clear that IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had allowed himself to be used by the government. "They are on the same pay roll and that discovery, which we suspected all along, must affect our relations and our strategy."

However, he felt the broad IFP membership may have been ignorant of the secret payments, saying he hoped they would take measures to "clean" their organisation. — Sapa
AWB threat to De Klerk

Sowetan Reporter

THE far Right-wing has threatened to disrupt a meeting which is to be addressed by State President FW de Klerk in Venterdorp tomorrow night. (2044)

The leadership of the Afrikanerweerstands Beweging said in a statement on Tuesday that its members are not allowed to attend Friday's meeting "by the thousands, the consequences would be tragic".

De Klerk's meeting has caused a stir in the western Transvaal town, and the Conservative Party has already indicated that the President is "not welcome".

The AWB's statement says the people of Venterdorp have "two urgent requests" for De Klerk: he has to "throw open" the doors of the meeting to the voters of Venterdorp and give them the opportunity "to clear up urgent matters with him".

A spokesman for the AWB said the issue of far Right-wing detainees is one of the issues De Klerk has to "clear up".

He said the local Afrikaner community is also upset over police action against farmers on the farm Goedgevonden in May this year.

"Mr de Klerk can diffuse the situation during this meeting," the AWB spokesman said.
Strings in US aid for SA
Mandela warns on talks

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE ANC had lost all faith in the Government and the National Party had to hand over power to an interim government before negotiations could start, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

The ANC president said that it had become "very difficult" to negotiate with the Government while it was pursuing a "double agenda of talking peace while making war".

He said there was absolutely no way that President FW de Klerk could not have known about the secret funds given to Inkatha or that he was unable to stop the violence.

The ANC warned De Klerk 15 months ago about the violence in the country, but the President failed to stop it.

He said he had repeatedly spoken with De Klerk on the issue and that he had gone as far as calling the President "a man of integrity".

But, Mandela said, his opinion of De Klerk "might have been exaggerated."

"Black lives are very cheap to white South Africans and De Klerk is part of that attitude," Mandela said.

He said that the ANC and the Government were moving closer on the issue of an interim government, but the ANC would not be co-opted.

Inkathagate proved that the present Government could not oversee the transitional process on its own while it had a role to play in the creation of a new order.

"The Government must respond satisfactorily to the Inkathagate scandal. If it does not, it is going to be very difficult to move forward."

"What we want is a transfer of power to an interim Government," Mandela said.

Commenting on the future role of Inkatha in the light of the covert funding issue, Mandela said that the relationship between the ANC and Inkatha had been damaged.

He also said that there was no difference between the Government and Inkatha.

"They are on the same payroll. Speaking to Inkatha is like speaking to the Government," Mandela said.
Mandela absolves Inkatha members

By Patrick Laurence

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday exonerated rank-and-file members of the Inkatha Freedom Party of blame for the Inkathagate scandal and expressed the hope they would "clean up their organisation".

His statement — made at a news conference shortly after his arrival from a tour of Caribbean and South American countries — was interpreted by some journalists as an invitation to Inkatha members to oust Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela, however, denied that he was appealing to Inkatha members to rebel against Chief Buthelezi, saying: "We are not going to dictate what they are going to do. But there are certain things which they must do in order to put their organisation on a basis on which we can continue to talk to them."

A central theme ran through his replies to questions in the wake of disclosures that police had funnelled money from State coffers to Inkatha and its trade union ancillary: It complicated but did not foreclose the task of negotiating with the De Klerk administration.

But, the ANC leader made clear, the Government had itself become an obstacle to negotiations, and processes towards a negotiated settlement would depend on its replacement by an interim government of national unity to oversee the transition from apartheid to non-racialism.

Mr Mandela adopted a generally tough attitude towards Mr de Klerk. He refused to retract a remark to which the State President took exception — that Mr de Klerk was promoting his administration's cause "over the corpses" of ANC members — and accused the President of being less than frank when he denied knowledge of the payments to Inkatha.

Mr Mandela's understanding attitude towards the Inkatha membership contrasted with his remarks about its leader.

"Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself to be used by the Government," he said unequivocally. "There is no difference whatsoever between the Government and the Inkatha leadership. They are on the same payroll."

On Mr de Klerk's complaint about the accusation that he, Mr de Klerk, was advancing his cause over the ANC's dead, Mr Mandela responded: "Mr de Klerk is the last person to complain about that remark."

Asked whether he thought Mr de Klerk was telling the truth when he denied knowledge of the payments to Inkatha, Mr Mandela said: "You will have to decide for yourself ... No funds could have been spent by the Minister of Police and by the Minister of Finance, and with the concurrence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which would not have been known to the State President."

Declaring that Mr de Klerk had still not acknowledged the full extent of covert funding of organisations hostile to the ANC, Mr Mandela said: "We are demanding that the present Government transfer power to an interim government."

Sapa reports that Soviet President Gorbachev has invited Mr Mandela to visit Moscow later this year. Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs responsible for Africa, Valery Nilayenko, said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Mr Nilayenko is due to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha today.
Interim rule now thrust of negotiations, says ANC

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC is ready to get an all-party conference going as early as mid-September — in spite of the Inkathagate scandal — but it will now insist that the key obstacle to be discussed is the authority of the Government itself.

In an exclusive interview with The Star, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa revealed that a process of consulting the ANC’s membership and its allies on whether suspended preparatory constitutional talks should be reactivated had already begun.

He said it was difficult to state precisely when its result would be known, but “I would say maybe a month, six weeks. The process is under way already…

“We are going to be ready for an all-party conference after two things — the consultations and the patriotic front conference. After that, we are ready to go.”

The move confirms new ANC urgency to get the negotiations process moving again, particularly in the light of the organisation’s belief that its case for an interim government has been greatly strengthened by the shush fund revelations.

The pre-scaral position — in which the Government was seen to be impatient for round-table talks, and the ANC was dragging its feet — appears to have been reversed.

Interim government has now supplanted all other issues as the pivot around which “parties themselves” — is considering hardening its position dramatically because of Inkathagate.

There is a very strong possibility that the OAU will shortly send a ministerial delegation to Europe and the US to push the case for pressure to be placed on President de Klerk to accept an interim government in South Africa.

According to Mr Ramaphosa,

Mr Ramaphosa said that when the ANC’s internal consultation process “reaches finality… we will be able to say very clearly to the Government that we now are ready to start talks on the calling of an all-party congress — if our membership agrees that we should now lay more emphasis on the main obstacle, which is the Government.

“This would be without de-emphasising the other obsta-

He said there was no question of the ANC trying to “destroy” the Government in the wake of Inkathagate.

“I think there is a recognition that his Government is necessary to the process,” Mr Ramaphosa said, adding that if Mr de Klerk agreed that Pretoria could not manage the transition alone, “he could actually find himself being a leading part of an interim government.”

The ANC’s low-profile role in the course of Inkathagate reflects a strategic decision to hold back and let matters unfold independently in the hope that the end result would be to speed up negotiations to the ANC’s benefit.

“We could have gone on the rooftops,” said Mr Ramaphosa, “but I don’t think a responsible political organisation should do that. We had come with a response that gave direction to the country rather than one that served party-political interests.

“We take very seriously our responsibility to not lead our followers, but to guide the leadership to the country.”

The ANC secretary-general expressed disappointment however, with the way which the ANC’s response had been greeted.

“Think the Government ther did not read the sig coming from the ANC (regarding Inkathagate) clearly, or they are just grateful.

“Because the signal we gave is that of course we want the investigations so on, but at the same time, we are saying: Let us get with the job that is at hand. We don’t trust you — in people don’t trust you more — but we are prop
ANC throws down the gauntlet to push pace

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC has moved to push the pace of "real" negotiations as Pretoria reels from the funds-for-Inkatha scandal, and has identified concessions on an interim government as the price President de Klerk will have to pay for a multiparty conference in the near future.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, who returned from overseas yesterday, and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that talks with the government would not be called off because of the shuush fund revelations, but signalled that the interim government issue now stood above all other "obstacles to negotiations".

The ANC position appears to be that outstanding "obstacles" would fall away if the larger issue were resolved.

If the Government conceded the necessity for working out an interim structure, Mr Ramaphosa said, the ANC could be "ready to go for" an all-party conference as early as mid-September.

Mr Mandela, who last month said he did not think it likely that the round-table talks could start this year, confirmed that an interim government was now a condition Mr de Klerk had to meet if preparatory talks on constitutional negotiations were to be reactivated.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was not prepared to be co-opted into the existing Government: "What we want is a transfer of power to an interim government."

This was the only way to solve the problems created by the Government's covert funding of Inkatha.

Observers believe the ANC's new push on the interim government issue reflects its assessment that if it presses Pretoria into multiparty talks soon and succeeds in making the transitional government the top point on the agenda it would begin bargaining from a position of strength.

More reports — Pages 3, 6
The high cost of low games

South African Government is lucky to escape so lightly from the Shush Fund scandal says Stanley LP

South African Government is lucky to escape so lightly from the Shush Fund scandal says Stanley LP
Multiparty conference
a winner, poll finds
By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

There is overwhelming support among all population groups in South Africa for a multiparty conference to negotiate a new South Africa, according to a recent survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council.

In a telephone survey last month, the HSRC's Information Update asked more than 2,000 people from all population groups whether they were in favour of a multiparty conference.

Only slightly more than half of the respondents were aware of this possibility.

Of these, 52 percent thought it was a good idea and 30 percent said it was a good idea. Only 5 percent thought it was a bad idea and 6 percent were uncertain.

Support for the idea was particularly high among English-speaking (60 percent). It received the most opposition from Afrikaans-speaking and even then it was only 6 percent of this group.

A substantial majority of 73 percent thought that not only political parties should attend the conference, but also other organisations.

It emerged that only 15 percent of all respondents thought that the armed struggle was a very good or a good thing.

Negotiation was supported by no less than 83 percent of the respondents; boycotts and stay-away actions by only 18 percent.

In reply to a question on whether the current Parliament could be used to effect change, 70 percent thought it could.

Support
The National Party could probably count on the support of 27 percent of all population groups; the ANC on 24 percent; the Conservative Party 4.3 percent, and the Democratic Party 1.5 percent.

Support for the NP among whites remained unchanged at 56 percent between June and July, despite the removal of the last pillars of apartheid legislation.

CP support was the same at 21 percent, while support for the ANC among blacks rose from 47 to 50 percent.

In reply to a question as to who should be chosen to lead South Africa, 35 percent of the respondents indicated President de Klerk; 21.7 percent supported ANC leader Nelson Mandela; 24 percent preferred CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht; and only 1 percent supported Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Of the 2,101 people who took part, 412 were whites, 888 blacks, 386 Asians and 41 coloureds.
Nats braced for chaos at FW meeting
By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The National Party is bracing itself for what could turn into chaos at President de Klerk's meeting in Venterdorp tomorrow.

The NP is adamant it will go ahead with the meeting and called on supporters not to be "put off by right-wing threats to descend on the meeting in their thousands".

The AWB has warned there could be "tragic consequences" if Mr de Klerk does not open the meeting to all voters.

AWB secretary Piet "Skiet" Rudolph said yesterday that taxpayers' money was being used so Mr de Klerk could deliver his address.

Sources had told the AWB "hordes of policemen would protect the NP leader's interests".

"Thus the State President and the Government dishonour once again the promise not to use the police as political pawns," he said. 
Cash for Inkathath:

US shuns advice

By Henry Ludski

AMERICA's decision this week to fund Inkathath's bid to broaden its political base was taken against strong warnings by the Bush administration's own South African consultants.

Helen Zille of the Cape Town-based Zille Shandler Associates told SOUTH that her consultancy — in a report written for the US government in May this year — "strongly cautioned" against funding being used to expand the political power bases of both the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The consultancy had argued instead for emphasis to be placed on "expanding the negotiating capacity" of political organizations through funding top-level policy study groups and negotiation task forces.

But the Bush administration this week disregarded the consultancy's advice and announced that the IFP would be given R7.5m to help equip a new national office in Durban and about 30 regional offices.

In terms of the US Congress' "Transition to Democracy Project", Zille Shandler Associates were given a brief by the US government to conduct a "needs assessment" of the ANC and IFP to identify programmes and activities which would encourage negotiations leading to genuine democracy in South Africa.

Said Zille: "I didn't expect the money to be allocated after the Inkathagate scandal because this gave more cogency to our warning, and I did not expect the money to be allocated in the current climate."

The Inkathagate scandal revealed that the South African state channelled funds specifically to bolster Inkatha's political support base.

"We cautioned against using the funds allocated by the US Congress to build the support base of a political party and I had expected this warning to have been enhanced by the Inkatha issue," said Zille.

"In our proposal we warned that if money was used to set up offices and, in so doing, broaden the political power base of the organizations, that this would arouse controversy in South Africa."

Zille refused to release her report, saying it contained confidential information from the ANC and Inkatha.

Mr Larry Schwartz, assistant US information officer in Pretoria, said this week that, regardless of the advice of Zille Shandler Associates, "the US is going to do what it is going to do."

He confirmed that Inkatha would be allowed to use the money to open regional offices in the country.

"The organization might have a lot of supporters elsewhere in the country and the money would assist them in setting up regional offices in other regions if they decide to develop a national presence."
The idea that a committee of businessmen can guide State President F W de Klerk's Cabinet through the pitfalls of its clandestine endeavours is both naive and dangerous — especially for the businessmen.

There will be no shortage of business egos willing to serve on the committee, particularly if what passes now as an economic advisory council is anything to go by. It is no more than a forum of special interest that the wise and knowledgeable studiously seek to avoid.

Businessmen, moreover, are notoriously inept and unsophisticated in political judgment and, in the cloak-and-dagger matters that fall within the ambit of this committee, they will be mere babes in arms. Professional spooks will run rings around naive and sentimental entrepreneurs.

By the very nature of the men willing to serve, De Klerk will be surrounding himself with the fawning and flattering. He will get neither the independent advice nor the sensitivity to public attitudes on these secret affairs that he is seeking and to which he believes himself entitled.

Those businessmen foolish enough to join the committee will have great difficulty in the new SA to live down the impression that is bound to arise — namely that they were party to a conspiracy between government and business to suppress open discussion on the consequences of the dark side of apartheid. That could be a very real danger.

The answer is, of course, to scrap the entire parliamentary vote and use it to pension off those involved with what has been described as “continuing contractual obligations” — in short, putting them out to grass. Then let businessmen get on with what they know best.
HERNUS KRIEL, ROELF MEYER, LEON WESSELS, SAM DE BEER, PIET MARAIS

The president's new men

Who are the five new Cabinet Ministers? It may be simpler to give the big picture.

On average, he's an attorney in his 40s, married with 2.8 children, a graduate of an Afrikaans university and a politician as far back as he can remember. He's been in parliament for about 12 years. In case there's any doubt, he's a white male vergelyke Nat. Does he wear grey shoes? Probably.

Hernus Kriel (49), who moves over from Planning, Provincial Affairs & Housing to take the Law & Order hot seat vacated by Adrian Vlok, has the shortest tenure in parliament. He won the Parow seat in 1984.

Leon Wessels (45), who made his reputation as Pik Botha's deputy at Foreign Affairs, will put his diplomatic touch to work at Kriel's old job. Kriel may be the new head cop, but Wessels is the son of a policeman. He attended the Police College from 1964 to 1966 and served as an instructor in the mounted police. As a teenager he was a member of the Transvaal junior horse jumping team.

Sam de Beer (47 this month), who takes over from Stoofel van der Merwe as Minister of Education & Training, is the only non-lawyer in the bunch. Formerly a minister in the Hervormde Church, he was elected to parliament for Geduld in 1974, making him the longest serving MP of the five. Coming over from "own affairs" Budget, Welfare & Housing in the House of Assembly, he's also the only one who isn't already a full Cabinet Minister or Deputy Minister.

Piet Marais (58), the new Minister for Administration and — crucially — white education, is the only one who's not forty-something. Formerly the Deputy Minister of Education & Development Aid, Marais farmed wine and tobacco in Stellenbosch during the Sixties and later sat on a number of company boards, giving him the most business experience of this group.

The youngests of the group is Roelf Meyer (44). With four children, he has the biggest family. He leaves Constitutional Development — he was a government representative at the Groote Schuur talks last year — to handle the ousted Magnus Malan's Defence portfolio and takes on the Communications job as well.

Born on a farm near Humansdorp, Meyer matriculated in Ficksburg and then completed his BCom and law degree at the University of the Orange Free State. He was chairman of the Students' Representative Council (SRC) and national president of the Afrikaans Studentebond, in those days a conservative countryside student organisation. His defence experience was limited to a year at the Air Force Gymnasium.

Working as a partner at a law firm in Johannesburg, he took over the Johannesburg West constituency in 1979 when Dawie de Villiers left to become ambassador in London. In a 1981 interview with the FM, Meyer expressed his admiration for PW Botha, "especially his excellent management capabilities, vision, loyalty and discipline." Two years later, Botha rewarded him with an appointment as Deputy Minister of Law & Order.

Though he's worn the "young Turk" label for years, he's never been a maverick. In 1987, he told the FM: "I am a party man and a loyalist."

Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, the only child of a minister to the coloured branch of the NGK, is a Cape man. Born in Kakamas, he attended school in Wellington, graduated with a law degree from Stellenbosch in 1964, worked as a State prosecutor in Bellville and set up a law practice in Parow.

He served on the Cape Provincial Council where he specialised in local government and town planning issues. Elected to parliament seven years ago, he seemed destined to remain a backbencher until he emerged after the 1989 election as P W de Klerk's front man on the hot issues of group areas, separate amenities and farm-settlement areas — in effect the "Minister of Apartheid."

Though he saw the dissolution of the most draconian housing legislation, sceptics have doubted his commitment to opening up formerly all-white areas. He has consistently expressed the NP's determination that "norms and standards" be maintained in white suburbs.

When his appointment to replace Vlok was announced, United Press International wrote that Kriel is "known as a hardline authoritarian." Kriel does have a glinty steelyness that his grin and self-deprecating humour can't mask — a toughness that may be overdue for the Minister politically responsible for the police.

Like Meyer, Leon Wessels cut his teeth on student politics. He was chairman of the SRC at Potch, where he earned his law degree in 1972, and president of the Afrikaans Studentebond. Born in Kroonstad, he matriculated in Krugersdorp.

And like Meyer, he practised law in Johannesburg — and then got the nod to contest the Krugersdorp constituency in 1977. In April 1988, he became Deputy Minister of Law & Order, but was moved to Foreign Affairs after the 1989 election.

Wessels's main claim to fame is his public apology for apartheid. "Apartheid was a dreadful mistake that blighted our land and its people," he said a year ago at a conference on "the anatomy of hate" in Norway. "Brutal apartheid or forced removals to the homelands was an inhumane and indefensible practice."

With Stoofel van der Merwe's move out of the Cabinet, it seemed logical that his deputy, Piet Marais, would take over Education & Development Aid. Instead, Marais will tackle what many observers regard as the mess at "own affairs" Education & Culture, left by the departing Piet Clase.

Raised in Robertson in the Cape, Marais has a law degree from Stellenbosch and practised as an attorney on and off, in between forays into farming and business. In 1972, he was elected to the Stellenbosch town council and 10 years later, in a by-election, won that parliamentary constituency.

The only born and bred Vaalie is the new education czar, Sam de Beer. He grew up in Rivonia and matriculated at Johannesburg's Helpmekaar. At the University of Pretoria, he also sat on the SRC and served on the national executive of the Afrikaanse Studentebond. He majored in Greek and philosophy, completed his degree in Divinity and then became a minister, serving churches in Magaliesburg and Springs.

Ten years after arriving in Parliament, he became Deputy Minister of Education & Co-operation. He'll be heading back to the renamed Education & Training Ministry, after overseeing the Budget, Welfare & Housing in the white House of Assembly.
THE NP could count on the support of 27.7% of the members of all groups in the SA population, a recent survey by the Human Sciences Research Council's Information Update shows. The telephone survey of more than 2,000 people conducted in July found the ANC had the support of 24.8%, the CP 4.5%, and the DP 1.5%.
Survey shows uncertainty

Yeş, to all-party talks

CITY
TALKS

Growing common ground

Negotiations on the political future are set to begin before the end of this year. The National Party government is impatient to get moving and the ANC has made it clear that it is almost ready for multi-party talks to begin. But the ANC first wants to see what alliances can be forged at the Patriotic Front conference, to be held in Cape Town on August 23.

This conference will bring together the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Workers’ Organisation for Socialist Action; union groupings Cosatu and Nactu; sporting organisations such as the SA Congress of Sport; the SA Council of Churches; and leaders from Transkei, Gazankulu, QwaQwa and kwaiNdebele. Inkatha has declined an invitation.

Those attending the conference will do so because of their background as avowed “liberation movements” or as supporters of the “liberation struggle” and because they share a commitment to a constituent assembly — though it is clear that this term is being defined very loosely.

The process envisaged by all the major players is that a multi-party conference should begin work as soon as possible. The conference is expected to start by trying to work out what sort of transitional authority should run the country while a new constitution is being negotiated.

Both the Nats and the ANC, the two major players, accept that a neutral government should oversee this transitional phase.

But what kind of government? This is expected to take up many hours of debate. The issue of security force neutrality will also be critical.

However, concepts like “constituent assembly” could be confusing and the problem of definition could itself delay negotiations. Some spokesmen appear to assume that a constituent assembly would be elected in a countrywide poll. But this would in effect produce an alternative parliament. It is an option that government is not falling for and it has little chance of being accepted.

On the other hand, when major players have to come to terms with reality, they may be surprised at how much they have in common. The ANC, as far back as its January 8 policy statement, conceded that a multi-party conference, or all-party conference, could transform itself into the constitution-making body.

Government has accepted the principle of a transitional or interim government. Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen says the form it will take depends on the multi-party conference — which government is keen to see established as soon as possible.

Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, told a conference in Durban on Monday that it was “no longer possible for the majority of South Africans to trust government alone to over-
SA is on the right track, says visiting Egyptian group

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — South Africa is moving in the right direction towards a meaningful future, says a high-powered Muslim delegation from Egypt.

Spokesman Sheikh Mansour el-Rifaai Ebid, a member of the Supreme Islamic Council of Egypt, said that before coming to South Africa the delegation had the impression the situation was very bleak.

"But we found that there is much goodwill among people of all races and a keenness to work together. South Africa is moving in the right direction."

He is accompanied on his visit to Durban by Dr Mustafa Fakharany, lecturer in linguistics at Al-Azhar University, and Qari Mahomed el Basouny, a leading religious figure in Egypt.

They are guests of the Jamaat Ulama of Natal.

Since their arrival this week the delegation has been visiting mosques, Islamic centres, community-run clinics, universities and schools.

Sheikh Mansour said members would report back to religious and welfare organisations in the Muslim world, urging that they give aid to South Africa.

The delegation said it was involved in religious work and was not in this country for business or to set up trade links.

Members were interested in promoting a better understanding among all people — South Africa included.

The delegation officially opened the Darul Uloom in Newcastle, which provides religious education to 200 students.

They turned the first sod in Ladysmith for the Darul Quaraan’s second-phase development for 14 classrooms.

They met about 150 Muslim theologians at the Orient Islamic Institute Hall in Durban.
Interim govt the 'major obstacle'

Talks likely in October, say Ministers

GOVERNMENT, the ANC, and other major parties were likely to start meeting for negotiations as early as October given good faith by all concerned, senior Cabinet Ministers said yesterday.

Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen is also expected to make an announcement on a multiparty conference at a news briefing today.

The parliamentary select committee on constitutional development, made up of all the political parties represented in Parliament, also met yesterday to discuss developments towards convening the multiparty conference.

The Ministers said they welcomed the recent indications by the ANC's national executive committee and its president Nelson Mandela that the two sides were drawing closer.

However, the ANC demand for a "sovereign interim government" to replace the current government was still a major stumbling block.

Viljoen yesterday rejected the ANC demand for an interim government as "not acceptable under any circumstances". But he did accept that some form of transitional arrangements, where other groups such as the ANC were brought into the Cabinet, was necessary.

One source believed that once the parties were involved in a multiparty conference, they would find solutions to most of the remaining problems, possibly including some compromise between "transitional arrangements" and "interim government".

BILLY PADDOCK

Another source said that one helpful result of the Inkatha funding scandal was that it seemed to have strengthened the ANC's hand and given them the confidence to now push for negotiations.

Government believed that before the lengthy process of continuous negotiations started, there would have to be a series of ad hoc meetings between the major and acknowledged political parties and organisations.

These parties would include the NP, ANC, PAC, Inkatha, Azapo, the SACP, the other parliamentary parties except the CP which has so far refused to participate.

At these meetings, the parties would take two or three days to thrash out issues such as the agenda of the multiparty conference, the number of representatives each party would send to the conference and how it would be chaired.

The major negotiations in the conference would not get off the ground before next year because of the preparations required, and the different groups' schedules that could cause delays, the source said.

The way was clear to get the urgent business of drafting a new constitution on the road now that some of the major obstacles to talks were being removed. These included the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the progress of the peace initiative to end the township violence.

The source said government was ready to start the process immediately, and the NP would need no more than a month to fine-tune and fully prepare itself.

President F W de Klerk had announced to the world last week that he wanted the talks to start soon.

The NP was based on a federal structure and it was expected that its team of negotiators would probably consist of the four provincial leaders: Finance Minister Barred du Plessis (Transvaal), Public Enterprises and Economic Co-ordination Minister Dawie de Villiers (Cape), Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlott (Natal) and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

(From Page 1)

There would also be a back-up NP team that would probably include incoming Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Viljoen.

Last week De Klerk told a news conference that the first item for discussion by a multiparty conference could be an interim government or some form of transitional arrangement. But he made it clear that this had to be within the framework of the current triamical constitution.
Ministers expect SA-Soviet co-operation

PRETORIA — Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and the Soviet Union's Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Valeri Nikolaenko expect growing co-operation between their countries after talks yesterday.

They were speaking at a news conference at the Union Buildings after heading delegations in talks lasting more than an hour.

Botha said that there was no hurry to formalise diplomatic relations, but as the Soviet Union was embarking on a market economy, and apartheid had gone in SA, there was "no reason why we should not co-operate ... I foresee steady, closer co-operation between us".

Nikolaenko said general issues had been discussed, including the possibility of co-operation "to help for a better life for African countries".

The Soviet Union was prepared to continue cooperating with SA and was aware of efforts by President F W de Klerk to improve the internal situation. — Sapa.
New British envoy is a man of caution

Darius Sana

New British ambassador to Jordan is a man of caution.
Two influential US senators due in SA

DARIUS SANAI

TWO senior members of the US Congress, responsible for African affairs and international finance, are due to visit SA this month.

Sen Paul Simon, a veteran member of the Senate's committee on foreign relations and chairman of the African affairs subcommittee, and Sen William Roth, who serves on the subcommittee on international finance, are to make separate private visits during this month's congressional recess.

Five other members of Congress are to make visits.

One is Sen Dennis DiConcini, a moderate Democrat from Arizona who arrived in SA for a week-long visit yesterday.

DiConcini serves on the powerful appropriations committee, which effectively controls the legislative side of the budget, and on the select committee on intelligence.

Diplomatic sources said the results of the Simon and Roth visits would "almost certainly" have an influence on the legislators' policy-making towards SA when they resumed activities on their Senate committees.
Showdown for Fw at Venetia

Pritchings

The AVB has warned of "tragic section after this year's preformance. Issued a traditional farewell premiun".

A picture of a show at the rooftop of the convention center in the background. The AVB was not a member of the fire company that was able to prevent the destruction of the convention center.

The door was open to show all of the inside.

A picture of a farewell tribute presented to the firefighters and firefighters, including the firefighters who lost their lives.

It is believed that natural disasters caused the fire.

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They raised a thunderous ovation.

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PAC rejects interim govt

PORT ELIZABETH. —
Mr Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the Pan Africanist Congress, said this week that his organisation rejected the idea of an interim government because it would not be an elected government based on democratic elections.

Speaking in Centenary Great Hall, New Brighton, he said an interim government was a form of replacing an illegitimate government with another undemocratic structure.
FW gears up for showdown

 OWN CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and the police are gearing themselves up for a showdown with right-wingers at tonight's National Party meeting in Venterdorp.

The right-wingers have promised to attend the meeting in the conservative town in their thousands and NP offices have received calls from anxious party members concerned about the possibility of violence.

The police are preparing to prevent "intimidation and violence". Posters advertising the meeting indicate that admission will be reserved.
Optimism for talks to start in October

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government, the ANC and other major parties are likely to begin meeting for negotiations as early as October, given good faith by all concerned, senior cabinet ministers have said.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is expected to make an announcement today about a multi-party conference.

The parliamentary select committee on constitutional development met yesterday to discuss developments towards convening the multi-party conference.

The ministers said yesterday that they welcomed the recent moves by the ANC's national executive committee and its president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The two sides were drawing closer, they added.

However, the ANC demand for a "sovereign interim government" was still a major stumbling block.

Yesterday Dr Viljoen rejected the ANC demand for an interim government as "not acceptable under any circumstances". However, he accepted that some form of transitional arrangement, in which other groups such as the ANC could be brought into the cabinet, was necessary.

One source believed that once the parties were involved in a conference, they would find solutions to most of the problems. The solutions could possibly include a compromise between "transitional arrangements" and "interim government".

Another source said that a helpful result of the Inkatha funding scandal was that it seemed to have strengthened the ANC's hand and given it the confidence to push for negotiations.

The government believed that before the long negotiations began, there would have to be a series of ad hoc meetings to thrash out the details, such as the agenda.

The major negotiations would not get off the ground before next year because of the preparations required, the source said.
Nats gain highest backing

PRETORIA. — The National Party could count on the support of 57.7% of the members of all groups in the South African population, according to a recent survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council's Information Update.

The telephonic survey of more than 2,000 people conducted in July this year found that the ANC had the support of 24.8%, the Conservative Party 4.3% and the Democratic Party 1.5%.

Support for the NP among whites remained unchanged at 55.5% between June and July despite the removal of the last pillar of apartheid legislation, said the HSRC in a statement.

The CP's white support stayed at 21% while support for the ANC among blacks rose from 47% to 50%.

President F.W. de Klerk's support among Afrikaans-speakers was 47% in July as opposed to 32% in June, and 65.9% of English-speakers supported him.

Only 18.6% of Afrikaans-speakers supported CP leader Dr Andre Treurnicht.

The survey found there was overwhelming support among all the population groups for a multi-party conference to negotiate a new South Africa.

The HSRC said that of the 2,101 people who took part in the survey, 888 were blacks, 441 coloured people, 412 whites and 338 Asians.

Sapa
The power behind the grin

A FEW years ago, during a wage dispute between the mine owners and the National Union of Mineworkers, Cyril Ramaphosa was the subject of a famous political cartoon.

He was pictured standing behind a mining magnate, whose face was contorted with discomfort. This was due to the fact that the caricatured Mr Ramaphosa's hand was up between his legs, squeezing his sensitive parts. The speech bubble had Mr Ramaphosa saying, sweetly, "Do I hear 30 percent?"

"But the most striking element of the drawing was Mr Ramaphosa's face, at once brutally intelligent and innocently cherubic. It captured perfectly the political personality: a top-drawer charmer who exercises his considerable power with a whimsical, impish grin."

This is the Cyril Ramaphosa, NUM chief no more, but secretary-general of arguably the most powerful political organisation in South Africa — who will shortly become the ANC's full-time negotiations facilitator and strategist.

He was in full flight this week, in his new office at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters. He answered, under a barrage of questions, about his new job definition and about the apparent parallel between his position and that of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who is being relieved of his Cabinet duties to become the National Party's negotiations pointman and chief negotiator.

Mr Ramaphosa was much more animated when talking about the political situation in the wake of Inkathagate.

For him, the exposure of Government funding for Inkatha is positive proof that an interim executive, drawn from the various key parties, is the only means of ensuring speedy and successful negotiations.

"We have a feeling that the Government is going to crash this ship," he says, "because it is not capable of piloting us through this stormy transitional weather."

"And I don't think there are many of us who want to end up on a political Oceania. Not when we can see that the captain isn't fully in control, and might crash and run away." We intend to educate him (President de Klerk) out of that bad seaman ship. And one of the ways of doing so is to say: "We want to educate you on the job, we want to hold the steering wheel with you."

"Because at the moment Mr de Klerk is saying to us: 'Trust me. In spite of Inkathagate and everything, I want you to be in with me in a transitional arrangement. But I'm not going to admit you into the captain's cabin. I'll keep on opening the door and saying: how am I driving? Then I'll close it again.'"

"Now we say: 'We want to be in there with you, and that's all we ask.' Mr de Klerk could actually find himself in a leading part of an interim government." Mr Ramaphosa says he is not wedded to the particular terminology, but to the principle involved. "If the term 'interim government' is all they have problems with," he says, "I think most of us would be willing to call it something else."

"But I have a feeling that it is much more than the term that they have problems with. Therein lie the seeds of a deadlock. And I think Government would be misdirecting itself if it thinks it can still instill faith and confidence in the transitional process, with its hands still on the steering wheel."

Mr Ramaphosa believes that as a result of Inkathagate "our (the ANC's) "case has become greatly strengthened because many people have now seen that this Government is not going to be capable of ensuring that the transition period is smooth. If this Government remains in control, there are going to be many, many pitfalls, which might delay the process — and even reverse the process, to a certain extent."

Will the dramatic Cabinet changes not make a difference? Mr Ramaphosa ponders for a while before answering. "I think Mr de Klerk's new Ministers will serve him well. In fact, I have no doubt they will serve him and the objectives he wants to achieve well. The new Cabinet, or the reformed Cabinet, will be fully behind him."

"But I am not so sure if, in the end, the changing of the Cabinet will mean much change. In the way the Nationalist Government has been thinking and doing things. One could say that to us, it might seem as if it were just the musical instruments that have been changed. The orchestra plays on."

Mr Ramaphosa was finally inveigled into talking about his altered post and its apparent mirror within the National Party. He dealt with second things first, "I am uncomfortable with the (Van der Merwe) parallel," he says, adding with a grin before the obvious question could be asked: "But don't ask me why."

Had he asked for the re-appointment of duties? "I'm not saying," he laughs, but then concedes he has "found this job involves a lot of work". ☠
AWB says thousands of supporters will pour into Venterdorp tonight

By Helen Grange, Pretoria Bureau

Rightwingers from all over the country are planning a massive show of force which may turn into a violent confrontation at President de Klerk's meeting in Venterdorp today.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has warned that thousands of rightwingers will descend on the meeting.

"This could be the rightwingers' strongest action yet — a Rubicon event for them," commented Dr Wim Booysen, political analyst specialising in rightwing politics.

It is understood there are plans to "neutralise" a large police contingent and to attempt to prevent Mr de Klerk addressing his supporters.

A body created to marshal the rightwingers, the Venterdorp Afrikaner Crisis Action, said it had been refused permission to protest tonight and present a petition to Mr de Klerk.

The group's chairman, Sarel van Rensburg, said: "The rally promises to be one of the high points in Afrikaner history."

NP chairman in the western Transvaal, Annie Venter, has told NP supporters to be seated early and not to be intimidated by CP and AWB threats.

The police have stated they will not allow disruptions at the meeting.
CP quits body, says

Govt is being sly

The Conservative Party yesterday withdrew from a meeting of the parliamentary Joint Committee on Constitutional Affairs in Pretoria.

It accused the Government of using the committee "in a sly manner" to involve Parliament in the negotiation process.

(CP spokesman on constitutional affairs: Meekman Meintjes (MP; for Elsies River) said in a statement that President de Klerk had instructed the committee to consider the structuring of the negotiations process and Parliament's role therein.

The National Party was in this way abusing Parliament and its machinery to reach its own party-political goals and to compromise parties such as the CP in the negotiations process. - Sapa.)
Protecting the rights of SA's women

By PORTIA MAURICE

WILL South African women—fragmented by class divides and political schisms—be able to reach common ground about how their rights should be protected in a future constitution? This is the challenge faced by an African National Congress Women's League regional seminar to be held at Wits University on Saturday. A myriad of women's and political organisations, ranging from the Conservative Party, Inkatha and the National Party to the Pan Africanist Congress, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, have been invited to attend.

The Women's League is proposing a charter as a means of ensuring that women are not sidelined in the constitutional process. But other options will be considered.

A women's charter, said Women's League member Frenê Ginwala, would help the courts interpret what is contained in a Bill of Rights. Whereas a constitution would contain the basic laws of the land and a Bill of Rights the inalienable rights of individuals, a charter would be a declaratory document spelling out women's demands.

"This has got to be a South African document which goes beyond party political perspectives," Ginwala said.

A process of broad consultation is envisaged, with particular emphasis on the needs of rural women in outlying areas. "This should not be a document designed by an intellectual group of elite women; women at every level should be encouraged to debate what their needs are," Ginwala said.

Among the issues which may be included in the charter are maternity and child care rights, gender oppression within family units, the recognition of unpaid labour, equal pay for work of equal value, women's right to control their own fertility, protection against abuse in the home and property rights.

"Both women and society devalue unpaid labour—such as domestic responsibilities and collecting water or firewood in villages—because work is defined only in terms of what brings in wages," Ginwala said.

The campaign will be launched at a national level later this year.
Giving flesh to the notion of interim government

The actual shape of an interim government is still only a hazy outline. Cyril Ramaphosa, the man at the helm of the African National Congress in the past weeks, provides an insight into ANC thinking.

By PHILIP VAN NIEKERK

A CREDIBLE interim government will involve not just placing representatives from other parties in the cabinet, but tampering with the civil service itself, says Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the African National Congress.

In a wide-ranging interview with The Weekly Mail this week, Ramaphosa said the prime areas of joint control that the ANC would be aiming for would include the security forces and broadcasting media, but added "I think you have to go way beyond that."

The Inkathagate scandal has transformed the political scene in South Africa, cutting through the impasse over political-prisoner releases, the return of exiles and the township violence, and opening the way for an all-party conference to began the real task of negotiations.

Both the government and the ANC agree that item number one on the conference agenda will be an interim government or "transitional arrangements," but the actual shape it will take is still only a hazy outline in the minds of both major parties.

Ramaphosa said that within the ANC there is an intensive discussion on how to give flesh to the notion of an interim government.

"While it holds out the dangers of co-option if it is properly structured, the dangers are much reduced," he said.

"By an interim government, we are talking about a sovereign body which will be vested with the instruments of state power.

"We will not have the National Party and all other parties participating.

"There's also the question of the civil service -- the real backbone of apartheid. It is the civil service that has to run elections, and if you're not going to tamper with the way it operates, then the result is going to look like an apartheid government.

"The concept of an interim government will become much clearer for us when the consultation process among our members has reached its conclusion and also at the all-party conference, when our proposals on the table will have been gone through thoroughly.

"What is clear is that we do not want to go through the transition process with a De Klerk government.

"I think De Klerk has set his mind against giving up the sovereignty of his government. There is some hope, to the extent that he is prepared to talk, and we will be going in there to demonstrate to him that an interim government is the best route to be taken."

Ramaphosa said the significance of the interim government for the ANC was that it would be an insurance policy during the negotiations.

"Its overall importance has to do with injecting confidence in the whole negotiation process. The feeling on the ground is that there is very little that you can trust in De Klerk and in a National government.

"Because they cannot be trusted, they cannot therefore act as player and referee and hope to hang on to the reins of power. Government can have a very big influence on whatever settlement emanates.

"If I think if we allow the National government to proceed in government, we will actually be making sure that we have a recipe for disaster afterwards.

"Apart from the fact that they are going to undermine agreements that we've reached, there's a chance that we might be forced to get into agreements that may not be popular or we might be forced to get into agreements of convenience with them that will never last the test of time."

Ramaphosa said that the ANC is the only body that can be regulated by an interim government would be the police, the defence force and the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

"An interim government will not just be political involvement. It will go beyond to include the officials to ensure that the interim government will be fully involved in the structures of the police force and the defence force."

Ramaphosa said another concept the ANC was dealing with was the role of the international community during the transition phase, but that it was still a bit early to see whether they could play the same role as they played in Namibia.

"There is a case to be made out for the involvement of the international community. They have been involved in a number of other conflicts and have been involved in South Africa in an indirect way in terms of putting pressure through sanctions and the adoption of the Harare and United Nations declarations.

"A case can be made for their direct participation, but it is premature to say how. But things have advanced to a point where we think the involvement of a neutral party in the negotiating process is going to become a reality.

"We have to decide who that neutral party will be, who will convene the all-party conference, who will chair it, and so forth.

"We've had success with neutral players already -- that is, the church and business -- in the peace talks. One cannot say whether they will be called to play that role in the constitutional process."

Ramaphosa said he had not yet settled in his own mind how the all-party conference is to be convened.

"Government envisages a meeting to talk about planning an all-party conference. That could involve the government and the ANC, and at that meeting there could be agreement on handing over to a neutral party that could convene a planning committee where all parties are represented."

Ramaphosa said it was inconceivable that the all-party conference would sit this year or at the beginning of next year.

"Preparatory things have to be done -- invitations have to go out, you have to check the credentials of every organisation, criteria have to be agreed on, and so forth."

"But there are many pitfalls along the way, just as there are hopeful points. Depending on how all parties participate in the process, we may find that we speed up the process and reach rich, good agreements or everything comes to a standstill. We as the ANC are hopeful that we will be able to steer clear of the pitfalls."

On ANC co-operation with Inkatha, Ramaphosa said: "We cannot run away from the fact that Inkatha is also a player on the political scene. What we have said is that we're going to review our relationship with Inkatha because it has proved that it's not an independent political party, as we thought it was.

"That review will be taking place at all levels -- regional, branch, national -- and when it is completed, we will be able to take a position."

Ramaphosa said the obstacles to negotiation would still have to be removed, but "the main emphasis now is on the removal of the major obstacle -- the government."
VENTERSDORP — It was a tragic day for South Africa "that people shoot at the custodians of law and order" for doing their duty, State President F W de Klerk said in his speech on Friday night in Venterdorp.

Addressing 1 600 people in the town shortly after incidents involving AWB members and police, Mr De Klerk said he would not apologise for using the police to safeguard the meeting.

The meeting has been violently opposed by the AWB which has led to clashes between the rightwing and police guarding Kommando Hall where Mr de Klerk addressed National Party supporters.

He said the government would supply police protection to any party that needed it from "people who do not know how to behave themselves".

Mr De Klerk launched a hard-hosed attack on the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging and other rightwing groups for "looking for trouble".

The controversy surrounding the National Party meeting had not been the fault of the NP — "but instead had been instigated by the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging and their friends".

"If there is to be confrontation tonight, which I hope will not happen, then they must carry the full responsibility," Mr de Klerk warned. "I am shocked by the viciousness and threats of the past few days, and I know many CP supporters are shocked with me and concerned".

He said the excuse often used by the CP for excesses was that the NP was no longer speaking to Afrikaners, but was only talking to the African National Congress. "That is a blatant untruth...I have spoken to Eugene Terre'Blanche and Jaap Marais (of the Herstigte Nasionale Party) in my office." — Sapa.
TWO DEAD AND DOZENS INJURED IN CLASHES

The Battle of Vent

Top banks reel as fraud scandal spreads

Weekend Argus/ Correspondent

LONDON. — The scandal surrounding the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) spread its tentacles further last week, rocking the world banking system.

Hong Kong said yesterday it suspected BCCI of being involved in a "Boer uprising" that convulsed the little town last night.

Two white men were killed during the clashes, and more than 50 earlier reported, police spokesman Capt. Craig Lodge confirmed today.

"The men were Mr. J. L. C. Elsden of Kimberley, and Mr. H. A. G. Badger, address unknown." An unidentified black man is thought to have died in the clashes.

A total of 25 people were injured in the clashes, which erupted when about 200 African Witsandist supporters confronted police who had surrounded a hall where President P.W. de Klerk addressed a National Party meeting.

Capt. Lodge said 36 white civilians were hurt, 12 black civilians and eight police officers. A total of 200 policemen were killed to stop an equal number of right-wingers from carrying out a threat to disrupt the meeting.

Mr. de Klerk was able to deliver his address (report on page 3).

The AWB members reportedly died in a car accident. Most of the black people were believed to have been injured after being dragged from a minibus taxi and assaulted by AWB members.

Car windows were smashed.

The AWB leader, Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche, negotiated at Ventersdorp police station until late in the evening while the angry group of AWB supporters barricaded the entrance to the police station and Mr. Piet Roodt, AWB secretary general, told the assembled mob: "What we have seen here tonight is the start of the Boer uprising."

Mr. Roodt had just been released from temporary police custody. A police spokesman told: "Significant charges were being investigated against him."

Later, Mr. Terre'Blanche told his followers at the police station to go home. He said they had an assurance from General Louis Matin of the police that they would be allowed to go home without being "kicked out of bed with a bicycle.""}

According to a report by Correspondent, the AWB members were arrested and several peasants arrested in Ventersdorp for the murder.

AWB members spray-painted the police vehicles parked outside with the hammer-sickle and anti-Apartheid symbols and let us an out of the tyres to prevent police from leaving Ventersdorp. The AWB members also destroyed the police station and destroyed several police officers and one of the AWB supporters fired shots at the police station and the police returned fire.

Police said that the shooting occurred when police went to the rescue of the occupants of a hotel who were shot at and assaulted by AWB supporters.

Major Roy Harrell of the police public relations division said after holding a meeting to another hall, the AWB supporters split into smaller groups and moved towards the hall where the police meeting was to take place.

Turn to Page 2.
The situation today: The South African Police Service (SAPS) is facing challenges in managing crime in the country. The SAPS has been criticized for its inability to effectively address violent crime, especially in urban areas. The police force is overburdened and lacks the necessary resources to handle such a high volume of cases.

The graph illustrates the number of crimes reported and solved over the past five years. It shows a steady increase in reported crimes, while the number of crimes solved has not kept pace. This highlights the need for increased policing and resources to effectively manage crime.

The SAPS has recently implemented new strategies to address the increase in crime, including the deployment of additional police officers and the use of technology to improve law enforcement. However, these measures have not significantly reduced crime rates.

In conclusion, the SAPS is facing significant challenges in addressing crime in South Africa, and urgent action is needed to improve law enforcement and reduce the high number of reported crimes.
**The battle of Ventersdorp**

From Page 1.

"On route to the hall, a taxi with two black occupants drove past and the AWB people shot at it, shattering most of the windows."

The AWB supporters wrested the occupants from the vehicle and assaulted them.

Policemen who saw the attack tried to reach the injured minibus occupants, but the AWB crowd kept them back. "The police used birdshot to disperse the attackers. A marksman or marksmen, using a rifle(s) opened fire on the police," said Major Harrald.

One seriously injured policeman was taken to the Ventersdorp Hospital.

Major Harrald could not confirm whether AWB members had been injured in the shooting.

The switchboard operator at the Ventersdorp Hospital said the admissions area of the hospital was "chaotic", but she would not say how many casualties had been admitted.

President De Klerk arrived more than an hour late. He arrived by helicopter; running the gauntlet of angry AWB members, metres of razorwire and contingents of police surrounding the Kommando Hall.

Mr Terre'Blanche was earlier sprayed in the face with tear gas by a police captain during an ugly confrontation. The incident happened after Mr Terre'Blanche said: "Captain, come and shoot me."

Tear gas was fired by police into the AWB crowd and police followed up the tear gas with a baton charge. The AWB people responded by throwing stones and firing shots, during which at least three policemen were injured.
Mandela firm on interim government

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THOHOYANDOU. — The ANC will insist on a definite time-frame for establishing an interim government.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the government's "range of criminal and near-criminal" behaviour demonstrated the need for interim rule.

He was speaking at the national conference of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe at the University of Venda yesterday.

In a prepared speech given to the Press, Mr Mandela said 18 months were the limit of a realistic period to establish an interim government. However, he made no mention of this period when he delivered his speech.

Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani said Umkhonto we Sizwe had already begun preparing itself for a new defence force by sending some of its members to various countries for regular army training.

Mr Hani said the ANC leadership had not yet decided about the Communist Party's request to relieve him of his ANC duties, including his Umkhonto we Sizwe position.
Interim govt: ANC ‘flexible’

Own Correspondent
THOHOYANDOU. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday signalled a new flexibility on the thorny interim government issue.

In his opening address to Umkhonto we Sizwe’s first legal conference in South Africa, at the University of Venda, he said the “modalities of its installation and its actual composition can be a matter for discussion and negotiation among all the players on the political arena”.

The ANC would insist on only two principles:

● "The first is inclusivity, so that no body of political opinion feels excluded." This will go some way towards addressing the fears of those who believe the organisation’s proposals for an interim government would amount to little more than an ANC government.

● "The second is a definite and unambiguous time frame." It has been suggested in ANC circles that this should be no longer than 18 months.

Mr Mandela painted a picture of what he envisaged as the process that should be followed.

"For an interim government to assume office will require that the incumbent government resign and hand over power to the transitional administration.

“The interim government would have to take charge of all armed and security forces in the country, adopt an interim bill of rights, supervise and conduct the elections for a constituent assembly in addition to implementing other measures necessary to prepare the country for democracy," he said.

Mr Mandela also returned to the recent ANC decisions to maintain MK in combat readiness, establish MK structures around the country and to create self-defence units.

"Because of our keen awareness of the dangers inherent in the minority regime’s determination to cling on to power... we dare not relax our vigilance and we dare not permit this MK to disintegrate or whither away," he said.

He added that “we are called upon to prepare ourselves and restructure MK so that its cadres can take their rightful place in the armed forces of a democratic South Africa”.

Mr Mandela paid lavish praise to those countries that have backed MK during its 30 years of existence. They included Angola, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Egypt, the USSR, Cuba and China.
AWB Riot

TWO AWR

Running battles at FV meeting
we are terrorists?

Sign of the times ... Graffiti on an Eastern Transvaal bridge captures the militant mood of the far right.

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

with ET...

The professor and a Pop Crowe as the doctor — of geology, TerreBlanche informed us ("he studies rocks") — formed a banjo and guitar combo and launched into drunken renditions of Please Release Me, Let Me Go and songs辅导ing with Afrikaner sentiment.

"Play us more songs of suffering (harsoever)," said TerreBlanche.

"No, no songs of suffering," said a woman at the bar in despair. "Songs of suffering are for kaffirs. Volkslieder are for us!" So too, it seems, are political funerals. TerreBlanche shot down the prospect of a mass funeral for the fallen of the Venetia gold mine. "We are not the African National Congress. We boere have private family funerals." The racist tone of the conversation continued as the evening went on. "I don't like Jews," the professor, who claimed to own diamond and gold mines, kept repeating, explaining that "the Jews killed us in the Boer War and took away our mines." As he departed, TerreBlanche asked us mockingly: "So now you've got the militant right-wing. Do you still think we're terrorists?" "I am not a racist," he continued and then, with an exaggerated gesture of chivalry, he kissed Manthey's hand and said: "May a white light guide you." When the looked puzzled, he joked: "You see? You are a racist. Have you ever seen a black light?"

Leaving us to ponder the meaning of this, the self-proclaimed champion of the boer cause stumbled out of the Venetia gold mine.

A version of this story was published in newspapers in Holland, Britain, Canada and America earlier this week, unleashing a storm of controversy in the Afrikaans press and an indignant denial from TerreBlanche. The AWB leader has told friends that he had not been in the company of whites, nor of business men.

He denied that he had popped the bullet onto the counter, saying: "It is a well-known fact that I don't carry a gun and that I would not have had a bullet on me." Van Vuuren said that they went to the bar to talk business and that TerreBlanche had not taken any liquor. He said that he had been terribly tired and harsoever after the events of the night before.

"We were continuously bothered by the Dutch lady. This lady appeared to be rather piissed and provocative. She forced herself upon Mr. TerreBlanche and provoked him to talk about the events of the night before. He repeatedly sent her away politely."

According to Van Vuuren, they suspected that Manthey was either a journalist or an agent. He said that when she came and leaned against him and asked for a souvenir of Venetia, one of the TerreBlanche's friends said: "Take this (six bullets) and give it to De Klerk if you want to." TerreBlanche then left the bar, Van Vuuren said.

To which Manthey replied: "I was not pissed. I hardly drink. I was amused but certainly not trying to be provocative."

*The real winner was FUV:* Page 18
THE government has spelt out its proposed ‘interim measures’ to be implemented while negotiations for a new constitution continue.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen this week sketched outlines for a form of power-sharing between the major political parties during the negotiation period, which some sources indicate could begin within two months.

**Filter**

Options he put forward as part of the power-sharing package were:

- Appointing members of other parties to the Cabinet;
- Giving the proposed multi-party conference or the eventual constitution-making body veto rights over legislation;
- Appointing a committee of “wise men” with power to “filter” legislation and actions by government departments.

Dr Viljoen acknowledged there were still vast differences between what he was proposing and the ANC demand for an interim government. The ANC has made it clear it expects the interim government to have full executive powers. But he believed the NP and ANC were moving closer on the issue.

There is room and a willingness to move even closer,” he added.

Addressing journalists at a press conference this week, Dr Viljoen said government was not ruling out possible changes to the constitution to ensure effective power sharing in the interim period.

Government, he said, was averse to tinkering with the constitution until a new one had been negotiated.

But he added: “We realise the objection from the other side is that this would lead to no real power and no real influence and would amount to co-option. Therefore, we are prepared to look at alternatives.”

He stressed, however, that any interim measure introduced would have to be agreed at a multi-party conference.

Dr Viljoen’s statement on possible interim measures — the clearest statement yet by the government on the issue — came in a week in which important progress was made to remove immediate stumbling blocks to the commencement of negotiations.

The government and the UN High Commission for Refugees have come closer than ever to reaching agreement to allow the UNHCR to oversee the return of 20,000 exiles to South Africa, said Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

But final agreement, which would see the last remaining obstacle to negotiations being removed, has not been secured.

After holding two days of talks with the depart-
ANC the whole apartheid patronage machine, from arweis contracts to pass offices and land rental agencies, so that black bureaucrats can behave in future as white bureaucrats behaved in the past.

The Nationalists have abolished pass laws, group areas, separate amenities, official land-grabbing departments, even the democratic elements of provincial government, but it has not reduced the size, the cost or the venality of government.

President de Klerk may have stopped Mr Pik Botha from dishing out money for dirty tricks, but however it would seem, can stop him from pouring millions into the bantustans where apartheid duplicated the venal system of patronage which it created in Pretoria. Less government or more, the cost always rises.

There is an irresistible force at work here: it is the tenacity of bureaucracy. Whomever rules, whatever the policy, the system survives. The Czar's secret police survived to become Stalin's police; Mozambique carried the ponderous methods of Portuguese colonialism into post-colonial society, in the new South Africa, the finance minister will call Mr Nelson Mandela "oom".

Plus co change...
Rightwing now
Act to curb the
With Kevin Flyn

MY WAY

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Arden Mounur.

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CP pins its hopes on a general election

VRYHEID — The CP has again stopped short of backing violence and is pinning its hopes on forcing a white general election which it is confident it can win.

The Natal CP congress on Friday and Saturday was told by the feisty MP for Potgietersrus, Schalk Pienaar, to "stand up and use every means available to defend the integrity of our land". Pienaar also said "words must be translated into action" but never spelled out details.

The CP leaders and MPs present made it clear they felt the most effective way of reaching their objective was via a general election.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said recent by-election trends showed the CP would get majority backing if a white general election was held now.

He added that the party was drawing "substantial" English-speaking support and pointed to Natal by-election and municipal election results as evidence.

The CP Natal chairman, President’s Councillor Carl Werth, was confident the CP could win two pending municipal by-elections in Durban and Queensburgh.

A motion on the land reforms gave rise to some of the most heated rhetoric of the congress, with Pienaar calling for supporters to use "every means available" to prevent their land falling into the hands of "Third World people".
Saccola, Cosatu to lobby Cabinet

Rebuff for FW’s covert security plan

A JOINT management/labour initiative has been launched to urge President F W de Klerk to scrap his plans to appoint a private sector committee to advise him on covert security activity.

It was disclosed at the weekend that employer federation Saccola and Cosatu agreed at a meeting on Tuesday to approach Cabinet jointly with a proposal that the committee be replaced by a more broadly based group representing all key sections of civil society, including organised labour.

They are to seek a meeting to discuss the issue with Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer (soon to become Defence Minister).

The rationale behind approaching Meyer would be that he is government’s chief representative in the church/business-initiated peace process. The parties hope to arrange a meeting with him this week.

The Saccola/Cosatu scheme — according to sources at the meeting and others briefed on its proceedings — would incorporate the entire issue of covert activity into the church and business-initiated peace summit which has made good progress in drawing up codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces.

Cosatu and the ANC have already stated their opposition to an advisory committee comprising senior businessmen. Cosatu has drafted a written proposal for government’s consideration.

It is understood that the type of people De Klerk plans to appoint to the private sector committee would be chairmen and chief executives of the country’s largest corporations. Initial approaches have apparently been made already, although identities of those approached could not be ascertained.

The consensus between the union and management groups is that a committee comprising representatives of such groups as business, organised labour, and civic and local government groups should be appointed to examine the covert activity issue.

The most important consideration was that its composition should be broadly acceptable to and inspire confidence among major opposing groups.

Its primary purpose should be to establish guidelines as to when the public interest would be served by covert activities, and to determine what control mechanisms should exist to ensure that these guidelines are adhered to.

An important consideration would be that the guidelines should be made public. If details of covert activities were then “leaked” again, it would generally be clear to the public whether the guidelines had been contravened. It was further suggested that these guidelines could also be incorporated into the review of legislation related to covert activities promised by De Klerk for next year.

It is understood that, apart from the Cosatu/Saccola initiative, several businessmen have already asked Cabinet contacts to try to convince De Klerk to drop his private sector committee scheme.

Security

The ANC recently described De Klerk’s proposed committee as “a face-saving measure designed to embarrass others in dirty tricks to preserve the power of the NP”. The ANC appealed to the business community not to permit itself to be drawn into such “dubious schemes”.

And a senior business representative, who did not want to be named, said many business leaders opposed the scheme.

“The last thing we need in an arrangement which unions would see as confirming their suspicions of a conspiracy between the ‘apartheid’ government and big business, he said.

In his statement on the illicit funding scandal on July 30, De Klerk said the committee would be asked to advise him on the requirement that secret funding should not benefit political parties, and to advise on whether continuing secret projects were in the “national interest”.

He said the advisory committee, in order to permit it to “restore trust”, should comprise well-known personalities accepted as people of integrity.

Meyer had no comment to make yesterday.
Blanche

AWB to mobilise commandos for revolution, warns Terre
CP challenges FW on police deployment

DR Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, has challenged President De Klerk to say how much the large police presence at Ventersdorp cost South Africa.

Dr Hartzenberg told the CP's Natal congress at the weekend that the responsibility for the three deaths and violence at Ventersdorp rested squarely on the shoulders of President De Klerk.

President De Klerk was the most 'irresponsible, reckless State President' South Africa had ever had, Dr Hartzenberg said.

He challenged the president to say how much money South African taxpayers had subsidised the National Party with through the deployment of the large SAP contingent at their meeting.

The number of police at the meeting showed that he knew there would be trouble. The blood of the dead and injured 'is on the hands of President De Klerk,' Dr Hartzenberg said.

President De Klerk 'has come to the end of his road. He must resign and must hold an election'.

He was responsible for black political violence and now for the first shots fired in white political violence, Dr Hartzenberg said.

No political solution would be possible without the support of white people, Dr Hartzenberg said.

The mood of the congress was militant.

Mr Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgieterrust, urged delegates to stand up and use every available means to protect the integrity 'of our fatherland'.

A woman, identified by CP officials as Mrs Merrill Peterson of the Umlazi constituency, told delegates 'to find the biggest pair of hobnail boots that we can possible lay our hands on and give the greatest slap' to President De Klerk to remove him from parliament.

One delegate called on CP members to boycot all supermarkets unless they employed white people at their cash registers. Also, farmers should kick black people off their farms and employ white/boys, he said.
Meeting behind locked doors
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—About 150 people attended a National Party meeting behind locked doors in Dewetsdorp's town hall last night as a cordon of police held about 10 rightwingers at bay.

The rightwingers arrived in a bakkie, circled the square and disappeared. Four men claiming to be NP supporters were not admitted because they were not known by the guards.

Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs, National Housing and Local Government Leon Wessels told the gathering that neither the right wing nor the left wing could deal with the country's problems as effectively as the National Party.
SA no longer a blot on envoys' copy books

DARIUS SANAI

SA is fast becoming one of the most sought after places in the world for a diplomatic posting, say embassy sources.

Johannesburg and Pretoria were, until a couple of years ago, seen as "punishment postings"; said a European envoy last week.

"When you were sent to SA in the past, you generally knew that the powers that be were less than happy with your work." But foreign ministries abroad now have long waiting lists for even minor postings to SA.

A US diplomat confirmed the trend.

There had been a record number of applications for a recent vacancy in one of the US consulates in SA, he said.

"SA combines two areas of appeal," he said. "Firstly, it has a very nice quality of life for diplomats. And secondly, it is an exciting country where real political changes are taking place."

The European diplomat said favourite postings of the Cold War era such as Paris, London, Rome and New York still offered a high standard of living but little in the way of drama on the political scene.

The emergence of a "new world order" had made countries like SA and the former Eastern bloc states far more desirable. Another diplomat said that serving in SA had once been seen as a blot on a foreign service record.

Many envoys were reluctant to accept SA postings because of the perception that some countries, particularly African and Arab lands, would disapprove.

Sources in the French diplomatic corps said that until recently the embassy had been forced to recruit staff locally.
The night anger and hate spilled over...

ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

RAGGED as it was, the attack in Venterdorp was foreseeable. Hate filled the borough, rage contorted its face — there was no room among them for democracy or freedom of speech.

They brandished rifles, shotguns, submachine guns, daggers, tasers, batons, sjamboks, whips, clubs and other unorthodox, homemade instruments of violence. Some had their own helmets and gas masks, others had their own attack dogs to take on the furious police actions.

These men were equipped for bloodshed, not for the normal police encounter, and they listened to President De Klerk in the Transvaal, Mr TBP, who had beeniliated to direct them to venture with his reformist ways into Terre Blanche and the rest of the country. Mr De Klerk would have been safer speaking in soweto than he was here.

They had been locked out. Mr De Klerk’s meeting was by invitation only. Entrants wearing “I am a police officer” badges were allowed through coils of razor wire and several checkpoints.

Police stations standing outside the Ye...
A law crisis

State to probe private armies?

Tos Wenteur, Political Staff

The government may consider action against private armies following bloody clashes between the police and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbevegting at Venterdorp at the weekend.

The feeling in government circles today was that the AWB, whose heavily armed members were often in evidence in Venterdorp, has become a private political army.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adrian Vlok, has given an indication of this and the forthcoming meeting of the State Security Council in Pretoria today is expected to give attention to the matter.

Mr. Vlok said at the weekend that private armies were unacceptable because this could only lead to confrontation.

One option was to prohibit private armies - but it would be better to try to get the cooperation of political parties to convince them that there should not be private armies.

Openly displayed

There has been criticism of police actions at Venterdorp because the weapons of AWB supporters were not confiscated at road blocks and because many of them were openly displaying weapons, including hunting guns, in the town long before the trouble broke out.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said today that some illegal weapons had been confiscated but there would have been more if the police had tried to take away all legally registered weapons.

While the police were opposed to private armies, the light to carry legal weapons for the purpose of self-defense had to be recognized. There were many cases of police, especially farmers in rural areas, being attacked.

Mr. de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, today expressed concern about the phenomenon of private armies.

He said that, while there was the right to own weapons for self-defense, something should be done to deal with the question of weapons at political meetings. There should be some law against this.

The use would have to be on the state that weapons had been carried with a political intention.

Security sources said today that the Security Council would have to review the policy on political violence.

Tragic moment

A spokesperson for President De Klerk said today he would not comment further at this stage.

Speaking after the meeting on Friday night, Mr. De Klerk said events there had been a tragic moment for democracy in South Africa.

He hoped the events there would bring South Africa to a standstill and have them reconsider their actions.

People at Venterdorp could also not have been forced to leave weapons in their cars as these could have been stolen.

CP blames De Klerk for deaths

Political Staff

VRYHEID. - President De Klerk is responsible for the deaths and violence at Venterdorp, says Conservative Party deputy leader Dr. Fred Hartzenberg.

Speaking at the CP's Natal congress this weekend, he said Mr. De Klerk had been the most irresponsible, reckless, unscrupulous President South Africa had ever had.

The number of police at the Venterdorp meeting showed that Mr. De Klerk knew there would be trouble. The blood of the dead and injured "is on the hands of President De Klerk. He has come to the end of his road. He must resign and make way for an election," Dr. Hartzenberg said.

The mood of the congress was militant, with many attacks directed at Mr. De Klerk and other "liberals" and demands for a white election.

Meanwhile AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche yesterday accused police of "attacking unarmed police officers" and "killing one by one". He said the AWB would resist if the government attempted to "steal a coup".

The AWB leader called for a "resistance war against a black government which is trying to overthrow us".

ARRESTED: Mr. Plaatje, "Skiet" Rudolph, Afrikaner Weerstandsbevegting general secretary, was led away by police. He was arrested on Friday after the clashes between police and AWB members in Venterdorp which left three dead and several injured including policemen.

The flavour of France
Johannesburg Strike, 1922

Violence and memories of similar violence in South Africa's history.

The general secretary of the AWB, Mr. Piet Botha, has done the same thing in the last two years. In 1932, the Prime Minister, Mr. Louis Botha, told black workers in the mining industry to break the strike, but at the cost of 218 lives. He used these deaths to break the strike, and was exonerated by the court. The AWB sent its troops to enforce the strike, and over 300 workers were killed. Both were bystanders.
UK govt urges ‘tolerance’

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British government yesterday urged all parties in South Africa to exercise political tolerance, as Friday night’s battle between the police and the AWB received wide coverage in the media here.

In a statement yesterday the Foreign Office said it “deplores violence from whatever quarter and continues to urge the South African government to ensure the police force enforces law and order impartially.”

It urged all parties in South Africa to “practise political tolerance”.

Veteran political analyst Professor Willem Kleyhans told the Sunday Telegraph that the years of indiscriminatory apartheid were to blame for the conflict.

He said: “This has its origin in the overnight scrapping of apartheid without preparing them (the whites) for the consequences. If you brainwash people for decades and think you can scrap it overnight you are looking for trouble.”

He predicted that “the AWB and others are going to get more daring and desperate”.

The Independent’s correspondent, John Carlin, said there were a few moments on Friday night when it seemed touch and go whether the police would back President F W de Klerk against their fellow Afrikaners in the AWB.

“Seduced” by the rhetoric of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, he said, the policemen looked “confused, callow, uncertain how to act”.

Although the moment passed, he said, for the rest of the night, “veterans of far more vicious battles with the ANC, hard men with thick moustaches and bulging bellies, retained in their eyes a vacant, adolescent sense of having done something not quite right”.

One young policeman even phoned his mother from a public telephone to say he was “really frightened”.

Big question

Said Mr Carlin: “Mr De Klerk was undoubtedly the night’s winner. The police stood by him at a critical moment and, just as important, at a time when his image as a bold reformist has been severely questioned, he managed to project himself as a man of courage standing in the moderate centre of South African politics and assailed by the forces of anarchy.”

The big question, he said, was how the police would react to the prospect of similar exchanges in the future.

Several commentators noted that the first time shots were fired by the police was when they came to the rescue of black people in a taxi being fired at by members of the AWB.

Columnist Allister Sparks, writing in yesterday’s Observer, said “the spectre of a white civil war” on top of the black-on-black violence “hangs over South Africa” following Friday’s events.

“The Afrikaner community, which until recently presented a front of monolithic solidarity, is now more deeply divided than at any time since General Jan Smuts ordered his troops to fire on striking Afrikaner miners in 1922.”

Far-right violence, which on Friday had boiled to the surface, “could add mightily to De Klerk’s problems”, he said.

But he added that it could also split the right because AWB violence would “shock many anti-reformist Afrikaners who are said, strait-laced people disapproving of such thuggery”.

The Sunday Times correspondent, after describing the heavily-armed neo-Nazi AWB supporters, noted: “They were not men to annoy. The addition of alcohol made them dangerous even to each other. They had begun drinking early and heavily, groups of pot-bellied men telling jokes about ‘knifflers’ and rabbis while cursing De Klerk and the police ringing the hall where the president was to speak.”
NP’s fax to AWB ‘was missed for six hours’

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A FAX in which the National Party informed the AWB that Mr Amie Venter, Minister of State Expenditure and Regional Development, would serve as liaison officer at the NP’s ill-fated Venterdorp meeting, was missed for six hours.

This emerged from an at-times heated television debate between AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre’Blanche and NP Transvaal leader Mr Barend du Plessis on SATV’s “Agenda” last night.

Two AWB members were killed and 38 people injured in a pitched battle between police and AWB supporters involving shotguns, hunting rifles, teargas, batons and dogs early on Friday evening.

Mr Du Plessis said the fax was sent to the AWB’s Venterdorp offices at 1.15pm on Friday with the intention that an AWB delegation be organised to attend the NP meeting “under certain conditions” and that “a plan be made”.

Mr Terre’Blanche said he first saw the fax, which was not addressed to him, but to a General Van Rooyen, at 7.15pm, and countered that this “proved” that Mr Du Plessis had “no idea of what’s going on”.

The fax had been a response to a letter sent by himself (Mr Terre’Blanche) to the State President. When the fax arrived the AWB’s office had been full of members, he said.

Mr Du Plessis said the NP had transcripts of telephone conversations subsequent to the fax, which “we will be releasing to the press” to prove that every effort was taken to avoid violence.

Mr Terre’Blanche said the 2,000-strong AWB crowd had been armed because police had shot and wounded three of their members at Goedgevonden squatter camp several months ago. Hunting rifles could not be left in vehicles as this was illegal, he added.

He rejected Mr Du Plessis’ contention that the “AWB/CP alliance” intended to “create a liberated area, as the ANC are so fond of saying.”
VRYHEID - The Conservative Party is to push ahead with its plan to keep a register of white South Africans.

Mr Louis Stofberg, the MP for Sasolburg, said the idea had been mocked by some politicians and journalists, but the CP "wants to keep alive the knowledge of who is white".

Speaking on a motion condemning the scrapping of the Population Registration Act, Mr Stofberg said the CP would not let the "record of our heritage" be abandoned.

The party was working on the details of how to compile its register.
Johannesburg and Pretoria were, until a couple of years ago, seen as "punishment postings," said a European envoy last week.

"When you were sent to South Africa in the past, you generally knew that the powers that be were less than happy with your work."

But foreign ministries abroad now have long waiting lists for even minor postings to South Africa.

A US diplomat confirmed the trend. There had been a record number of applications for a recent vacancy in one of the US consulates in South Africa, he said.

"South Africa combines two areas of appeal," he said. "Firstly, it has a very nice quality of life for diplomats. And secondly, it is an exciting country where real political changes are taking place."

The European diplomat said favourite postings of the Cold War era such as Paris, London, Rome and New York still offered a high standard of living but little in the way of drama on the political scene. The emergence of a "new world order" had made countries like South Africa and the former Eastern Bloc states far more desirable, he said.

Another diplomat said that serving in South Africa had once been seen as a blot on a foreign service record.

Many envoys were reluctant to accept South African postings because of the perception that some countries, particularly African and Arab lands, would disapprove of a South African link in their past.

Sources in the French diplomatic corps said that until recently the embassy had been forced to recruit staff locally.

"That has all changed," the sources said.

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Porta officially named as envoy

BUENOS AIRES — Mr Hugo Porta, the former Argentine rugby captain, has been officially named ambassador to South Africa.

Mr Porta, who played over 50 internationals for Argentina and was their leading points-scorer, with more than 500 points, retired after last year's tour of the Argentine team to Britain.

He has not played again since then, although he only officially announced his retirement from the game earlier this year. — UPI

 Trọng lượng: 156.72Mb
CP pins hope on a forced election

Own Correspondent

VRYHEID. — The Conservative Party has again stopped short of backing violence and is pinning its hopes on forcing a white general election, which it is confident it can win.

The Natal CP congress here on Friday and Saturday were told by the MP for Potgietersrus, Mr. Schalk Pienaar, to "stand up and use every means available to defend the integrity of our land".

Mr. Pienaar also said "words must be transferred into action", but never spelt out details.

One delegate, apparently frustrated by the party's failure to stall President F W de Klerk's reforms, urged the congress to come away with concrete proposals on how it should respond. There had been seething criticism of the repeal of the Lands and Population Registration Acts.

However, the CP leaders and MPs present made it clear they felt the most effective way of reaching their objective was via a general election.

Dr. Treurnicht, in his opening address on Friday evening, said recent by-election trends showed that the CP would get majority backing if a white general election was held now.

He said a Washington Times survey in April last year indicated that the National Party would have lost an election at that time.

"I think the Conservative Party now has a majority among whites," said Dr. Treurnicht.

He added that the party was drawing "substantial" English-speaking support and pointed to Natal by-election and municipal election results as evidence. The Congress was attended by 137 delegates, the most yet for a Natal CP congress.

By-elections

The CP Natal chairman, President's Councillor Mr. Carl Werth, was also confident that the CP could win two pending municipal by-elections in Durban and Queensburgh.

The MP for Sasolburg, Mr. Louis Stofberg, urged party workers to prepare for an election. He pointed out that, according to the constitution, the country had to go to the polls by 1984 and he did not believe a new constitution could be negotiated by the government and ANC by then.

Shameful incidents such as those at Ventersdorp would only hasten the day when the government would be forced into a general election.

"We must be positive about the fact that there will be an election," he said. "I say to F W de Klerk that I don't want to be in his shoes if he does call an election," said Mr. Stofberg.

A motion on the land reforms gave rise to some of the most heated rhetoric of the congress, with Mr. Pienaar issuing his call for supporters to use "every means available" to prevent their land falling into the hands of "third-world people".

He denied that the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts had discriminated against blacks, claiming they had been used to give white land gained by legitimate means back to the black people.

He said Mr. de Klerk was "trying to dispossess us of our national asset. Our national way of life is being sacrificed for international accolades and so-called internal reconciliation," said Mr. Pienaar, the party's "guardian" MP for Natal, which does not have CP representation in Parliament.

He added: "My warning is to keep your hands off our land."

The Education Renewal Strategy and mixed local government initiatives were also roundly attacked, as were the press.
Third AWB man dies after Ventersdorp

Death toll up
the future of negotiations and the country as a whole can only be guaranteed if there is closer and genuine co-operation between itself, the ANC, other democratic forces and all peace loving South Africans."

Mr Mandela stopped short of calling for an outright ban of the AWB, but he said the right-wing movement should be "destroyed" if it could not be persuaded to change its ways.

"It was evident that the presence of the AWB at the meeting was to prevent the National Party from putting across its views to white Ventersdorp," Mr Mandela added.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday the ANC would not call for the AWB to be banned, despite Mr Mandela's weekend appeal to "destroy" the right-wing organisation.

Mr Macozoma also commended Mr de Klerk for insisting on addressing the NP meeting in Ventersdorp, despite the threats and reality of right-wing violence.

Mr de Klerk said it was a tragic moment for democracy in South Africa when "people shoot at the custodians of law and order" for doing their duty.

He said controversy surrounding the NP meeting had not been the fault of the NP — but had been instigated by the Conservative Party, the AWB and their friends.

The president expressed sympathy and condolences to the bereaved families.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr de Klerk ignored all warnings that he was not welcome in Ventersdorp.

Dr Treurnicht yesterday said that Mr de Klerk's address on Friday "was like a red flag to a bull", but he stopped short of sanctioning the AWB actions and calling for active resistance.

"People can only take up arms in extreme cases," he said. But the government was now using its security forces against its own people, which was "provocative in the extreme".

'No other choice'

Mr de Klerk was continuing along a political road for which he did not have permission from white voters, Dr Treurnicht said.

"It is arrogant to take the rights of whites away," Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said while he did not wish to make light of the events in Ventersdorp, it would appear the police had only done their duty.

The actions of the right-wingers had been irresponsible and unjustified, he added.

Dr de Beer said right-wingers had been demonstrating against the legally-elected government of South Africa and also against the principle that all citizens should be treated fairly.

AWB general secretary Mr Piet Rudolf said: "We went to the hall to meet the State President. Instead we were greeted by hordes of heavily armed policemen, razor wire, teargas, and biting guard dogs.

"This gives us no other choice but to get ready for a war which was started by Mr de Klerk against his own people."

Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) president Mr Gerrie Steenkamp said the violence could have far-reaching economic consequences for South Africa.

He said the AHI urged Afrikaans political party leaders to resolve their differences through dialogue.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Dr Jaap Marais said the president's decision to hold a public meeting at Ventersdorp had been a calculated provocation of Afrikaner opponents. — Sapa and Own Correspondent
THE Government has indicated that it could amend the present constitution to accommodate negotiating partners - but the decision will have to be taken at multiparty talks, in a move seen to be a concession to the PAC.

The Minister of Constitutional Development De Gersit Viljoen said during a briefing on Friday that while Government was not in favour of "tinkering" with the constitution, it was amenable to alternatives, was "not dogmatic" nor would it co-opt people.

Viljoen was reacting obliquely to the PAC's comments earlier in the week that it would not accept a "transitional arrangement", under the present constitution.

He did however stress that the Government was against a total and absolute transfer of power or sovereignty to an interim government, "as defined by the ANC," but at the same time indicated that the Government was flexible.

Viljoen said the present constitution and the structures set up in terms of the constitution remain in place.

"We realise that the objection to that point of view from the other side is that this would lead to no real power, no real influence, and that it would amount to co-option. Therefore we are prepared to look at alternatives.

"But whatever the results, it must be the result of negotiations at a multiparty conference and the agreements achieved there and the rules of the game in which we (negotiating partners) should agree before hand with respect to the multiparty conference.

"But if an acceptable transitional arrangement involving constitutional arrangements is negotiated, then obviously that approach will have to be adjusted," Viljoen said.

Earlier in the briefing, Viljoen said: "The fact that you accept negotiations mean, by implication, that you are willing to listen to your opposition's viewpoint, and that you are not inextricably tied to your own," Viljoen said.

Detailing the type of power sharing the Government envisaged, Viljoen said while there would be effective power sharing, there would too, be sharing of responsibility.

Among the options available for effective power sharing, the executive of the country could be expanded and a "joint filtering committee of wise men" could be established on an informal or formal basis.
DP calls for govt of unity

The Democratic Party yesterday called for a Transitional Government of National Unity in which all significant parties would be represented.

In a statement issued yesterday following a meeting of the DP caucus, Mr. Colin Eglin MP said the DP would press for the establishment of a transitional government at the forthcoming multi-party conference.

He said no political party could be both the referee and a player during the process of negotiation of a new constitution.

"Equally, no single party, let alone a single minority party, can monopolise government during the process of transition to a new South Africa."

Eglin said it was essential that a transitional government of national unity should have constitutional continuity, political effectiveness and a high-degree of popular legitimacy.
PAC, ANC, Azapo and Nats somehow agree

THE Government and the black liberation movements are making noise - the same noises - they just won't make audible now.

There was a time when the only thing on which there was unanimity was that South Africa needed a new constitution.

Over the past two weeks, all the main actors in the unfolding political drama have reached a conclusion on another term, and that is there has to be some kind of "transitional arrangement" - a very indefinite term, not just a futility.

The ANC has said it wanted a united National Party "to hand over power to an inclusive government."

The PAC too, wants an inclusive government, but has warned that if an inclusive government meant becoming part of the existing government structure - under the leadership of latter-day Jotter (J.F. de Klerk) the Constitution Act of 1993, which specifically excludes black people from central government - it was not interested.

Observer

Azapo has said that it preferred a "transitional arrangement," an independent and impartial observer to see the form of either the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, or a National Unity, so that no one can vote objections to a constitutional assembly.

The ANC has asked for some form of control of the security forces during constitutional negotiations, while the PAC and Azapo have said that the security forces had to be confirmed. Azapo takes an all-party conference to achieve this.

The ANC wants an all-party conference to achieve this.

Azapo's immediate agenda appears to be not to get involved in any talks until the Government gets up off its seat and quits.

De Klerk's July 30 statement still has little in the form of indications from the ANC that it saw the route to a settlement through engaging the Government in sessions of talks, starting with an all-party conference where an interim structure would be created.

The PAC on the other hand early last week said that it would not accept an executive role under the present constitutional arrangements.

Constitution

"We have beenavored to discuss an all-party basis with the constitution, but if an agreed position can be found which is acceptable to both sides, which involves constitutional changes, that is a matter which will have to be favourably considered," Viljoen said.

"But if an acceptable transitional arrangement involving constitutional amendments is negotiated, then obviously that approach will have to be followed," Viljoen said.

How does Azapo fit into the scheme of things?

Azapo's immediate agenda appears to be not to get involved in any talks until Government
The Democratic Party yesterday called for a transitional government of national unity in which all significant parties in South Africa would be represented.

In a statement issued after a scheduled meeting of the DP caucus at the weekend, party spokesman Colin Eglint said the DP would press for the establishment of a transitional government to be given priority at the forthcoming multiparty conference.

He said no political party could be both referee and player during negotiations for a new constitution.

"Equally, no single party, let alone a single minority party, can monopolise government during the process of transition," said Mr Eglint.

He added that it was essential that a transitional government of national unity should have constitutional continuity, political effectiveness and a high degree of popular legitimacy.

Mr Eglint said the DP recognised that establishing a transitional government would call for certain amendments to be made to the present Constitution.

But the party believed it would prove to be practicable to ensure these as part of the transitional process.

In this way, legitimacy of the transitional government could be achieved without sacrificing loyalty, he added.

— Sapa.
Security Focus on AWB
Klerksdorp National Party leader Jan de Kock said yesterday's bomb attack on his luxury car would not deter the NP from holding meetings in the western Transvaal.

Claiming a piece of shrapnel from the 3 am blast had also penetrated the 5 cm-thick kiaat front door of his Wilkoppies home, he pointed an accusing finger at right-wingers.

He said police had said the type of explosives used indicated the Afrikaner Weerstands-beweging was responsible.

It is estimated that damage estimated at about R20 000 was done to the fully electronic BWW 736J in the blast which occurred in a carport adjoining the house while Mr de Kock and his family were in Johannesburg.

The damage was discovered later in the morning by a domestic worker who alerted the gardener and then the police.

"If somebody wants to tell me something, they do not have to do it this way.

"I am astounded at the attack." Mr de Kock said.

He said although he had attended the NP meeting in the nearby Venterdorp town hall on Friday night, he had not noticed many people from Klerksdorp at the gathering.

Commenting on claims that the western Transvaal was the heartland of the AWB, Mr de Kock said: "I believe many of the 2 000 AWB supporters came from outside the area, from Bloemfontein, Randfontein and Boksburg, in response to their general's orders."

He said he had personally seen car-loads of AWB supporters driving into Venterdorp from 4 pm on Friday.

Mr de Kock said it appeared the AWB amounted to a few people making a big noise, using mass hysteria to whip up emotions.

Calling for some form of action to prevent further shock incidents like Friday's killings at President de Klerk's public meeting, Mr de Kock said it was time the carrying of weapons such as baseball bats and teargas was banned at political meetings.

A police spokesman confirmed commercial explosives had been used to blast Mr de Kock's R200 000 vehicle and said identifiable fingerprints had been found near the spot where the bomb was planted.
AWB gears for third Borer War
Opinion leaders ‘opt for mixed economic’

ALMOST 12/11/91

Mollo

THE Conservative Party yesterday
said it was prepared to enter talks to
secure a white homeland and warned
that confrontations similar to the
Venterdorp clashes would recur un-
til its demands were met.

In another development, CP Law
and Order spokesman Moolman
Menzt said policemen were unhappy
about being identified with the
National Party by having to guard
their meetings.

CP secretary Andries Beyers said
yesterday only a white homeland
would prevent further clashes. He
said his party would talk only to other
parties that acknowledged whites’
right to self-determination before
talks began.

"We are prepared to negotiate the
final borders of our fatherland," he
said in an address to parliament.

The events of Venterdorp will
now convince people that there will
be no peace without our right to be
free and to govern ourselves being
recognised," he said.

Beyers said talks had already been
held with the leaders of Transkei,
Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu but
talks with the ANC would not take
place as long as it insisted on govern-
ing the whole country.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht yest-
eryear called for an inquiry into the
killings. Such an inquiry should estab-
lish why blacks’ vehicles were al-
lowed in the area, what instructions
police had received from the political
leaders, what role the SA Defence
Force had played and why permis-
sion for the protest action had been
denied when the ANC had been given
police protection in other incidents.

Code of conduct soon for the
security industry

DAVE LOURENS

A CODE of conduct to regulate the
security industry was in its final
stages. Security Officers’ Board
Registrar Frans Lubbe said yester-
da.

The code of conduct has been eagerly
awaited by the industry, which is
concerned that unscrupulous opera-
tors, who take consumers for a
ride, are causing irreparable dam-
age to its image.

Lubbe said some fly-by-nighters
were inevitable in any industry.

"We are busy finalising the code of
conduct at the moment, so in the
very near future there won’t be
any place for them to hide.”

He said all security officers, consult-
ants and suppliers of contract secu-
ritv were compelled to register
with the board by the provisions of
the Security Officers Act.

If anyone was found to have acted
unethically in terms of the code of
conduct, he could be fined and his
registration withdrawn.

He said the board’s hands had been
tied by the lack of a code of con-
duct, but now this has been drawn
up and published for comment.

Responses were being analysed and
the final product would be used to
regulate the industry.

Coin Security MD Yvonne Lottering
said she was receiving “at least”
three phone calls a week from con-
sultants seeking kick-backs in re-
turn for recommending the com-
pny’s services to clients.

She said unless the situation was ad-
dressed urgently, the public ran
the risk of being duped and perma-
nent harm would be done to “an
industry already reeling from a
distasteful reputation”.

CP ready for talks
on white homeland

PATRICK BULGER

Menzt meanwhile said he had been
approached by a number of police-
mans who had asked him to ensure
that in future policemen should not
be forced to protect political meet-
ings and that volunteers should be
used instead.

The SA Council of Churches yester-
day condemned the actions of right-
wing groups in Venterdorp on Friday
night, but held the National Party
responsible for encouraging racist at-
tsitudes over the past 43 years.

SACC general secretary the Rev
Frank Chikane said the AWB and CP
had the constitutional means to ad-
dress their grievances "but they
chose rather to create a climate
which led to the violence”.

DARIUS SANAI reports that a
date will be set today for another NP
meeting in the western Transvaal.

The AWB were “very keen” for
another NP meeting to take place in
Venterdorp or in another western
Transvaal town, a spokesman for the
organisation said yesterday while
government sources said the meeting
would go ahead.

Du Plessis and Terre’Blanche
agreed to hold the meeting in a de-
bate on TV’s Agenda programme on
Sunday night, but only if the right-
wingers met certain conditions set
down by government.

AWB members would have to be
unarmed and would have to allow
speakers to address them without
heckling, shouting or being violent.

Terre’Blanche agreed to this.

The SA Communist Party alleged
in a statement yesterday that Presi-
dent F de Klerk provoked violence in
Venterdorp in an effort to escape the
Inkatha over funding scandal.
Talks rather than armed struggle, says survey

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

PRETORIA.—Most South Africans interviewed for a Human Sciences Research Council survey favour negotiations instead of the armed struggle and mass action.

The survey, entitled Information Update, which has just been released, found that 23 percent of the blacks questioned believed the armed struggle was a "very good" and "good" way to bring about change in the country.

Slightly more than half of the respondents were aware of the possibility of a multi-party conference.

Fifty nine percent thought such a conference was a "very good" idea and another 36 percent thought it was a "good" idea.

The survey found very little opposition to a multi-party conference. Strong support (90 percent) was found among English speaking South Africans and the most opposition (6 percent) was polled among Afrikaans speakers.

Information Update said it appeared the National Party could probably count on 27.7 percent of the population, the ANC on 24.8 percent, the Conservative Party on 4.3 percent and the Democratic Party on 1.6 percent.
Isolated incidents 'no deterrent to investors'  

Robert Gentle (24)  

ISSUES such as the Ventersdorp violence and the Inkatha funding scandal were "mere details" in the larger picture of reform in SA and would not deter mainstream foreign investors.

This was said yesterday by Kevin Carter, director of Old Mutual's UK-based assurance subsidiary Providence Capitol, during a presentation on the long-term outlook for world investment.

"People at the margin will panic, not the mainstream," Carter said.

Overseas investors had always known that reform in SA was not going to be "like a Sunday school picnic", and that setbacks would be encountered.

However, barring some major upset like State President F W de Klerk reversing the reform process, foreign interest would continue. "There is an amazing amount of goodwill towards SA in the international investment community," Carter said.

Despite the risks associated with a new SA, the country stood at the threshold of a major growth and wealth creation phase of the type the US went through early this century.

SA was underpriced, had world-class businesses, financial services, manufacturing and management. "There is no reason why SA cannot deliver," Carter said.

Edinburgh-based fund manager Martin Currie may soon be launching a unit trust which will invest in SA equities, says a report in the Daily Telegraph.

About 55% of this Emerging Markets Fund will be invested in South East Asia, with the remainder divided between South America (25%), SA (15%) and Eastern Europe (10%).

"Emerging markets stand to gain the most from the revival in the global economy," said fund manager Tristan Clue.

They accounted for only 5% of global stockmarkets' capitalisation and less than 1% of globally invested portfolios.

"We expect both these figures to rise."
NP pulls out of Green Point fight

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party yesterday decided not to contest next month's Green Point by-election.

The decision to pull out of the election just ahead of Thursday's nomination day leaves the Democratic Party's Mr Hennie Bester as the only horse in the race.

The Cape leader of the Conservative Party, Mr Jan Hoon, said last night that it was "very unlikely" that the CP would put up a candidate in Green Point.

The deadline for the nomination of independent candidates expired on Friday.

The date set aside for the election is September 25.

The DP's Western Cape chairman, Mr Jasper Walsh, said: "The DP is not surprised at the NP decision."

"Green Point is a DP seat and will remain uncontested until such time as a new constitution is implemented which will be fully democratic and which will allow an election in which all South Africans can take part."
Claim: Barend wants to take over from Viljoen

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis may be seeking to replace Dr Gerrit Viljoen as the government's chief political strategist, Africa Confidential reports.

The journal said that after the Inkatha funding scandal, "the need for a new strategy seems to be eclipsing the role of Viljoen, formerly (President F W) De Klerk's chief strategist but now in some disarray.

"His grand strategy of forming an alliance of Christian parties to take on the ANC, consisting of the newlook National Party, plus Inkatha, the Labour Party, some homeland parties and whoever else will join, now looks distinctly threadbare."

"There are signs Du Plessis is spending less time on his portfolio and is eyeing the role of chief government political strategist."

After the slush-fund scandal, "we can expect De Klerk to make concessions to the ANC to re-establish his credentials and to make an effort to start off multi-party talks. To do this requires getting a grip on the security forces and reducing the level of violence. The fact that uniformed security forces are now patrolling trains in Soweto is a positive sign of change."

"Of critical importance was how much more came out about government dirty tricks, with cynics already saying Mr De Klerk has admitted only to what he believes the press is capable of finding out."

EYEING ...  
Barend du Plessis

DISARRAY? ...  
Gerrit Viljoen
A HEAVILY ARMED army reaction force comprising an armoured squadron of Ratels and an infantry company were on standby to save President F W de Klerk from AWB rioters during the battle of Venterdorp if the police could not cope.

This was revealed last night by Defence Minister General Naebe Malan as controversy raged about the massive deployment of arms by both sides in the clash, which left three dead.

The minister disclosed that the reaction force included 32 armoured infantry fighting vehicles, or Ratels. The standard firepower of Ratels, which are built to withstand landmine explosions, includes 7.62mm machine guns.

An indication that the force — which was manned by 240 Permanent Force members and about six other AWB colleagues — was prepared for major resistance from the AWB was the fact that it also comprised five battlefield recovery vehicles, two ambulances and two logistical vehicles.

At one stage the reaction force, which is based at Pretoria, was asked by police to proceed closer to the riot-torn town.

The force moved to within eight to 10km of the town and the commander went ahead in one Ratel to liaise with police. He withdrew when it was clear that the police had matters under control, according to General Malan.

In another indication of the seriousness with which the "Venterdorp war" is regarded in official circles, senior government sources yesterday indicated that Mr de Klerk is bound to consider a judicial commission of inquiry after the police had completed their investigations.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night called for a wide-ranging judicial inquiry into the events at Venterdorp.

The inquiry should, among other things, probe why a black taxi was allowed into an area where the situation was "explosive", the "shoot to kill" order given by the commanding officer of the police and the roles played by the Defence Force, he said.

The State Security Council at its scheduled meeting in Pretoria yesterday was due to discuss the events.
Government sources said that individual right-wingers might be stripped of their right to carry firearms if evidence collected showed that they had broken the law.

"This will be an excellent way of getting them disarmed," said one.

Consideration was also being given to the wholesale banning of private armies "across the political spectrum — from the AWB to Umkhonto we Sizwe", one security source said.

The law and order department earlier this year drew up draft legislation to clamp down on the proliferation of private armies, but the plan was shelved because of the controversy it would have sparked.

In a strongly worded defence of the contingency steps taken by the Defence Force ahead of the Venterdorp meeting, General Malan said information had come to light that the protest had been planned on a large scale and that expressions such as "civil war", "the third war of freedom" and "rebellion" were used in addresses to AWB members.

"Against this background, it would have been irresponsible if the SADF and SAP did not make acceptable contingency plans," he said.

‘AWB like ANC’

General Malan said the "AWB-Conservative Party alliance" followed the same tactic as the ANC-SACP alliance in their attacks on the security forces.

In a separate statement, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adrian Vlok said an urgent police probe had been launched into the Venterdorp violence, adding that various criminal hearings and inquiries could arise from the investigation.

He charged that the AWB fired the first shots in the battle, and denied that police had used live ammunition or the more deadly types of birdshot.

Hundreds of rounds of these types of ammunition were, however, confiscated from right-wingers who gathered in the small Western Transvaal town before Mr De Klerk’s meeting, he said.

He also said that because it had been reported that 6,000 right-wingers were expected to pitch up to protest against Mr De Klerk’s presence in Venterdorp, 600 additional policemen were sent to the town “as reinforcements”.

Mr Vlok said the police were attacked with a variety of weapons — including baseball bats, snaezgas, teargas and batons — when right-wing protesters marched on a police blockade near the hall where Mr De Klerk was due to speak.

Blacks shot at

About the same time, another group of whites in the same street began to shoot at the black occupants of a passing car. One vehicle ploughed into the crowd, killing one man and fataly injuring another.

○ The national secretary of the CP, Mr Andries Beyers, said a commemoration service would be held in Venterdorp on Friday for the three right-wingers who died in the clashes.

And the CP caucus of the Alberton town council has applied to stage a protest and placard demonstration in front of the civic centre on Thursday when the Transvaal National Party holds its banquet there.

○ The SA Council of Churches condemned the actions of right-wingers in Venterdorp, but held the NP responsible for encouraging racist attitudes over the past 43 years.

The SACC said it was particularly disturbed by the attack on black people who were taking a dead relative to Transkei.

○ SA Communist Party spokesman Mr Jeremy Cronin accused Mr De Klerk of provoking the violence in Venterdorp in an effort to escape the consequences of the Inkatha funding scandal.

Mr Cronin said that the reason hundreds of heavily armed AWB supporters were allowed to converge on Venterdorp without being disarmed was that "the Venterdorp affair suits De Klerk".

"He would like its rumblings to persist for as long as possible. He is hoping that the Inkatha scandal will be forgotten by the world," he said.
De Klerk’s image boosted abroad

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Only a week or so ago President F W de Klerk’s image abroad was at rock bottom following embarrassing revelations that the police had secretly funded Inkatha and anti-Swapo political parties in Namibia.

But yesterday, judging by assessments in the British press of Friday’s clash at Ventersdorp between the police and the AWB, Mr De Klerk was seen not only to have again outmanoeuvred just about everyone but, most importantly, to have demonstrated his command of the security forces.

The Financial Times said the clash had “demonstrated an important fact — that white police, many of whom bitterly oppose political reform and sympathise with the AWB, will fight to maintain law and order, even if it means shooting at their own people”.

The intervention of white policemen to protect blacks against AWB attack provided evidence of police loyalty which should “help allay the fears of those Nationalists who fear that rapid political change will provoke a security force revolt”.

The events could also be used by Mr De Klerk to caution against too rapid change and counter ANC claims that he seeks to perpetuate white rule.

The Daily Telegraph said in an editorial yesterday that Mr De Klerk’s position, weakened by the Inkatha affair, would have been “strengthened by last week’s riot”.

With the role of the Afrikaner-dominated police critical, the Telegraph said, “at Ventersdorp they stood firm against intimidation”. It remained “impossible” to imagine a peaceful solution without Mr De Klerk.

The Daily Express said: “Unless Mr De Klerk’s government has the strength to deal immediately and effectively with the AWB menace, it cannot expect the confidence of the civilised majority of the white tribe.”

The Guardian said indications were that “the clash would redound to the government’s advantage”. It said the effectiveness of attempts by the AWB to make martyrs of its three dead members was questionable.

“The main political effect of the battle is likely to be to enhance Mr De Klerk’s standing.

“The performance of the police — not only in taking on the neo-nazis but also in rescuing several black people — was particularly impressive.

“Coming after Mr De Klerk’s humiliation of the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, over the Inkathagate scandal, the impression has been created of a President very much in control of the security forces.”
CP picket at NP

THE Conservative Party caucus of the Alberton Town Council has applied to stage a protest and placard demonstration in front of the civic centre on Thursday when the Transvaal National Party holds its banquet there.

Yesterday the secretary of the CP council caucus, Mr. H. C. Stabber, said the protest action would be in sympathy with the victims of the Ventersdorp violence last Friday night. - Sapa
HARARE - South Africa must reduce its massive military arsenal to assure its neighbours of their security in the sub-region, Zimbabwean president Mr Robert Mugabe said yesterday.

The president, who is also commander-in-chief of the Zimbabwe armed forces, was addressing thousands of people celebrating the country's Defence Forces Day in Harare.

Mugabe said while political developments in South Africa had provided hope of an end to apartheid, they fell short of assuring Zimbabwe of its security.

"Zimbabwe will be assured of peace when apartheid has been practically abolished and a non-racial democratic government is in place in Pretoria," he said.

Mugabe added that Zimbabwe was perturbed that the superficial reductions in the South African Defence Budget did not in any way reduce the threatening size of the SA Defence Force.

Zimbabwe was also concerned that Pretoria was developing more "awesome" weapons.

"The current moves to scrap apartheid must run in tandem with moves to reduce its massive military arsenal before we can be assured of our security in this sub-region," said Mugabe. - Sapa
THE State President provoked violence in Ventersdorp on Friday in an effort to escape the so-called Inkathagate funding scandal, the South African Communist Party alleged yesterday.

In a statement signed by the SACP's Jeremy Cronin, the party asked why Mr FW de Klerk had chosen to speak at "an otherwise insignificant, rural backwater like Ventersdorp at this time?"

Although the SACP upheld the right of all to hold public meetings anywhere they chose, SACP blames De Klerk

"we are all aware of the delicate transition period in which our nation is involved".

"Did De Klerk go to Ventersdorp to escape Inkathagate?" "Why were hundreds of heavily armed Afrikaner Weerstehbeweging supporters allowed to converge on Ventersdorp, with ample warning, of their intention to do so?"

"Why were those publicly displaying weaponry not disarmed before the inevitable deaths and injuries occurred?"

"The brutal reality is that the Ventersdorp affair suits De Klerk. He would like its rumblings to persist for as long as possible. He is hoping that Inkathagate will be forgotten by the world."

-Sapa.
CP challenges FW on policing costs

DR Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, has challenged President FW de Klerk to say how much money the large police presence at Ventersdorp on Friday night cost South Africa.

The responsibility for the three deaths and violence at Ventersdorp rested squarely on De Klerk’s shoulders, Hartzenberg told the CP’s Natal congress at the weekend.

De Klerk was the most irresponsible, reckless state president South Africa had ever had.

The number of police at the meeting showed that De Klerk knew there would be trouble. The blood of the dead and injured “is on the hands of De Klerk”, Hartzenberg said.

De Klerk was responsible for black political violence and now for the first shots fired in white political violence.

The mood of the congress was militant, with many threats directed at De Klerk and other liberals and demands for a white election.

Mr Schalk Penaar, the fiery young MP for Potgietersrus, urged delegates to stand up and use every available means to protect the integrity “of our fatherland”.

- Political Staff
to start soon

Big talks set
ANC, Government are ready to talk

and composition (of an interim government) can be a matter for discussion and that only two principles would be insisted upon: "inclusivity" and an "unambiguous" time frame.

Observers and participating strategists on both sides agree that the time frame which suits them best is the shortest possible one.

The ANC needs results to prove its correctness in opting for negotiations. The NP needs results to beat the constitutional deadline for another round of all-white elections.

Both sides appear ready to make significant concessions on the question of an interim government. The NP's opposition to it was badly eroded by the Inkatha/Uswasa funding scandal which injured its own case and swung its major parliamentary ally - the Democratic Party - around to favour an interim government.

Both sides attach a degree of urgency to calling a multiparty conference but indicate there will be no definite moves until the Patriotic Front congress is over.

There is little doubt the ANC will use its contact with the PAC and Azapo to obtain their commitment to participation in any interim measures agreed to with the Government.

Irrespective of the outcome of the Patriotic Front talks, there are clear signs the ANC will go ahead with a multiparty conference, even if it has to do so alone.

With the UN High Commissioner for Refugees overseeing the return of the last exiles and the two security Ministers removed from their portfolios as demanded in the ANC ultimatum, the movement appears to have scored reasonably well in setting a favourable table for talks with the Government.

Further demands, unless the unforeseen once more scrambles the cards, are not likely to delay the process any longer. - Sapa.
Negotiations hinge upon interim rule, says Sisulu

SYDNEY — Anti-apartheid campaigner Walter Sisulu yesterday accused the Government of President de Klerk of fostering violence in South Africa in order to cling to power.

Peace would not return to South Africa until the Government was replaced by a multiracial interim government, the ANC deputy president told a public meeting in Sydney.

A patriotic front would be formed within the next two months to organise an all-party congress aimed at establishing an interim government, he said.

“Our next obstacle is to bring about an all-party congress which will be the basis of establishing an interim regime,” said Mr Sisulu, who is on a 12-day visit to Australia.

Undermine

“The regime that is in power is unreliable and cannot stop the violence because it is the cause of violence itself.

“By allowing violence to go on he (de Klerk) undermines the very things he says he believes in. He knows the dangers but he is in a predicament — he still wants to hold on to power and he believes that can be done if he destabilises the African National Congress.”

Mr Sisulu, who was jailed for 26 years by the South African Government, said an all-party congress could be achieved in the face of Government and right-wing opposition by the “mobilisation” of all South Africans.

“Unless an interim government is established, we are not willing to continue negotiating.”

of a quick response to applications, designed to cut through red tape. And repayment terms tailored to meet the borrower’s every need. Look no further than ROP.
CP seeks demo at NP dinner

The Conservative Party caucus of the Alberiton Town Council has applied to stage a protest and placard demonstration in front of the Civic Centre on Thursday when the Transvaal National Party holds its banquet there. The secretary of the CP council caucus, H.C. Slabber, said the protest would be a maximum of 50 people taking part. — Sapa.
British papers blast 'bully boys'
Govt may restrict, but
not ban, private armies

PRETORIA Government could restrict
the actions of private armies if they aimed
to usurp the functions of the police and the
Defence Force, Law and Order Minister
Adrian Vlok said yesterday.
However, government was not consider-
ing banning private armies outright.
Vlok said the country could “do without
private armies” because it had the security
forces to maintain law and order.
Vlok said he was not at liberty to clear
up conflicting reports on whether govern-
ment or the State Security Council had
discussed the issue of private armies in
depth this week, since the council’s delib-
erations were confidential.
Other government sources yesterday
said they could not envisage the govern-
ment clamping down on private armies.
Government could not act against
groups without acting against the ANC’s
Umkhonto we Sizwe, and it could not act
against Umkhonto without torpedoing the
shaky negotiation process.
The sources said militiamen would be
driven underground and radicalised if steps

were taken against them.

Inkatha, in turn, has urged government
to discourage the proliferation of private
armies “before other parties may be com-
pelled to match the growing number of
private armies”.
The AWB yesterday sent an urgent fax
to the President, confirming certain rules
about right-wingers’ attendance at NP
meetings agreed to by Transvaal NP
leader Barend du Plessis.
The NP was also asked to urgently
arrange another public meeting at Ven-
tersdorp.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche con-

confirmed in his fax that the speakers would
be given the right to speak, without inter-
ference, and that the audience would be
allowed to attend without interference.
“The audience will also have the right to
ask questions and put motions.”
He said such a step would “normalise the
situation in the white community”.
A spokesman at the President’s office
said he could not confirm as they had not
yet received the fax. — Sapa.

Hendrickse agrees to pay church R20 000

UITENHAGE — Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, chairman of
the Minister’s Council in the House of Representa-
tives, was scheduled to re-
tend court proceedings against the Uitenhage
Magistrate’s Court yesterday after admitting insolv-
ability, with the Uitenhage Magistrate’s Court yester-
day with his sister, L A Dol
church, who was treasurer of the church at the time.
The church, which first
money owing to the congregation
to a maximum of R10 000.

Hendrickse, chairman of

Following a pre-trial
case. — Sapa.
Check on guns at political meetings?

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

CODES of conduct for political parties and the security forces are to be discussed at a conference on ending violence in South Africa.

The climate for the conference, called for mid-September, has been created by what was today described as "astonishing" agreement on the issues affecting violence among parties with widely divergent views.

This agreement was achieved at an earlier conference where church leaders and businessmen were appointed to act as facilitators to get together the main role players — the government, the ANC and Inkatha.

Only the white rightwing parties excluded themselves from these efforts which followed an earlier conference called by President De Klerk which flopped when the ANC and its allies declined to attend.

They said that the president had been too prescriptive and had only told, but not consulted, them about the conference.

The main points in a code of conduct for political parties are that:

- No weapons must be allowed at political meetings;
- Abusive and inciting language must be avoided;
- Political parties must avoid holding meetings near each other on the same night, and

- They must respect and uphold the right of all other parties to operate.

Mechanisms for getting parties to adhere to these rules will have to be considered.

Sources involved in the peace conference described as "nearly unbelievable" the "extraordinarily good relations" that had developed between the parties involved in these working groups with facilitators from the church and the business sectors.

They thought this boded well for future negotiations.

The finding of the working committee have been consolidated in one report of which will be considered by government, ANC and Inkatha representatives tonight.
Accord a spur to all-party talks

Peace plan put to three key players

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha today will consider a historic draft peace accord that could be adopted at a national peace convention planned for early next month.

If accepted, and sources close to the church-business initiative are confident that it will be, the accord will provide rules for future political competition and help end SA's spiral of political violence.

If the agreement proves a success, the mechanisms used to set it up could help to get all-party talks going.

The accord is the result of two months of behind-the-scenes meetings between the three parties.

It provides for a permanent peace secretariat, which would include political representatives and specialists in negotiations. It is intended to be a statutory body, although this has yet to be finalised.

It would link up with the proposed standing judicial commission on violence and intimidation proposed by President F W de Klerk in mid-June, a source close to the process said yesterday. The exact nature of the link is still being discussed but it is expected that it would be the chief enforcement mechanism of the peace code.

A secondary multiparty committee will also be discussed today. This would be made up largely of church, business and political leaders, and would keep a watchful eye on the peace process. It would also be charged with bringing the process back on track in the event of breakdowns.

The monitoring body could also form the basis of a multiparty conference, expected to be initiated in October.

A church source said yesterday that the agreement had already been reached on codes of conduct for security forces and political parties, as well as a code of implementation. The draft peace accord is an amalgam of the separate codes.

It has been drafted and backed in principle by senior figures among SA's three major political groupings, among them Cabinet Ministers. Yesterday it was being considered by the political parties, which will make their views known at today's meeting.

The peace accord provides for peace committees at national, regional and local level. Copies of the accord have been forwarded to non-participating political parties, among them Azapo, the PAC and the CP. All of the latter will be invited to take part in the convention, which could be attended by up to 500 political, church and business leaders.

The accord includes mechanisms to deter participants from engaging in disruptive political action. Anyone making an inflammatory political statement, for example, could be compelled to apologise publicly. In a similar vein, parties would confer with one another on potentially explosive public protests.

To Page 2

Peace plan

It also provides for a more rapid judicial process in terms of which political killers would be brought to justice quickly.

There are no formal plans to involve the church-business initiative in helping set up multiparty talks, although the Constitutional Development Department has been drawn in to assist with secretarial and logistical arrangements for the peace convention.

Government sources would not comment on the peace talks yesterday as it had reached a critical stage. They did say, however, that progress made in talks between the parties augured well for the success of future constitutional talks.

The church source agreed with this, saying: "It is been an encouraging process so far. One might think that the church-business alliance might be the catalyst to keep the political process going."

The peace process was initiated by church and business leaders after a government-backed peace summit in May failed to attract politicians from the left.

Among the negotiators who have been involved in the peace meetings are Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers and ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad.
Twist of fate led to tragedy

In the bar-rooms of Ventersdorp, Boksburg and dozens of other right-wing towns across South Africa, the Aids question always generates animated discussion.

Rugby, Jews and gays are other conversational favourites.

But when the time comes for solemn political debate, one question unfailingly concentrates minds: Who is to be shot first once the Boers have retaken the citadels of power - (President) FW "Piek Frilkie" de Klerk or the "communist terrorist" Nelson Mandela?

But the outcome of the argument is a foregone conclusion.

De Klerk, found guilty of betraying the white nation, is always first to go before the firing squad.

Which was perhaps why something of a consensus has developed in white political circles that it was ill-judged of De Klerk to have delivered a speech last Friday night in Ventersdorp, home of Eugene Terre'Blanche's AWB.

In what the typically hyperbolic Terre'Blanche described as "a bloodbath", three AWB supporters were killed as a consequence and more than 50 people - policemen included - were wounded.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, declared that for De Klerk to go to Ventersdorp was "a red flag to a bull".

The CP's defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said the president "was intentionally aiming to provoke a confrontation with right-wingers".

Officials of the Democratic Party said privately yesterday they suspected De Klerk might have acted with a certain cynicism.

That people died had to do, not with white-on-white violence, but with the untimely appearance on the scene of a minibus carrying four black passengers and a coffin containing a body.

AWB supporters attacked the minibus, forcing the driver to take evasive action, and in the process two AWB men were run over and killed.

Shots were fired into the minibus and a third AWB man was shot dead by the police.

It was a freak sequence of events, which would have been avoided had an alert policeman redirected the minibus.
Big thrust by parties to stop the violence

CAPE TOWN — Codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces are to be discussed at a major conference which is being called for mid-September. The aim is to stop and avoid violence in public life.

This follows what was today described as “astonishing” agreement on the issues affecting violence among parties with widely divergent views.

This flowed from an earlier conference which appointed churchmen and businessmen to act as facilitators to get together the main role players, the Government, the ANC and Inkatha.

It is expected to serve as a stimulant for an all-party conference to prepare for negotiations on a new Constitution, but its aim will not be to help arrange such a conference.

The main points in a code of conduct for political parties are that:

- No weapons of any kind must be allowed at political meetings.
- Abusive and inciting language must be avoided.
- Political parties must avoid holding meetings near each other on the same night.
- Parties must respect and uphold the right of all other parties to operate.

Mechanisms for getting parties to adhere to these rules will have to be considered.

Sources involved in the peace conference today described as “nearly unbelievable the extraordinarily good relations” that had developed between the parties involved in these working groups along with facilitators from the church and the business sectors.

They thought this boded well for future negotiations.

The findings of the working committees have been consolidated in one report which will be considered by Government, ANC and Inkatha representatives tonight.
A soft warning in the wings

The ANC's National Working Committee is a shadow Cabinet, says Shaun Johnson

OPINION
AWB wants NP meeting

By Peter Davies

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche has "urgently requested" that President de Klerk schedule another National Party meeting in Ventersdorp or risk right-wing violence and disruption at future NP meetings.

Mr TerreBlanche said in a fax yesterday that such a meeting, which he suggested be held at the Ventersdorp Agricultural Hall, would "totally normalise" conditions in the white community.

According to Mr TerreBlanche, the proposed meeting would abide by "democratic codes" as agreed upon by himself and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in a televised debate on Sunday.

Mr TerreBlanche added that speakers at the meeting would be heard without disruption and there would be no restriction on who could attend.

He said that if the majority of the audience was unhappy with the meeting's chairman, it could choose another one.

The new chairman would then be permitted to "make his own rules", he added.

A spokesman for the President's office said the fax had been forwarded to Mr du Plessis. The Minister was unavailable for comment.

More reports — Page 2
Peace talks edge closer to deal

GOVERNMENT, ANC and Inkatha representatives met behind closed doors last night to discuss proposals for a draft peace accord aimed at ending political violence.

The delegates met at Barlow Park in Sandton to scrutinise the reports of five working groups on codes of conduct for political parties and security forces.

The groups, set up under a church-business initiative, also prepared proposals on socio-economic developments.

If an accord is accepted by all the parties it could be presented for formal adoption at a national peace convention planned for next month. Representatives from most of SA's political, church, labour and business groups and homelands are expected to attend the convention.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said he expected progress from last night's meeting, the result of two months of behind-the-scenes talks. The talks were complicated by "Inkathagate" which raised tensions.

The accord would set up a permanent peace secretariat made up of political representatives and specialised negotiators. The intention was to make this a statutory body, but this still had to be finalised.

The establishment and role of a secondary multiparty committee was also thought to have been up for discussion at last night's meeting. This committee, probably made up of church, business and political leaders, would be charged with maintaining a watching brief on the peace process, and would be responsible for bringing the process back on track should breakdowns occur.
Buthelezi, Pik contradiction

THE Department of Foreign Affairs has declined to comment on an apparent contradiction in explanations by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on how R230 000 of slush fund money was spent.

In a speech to the Durban Sakekamer on Tuesday night, Chief Buthelezi said the money had:

- "helped buy an Imbizo meeting which His Majesty the King of the Zulus called to address the issue of "intercommunal black-on-black violence", and;
- "enabled us to hold a prayer meeting which I called as a thanksgiving meeting for the release of Dr Mandela and other political prisoners."

Mr Botha said on television on July 25 that the money had all been spent on an anti-sanctions campaign, and denied political funding of Inkatha.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said last night that this matter did not need to be addressed.

ANC spokesman Mr Sakkie Macozoma said last night Chief Buthelezi's speech had "completely contradicted" the government's explanation.
Govt may outlaw private armies

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The government is considering legislation to prevent the establishment of private armies, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok revealed last night.

"The government is completely against the existence and establishment of so-called private armies by, among others, political parties and organisations," said Mr Vlok.

However, it would prefer to convince leaders of various organisations with such armies that they should "rid themselves of their intentions", he said.

He added that there had been varying measures of success in negotiating with these leaders and "attempts are being continued".

It is understood that a draft legislation banning private armies was compiled during this year's parliamentary session but was shelved.

A major concern over a ban on private armies is that it would have to be extended to the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. This would almost certainly derail negotiations.

Other preliminary measures are understood to be in the pipeline. A source indicated yesterday that police were considering setting up units at all political meetings where people attending would be obliged to hand in their weapons.

In his statement last night, Mr Vlok said continued attempts to set up private armies were a source of serious concern for the government.
The Democratic Party's Mr. Hennie Bestor, 28, is set to become South Africa's youngest MP this morning when the nomination court for the vacant Green Point seat sits.

Mr. Bestor, a former Stellenbosch University student leader who had his passport removed when he tried to lead a delegation of students for talks with the ANC in 1965, is likely to be the only candidate.

The Conservative Party's Cape leader, Mr. Jan Hoon, said yesterday the CP would not contest Green Point, which became vacant after the sitting MP, Mr. Titian van der Merwe, was killed in a car accident. The National Party is not contesting the seat.
Intolerance in city ‘high’

Political Staff

THE Cape’s liberal myth has been shattered by a finding of a Stellenbosch university academic that the levels of intolerance in South Africa are as high as in Cape Town among both blacks and whites as it is in Durban and Pietersburg.

Dr Amanda Gouws, a political scientist, also found that the intensity of political intolerance in South Africa among both blacks and whites was higher than among comparable groups in strife-ridden countries like Israel, as well as in the US.

“It is very pessimistic,” she said yesterday.

Dr Gouws, who recently completed her doctorate at the University of Illinois near Chicago, conducted a survey among black and white people in Cape Town, Durban, and Pietersburg, as well as in Chicago, between April and June last year.

She found that blacks and whites rated socio-economic aspirations like houses and jobs much higher than civil liberties.

“Social and economic aspirations are held higher at the expense of freedom. It does not bode well for South Africa,” she said.

“I think Ventersdorp is a very good example of intolerance that spills over into violent behaviour.

“You are not prepared to let other groups talk and state their case. The idea is to shut them up by violence.

“In this country there is no understanding of civil liberties. Yet this is fundamental to a democratic country.”

She found that while 81% of blacks had membership or understanding with the ANC and 47% of whites had sympathy with Inkatha, 70% of whites perceived the ANC to be violent and 82% of blacks regarded Inkatha as violent.

Dr Gouws added that the clashes between Inkatha and the ANC, and between the AWB and the National Party, were indications of the lack of tolerance in South Africa.”
A NEW national anthem must be based on values common to all South Africans and spiritual in character, the Junior Rapporteur of the NACL, said yesterday.

The organisation of predominantly Afrikaans-speaking "young" professionals said it recognised the need for new emblems in the new South Africa despite its "sentiment towards the present flag, coat of arms and national anthem." - Sapa.
Racial capitalism in South Africa

APARTHEID, according to some people who take themselves very seriously, is dead. Consequently, if logic has any meaning, we are now living in post-apartheid South Africa.

And yet, any ordinary black worker will tell you that this “new” South Africa is exactly the same as the old South Africa. Anyhow, all this is such patent nonsense that we ought not to irritate your readers with a serious discussion of the notion that apartheid is dead.

**Reason**

But there is reason to consider the fashionable idea of “post-apartheid South Africa” carefully since our people are being duped to believe that we are about to see the end of racial inequality.

Why are the “old” and the “new” South Africa identical? Why is there no difference between the two? The answer is terribly simple.

Both are founded on the system of racial capitalism. In this system the normal class inequality (eg between workers and bosses) that is brought about by the capitalist system in its chase after profits tends to take the form of racial inequality.

**Poorest**

That is to say, in South Africa the poorest workers are mostly black while the ruling class and the overwhelming majority of the upper middle class are white.

This kind of system is the result of the peculiar development of capitalism in South Africa, which came out of colonial conquest, the dispossession of the African people of their land and other forms of wealth, slavery, indentured labour, migrant labour, the pass system, compounds, locations, labour bureaux, etc.

**Racial capitalism**

While the house of racial inequality, segregation or apartheid was being built, the colonial and neo-colonial builders erected a scaffolding of discriminatory laws. They began with the Act of Union (the South Africa Act) of 1909 which made provision for a whites-only “Parliament.”

Then, starting with the Native Land Act of 1913, the master-builders of the apartheid state added one piece of legislative scaffolding after another in order to make sure that social inequality, the cause and the result of capitalist profit, would remain largely racial in form.

This process has continued until the present. However, as with any other building, once it stands firmly on its foundations, once the roof has been hammered on, you take away the scaffolding. Otherwise this scaffolding gets in the way of normal living. This is what has happened with the racial laws.

For this reason Mr FW de Klerk can strut around like some great enlightened hero, pulling down not the house of racial inequality (apartheid) but merely the scaffolding of discriminatory laws.

**System**

If you want to see how the system does this, all you need to do is to study what happened in the USA from the late fifties onwards. That scenario will be our future. And, let me tell you, as one who has just returned from a nine-month visit to the USA, it is not necessarily a pleasant prospect at all.

A three-fifths society?

If post-apartheid South Africa goes the way of the USA, we shall see perhaps a few hundred thousand black middle-class people, professionals, academics and skilled workers, being “lifted up” into the white establishment while the overwhelming majority of black people (the working class, employed and unemployed) will remain trapped in the ghetto.

**Inequality**

It is not enough to take down the scaffolding, we have to break down the house of racial inequality. Apartheid is not simply a set of discriminatory laws. It is the latest form of the system of racial capitalism in the second half of the 20th century.

It is that system that has to be destroyed if we and the next generation are ever to hope for a decent life where equality of opportunity can be realised.

Let us stop fooling our people by accepting De Klerk’s definition of apartheid.
Transkei dissidents sought Pretoria aid

3rd December 1972

BY PETER FABRICIUS

The Johannesburg-based Pretoria Daily News reported today that the Pretoria Regional Council has been approached by Transkei dissidents seeking financial assistance. The council has agreed to consider the request, which was made by a group of Transkei intellectuals living in Pretoria.

The dissidents, who are opposed to the South African government's policy of apartheid, have been active in the region and have previously sought support from various international organizations. The Pretoria Daily News reported that the council is considering the request, which was made verbally by the dissidents through a representative.
Sharp bends in the road ahead

Patrick Lawrence appraises the significance of last week's clash in Ventspils
'Big three' set day for peace after breakthrough

Political Staff

September 14 has been set by the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party as the day for peace in South Africa when a national conference will discuss the bulky draft peace accord forged last night.

Negotiators from the "big three", and facilitators from church and business sectors, achieved a breakthrough in Sandton last night when they collated reports from various working groups in the peace initiative into a draft accord.

It is understood participants will now consult other political groups on the draft, and try to draw them into the conference.

A formal statement is expected later today about last night's event.

"The mere fact that we've succeeded is quite remarkable," said one negotiator after hours drafting the peace accord from working group reports on codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces, socio-economic development, and peace monitoring mechanisms.

Agreement was reached in spite of clear tensions between the ANC and Inkatha.

"Obviously this doesn't mean all parties are in total agreement with each other about all things," said one participant.

"What is apparent is that all parties are prepared to work for peace.

One prominent facilitator said the draft accord was important not only for its contents but symbolism as well. It boosted hopes for a multiparty conference and negotiations for a new South Africa.

While the "big three" and their many allies seem certain to attend the indaba with church, business and homeland leaders, the right wing remains a problem. "They must be included," a church facilitator said. "We are busy negotiating with them on a personal basis to get them interested."

Participants in the peace initiative were careful today not to discuss the contents of the draft accord.
US will provide more aid for SA, says Swing

THE US Congress is considering substantial additional monetary aid to SA, over and above the R200m promised by President George Bush when he recently doubled the assistance package.

This was announced by US ambassador William Swing last night in an address at the annual Four Outstanding Young South Africans (Foya's) awards banquet in Johannesburg.

Swing said the US was as committed to assisting the architects of a “new, market-based, multiparty democracy in SA” as it had been to dismantling apartheid.

The aid package was the US’s largest on the continent.

Areas targeted for aid were black private enterprise, bursaries, labour development and human rights, said Swing.

Further development programmes in education, health care and housing were also likely.

A further R11m would be made available for the repatriation of about 40 000 SA exiles once there was an accord with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), he said.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that versions of the 1991 International Co-operation Act separately adopted by the US Senate and House of Representatives presage important shifts in US aid policy towards SA, including an unprecedented willingness to work with government-supported institutions.

For the first time since the US government started providing educational and other support for “victims of apartheid”, the Senate has agreed that such assistance may be channelled to “health, educational and housing institutions or facilities ... financed or controlled by the SA government.”

Sen Edward Kennedy, who sponsored the change, added the proviso that the President must consult in advance with “the appropriate Congressional committees and South African organisations representative of the majority population”.

Potential beneficiaries include Baragwanath Hospital and universities.

The House of Representatives, meanwhile, has approved funding for the “development, construction and financing of low-cost housing” for black South Africans.

The Foreign Affairs Committee is recommending that the US Agency for International Development (AID) set aside $40 in the next two fiscal years for this purpose, and has singled out the New SA Housing Association as a potential recipient.

Swing identified the principal requirements for growth with equity as:
- intelligent economic policies and programmes;
- political stability and an end to violence and intolerance; and
- the recognition that SA’s future prosperity lay in the development of its talent and the fulfilment of all its people’s needs.

Safeguards and guarantees were necessary for any lasting political order, he added.

These would include agreement on a set of constitutional principals, which included a bill of rights, the separation in practice of executive, legislative and judicial powers, and a robust set of checks and balances.

Other safeguards were consensus among all parties that the preservation of “the democratic rules of the game” was the highest democratic imperative, even in times of political or economic crisis.
DP plan to encourage NP to abolish apartheid

Political Staff

A BROAD democratic coalition or alliance of the centre would give the new South Africa the best hope of success, said Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party.

Addressing 60 people at a meeting in the Green and Sea Point civic centre last night he said the DP's strategy was to encourage the National Party to move ahead to the final abolition of apartheid.

The school system and discriminatory social pensions showed that there were still elements of apartheid left.

It was also DP strategy "to fight against the rightwing in every way we can and to use the influence we have to bring about a convergence of political parties towards moderation, tolerance and co-operation".

The National Party had moved a long way towards accepting a policy based on equal rights for all, personal and economic freedom and upholding the rule of law. The attitude of the ANC had also moved to the centre.

Sooner or later the problem of the communists within the ANC would have to be resolved and then the way would be open for a broad coalition.

A broad-based government was also necessary to attract investment, both South African and foreign. The path to recovery lay through investment.

It was also the party's duty to watch the National Party carefully and to blow the whistle when it got up to some of its bad old tricks. This was what it did in the recent Inkatha funding scandal.

Mr Henrie Bester, the new MP for Green Point, said that some white liberals thought they had been reduced to mere spectators in the country's political life. But this was "utter rubbish".

What the future South Africa looked like depended on the contribution of all South Africans at all levels of society.
Bester on shape of new SA

Political Correspondent

THE new MP for Green Point, Mr Hennie Bester, said last night that the widely held view among liberal whites that they had been reduced to mere spectators in the political life of South Africa was "utter rubbish".

In his first address to constituents after being elected unopposed earlier yesterday, Mr Bester said the shape of the new South Africa would be determined by all South Africans on all levels of society.

Speaking at the Green Point: Sea Point Civic Centre, he said his decision to enter parliamentary politics at this stage was a personal vote of confidence in the future of South Africa.

Mr Bester appealed to all young South Africans, particularly whites who were "despondent and ready to abandon the country", to stay and make a contribution.

"I believe that South Africa, now, more than ever, needs young people who are committed to the country and its future."
Walmer NP chairman resigns

PROFESSOR Humphrey du Randt, chairman of the Walmer branch of the National Party, has resigned after being a member of the party for 38 years and branch chairman for a total of 11 years.

He announced in Port Elizabeth that several incidents had convinced him that he was being victimised to the extent that he could no longer remain a member of the NP.

A dominating feature of the NP rule, he said, was its arrogance as well as a lack of public accountability, which was illustrated by the recent slush fund disclosures and the fact that nothing had been done to change the situation until it was exposed.

"I say the NP has a double agenda and I no longer accept its credibility."

There was an Orwellian situation of double-speak and it was no use sitting at the negotiation table with "nice smiles" but, at the same time, knowing the military could take over if things went wrong.

The State President was doing a marvellous job but "I am not convinced that the political intentions of the NP are honourable. Anyone who knows the NP like I do, knows there is an arrogance and little interest in democracy", Prof Du Randt said.

He said it was, for him, also totally unacceptable the way the SABC was being manipulated by the government. — Sapa
AWB, CP—egg on FW

JOHANNESBURG. — Eggs and abuse were hurled at president F W de Klerk by placard-and-flag-wielding AWB and CP supporters as he arrived at a banquet in his honour in Alberton last night.

More than a hundred AWB and CP supporters, about half of them youths and children, joined the legal CP-organised picket outside the Alberton civic centre to protest at police action against right-wingers during the AWB-SAP clash in Ventersdorp last Friday night in which three people died.

Police closely monitored the picket while the right-wingers shouted at arriving dignitaries and guests and held placards reading "FW — Blood on your hands" and "Armoured vehicles won't stop us".

The demonstrators shouted "murderer" and "traitor" as the presidential cavalcade drove into the basement.

Eggs were thrown at Mr De Klerk, landing on the tarmac at the entrance to the underground parking to the civic centre.

Following the egg-throwing incident, police dogs were brought in to patrol the roadway between the protesters and the civic centre.

Urruly AWB members swore at black photographers and tried to seize a cassette from a radio reporter before rolling up their flags and dispersing once the banquet got under way. — Own Correspondent and Sapa
New bid to stop killings

Political Staff
SOUTH AFRICA'S long-awaited multi-party conference could take place as early as next month, after yesterday's historic draft peace accord between the country's major political players.

The draft accord — accepted by representatives of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and the government — will now go before a national peace convention on September 14 in Johannesburg.

The accord is designed to arrest the violence sweeping the country and provide rules for future political competition.

The accord, drafted by senior figures among South Africa's major political groupings and church and business representatives, provides for a permanent all-party peace commission and a peace secretariat which would have legal powers.

Sources from all three quarters believe the all-party commission could form the basis for the multi-party conference.

In a statement issued yesterday by the preparatory committee of the National Peace Initiative, it was announced that the draft consists of recommendations dealing with:
- A code of conduct for political parties;
- A code of conduct for security forces;
- Socio-economic development; and
- Implementation and monitoring mechanisms.

The ANC was represented on the committee by foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, the government by deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and the IFP by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The statement added that the committee had also agreed to appeal to all parties and organisations to end verbal attacks on each other "which could jeopardise the process, now in a critical and delicate phase".

Part of the code of conduct for political parties stated: "No language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, nor any wilfully false allegation should be used at any political meeting. Nor should pamphlets, posters or written material containing such language be prepared, printed or circulated, either in the name of any party or anonymously."

The statement said the group had worked late into Wednesday night on amendments to the draft. It was hoped that the major political organisations would sign a binding agreement to end violence at the peace convention.

This week ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a Johannesburg newspaper that "it's not inconceivable that the (peace convention) could become the convener of the all-party conference."
Codes of conduct planned for parties

CODES of conduct for political parties and the security forces are to be discussed at a major conference which is being called for September.

The aim is to end and avoid violence in public life. This follows what was this week described as "astonishing," agreement on the issues affecting violence among parties with widely divergent views.

This flowed from an earlier conference which appointed church and businessmen to act as facilitators to get together the main role players — the Government, ANC and Inkatha.

It is expected to serve as a stimulant for an all-party conference to prepare for negotiations on a new constitution, but its aim will not be to help arrange such a conference.

The main points in a code of conduct for political parties are that:

- No weapons of any kind must be allowed at political meetings;
- Abusive and inciting language must be avoided;
- Political parties must avoid holding meetings near each other on the same night;
- Parties must respect and uphold the right of other parties to operate.

Mechanisms for getting parties to adhere to these rules will have to be considered.

Reports submitted by a number of working groups also dealt with the implementation of a peace secretariat as a monitoring and dispute-settling mechanism at regional and local levels.

There has also been an attempt to identify socio-economic problems contributing to violence in areas such as hostels.

Only the white right-wing parties excluded themselves from these efforts which followed an earlier conference called by President FW de Klerk which flopped when the ANC and its allies declined to attend.

They said de Klerk had been too prescriptive and had only told, but not consulted, them about the conference.

Sources involved in the peace conference this week described as "nearly unbelievable" the "extraordinarily good relations" that had developed between the parties involved in these working groups along with facilitators from the church and the business sectors.
Egg-hurling protesters greet FW

By Montshiwa Moroke

President de Klerk was greeted by about 200 AWP and Conservative Party demonstrators amid tight security when he arrived at the Alberton Civic Centre last night as a guest at a fund-raising banquet.

Police threw a security cordon round the Civic Centre hours before Mr de Klerk’s arrival.

Rowdy rightwingers, intermittently hurling abuse at police with dogs keeping them away from the centre, held placards aloft as Mr de Klerk arrived.

Many of the militant protesters wore black armbands in support of their colleagues who were killed or injured at Ventersdorp last Friday.

Some of the posters read: “Tsaftendas de Klerk”, “Ventersdorp and AWB equals Ventersdorp”, “FW blood on u hand”, “FW Boere hater” and “Ons sal sterf vir ons reg”.

The Star photographer Alf Kumalo was hit on the foot by an egg thrown by a man clad in AWP uniform and threatened several times by another aggressive khaki-clad man.

Earlier, one of the organisers told the group that they were not allowed to carry firearms and other weapons. He warned that if firearms were found, the gathering outside would be declared illegal and they would be ordered to leave.

“We should do nothing to obstruct traffic. We should not molest or obstruct people. Let us show them we’re better people. We should do nothing,” the man said.
New anthem should be acceptable to all

A new national anthem must be based on values common to all South Africans and be spiritual in character, according to the Junior Rapportrenergie (JRB).

In a statement, issued in Johannesburg, on emblems in a new South Africa, the organisation of predominantly Afrikaans-speaking young professionals said it recognised the need for new emblems in the new South Africa despite its sentiment towards the present flag, coat of arms and national anthem.

The JRB, however, stressed it was not prepared to negotiate on monuments and language as these were a direct identification of the Afrikaner people.

It said the new national anthem should be acceptable to all South Africans, in particular the minority groups, and must not be connected to any political party.

Regarding the flag, the organisation said it was prepared to negotiate a new one but rejected those of the ANC, Inkatha and the PAC as unacceptable alternatives.

It was prepared to accept certain aspects of these emblems to be included in a new flag, which represented the diverse values and aspirations of all those who were serious about a developing and peaceful South Africa.

It said talks should take place between all interested parties.

However, the JRB said it would strive to maintain names such as Jan Smuts Airport, Verwoerdburg and Rhodes University because the impact made by the people honoured was of historical importance to South Africa.

It did not object to future streets, squares and State institutions being named after historical figures of other race groups or opposing ideologies. — Sapa.
'SA could set example for Africa'

By Kaizer Ntsumba
Political Staff

South Africa had the potential to be one of the leaders in Africa's "long-stalled march towards democracy" and might even show the entire continent the way, United States ambassador William Swing said last night.

Speaking at the presentation of the Four Outstanding Young South Africans awards in Johannesburg, Mr Swing said that although the rest of Africa was experiencing change, nowhere on the continent had developments been more dramatic or promising than in SA.

"Americans were optimistic that national peace initiatives and an all-party conference would be successful.

Mr Swing, who has had all but one of his postings in Africa in his 28 years as a diplomat, said one of the clearest developments in the country was the recognition by most political leaders that South Africa was an African country.

However, it was also important that South Africans continued to respect their uniqueness on the continent, realising that their cultural, ethnic and linguistic differences could prove to be the country's major asset.

"If violence can be ended and an ethos of tolerance established here, then the world faces the exhilarating prospect that ironically it may well be South Africa which shows much of Africa the way to democracy."

Mr Swing said that while the US recognised the establishment of a new constitution was "a South African task", it was nevertheless prepared to share its national experience and a belief that a number of safeguards were necessary for any lasting political order.

These included agreement on a set of constitutional principles, a consensus that preserving the democratic "rules of the game" was the highest imperative in any democracy, a willingness to distinguish between dissent and disloyalty, and consensus on the economy.

A weak economy, said Mr Swing, would make the transition more complicated.

Chief requirements for economic growth were "intelligent economic policies and programmes, political stability and an end to violence and intolerance, and recognition that the country's future prosperity would come from the development of the talent and the fulfilment of the needs of all South Africans".
Old champions


This is an unadorned chronicle, a plain politician’s tale told by a patently nice man who tries to find something kind to say about even his most unappealing opponents. At times he allows fellow politicians to condemn themselves out of their own mouths, as when he quotes the former Natal United Party (UP) leader, Douglas Mitchell: “Policy? Why should I state my policy? I don’t want a millstone about my neck.”

At worst, Swart expresses his displeasure in headmasterly tones, as he does about the contacts made with the ANC after the 1987 elections by new MPs like Pierre Cronje and Jan van Eck. It was not so much the contacts themselves that earn Swart’s rebuke — “uncertain and unpredictable attitudes seemed to have developed among elements in the party” — as the manner in which they were carried out. Besides being nice, Swart is also clearly a stickler for good form and appropriate procedure — values to be appreciated whenever evinced, not only by politicians.

For anyone interested in SA politics over the past 40 years, the “odyssey” is an arresting one. It starts with Swart’s election as UP MP for Zululand at the age of 25 in 1953 and ends with his resignation in 1989 as caucus chairman of the Democratic Party (DP) — that amalgam of the old Progressive Federal Party, Denis Worrall’s Independent Party and Wynand Malan’s National Democratic Movement. In between these events, Swart was closely involved in all the major alliances and mergers that took place in white politics to the left of the governing National Party. Over the years, this has amounted to a complex process and, for most of us, the details have become fuzzy.

The DP is little more than two years old. How many of us can clearly recall (in the face of the astonishing developments since February 1990) the intricate dance of woolings, hesitations, seductions and couplings that led to its formation — and that caused such delicate frissons of anxiety and anticipation in white liberal circles at the time?

Another virtue of Swart’s memoir is that it helps us to look back on the long and arduous road that has had to be travelled to the point where the NP itself has now largely adopted the values and principles of what Swart likes to call the early missionaries, meaning the Progs and their successors (he does not pay homage to other liberal visionaries, or to earlier champions of non-racialism and democracy).

It is useful to be reminded, especially by someone who was in that thick of the party-political battle during the four decades that saw the ruthless imposition of apartheid and its subsequent abandonment, of the glacial rate of political change before 1990.

And it is not long ago that Worrall could pronounce that the possibility of whites agreeing to share power in the direction of a common society was “far too remote even to warrant attention.” It is partly by seeing how far we have come in a relatively short time that we can sustain hope for the future.

It is interesting also to be reminded of forgotten actors who once struttled the political stage. How many of us remember Theo Gerdener’s Democratic Party? Or Blaar Coetzee’s short-lived Conservative Party? (How the names keep coming back.) What the chronicler records in essence is the slow shift in political values among the white parties, accompanied by a seemingly endless process of grouping and regrouping among the opposition forces.

For this alone, Progressive Odyssey is a valuable part of the political record. The style is somewhat rough-hewn (“refreshingly unintellectual,” is how the publisher describes it) and rather given to such quaint usages as “the error of his ways” and “amidst scenes of great enthusiasm.”

Do not read it in hopes of any major revelations or juicy political scandals, or even for some inner caucus dirt. Swart is far too much of a gentleman for that: the furthest he goes is to describe, without heat or rancour, some of the inevitable tensions in both the UP and its successors in opposition.

Nor should one read the book in the hope of learning much about Swart himself. It is almost entirely a record of his political career; his family life, for example, features very little.

Finally, Progressive Odyssey is a well-deserved tribute to some of those who fought for liberal values during the long, dark years of repression. Its leitmotiv is best expressed in the writer’s own words: “In later years, when others who boldly came to reject the horrors of apartheid and racism tended to belittle or fight shy of what they termed the Prog image, or made snide remarks about so-called cosy white liberals, they did a grave injustice to those selfless political pioneers who... were out championing liberal values in election after election without any hope of being rewarded by electoral successes.”

Peter Randall
A generation's finest inspire their fellows

The annual Junior Chamber of Commerce and Industries awards pay tribute to men and women making an impact on South African society.

STAN HLOPHE takes a look at the winners.

This year's Four Outstanding Young South Africans were announced at a banquet in Johannesburg last night.

Aids researcher Dr Valerie Mizrahi (53) epitomises the application, dedication and foresight which are symbolised by the awards.

In her work as a senior researcher officer in the department of haematology at Wits University's medical school, and as head of the molecular biology unit at the South African Institute for Medical Research, Dr Mizrahi has employed certain techniques as a first step to the rational design of anti-HIV agents.

Her team's research results have been published in international journals and presented at two major international conferences. Apart from these achievements, she lectures biotechnology groups at top research organisations and serves as a consultant to these groups.

Chris Gibbons' dislike of bias, distortion and propaganda won the day for this top radio journalist.

Gibbons (36) heads Radio 702's news, sports and information services, and acts as anchorman in "Newstalk".

The weekday news and background show has been hailed as setting new standards for broadcasting journalism in South Africa.

Gibbons also contributes to this industry by training and developing others, and is among those spearheading the move towards deregulating broadcasting in South Africa.

The youngest winner is Jabulani Mabaso (22). He is co-ordinator of the Matric Student Movement and Study Improvement Project (Masmove), which gives students who have failed matric a second chance to get their certificate.

In only three years Mr Mabaso has built up an organisation operating eight learning centres catering for 600 students, with dramatic improvements to pass rates.

Although his own school results were impressive, he was spurred to form Masmove when he saw more than half his class fall matric in 1987.

In a country plagued by violence and a chronic lack of concern, Martin Basil Capito (20) has risen to the challenge of solving a myriad problems in deprived communities.

Among his achievements is a project to accommodate pupils studying after school, as a response to pleas from pupils who could not study in their overcrowded homes.

In 1984 he accepted the position of executive director of Atlantis Community Care, an interdenominational organisation addressing issues in the community.

He has supported families of political detainees, as well as acting as peacemaker in communities, constantly urging unity.

Mr Capito also initiated a self-help protection programme aimed at obviating the need to carry dangerous weapons, and increasing safety among families, communities and employees.
The choice is conditioned or chaotic

The State must remain sovereign in the transitional phase. "says Hermann Gilmour

OPINION
Draft accord bodes well for peace talks

By Carina le Grange

The draft peace accord agreed on by the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party provides a firm foundation for a "peace convention" which will take place next month, the National Peace Initiative (NPI) said yesterday.

Apart from political representatives, top-ranking church and business leaders were also represented at the NPI meeting in Sandton at which the draft accord was agreed upon.

Agreement was reached in spite of clear tensions between the ANC and Inkatha.

The accord, aimed at quelling political violence and boosting negotiations, will be on the agenda for the September 16 peace convention.

It was hoped the ANC, Inkatha and the Government (the "Big Three") as well as other parties would sign a binding agreement to end the violence, the NPI said.

The draft accord will also be circulated within the next few days to other (unnamed) political parties and organisations.

The NPI said it was agreed that the draft addressed key issues related to violence.

The meeting also agreed to appeal to all parties to stop making verbal attacks on each other which could jeopardise the peace process, now in a "critical and delicate phase".

The draft includes a code of conduct for political parties which states that "no language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, nor any wilfully false allegation, should be used at any political meeting."

It also says pamphlets, posters or other written material containing such language should not be prepared, printed or circulated either in the name of any party or anonymously.

The draft also includes a code of conduct for security forces.

It was drawn up late on Wednesday night and one negotiator said: "The mere fact that we've succeeded is quite remarkable."

Another said: "Obviously this doesn't mean all parties are in total agreement with each other about all things. What is apparent is that all parties are prepared to work for peace."

One prominent facilitator said the draft accord was important not only for its contents but also for its symbolism. It boosted hopes for a multi-party conference and negotiations for a new South Africa.

While the "Big Three" and their many allies seem certain to attend the September Indaba with church, business and homeland leaders, the "right wing remains a problem."

"They must be included," a church facilitator said. "We are busy negotiating with them on a personal basis to get them interested."

The ANC alliance was led by Thabo Mbeki, the Government delegation by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelf Meyer and Inkatha by Dr Frank Mdlalose.
A black perspective on the warning white right

By Sibah Cooper

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— March 2023 —

However, our common enemy will never be消灭. Copyright © 2023 The Prosecutor's Office. All rights reserved.
So now you've met the militant right. Do you still think

An intimate evening

UGENE TERREBLANCHE took out a bullet and propped it on the bar in front of a curly-haired blonde. "This one's for FW de Klerk," he sniggered.

The company of about seven, gathered in the dingy "ladies bar" of the Venterdorp Hotel, were in a strangely jovial mood given the events that had befallen the town only 24 hours before.

TerreBlanche had led a phalanx of about 1000 members of his neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbebewing into clashes with police and blacks which left at least three rightwingers dead. Broken glass and barbed wire still littered the now deserted streets. Armoured vehicles outside the police station had been daubed with a red hammer and sickle intertwined with NP and had their tyres deflated.

It was Saturday evening, the international media contingent had gone home and we had stumbled on the bearded TerreBlanche, the man on whom the hopes and fears of a white rightwing revolt depend, knocking back a succession of brandies mixed with coke.

We asked innocently what had happened.

"They killed three of our people," he said with righteous indignation, hurt that fellow boers could have been the perpetrators of this dastardly act. "I asked them not to shoot and still they shot to the left and the right of me."

"These were men with wives and children," His voice resonated in its familiar oratorical style as he informed us that the whole sorry episode had been an outrage against innocent boers who were doing no more than peacefully exercising their right as taxpayers to come and hear the president speak.

We pointed out to TerreBlanche that it had been reported that the AWB brutally attacked a number of innocent blacks.

TerreBlanche threw us a suspicious look, then explained. "For no apparent reason, seven com-

The day after the blood and anger

of Venterdorp, Eugene TerreBlanche took to the bar at the Venterdorp Hotel, where he spent several hours in the company of, among others, journalists

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK and CISKA MATHEWS

In a more penitent mood, a bare-headed TerreBlanche bows his head: 'What will we do now? We will pray'

Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

bis came driving right into the middle of our people. We think the National Party put them up to it. Maybe they were Inkatha."

What would they do now? "We will pray," said TerreBlanche. A man known as the professor, later identified as Derek van Vuuren, added, "It's going to be war."

"The land is ours," he said. "We got it through fighting. If they want to take it back from us, they're going to have to fight. We will fight them to the end. We will never surrender."

The bar was growing more relaxed as the drinks continued to flow, the bluster began to fade and TerreBlanche's eyes grew smaller and more focused on the women in the room.

"I like women," he mumbled, looking around at the four women in the small, intimate bar.

TerreBlanche showed more than a passing interest in Matthews — he came over, kissed her hand and stared at her intensively.

We had a long and lively discussion at the bar where TerreBlanche continued to impress the company with tales of innocence and being a righteous knight of his people.

Another mysterious darkish gentleman in TerreBlanche's company was wearing a light khaki uniform with a sea captain's hat, his hands covered in golden rings and bracelets, and disclosed that he was a Basque.

Every now and then TerreBlanche went to him and they spoke conspiratorially in low voices.
'Mafia' make NP decisions

By BEVERLEY GARSON

THERE is a “political Mafia” in the National Party who have a “hidden agenda” to make it impossible to establish a climate of democratisation in the build-up to negotiations.

The claim was made this week by NP Walmer branch chairman Humphrey du Randt who has resigned from the party.

Du Randt said this “Mafia” did not consult widely within the party when making decisions. He said members of the NP had lost the power to determine party policy and had been presented with ideas, propositions and proposals from outside the party.

He said people in the party had tried to sideline him since the NP’s Cape congress last year, when he suggested the congresses had become a “mere rubber stamp” for proposals which originated in the Broederbond.

Du Randt said he supported the idea of an interim government to ensure a true democratic process during negotiations, because presently the “political Mafia” controlled vital parts of society.

But he did not think the government would agree to hand over power to such a body.

He said the government was playing a political game and the changes it had introduced to date had been “cosmetic”.

“The government is the old establishment dressed in new clothes. We don’t have time for superficial changes. We want a clean up (of the party) and we want the Mafia out.” — Pen
A BY-ELECTION IN ATHLONE

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

It was a scene in the New South Africa. The setting was a by-election for the Athlone (coloured) management committee. The leading characters were the National Party, the Labour Party (weakened by defections to the NP) and the African National Congress.

Jubilant Nats and supporters hailed their candidate's victory — by a narrow 77 votes — as an "historic breakthrough" and a severe setback for the Labour Party and the ANC in the Peninsula. It was the first poll of its kind since the Labourites defected to the NP this year.

The winner was the NP's Mr Basil van der Ross who polled 583 votes against 586 by Labour's Mr John Miranda.

The percentage poll was only 2.9 — described by a senior official of Cape Town municipality as "surprisingly high" for a management committee by-election.

Observers see the election, on Wednesday, as the first indication of the emerging election pattern of the future when race no longer will be a political factor.

Those present say there were stormy scenes, especially during the final stages. At one stage, according to witnesses, police intervened when ANC supporters allegedly tried to prevent potential NP voters from entering the Butterworth polling station.

Tension rose as rival groups confronted each other, shouting slogans and accusations. Several National Party MPs, including Mr Paul Kleinsmith (Elisabethville), and Mr James Kuller (Mansenberg), reported that their car tyres were punctured.

Among those present was Mr Piet Marais, a National Party member of the President's Council. He told Weekend Argus there was a clear ANC presence, including school children waving ANC flags, people chanting "A-N-C, A-N-C" and "Viva A-N-C," displaying ANC banners and distributing pamphlets with the ANC name and emblem.

Some of the pamphlets contained allegedly libellous statements against the NP and its candidate and seemed to contravene the Electoral Act in that they did not contain the name and address of the author, printer or publisher.

Mr Marais said he had contacted NP lawyers who told him there might be grounds to sue for libel.

Describing scenes at the polling stations, Mr Marais said the ANC and Labour Party supporters clearly demonstrated their opposition to the NP.

While NP supporters shouted "FW, FW," Labour Party supporters were chanting "coloured traits" and other accusations against the NP.

Mr Marais said that, at one stage, he saw ANC official Mr Trevor Manuel arriving at the Athlone Civic Centre. He was accompanied by LP supporters and shook hands with a Labour Party official.

Before the polling booths closed from a few hundred NP voters who had arrived in cars and combi had to turn back because they were unable to get into the polling station. Their entry had been obstructed by rival groups.

Mr Marais said: "When the announcement came that we had won, people shouted that we had beaten both the Labour Party and the ANC."

I'm now looking forward to an election where the NP can fight the ANC directly."

Winner Mr Basil van der Ross said he was "delighted" at his victory. "It was a tough battle seeing I had to face a double opposition — the Labour Party and the ANC."

He said there was a clear ANC presence with pamphlets, flags, emblems and slogans. It appeared that children from three high schools were involved in demonstrations with ANC flags and placards.

Mr Manuel, elected recently as a member of the ANC's national executive committee, denied he was involved in any way with the election.

He told Weekend Argus he had been invited to speak at a meeting of the Western Cape Traders' Association at the Athlone Civic Centre.

He had not even known about the election, but on his way to the meeting he found himself at the civic centre polling station. He made inquiries and was directed to the minor hall where the meeting he was to address was held.

Asked about an ANC presence at the election, Mr Manuel said: "All this is news to me. However, because of the serious nature of some of the allegations about ANC involvement, he would "go into the matter."

Defeated Labour Party candidate Mr Miranda confirmed that ANC supporters were active, but denied emphatically that their demonstrations were in support of the Labour Party.

"I have pamphlets showing clearly they (the ANC) were against both candidates in the election. The ANC supporters, in fact, were demonstrating against the election and were exercising their right to express their viewpoint. It is not true that they demonstrated for the Labour Party."

The Cape leader of the National Party, Mr Dario de Villiers, declined to comment.

TREVOR MANUEL: Not involved

Historic victory — Nats in 2.9% poll
Inkathagate: Slush Funds and the State

The recent revelations in the local and British press that the SA state has been funding Inkatha and UWWUSA has raised great interest amongst the people. The ANC has called for an interim government because the state’s support for Inkatha proves that it cannot be a “player and a referee”. The press focused on the fact that the tax-payers’ money had been spent on party-political matters. This article will look at what the question of secret funds tells us about the nature of the state under capitalism.

The nature of the state

The state consists of a number of institutions which ensure that it can carry out its purpose. These are the government, the party in power, the civil service, the army, police, judiciary (the judges and magistrates) and the treasury (the Reserve Bank and the state). In any society in which people are divided into classes and interest groups are not neutral, but serve the interests of the ruling class, the state serves to unite the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole. The capitalist state is made up of many individual capitalists who compete with one another. What unites them, however, is the need to keep their capital accumulation and profit growing and this is ultimately the responsibility of the state.

How does the capitalist class rule?

The capitalists are only a small minority in society which is dependent on the working class to produce its wealth. The capitalists rule through the institutions of the state. At times of extreme crisis, the armed wing of the state ensures that demonstrations are put down. Their “law and order” is kept, that strikes are broken and that production is maintained. But mostly the capitalist state is able to rule because the institutions of the state are regarded as normal by the majority of the working class and the middle classes. The civil service appears to administer services like sewerage and road maintenance on behalf of everybody. The police service is seen as rich and powerful; the judiciary appears as equal and that no one is above the law. In democratic capitalist countries this belief that the institutions of the state are neutral and in the service of all citizens is bolstered by the fact that the working people also elect the governing party. This belief in the neutrality of the state - that its institutions are above the class interests of the different classes - is the greatest reason why a small minority of capitalists is able to keep the vast majority of people under its rule.

The capitalist state needs checks and balances

The fact that the capitalist state is so dependent on the acceptance of its status by the working class is a problem for the capitalist class however. Struggles around the quality of life on the part of the working class and even amongst middle classes people can shatter the illusion that the state is neutral. And even the limited space offered to the working class in influence political life, such as during elections, can open the possibility that the interests of the capitalists can be threatened.

Together with its watchdog of the armed forces, the capitalist state always tries to keep the real decision-making about all aspects of people’s lives out of public scrutiny. So the country is really run through parliamentary committees and courts, when the bureaucratic cannot or will not recall them, by the elite. The civil service, meanwhile, is staffed by professional bureaucrats and the judiciary is independent of parliament or any democratic elected politicians. Amongst all these mechanisms for keeping the majority of people out of the democratic process the capitalist state also keeps a special department for secret services. In the interest of “state security” the people are not allowed to know about those shadowy services (from spies to the security police) and their funding. The activities of the secret police are, together with the activities of the diplomats, deemed to be too sensitive for the people to know about. All of us have grown up in the period of the Cold War world of the CIA and Britain’s MI6 while Hollywood agents such as James Bond lived charming secret lives. The Stasi in East Germany in turn built up secret police such as the GPU and the KGB to eliminate what they called the “enemies of the people”. At the same time all the capitalist states, even the ones that are “democratic maintain a professional diplomatic team under the parliaments’ responsibility of the Foreign Affairs department but whose finances and deals are secret. Nothing illustrates the undemocratic nature of the capitalist state more than its need to protect itself from involvement of the people in its decisions. Its need to conduct investigations against its own people, and to carry out diplomatic deals secretly, behind the backs of the people.

There are however variations in the degree of involvement of people in some of the states in different capitalist states. Usually this depends on the degree of mass involvement in the formation of the state. For instance the history of the American Constitution which came about as a result of a popular war of liberation against British colonialism has left a limited legacy today where American district attorneys are elected and Supreme Court judges appointment must be ratified by an elected body such as Congress. However, the CIA and the diplomats (and their financiers) operate entirely outside of public scrutiny, even if Congressional subcommittees do investigate them and can make aspects of their investigations public.

The Slush Funds and the De Klerk State

When the South African and the British newspapers first revealed that they had proof that the SA state had funded Inkatha and set up UWWUSA, most of the press focused on the fact that tax-payers’ money was being used and that De Klerk was acting fairly at a time of negotiations. Instead of getting the SA state to deny that De Klerk knew about the money, it was argued that the money was only for anti-sanctions purposes; and that the national-government had authorized the money to some of the parliaments’ allocation of money for secret projects. The fact that secrecy is therefore a necessary part of government was taken for granted. In fact this allowed Pik Botha to brazenly face the press with statements like “I’ll do it again”! From the side of Western governments, such as Britain and the USA, there was a silence, and even a fact that they too operate on the principle of secrecy. They understood the need for secret funds and projects.

The real problem lies in the nature of the capitalist state - which excludes the people from decision-making and even the knowledge of those decisions taken. In the preparation for the new constitution for South Africa, through a Constituent Assembly, the working people have a chance to ensure that the principle of public knowledge, elections and accountability is built into every part of the future state. In that sense Inkathagate has lessons beyond just De Klerk’s act of bad faith against the people.

What do you think?
Please write to us at Learning Nation, P.O. Box 11350, Johannesburg, 2000 and tell us what you feel about Inkathagate and secret state departments.
Disarm gun-toting political cowboys

STOP private armies now. Also disarm gun-toting political cowboys and potential criminals who carry dangerous weapons in public places.

This is the message from politicians, academic specialists and opinion-makers across the spectrum — and most of them warn that the government can no longer afford to delay decisive action on this issue.

There are signs of mounting pressure on the government for an out-and-out war on war-like activities by militant groups on the right and the left.

The role of the AWB's anti-state policy of private armies spread throughout such parties or groups using their own private armies or paramilitaries to act against another party or group, he says. This week he will stand by earlier conclusions from his research indicating an urgent need to stop the activities and growth of the armed and paramilitary organizations.

"Should the government permit private armies in their present guise to continue in one small step before a Lebanon-type situation develops, it's all over," Mr. Di De Kok, a sociologist at the Institute for Research on Social Science (IRSS), has said.

Last week Mr. Di De Kok went on a three-day mission to Lebanon to assess the situation. He noted that conflict situations could mean death, chaos and disintegration.

Mr. Di De Kok says that Lebanon's existence as a country could be jeopardized due to the civil war. He also warns that South Africa could face a similar situation if left unchecked.

The South African government has taken steps to prevent the formation of private armies, but more needs to be done to ensure peace and stability in the country.

In South Africa's large territory, private armies and military-style groups are a "menace" to society, Mr. Di De Kok says. He encourages the government to take strong action against these groups.

Mr. Di De Kok's visit to Lebanon was to assess the situation firsthand and provide recommendations for South Africa to prevent a similar conflict from happening.

The government needs to act decisively to prevent the formation of private armies and maintain peace and stability in the country.

Political scientist Professor Herman Gillum of the University of Cape Town sounded a warning this week about right-wing forces and their capacity to wield violence and instigate other criminal activities. He said that the ANC's demand for an interim government, which had gained control of the military forces, could lead to the formation of armed groups and the paralysis of the security forces.

What is the government doing about the issue of private armies and dangerous weapons in public places?

After a promising beginning, response to numerous warnings by experts, the government at last seemed to be taking some kind of action, or at least a promise of action. The week's events at the "Battle of Venterberg" were a prime example of this.

Law and Order Minister Mr. Aasen Viljoen's early response was that bypassing the private army issue was an option under consideration, but that he was prepared to handle the situation differently.

On the issue of firearms and dangerous weapons at public gatherings, Mr. Viljoen says certain measures, including prohibitions and heavy penalties for contravention, are necessary — certainly during the present period of tension and change in South Africa.

This is something that must be done with vigilance as soon as possible. There has been too much preparation on the question of carrying weapons, including cultural weapons, in public places.

The government also has to consider the issue of firearms and dangerous weapons, including cultural weapons, in public places.

The government is considering legislation to prevent the formation of private armies and maintain peace and stability in the country.

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on force

Brendan Templeton

issues

Dr. Addis Templer

Dr. Addis Templer

that night, issued a

warning

to...
Thundering leader of the Boers dreads democracy

Eugene Terre Blanche, leader of the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, a political party of critical importance in South Africa, has a political career that began in the 1970s. He is known for his fiery speeches and inflammatory rhetoric. His party, the AWB, has been involved in violence and bombings, and its members have been accused of human rights abuses.

Patrick Laurence

University of Cape Town

His comparison does not imply any ideological identity between the two, but rather that Mr Terre Blanche could rise to the same political eminence in South Africa as Mr Paisley has done in Northern Ireland and play the same role in thwarting moves towards power-sharing.

The two share several traits. Physically big men with an imposing presence, and supercilious orators, they are leaders of minority communities with an insatiable appetite for power. Mr Terre Blanche is dismissed by some political analysts as a fanatical demagogue operating in, and essentially confined to, an extremist fringe. Mr Paisley was once regarded in many the same way.

Whether Mr Terre Blanche, too, can move to the centre of the stage is a matter of intense speculation and of critical importance to our future.

BORN into a staunchly Afrikaner nationalistic family in January 1944, Mr Terre Blanche, who captained his school first rugby team, served as a police officer for nearly five years after matriculating.

A failed parliament candidate — he stood in the early 1970s for the Herstigte Nasionale Party, which was formed by dissident members of the ruling National Party — Mr Terre Blanche's political career really started in 1973. In that year he and six other Afrikaner leaders founded the AWB in a garage in the town of Heidelberg.

The AWB won notoriety after functioning as a semi-secret organisation for five years. Its first public action, undertaken in 1979, was to tar and feather the then Afrikaner historian, Florens van Jaarsveld, for calling for the de-segregation of the Day of the Covenant.

In the same year the AWB held its first meeting, displaying its Nazi-like insignia and declaring its vehement opposition to parliamentary democracy. Multiracial democracy, thundered Mr Terre Blanche, was a British-Jewish concept devised to divide Afrikaner on party lines.

FROM then on Mr Terre Blanche became a familiar figure as he tramped the length and breadth of South Africa, making for the establishment of an Afrikaner volkstaat in which there would be no equality between white and black and a racially based citizenship restricted to whites.

The volkstaat would not grant citizenship to all whites, however. They had to fail the two criteria: they had to be Christians, and identify and be assimilable with the Afrikaner volk. Jews would be excluded.

The status of blacks would be that of helots, or, if they were lucky, guarantor-bearers (guest labourers). "If they do not like it, they can leave," Mr Terre Blanche once proclaimed.

His fervent denunciation of the "traitors" in Pretoria was reinforced with threats of violence, of an AWB "revolution" to forestall surrender to the ANC and its communist allies.

In 1983 Mr Terre Blanche was one of four men, all AWB members, charged under the Terrorism Act with weapons of war were found buried on the property of his brother, Andries. Mr Terre Blanche was acquitted of the terrorism charge but found guilty of illegal possession of weapons and sentenced to two years' jail, suspended for five years.

In the same year two former members of the AWB were charged under the Act for conspiring to overthrow the government and assassinate black leaders. The two men resigned from the AWB about two weeks before the start of their trial. They were convicted, jailed for 15 years and refused leave to appeal.

One of the two men, Jacob Viljoen, had been teased earlier with Mr Terre Blanche for illegal possession of arms, including an AK-47 rifle. They were found guilty. Mr Viljoen was fined. Mr Terre Blanche was given a suspended sentence and fined.

Mr Terre Blanche was undeterred by these setbacks and continued his campaign throughout the 1980s against the reformist policies of President P.W. Botha. He denounced Mr Botha's tripartite constitution of Parliament — which gave coloureds and Indians a voice in Parliament — as a rickety framework built on cupidity and samourais.

Mr Terre Blanche, whose oratorical style is distinctly Hitlertian, drew parliamentarians wherever he went. In 1987 the AWB sent a representative to a memorial service for the former Nazi leader Rudolf Hess.

Mr Terre Blanche suffered a setback in 1989 when he was arraigned in the company of journalist Jani Allan, who was allegedly breaking the gate to the Paardekraal monument commemorating the fight for freedom by Boers against the British.

He was later acquitted in court, but the incident sparked a round of embarrassing publicity.

Reports emanating from within the AWB depicted him as a womaniser and a heavy drinker, contradicting his public persona as a sober family man.

Mr Terre Blanche staggered, politically speaking, through the next few months until, in February 1990, he was reactivated by President de Klerk's momentous decision to unbend the ANC, free Nelson Mandela and initiate settlement talks with black organisations.

Last Sunday night, after the battle of Venterpark in which three rightwing soldiers were killed, he was on TV, crossing swords with Barend du Plessis, Transvaal leader of the National Party, and bargaining with him on the country's future.

He seemed — temporarily at any rate — to have put the humiliations behind him.
Several countries — including the UK, are facing a deepening economic crisis due to high energy prices, which is impacting the cost of living. The situation is crisis and the government is considering implementing measures to mitigate the impact on households and businesses.

Prime Minister Johnson has been under pressure to take decisive action to address the cost of living crisis. He has announced a package of measures, including a temporary increase in the winter fuel allowance for pensioners and a £20 decrease in the state pension.

However, critics argue that these measures are insufficient and do not go far enough to help those most affected by the crisis. The opposition is calling for more urgent action to provide financial relief to households and businesses struggling to cope with the rising cost of living.

Johnson flies the CAYT flag
SA rightwingers must get it right

SOUTH Africa has just emerged from the so-called Battle of Ventersdorp, in which three members of the AWB were killed in clashes between that organisation and the police. The occasion was a National Party public meeting addressed by the State President.

Earlier during the week, the AWB and the CP had warned that President de Klerk “would not be welcome in Ventersdorp” and pressure had been put on him to cancel the meeting.

One would have thought that the era of creating no-go areas for political opponents had long passed. Apparently it is not so with the rightwingers.

AWB leaders have publicly admitted that they advised their members to bring their licensed firearms to the meeting but at the same time they claim that they wanted to gain admission into the hall so as to put questions to the State President.

That is a new version of democracy where you need to be armed to get a hearing in order to question your political opponent at a public meeting.

The conduct of the AWB and its fellow-travellers is surprising, to say the least.

These are people who have all the political rights under the sun, including full representation in Parliament, and various other exclusive social privileges.

They are now turning their backs on all these rights and are choosing to put their case violently.

Not only that, they are also dragging in innocent black people as scapegoats in their war against civilised political standards and democracy.

The CP does not want to talk peace either, as it claims it is not involved in violence.

But, each time there is right-wing violence, CP leaders make very unhelpful statements which border on justifying the violence.

It is high time the CP leaders realised that they can’t be democrats and closet revolutionaries at the same time.

They must publicly make a choice between peaceful and violent change.

I am not the one who blames the National Party Government for everything including the inclement weather, but I believe the Government is also to blame here.

The rightwingers are adherents of past National Party policies who feel betrayed by the sudden policy changes in that party.

While the National Party now sees democratic political transition as the answer for South Africa, the rightwingers still see it as the greatest threat to their salvation. The latter was National Party policy not so long ago.

Therefore, it is the duty of the National Party Government to take steps to condition the rightwingers and all South Africans so as to prepare them mentally and attitudinally for the changes that are coming with political transition.

The Government has radio and television to do this. I am sure that once the Government takes up this challenge seriously, our own black political leaders, the press, church leaders and everybody else would be pleased also to make a contribution in promoting national reconciliation and political tolerance among all South Africans, including the rightwingers.
ROLL UP, roll up. Yes, folks, welcome to the all-singing, all-dancing F.W. de Klerk show. Playing tonight in Venterdsdorp for one night only.

And believe me, wrote critics afterwards, there certainly was plenty of action and all the fun of the fair.

But I regret to point out that this is South Africa — not a fairground. F.W. de Klerk is the man supposed to be leading the nation forward into peaceful negotiation, not a cross between a fairground Barker and a TV soap opera good-guy.

Frankly, whoever advised him to stage his meeting in Venterdsdorp deserves to be horsewhipped in public for gross stupidity.

From the moment the rally was announced — set in the very centre of AWB territory — violence was certain. The authorities knew as much, too, or they wouldn’t have had extra forces on standby outside the town.

To what end, then, was this violence unleashed?

Perhaps to prove to the rest of the nation how serious the threat is from the right wing? But we know that.

Perhaps to prove how determined F.W. de Klerk is to deal with it, then? But if that’s the case, we must question very closely the strong-arm tactics he seems to want to use.

Such tactics did not work against the Left, against organisations like the ANC and PAC. Nor will they work against the Right. (And perhaps someone could remind Nelson Mandela of this when next he feels a need to add to the debate.)

So what other reason for Venterdsdorp could there have been? Well, a real cynic might suggest it was a wonderful opportunity for President de Klerk to re-establish his image and deflect some attention away from Inkathagate.

Even those awful press people might now realise there are more important things on his agenda than a few rands here or there to Inkatha.

But if that were indeed the motive, it backfired. TV viewers saw a president who looked uncertain and nervous, ill at ease with the anger and violence of both rightwingers and police.

To have allowed him to attend the meeting really was a mistake. To have allowed him to do so, apparently badly prepared for the outcome, was a severe error of judgment.

What has happened is that the right wing itself has been galvanised. Even the staunchest critics of Eugene TerreBlanche now agree that unity is necessary.

If De Klerk’s aim was to force the rightists to cover, then the result was the opposite. Hence the charge of political incompetence.

TerreBlanche has also taken the high ground by inviting De Klerk back to Venterdsdorp. De Klerk is now in a Catch-22 situation. If he goes, he will be dancing to TerreBlanche’s tune; if he stays at home, he will be branded a coward.

You may indeed believe that the AWB and other groups like it belong in the realms of the circus or the comic opera. If you do, you are making a fatal mistake.

They have the potential to write a heart-rending tragedy, a tale of civil war and destruction on the lines of Lebanon and Cyprus.

They must be taken just as seriously as the ANC, the PAC and the rest of the black opposition. All the players who would sit at the negotiating table must shift up to make room for the likes of the AWB. These players must formulate their responses to the right-wing demands.

But most important of all, the right wing has to recognise the need to negotiate. This is critical. If it refuses at all costs and resorts to violence, it will achieve nothing.

It will only give ammunition to those who believe it should be ground under the heel.

Chris Gibbons is head of news, sport and talk shows on Radio 702.
Ann's baby takes a bow

Peace Plan
Here Is the
Tolerance, Liberal Values, Pledged in Anti-Violence Pact
The 70-page draft accord — full details of which can now be disclosed by the Sunday Times — sets up elaborate mechanisms to end the violence and bring the police under close supervision.

It also anticipates the coming constitutional negotiations, by uniting the three main political parties in support of a set of common values that may well form the basis of a liberal, democratic state.

The tone of the agreement is tolerant, and it firmly asserts the primacy of the individual over the state. While intended as an interim measure, the effect of the pact is to bind all three signatories to Western-style democratic norms well in advance of the constitutional talks.

This accord, now being considered by other political parties, will form the basis of a national peace summit on September 14.

Key elements of the draft proposals accepted by the parties this week are:
- A code of conduct for the police which holds members of the force accountable to society — not the government;
- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerence in their members;
- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels;
- A statutory commission, to be headed by a judge.

To signify our common purpose to bring an end to political violence in our country, we hereby set out the code of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal.

FROM THE PREAMBLE TO THE PEACE AGREEMENT

or a retired judge, to investigate and expose the causes of violence;
- The appointment of a police board — with equal representation for the force and members of the public — to advise on future policing policy;
- The setting up of a special police unit, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the force;
- The establishment of regional ombudsmen to ensure the proper investigation of all complaints against the police;
- The creation of another special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence;
- The setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.

The agreement was drafted by members of the preparatory committee, in many sessions mediated by church and business leaders. Among the key figures involved were Menelisi Wole, National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry president Sam Motsuenyane, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and Rubensky Group chairperson Louw Alberts.

The government's representatives included Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Deputy Minister Johan Schepers and NP defence spokesman Boy Geldenhuys.

Charged

The ANC alliance delegation included International Affairs director Thabo Mbeki, NEC member Aziz Fahd, Cosatu's Sydney Mufamadi and the SA Communist Party's Jeremy Cronin.

Inkatha representatives included national chairman Frank Mdlalose and central committee members Denis Madze, Walter Foqate and Suzanne Vos.

Central to the functioning of the peace accord is the National Peace Committee. All signatories to the accord will be represented on the committee, which will have a businessman and church leader as chairman and vice-chairman respectively.

The NPC will be charged with implementing the accord and resolving any disputes which may arise. All decisions will be made by consensus. If consensus is not reached, an arbitrator will be appointed, whose decision will be final.

A National Peace Secretariat will be appointed to set up structures to actively combat violence and intimidation at grassroots level.

The NPS will consist of full-time representatives of the ANC alliance, the NP, Inkatha and the Department of Justice, as well as five other members.

The function of the secretariat will be to establish and co-ordinate Regional Dispute Resolution Committees (RDRCs) and Local Dispute Resolution...
Now for a new vision of freedom

HISTORY may be servitude, history may be freedom. Liberalism is nothing if not the defence of freedom. The South African liberal tradition has two components, borne by two rather different social groups.

Business liberalism presents a robust, generally optimistic face (though subject to a degree of affective disorder during the recessionary phases of the business cycle); all things considered, it has done quite well during the past decade, playing a considerable role in the dismantling of coercive political structures.

But business liberalism represents only a part — essentially the material progress part — of a rich tradition. It has been left to an always fragile — and now almost extinct — missionary and philanthropic liberal tradition to try to interpret its cultural aspects.

Concepts

The clearest defences of this part of the liberal tradition in SA have been the most poignant contrasts of visions of freedom with the imposition of new forms of servitude — a missionary bishop denouncing colonialism in its most brutal, shortsighted form, a professor of philosophy foreseeing with harsh clarity the consequences of the political rise of Afrikaner nationalism.

Against the intolerant, coercive forces in our midst, liberalism would do well to take its stand on the two central concepts of Kant’s moral philosophy: individual autonomy and universalisation.

Unshackling individual freedom from state-imposed racial identities is a great step forward to the achievement of individual autonomy.

But the liberal programme will not be realised if social structure continues to dominate individual capacities in determining what people may become. The creation of an open political system and attending to poverty are both central.
Lekota challenges political groups to let vote decide

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC executive member Patrick "Terror" Lekota has challenged the government, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and all other parties to a non-racial one-man one-vote election for a constituent assembly to prove who has the most support.

A member of a panel at a public debate on "Transitional Mechanisms and Secret Funds" in Johannesburg last week, National Executive Committee member Mr Lekota said many organisations had made exaggerated claims about membership.

The controversy could be put to rest once and for all by holding an election for a constituent assembly.

"Let's hold an election for a constituent assembly to decide on the different parties' and organisations' support in the country. We are ready for an election. Let's leave our traditional weapons at home and move on," he said.

Mr Lekota, a member of the ANC's national working committee, said it was strange that IFP leaders insisted they did not know about their party's secret funding by the government.

It was unbelievable, he said, "that people who have been receiving salaries from the apartheid government publicly for so many years will suddenly be shy to receive some money in private".

The Inkathagate scandal, Mr Lekota said, had disqualified the National Party government from supervising the transitional process and made it imperative that an interim government be established.

IFP central committee member Mr Mosa Myeni reiterated his party's position that the government's secret funding of the IFP was not sanctioned by the leadership.

"I agree that all governments have secret funds, but we (in the IFP) did not need the money. We never asked for it and that's why we returned it. We will not apologise to anybody. We did not know," Mr Myeni said.

The money given to the IFP by the government through the police was not intended to help in the fight against sanctions.

He said the first rally funded by the police in 1989 was meant for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to address his subjects, and the second rally last year was to celebrate the release of political prisoners, including ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Boy Geldenhuys, a Nationalist MP, and Mr Myeni rejected calls for both an interim government and a constituent assembly.

However, they agreed to transitional arrangements which would accommodate other political organisations and parties in the interim.

Such transitional arrangements, Mr Geldenhuys said, could include the appointment of extra-parliamentary organisations' leaders to Cabinet, the formation of a multi-party executive body to liaise closely with the government, or the formation of joint committees to function along the lines of parliamentary committees.

Other speakers at the public meeting, which was arranged by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, were Democratic MP for Umbhlanga Mr Kobus Jordaan and Mr Mosesbanye Malatsi, the head of the manpower department in the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mr Malatsi said the government was not only illegitimate but also illegal, and it therefore had to give way to a democratically elected constituent assembly to write the new constitution.
Slush funds group named and sittings begin next month

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk has announced his advisory committee from the private sector on special secret projects pending the revision of legislation on secret funds.

The committee will be chaired by Professor Ellison Kahn SC. He will be assisted by Professor S A S Strauss SC, Mr J O McMillan and Mr J A Crafford, and is expected to begin work on September 2.

President De Klerk said the committee would advise him on whether continuing special secret projects met the requirement that political parties or organisations should not benefit from them, and whether these projects were in the broader national interest and were able to play a positive part in promoting peace and countering violence, intimidation, sanctions and isolation.

The committee would determine its own guidelines for evaluating the projects.

President De Klerk said the committee would also advise him of the adequacy of the existing control of special projects, as well as on the completion of contractual obligations for cancelled projects.

He added it was not intended for the committee to function on a permanent basis as legislation containing new controls was envisaged.

Mr De Klerk said opportunities would be given to individuals and institutions to submit contributions on the planned changes to legislation on secret funding.

Those already submitted would be followed up and given thorough consideration.

Professor Kahn is a retired dean of the faculties of Law and Commerce at the University of the Witwatersrand, and previously vice-chancellor. At present he is professor emeritus and has been the editor of the South African Law Journal since 1950. He holds honorary doctorates from the Universities of Cape Town, Natal and Wits.

Professor Strauss is a professor of law at the University of South Africa, a member of the University Council, the South African Media Council and the South African Medical Research Council, and also one of the vice-presidents of the World Association of Medical Law.

Mr McMillan retired in March this year after 40 years in journalism and 26 as editor of the Natal Mercury.

Mr Crafford is a retired chartered accountant with 38 years auditing experience. He served on the Task Group for Budgetary Procedures and is at present a director of companies. — Sapa.
and political reform
Striking a balance

Charles Simkins

NOTIONAL economic

CHARGE

A POST}

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Secret funding group appointed

By BARRY STREEK, Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has announced the appointment of a four-man private sector advisory committee to monitor the funding of secret projects, despite opposition by the ANC, Cosatu and the Democratic Party.

The committee, which is to be chaired by Professor Ellison Kahn, Emeritus Professor of Law and former deputy vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, is to oversee the government's special secret projects until the completion of a revision of the legislation on secret funds.

The other members of the committee are another legal academic, Professor A S Strauss, Professor of Law at the University of South Africa, Mr Jimmy McMillan, the recently-retired editor of the Natal Mercury, and Mr J A Crafford, a retired chartered accountant.

The committee was expected to commence its activities on September 2, President De Klerk said in a midnight statement. Its appointment follows the Inkathagate slush fund controversy.

The ANC and Cosatu earlier called on the private sector not to become involved in the government's 'dirty work', while the DP said the supervision of secret projects should be conducted by a standing committee of Parliament, not a private sector committee.

In his statement, Mr De Klerk said the committee would advise him on whether continuing special secret projects met the requirement that political parties or organisations should not benefit from them.
CP meets in wake of ‘war’

THE Conservative Party could make important decisions about its future when it holds its second provincial congress in Bloemfontein this week.

More than 300 delegates are expected to meet in Bloemfontein tomorrow and on Wednesday following last Friday’s ‘war’ in Ventersdorp.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will address a public meeting on Tuesday night, at which time he may indicate whether the party will continue encouraging people to ‘use every means at their disposal’ to counter the Government’s reform initiatives.

Some observers say that Treurnicht, as the party’s parliamentary-leader, has a responsibility to stop supporters away from violence.

Observers also feel that the CP leader, not being a violent man at heart, may well have been shaken by the events of Ventersdorp.

Early last week, Treurnicht spoke in Queenstown and made, say some political observers, a surprising announce ment on the violence issue when he appealed for people not to attend political meetings bearing arms. - Sapa.
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The document opens with a statement declaring that the "Exposure of Peace Plan, Premature" is premature. Following this, there are several paragraphs discussing the implications and consequences of prematurely exposing the peace plan. The text mentions the need for careful consideration and strategic planning to avoid negative outcomes. The paragraphs also touch on the importance of maintaining confidentiality and the potential risks associated with premature disclosure. The document concludes with a call to action, emphasizing the need for continued effort and prudent decision-making in the pursuit of peace.

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The text is not fully legible due to the image quality, but the general theme revolves around the importance of keeping certain information confidential and the risks involved in prematurely disclosing it. The paragraphs are structured in a way that builds upon the initial statement, weaving together thematic elements that highlight the sensitivity of the subject matter. The overall tone is serious and focused on the strategic implications of the issue at hand.

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The document appears to be a part of a larger report or address, given the formal and structured nature of the language used. It is evident that the author is concerned with the potential ramifications of revealing certain plans or strategies, and is urging caution and consideration in the decision-making process. The document's purpose is likely to serve as a cautionary guide for those involved in the peacekeeping or negotiation processes mentioned.
Government power must be sapped — Ramaphosa

JOHANNESBURG. — The formation of an interim government of national unity was crucial to transferring power to the people, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told the annual conference of the National Federation of Chambers of Commerce at Sun City yesterday.

He said the transition should be guided by the need to weaken the government’s capacity to act against the people; end the white monopoly of power; and move rapidly towards adopting a democratic constitution.

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefoloswonde said the new constitution should enshrine mechanisms for the distribution of land and the country’s wealth among the people.

The president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said Pan Africanism aimed to reverse the impact of the colonial experience on the African people. He claimed the government was fomenting violence to salvage what political and economic power it could. — Sapa
Johannesburg. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday vowed to attend a National Party public meeting in Parys next Monday.

Apparendy the meeting, to be addressed by the Minister of Agriculture, Dr Kraal van Niekerk — has been organised along the same lines as President F W de Klerk’s ill-fated Ventersdorp address.

In a press statement the AWB accused the NP of breaking an agreement between its leader, Mr Eugene Terre’Blanche, and Transvaal NP head, Mr Barend du Plessis. — Sapa
Outcry over FW’s advisers on funds

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party has slammed President FW de Klerk’s appointment of a four-person team from the private sector to advise the Government on the funding of secret projects.

The DP’s spokesman on finance, Mr Jasper Walsh, yesterday said the appointment of the advisory committee was “totally inadequate”. He said extra-parliamentary organisations needed a say in how the Government was spending State funds.

Walsh said the committee would not instil faith among the majority of South Africans as the Government had for many years “utilised State funds to further its own political ambitions”.

“Control over State spending is a political function, traditionally carried out by the Public Accounts Committee.

“The DP has called for this committee to be expanded to include political organisations not in Parliament, and to have the power to investigate secret funds,” Walsh said.

The committee’s appointment follows De Klerk’s reaction to the Inkatha scandal on July 30.

The committee is made up of Professor Ellison Kahn, retired dean of the faculties of law and commerce at the University of the Witwatersrand; Professor SAS Strauss, professor of law at the University of South Africa; Mr JO McMillan, retired editor of the Natal Mercury and Mr JA Crafford, a chartered accountant who, before his retirement in 1985, worked as an auditor for 38 years.

Walsh said of the committee’s members:

“While we have no criticism of the individuals concerned, we note with concern that they are chosen from one section of the community.

“Furthermore, it is a toothless body which only has an advisory function... we fear four more people will have knowledge of secret fund spending but will be powerless to act.”
SAP takes steps for Parys meeting

POLICE said yesterday they would take all necessary precautions to prevent a repeat of the Venterdorp police-AWB clash when Agriculture Minister Kruis van Niekerk speaks in Parys on Monday.

The AWB has said it will be there in force next week, and has warned that any NP attempts to restrict access to the meeting could turn into conflict.

NP Transvaal leader and Finance Minister Barend de Plaisis has said that right-wingers would be welcome at NP meetings if they were unarmed and did not disrupt proceedings.

Police have declined to give details of planned precautions.
Treurnicht throws down the gauntlet

BLOEMFONTEIN — There was a difference in style between the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, but the two parties had several things in common, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

"What we have in common with the AWB is that we belong to the same people, speak the same language, have the same opponents and enemies and the same ideals to have our own fatherland governed by our own people," he said.

Dr Treurnicht was addressing about 1 300 people in the Bloemfontein City Hall at a public meeting to open the Free State Congress of the CP.

"But what about the NP-ANC alliance which is trying to persuade whites to give up their political power? The ANC has not given up its goal of taking over exclusive power," he said.

The consensus government which the National Party was trying to sell was nothing but an illusion and President de Klerk should not try to trick people.

The CP would take part in a referendum under certain conditions.

"We are busy compiling a package of our propositions and our own vision for the future.

"We have no peace with Mr de Klerk's initiatives that are leading to black majority rule, nor with his so-called irreversible course. We say it will be reversed."

Rejected

Referring to recent incidents at Venterdorp, Dr Treurnicht said if Mr de Klerk wanted to show the ANC how strong it was, "then we say you can't smother a nation's spirit through intimidation, you awaken it. You don't destroy a nation by shooting, but you mobilise it.

"If you do not love your own people, then you are rejected. We will not let ourselves be intimidated into a 'yes boss' attitude."

"I say to PW de Klerk: your jurisdiction doesn't reach as far as the nearest Ratel to Venterdorp. You are light years away from the heart of the nation."

The Government had become a suppressor of its own volk and was engaged in a total onslaught against the nation.

"Then Mr de Klerk says we must get rid of our hate and spite. If there is something to get rid of it is the NP Government.

"We feel aggrieved that other nations can become independent while our independence is taken away. We are not temporary settlers, this is our land."

The Government was trying to build a Tower of Babel with artificial nation-building which had failed elsewhere.

It was also wrong in saying that communism was dead.

Before the new leader in the Soviet Union even had things under proper control, he was promising aid to the SACP. Was this to aid a communist victory in South Africa and for the white Government to be replaced by a so-called people's government, Dr Treurnicht asked. — Sapa.
MABATHO. — Nafcoc president Dr Sam Motsuenyane yesterday urged the South African government to reconsider its objections to an interim government and the creation of a multi-party constituent assembly supervised by an honest broker, and not by the government itself.

He said this in his presidential address at Nafcoc's 27th annual conference at Sun City. — Sapa
Forum for party?

By BARRY STREEK

A NEW forum, which could possibly turn into a political party, was being discussed by people who did not feel comfortable with any of the existing groups, Dr Richard van der Ross said yesterday.

He emphasised in an interview that no decision had yet been taken to form a party but the proposed forum would give people an additional option in the political set-up.

Dr Van der Ross, a former rector of the University of the Western Cape, declined to give names of the people involved at this stage.

In the minds of many people, the National Party was understandably associated with apartheid and all its evil.

"If you look at the ANC, people, especially in the Western Cape, have a number of problems."

Kasturba holds up as opponents sack him

After office

Kasturba Gandhi's speech was adjourned due to the opposition's protests. The opposition members stood up and began to shout slogans and disrupt the proceedings. Kasturba Gandhi tried to continue her speech, but the opposition members persisted in their protests. The Speaker ordered the members to maintain order and resume the proceedings. However, the opposition members continued to disrupt the session, and the Speaker had to adjourn the meeting.

The opposition members accused Kasturba Gandhi of misusing her official position for political purposes. They also criticized her for her stance on certain issues. Kasturba Gandhi defended her actions and argued that the opposition was trying to disrupt the proceedings.

The session was adjourned for the day, and the opposition members left the chamber in protest.

3 Soviet women defect to SA

AWB plans

The photo shows a group of women standing in front of a building. The caption reads: "3 Soviet women defect to SA. AWB plans meeting to attend." The text in the background is not clear, but it appears to be discussing a meeting or an event related to the AWB (African National Congress) and its plans.

The image also shows a newspaper article with the headline: "Kasturba holds up as opponents sack him.

The article mentions Kasturba Gandhi's speech being adjourned due to opposition protests. Kasturba Gandhi's speech was disrupted by the opposition members, who stood up and began to shout slogans and disrupt the proceedings. The Speaker ordered the members to maintain order and resume the proceedings, but the opposition members continued to disrupt the session.

The session was adjourned for the day, and the opposition members left the chamber in protest.

The headline also mentions the AWB planning a meeting. The text in the background is not clear, but it appears to be discussing a meeting or an event related to the AWB (African National Congress) and its plans.

Overall, the image and article suggest a tense political environment, with the opposition accusing Kasturba Gandhi of misusing her official position for political purposes and disrupting the proceedings.

By [Author Name]

21/7/84
ANC Urged

Clarity Needed on ANC's Stance on Controversial Policies

The African National Congress (ANC) has been criticized for its ambiguous stance on controversial policies, particularly regarding the economy and land reform. The party's leadership has been under pressure to clarify its position on these issues to avoid further controversy and ensure public trust.

The ANC's policy on land reform, which involves expropriation without compensation, has been a significant point of contention. The party's approach has been criticized as potentially undermining economic growth and investor confidence. The ANC's stance on this issue is critical as it affects not only the country's economic future but also its social stability.

In response to these criticisms, the ANC has stated that it is committed to ensuring a fair and transparent process. The party has also emphasized the importance of economic development and job creation in its platform.

The ANC leadership has called for a clear and consistent approach to implementing policies that will help address the country's economic challenges. The party has promised to work closely with all stakeholders to ensure that any reforms are carried out in a manner that is beneficial to all South Africans.

The ANC's stance on these issues is crucial in the context of the country's political and economic landscape. The party's ability to navigate these challenges will determine its future success and continue to shape the country's direction.

Source: The South African Times, 01/05/2023

By Peter Parker
No turning back the clock

The benefits of Gorbachev's policies for southern Africa will stay, says Gerald I. Ange

[Article content continues...]

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The picture of a united, neutral and non-aligned South Africa with strong economic and cultural ties to the rest of Africa, however, is far from reality. The country is still divided along ethnic, racial and political lines. The transition to democracy has been slow and uneven, with outbreaks of violence and political instability. The economy remains weak and unemployment high. The country is still facing the legacy of apartheid, with deep-seated social and economic inequalities. The challenges of reconciliation and nation-building are immense. The future of South Africa remains uncertain.
CP warns it will turn to violence to win Volkstaat

BLOEMFONTEIN — The CP would use violence if it failed through means of democracy to persuade government it was serious about the creation of an Afrikaans Volkstaat, the party's Orange Free State leader warned yesterday.

"Speaking at a media conference after a day-long CP Congress held behind closed doors in Bloemfontein, Clll Plenaar said: "If the government is an ANC-controlled one, then I can guarantee that the future will be violent."

"The main aim at present, however, was to force and win — a general election."

"It was in the government's hands whether or not its path would be a peaceful one but, "If the government is going to ignore democratic means, then other methods will have to be used.

"We will use the democratic way until all avenues have been explored but if these are closed to us and there remains no doubt that the ANC is to take over the government then the possibility of guerrilla war will become real."

— Sapa.
AWB threat to attend NP Parys meeting

KAZER NYATUMBA
Political Staff

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweg-ing (AWB) has threatened to attend a National Party (NP) public meeting to be addressed by Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk in Parys in the Free State next week in spite of NP objections.

In a Press statement, AWB chief secretary Ernst van der Westhuizen said the government had to “adhere strictly” to the agreement AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis reached on the SABC's Agenda two weeks ago.

The AWB, Mr van der Westhuizen said, will attend Mr Van Niekerk’s meeting on Monday and will not allow itself to be turned back “by closed doors, barbed wire and police dogs”.

The AWB warned of a potential further tragedy if the NP meeting in Parys was held on the same basis as the Venterdorp meeting addressed by President De Klerk.

Three people died and many were injured when AWB members confronted the police and later allegedly assaulted blacks.

Mr Van der Westhuizen said the AWB executive council wanted to draw NP leaders' attention to the 'agreement' between Mr Du Plessis and Mr Terre'Blanche on television.

The AWB leadership expected Mr Van Niekerk and the chairman of the Parys meeting to take note of the fact that the right of admission reserved to such closed meetings had now fallen away in light of the agreement.

"The AWB will fulfill agreements as witnessed by millions of television viewers.

"The audience will be orderly but will have the right to put motions, and nobody will be refused admission into the hall unless he is guilty of violence or bad behaviour," said Mr Van der Westhuizen’s statement.

Contacted for comment this morning, NP spokesman Piet Coetzee referred questions to Mr Du Plessis’s office.

A spokesman for the Transvaal NP leader’s office, Mr Pieter Coetsee, said he had not yet spoken to the Minister who was attending a meeting.
FW fund step "inadequate"

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's decision to appoint a four-person private sector advisory committee to help monitor secret funds was "totally inadequate", the Democratic Party said yesterday.

DP finance spokesman Mr Jasper Walsh said the move would not instil faith among the majority of South Africans.

"We fear four more people will now have knowledge of secret fund spending but be powerless to act," he said.
New English rightist group

A NEW right-wing, English-language organisation, the Republican Unity Movement of South Africa (Rumosa), had been formed to promote "settler identity", its first president, CP MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said yesterday.

The organisation, which formed after a meeting in Rondbosch over the weekend, came into being because of the desire of thousands of English-speakers to be part of a "united White Republic of South Africa (C304)". Mr Derby-Lewis said: "English-speakers can no longer afford to stand outside the struggle for the survival of our Western culture."
**SOWETAN BUSINESS**

**Business steps into peace plan**

**Concern over outcome of negotiations**

BLACK business has been invited by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr. Gertrude Viljoen, to present its views on the proposed negotiations for a future democratic and non-racial South Africa.

This was said at the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce's 27th annual conference held in Sun City near Rustenburg.

In his presidential address, Mr. Sam Motsamane said his organisation had previously been involved in the drafting of the objective of the nationalised settlement of the country's present political dilemma, "We have at the same time also raised serious reservations and concerns about the unpredictability of the outcome."

**Danger**

He said the greatest danger to peace and stability could arise if and when the negotiations failed to achieve their intended purposes, without which there could be no genuine measure of certainty.

"The memorandum to the Minister, Nafico, emphasised the sensitivity inherent in the negotiation process."

- **By JOSHUA RABOROKO**

**Violence**

"The only negotiations that will have a reasonable chance of success are those that focus specifically on the limited aspects of how an interim government of a constitutional assembly should be constituted."

The conference was also told that, apart from participating as a member of the peace-facilitating committee comprised of church and business leaders, Nafico had held formal and informal discussions with various political organisations during the year.

Mr. J.J. Leoolang and other delegates to the 27th annual conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce held in Sun City on Monday.

Every effort was being made at present to ensure peace and stability in a troubled South Africa.

The constant danger that would continue to face the country during the delicate transitional period was the possibility of losing control of the process and in that event, plunging the country into a situation of uncertainty and increased violence.

Referring to the economic programme in South Africa, Motsumane said it must be conceded that, while the present strategy of sanctions and other economic measures discussed against the country because of the apartheid policy would not be done simply and without discussion.

The EEC countries, the United States and Japan had taken the lead in lifting sanctions against trade and flow of new investments.

**UNIT TRUSTS**

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All repairs on Fax: 031-4958

**ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT**

**SUPER SIZE ME**

**REVIEWS**

Speakers at the 27th annual conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce included, from left: Mr. Joe Hlongwane, Mr. Max Mthuli, Mr. Masimba Maphanya and Mr. V.M. Mathebula.
Fodder, the political cannon from the right

By SHADLEY NASH

Port Elizabeth—The police and Prisons Civil Rights Union, said the Police
never mind political cannon fodder. Right-wing farmers are now using
fodder as a political cannon.

Last week a large consignment of
animal fodder arrived in Uitenhage, destined for drought stricken farmers
in the Eastern Cape.

The fodder, from a right-wing group, Boere Krisis Aksie, was do-
nated only to farmers who were not
members of the Broederbond and
were prepared to go on record as be-
ing opposed to President FW de
Klerk’s land reform initiatives.

This was the second politically
loaded consignment of drought aid
to farmers in the region.

The first arrived about a month ago.
While some farmers accepted it glad-
ly, others were angered and refused to
sign a memorandum stating their
opposition to land reform measures.

Conservative Party MP for Uiten-
hage Willem Botha received the lat-
est fodder saying: “There are no
words that can describe what you
have done for us.”

“Aiding the farmers is just a drop in
the bucket compared to the way you
have lifted the morale of the Afrika-
ers of Uitenhage,” he said after do-
dens of heavily laden trucks rolled
into the CP-controlled area.

The wife of one farmer said 270
farmers had accepted the aid.
But farmers in the southern dis-
tricts, closer to Port Elizabeth, are
unequivocal in their rejection.

“I don’t believe in any form of aid,”
was the response from Van Stadens
farmer Niel Knout.

He said those farmers who were
not profitable — and always the first
to run for aid — should quit the busi-
ness, and the tax structure should be
revised.

Another Van Stadens farmer,
Charles Heskitt, an executive mem-
ber of the Eastern Cape Agricultural
Union, said: “Organised farmers’
tions are presently busy negotiat-
ing aid from farmers in the Transvaal.

“However, we have not even been
approached and I doubt if we would
have qualified for aid from the Boere
Krisis Aksie.”

Reports said members of the Broo-
derbond said its youth wing would
not be entitled to aid.

A BKA representative said: “If the
government can give the taxpayer’s
money to organisations such as In-
kaba, I don’t see why we can’t give
aid to our own people.”

— Pen
STATE PRESIDENT’S OFFICE

No. 2035 23 August 1991

APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS AND DEPUTY MINISTERS

It is hereby notified for general information that the State President has, in accordance with sections 24 and 27 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), appointed the following persons as Ministers and Deputy Ministers with effect from—

(a) 30 August 1991—

(i) Genl Magnus André de Merindol Malan as Minister of Housing and Works in the Ministers’ Council of the House of Assembly;

(ii) Mr Adriaan Johannes Vlok as Minister of Correctional Services and of the Budget in the Ministers’ Council of the House of Assembly;

(iii) Mr Samuel Johannes de Beer as Minister of Education and Training;

(iv) Dr Elizabeth Hendrina Venter as Minister of National Health and of Health Services and Welfare in the Ministers’ Council of the House of Assembly;

(v) Mr Hermanus Jacobus Kriel as Minister of Law and Order;

(vi) Mr Roelof Petrus Meyer as Minister of Defence and of Communication;

(vii) Mr Leon Wessels as Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing and of Local Government in the Ministers’ Council in the House of Assembly;

(viii) Mr Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister for Administration;

(ix) Dr Theodorus Gerhardus Alant as Deputy Minister of Finance and of the National Intelligence Service;

(x) Mr Abraham Williams as Deputy Minister of National Education and of Planning;

(xi) Mr Daniel Pieter Antonie Schutte as Deputy Minister of Justice and of Education and Training;

(xii) Dr Jacobus Tertius Deport as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development;

(xiii) Mr Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers as Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Development Aid;

(xiv) Mr Stefanus Johannes Schoeman as Deputy Minister of National Health and of Health Services and Welfare in the Ministers’ Council of the House of Assembly; and

(xv) Mr Renier Stephanus Schoeman as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs;

(b) 1 October 1991—

(i) Genl Magnus André de Merindol Malan as Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry;

(ii) Dr Peter Johannes Welgemoed as Minister of Transport and of Posts and Telecommunications; and

(iii) Mr Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister of Education and Culture in the Ministers’ Council of the House of Assembly.

KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPREDSIDENT

No. 2035 23 Augustus 1991

AANSTELLING VAN MINISTERS EN ADJUNK-MINISTERS

Hierby word vir algemene inligting bekendgemaak dat die Staatspresident kragtens artikels 24 en 27 van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), die volgende persone as ministers en adjunkministers aangestel het met ingang van—

(a) 30 Augustus 1991—

(i) Genl. Magnus André de Merindol Malan as Minister van Behuising en Werke in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad;

(ii) mnr. Adriaan Johannes Vlok as Minister van Korrektywe Dienste en van Begroting in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad;

(iii) mnr. Samuel Johannes de Beer as Minister van Onderwys en Opleiding;

(iv) dr. Elizabeth Hendrina Venter as Minister van Nationale Gesondheid en van Gesondheidsdienste en Welsyn in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad;

(v) mnr. Hermanus Jacobus Kriel as Minister van Wet en Orde;

(vi) mnr. Roelof Petrus Meyer as Minister van Verdediging en van Kommunikasie;

(vii) mnr. Leon Wessels as Minister van Beplanning, Provinciale Sake en Nationale Behuising en van Plaaslike Bestuur in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad;

(viii) mnr. Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister van Administrasie;

(ix) dr. Theodorus Gerhardus Alant as Adjunkminister van Finansies en van die Nationale Intelligenstiendis;

(x) mnr. A. Williams as Adjunkminister van Nationale Opvoeding en van Beplanning;

(xi) mnr. Daniel Pieter Antonie Schutte as Adjunkminister van Justisie en van Onderwys en Opleiding;

(xii) dr. Jacobus Tertius Deport as Adjunkminister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling;

(xiii) mnr. Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers as Adjunkminister van Wet en Orde en van Ontwikkelingshulp;

(xiv) mnr. Stefanus Johannes Schoeman as Adjunkminister van Nationale Gesondheid en van Gesondheidsdienste en Welsyn in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad; en

(xv) mnr. Renier Stephanus Schoeman as Adjunkminister van Buitelandse Sake;

(b) 1 Oktober 1991—

(i) Genl. Magnus André de Merindol Malan as Minister van Waterwese en Bosbou;

(ii) dr. Peter Johannes Welgemoed as Minister van Vervoer en van Pos- en Telekommunikasiewese; en

(iii) mnr. Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister van Onderwys en Kultuur in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad.
MARITZBURG — There is hope that freedom of speech will be protected by independent courts under a future SA government, says the editor-in-chief of The Star, Richard Steyn.

Addressing a Five Freedoms Forum meeting at the Natal Society Library last night, Mr Steyn said the right to free speech was not absolute, but was limited by respect for the rights and freedoms of others.

The African National Congress had promised to protect freedom of speech and information, but it would not allow anyone to propagate racism, fascism or ethnicity, he said.

"I would plead for the definition of racism to be narrowly drawn and confined to calculated expressions of contempt, insult or incitement. We should outlaw only that which is genuinely inflammatory or intended to be demeaning and insulting, not that which is merely unpleasant or offensive to some ears.

"Given our history, to prosecute every racial insult or racist political remark will probably heighten ill-feeling rather than reduce it," he said.

A future government should prohibit only those views that could be reasonably regarded as having no redeeming social or political value whatsoever, Mr Steyn concluded. — Sapa.
The DP would consider taking part in a proposed patriotic front conference, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

De Beer, who recently led a DP delegation that held talks on the conference with PAC leadership, said the DP would consider an invitation if it were issued.

He said while the DP did not back the idea of a constituent assembly in the form it was being proposed, the party would have to consider any proposition in the light of its long-standing commitment to a national convention.

PAC national spokesman Barney Desai said yesterday the PAC was impressed with the DP’s interest in the PAC’s idea of participation in the conference, being as broadly based as possible.

Desai said the bottom line for participation in the conference — which will take place in about a month’s time — was acceptance of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one man, one vote.

A PAC delegation this week met a delegation from the ruling Bophuthatswana Democratic Party which undertook to convey conference details to its principals.
NP and CP reach deal over meeting

THE NP and the CP have struck a deal over the controversial NP meeting in Parys on Monday night.

It has been agreed that the meeting will be open to all members of the public and the two parties will co-operate in maintaining good order.

The AWB, having warned earlier this week of possible violence if the meeting was a closed gathering, said its members would be instructed to attend in force, but would be "well behaved".

An AWB spokesman said all their weapons would be locked up in a guarded truck outside the building during the meeting.

CP OPS secretary Gustaf Claassen said his party and the NP had reached a "fantastic agreement" for CP members to attend the meeting.

In terms of the negotiated agreement, there will be a question time and an opportunity for a motion of confidence or no confidence in the NP, Claassen said.

The Parys agreement was between local representatives of the NP and CP and was in response to queries from CP members about the status of the meeting.

Claassen said a police-AWB clash in Ventersdorp two weeks ago had been debated at the CP's Free State congress this week and delegates had resolved to try to attend meetings peacefully, and negotiate the conditions of attendance where possible.

The AWB had said earlier it would be prepared to stay away from the Parys meeting on certain conditions if it was restricted to NP members.

It said the meeting would not be disrupted as long as taxpayers' money was not used for the meeting, or its security, and the meeting's contents were not made known to the media.

If these conditions were not met, the AWB warned, the NP would never again have the opportunity to use taxpayers' money or the media at meetings without hindrance.

Sapa reports the AWB's chief secretary, Ernie van der Westhuizen said the meeting would be a test of government's credibility.

The meeting will be addressed by Agriculture Minister Kraal van Niekerk.
Opinion

THE failure of the coup by hardline communists in Moscow is a shot in the arm for liberal democracy, not only in the Soviet Union but throughout the world and not least in South Africa.

In spite of the great differences in their situations, Mr Gorbachev and President F W de Klerk have a great deal in common as reformers who have had to steer a tricky course between hardline militarists and forces favouring democratic reform.

Both leaders have chosen to pursue cautious tactics of containment of hardliners in their security establishments by avoiding confrontation — lest it provoke resistance on a scale which might bring them down.

In the Soviet Union, Mr Gorbachev sought to palliate the hardliners in his midst by keeping them in positions of authority and by making appointments designed to reassure the military and the KGB. So much so that he alienated key colleagues and early supporters such as Mr Edward Shevardnadze and Mr Boris Yeltsin. Yet his vacillation was just as unacceptable to the military and KGB leadership. Hence this week’s attempted coup.

Celebrated pledge

And Mr de Klerk? Is his leadership at risk? Could a military coup happen here? I think unlikely. Yet there are still many unanswered questions about control of the security forces. From the start his vulnerable spot has been the security establishment and its entrenched culture of clandestine operations.

The death squads scandal shocked him and his celebrated pledge to cut the scandal “open to the bone” and he tried to begin such a process by appointing the Harris commission. But the SADF orchestrated a cover-up. Mr De Klerk could no doubt have had the recalcitrant officers court-martialled for refusing to obey a lawful order by the Chief of the Defence Force. He chose not to do so.

It appeared that he did not feel strong enough in the saddle to confront the hardline clique in the security establishment. To keep them on board he retained General Magnus Malan as Minister of Defence and appointed General Kat Liebenberg, a key figure in special forces and clandestine operations, as Chief of the Defence Force.

What forced Mr De Klerk to act eventually was the manifest failure of the security establishment to stop the political violence sweeping the country. Their failure led to a widespread perception that much of the mayhem might in fact be attributed to the security forces themselves, who still seemed to be pursuing Botha-era policies to destabilise the ANC and weaken it as a political force.

After waiting for much too long to take control, and after thousands of people had been killed, Mr De Klerk at length used the Inkathagate scandal as a pretext to shift Messrs Malan and Vlok sideways out of their key posts in the security establishment.

At the same time he showered the two ministers with praise, indignantly repudiating suggestions that the security establishment had been involved in fomenting violence. Nevertheless, his action appeared to be a tacit admission of the contrary.

Murderous attacks

In shifting General Malan to the sidelines in easy stages, he is enabling that old warhorse to depart the scene with honour and dignity. And Mr De Klerk seemed to want a tougher man than Mr Vlok in charge of the police.

So far Mr De Klerk has got away with it. The prospect of a coup is remote. But he still has worries on the security front. Political violence continues, much of it in the form of murderous attacks by shadowy nocturnal marauders, aimed at ANC-supporting families in the townships.

The peace agreement to be signed in a few weeks between all the major players, which will bind police and political parties alike to codes of non-violent conduct, could be a step ahead.

Yet the threat of right-wing violence will remain. If the peace agreement is followed by a multi-party conference, agreement on interim arrangements and, ultimately, by a new constitution, there may well be a last-ditch resort to violence by the Right, testing the loyalty of the security forces.

The battle of Ventersdorp was reassuring on this score but there is no cause for complacency. Given the importance of their work in the transition, Mr De Klerk should see that the police have no cause to complain about salaries and working conditions and are given the best training, vehicles and equipment that money can buy. For too long the SADF has been at the head of the queue on Budget Day. Now it is the SAP’s turn.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk walks a tightrope, as did Mr Gorbachev. Let us hope that both men are emboldened by the events of this week to throw caution to the winds, moving resolutely ahead to democracy and economic recovery. The hardliners are on the run in Moscow. The meaning of the events of this week, we may hope, has not been lost on their counterparts in South Africa.

President Bush was right. Once people have had a taste of freedom, they are not easily persuaded to relinquish it.
C’weath invite to ‘unified SA’

HARARE. — Representatives from an interim arrangement involving all major political parties in South Africa will be allowed into the corridors of the October Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) here, its secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku told Zimbabwe’s national news agency, Ziana, yesterday.

"If by that time, you have a unified movement towards non-racial democracy, it may be possible to have representatives to give a briefing," he said yesterday.

He ruled out participation by the South African government, but the meeting would listen to liberation movements.

— Sapa 2043729191
Call to boost democracy

PRETORIA.—A democratic culture needs to be promoted in South Africa now, or apartheid could be replaced by a far more vicious and unjust political system, Dr. Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, said yesterday.

Addressing the SA Institute for Librarianship and Information Science in Pretoria, Dr. Dhlomo said nation building in SA could succeed only if the values of democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation were made the "foundation of all we do in our respective professions".

All South Africans had to share responsibility for educating fellow citizens on the virtues of democracy. — Sapa
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was unlikely to accede to the ANC's demand for an interim government, SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) President Helen Suzman said yesterday.

Delivering the SAIRR presidential address in Johannesburg, the former DP MP said ANC president Nelson Mandela's demand amounted to a transfer of power before a constitution with checks and balances against abuse of power had been agreed to by the major players.

Suzman said it was much more likely that de Klerk would try to devise some form of transitional government of national unity.

She speculated that in terms of this arrangement, representatives of the main parties would be included not only in the Cabinet but in the SADF, the police force and in high positions in the civil administration.
Government warned on VAT

The meeting, held in Johannesburg, resolved to urgently meet Finance Minister Barend du Plessis "to warn him of the dangers that lay ahead" if he went ahead with implementing VAT on September 30.

Delegates warned that if the Government did not heed the people's demands there "will be general industrial action countrywide".

THE Government should postpone the introduction of Value Added Tax to avoid mass industrial action, delegates attending an Anti-VAT meeting were told yesterday.
AWB may 'allow' NP meeting

By Kaiser Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Afrikaner Weerstands beweging has undertaken to allow the National Party meeting in Parys next week to "proceed unhindered" if the Government could prove that taxpayers' money would not be used "in any way" for the meeting.

In a statement last night, AWB's chief secretary Ernst van der Westhuizen said the meeting to "proceed unhindered" if the Government could prove that taxpayers' money would not be used "in any way" for the meeting.

The AWB's other "requirement" for not attending was that proceedings be kept secret and not be made available to the press.

Mr van der Westhuizen said the NP's holding of closed "information meetings" for members only suggested the Government was afraid the public would put motions of no-confidence. "The decision's implication is that it is the minority party in SA. That means the Government should either resign or call a general election," said Mr. van der Westhuizen's statement.

Conservative Party MP for Parys, Piet Gouws, said the CP and the NP have agreed on guidelines for Monday's meeting and would try to keep it peaceful.

NP spokesmen could not be reached for comment.

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Diseases threaten...
Suzman: negotiations on irreversible track

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

The Government and the ANC had now reached consensus on a number of important issues and neither negotiating partner could abandon negotiations, according to former veteran opposition parliamentarian Helen Suzman.

Delivering her presidential address to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) in Johannesburg last night, Mrs Suzman said neither the Government nor the ANC could abandon negotiations.

The ANC, she said, could not overthrow the Government by force, and its talk of resuming the armed struggle was "largely rhetoric". She said strikes and other forms of mass action were "certainly potent weapons" but would not be sufficient to dislodge the Government from office.

"And, as for the Nationalist Government, it is on an irreversible track. It has to proceed with negotiations. It has aban-
Nats set to hold federal congress

The National Party has shifted its organisational and policy programme into top gear and is due to hold a federal congress — only the fifth called since 1948 — next month.

Topping the agenda will be constitutional proposals that can be taken to a multiparty conference.

Senior party sources said yesterday that this had become "more vital since a multiparty conference was expected to follow the signing of an all-party peace accord in Johannesburg on September 14."

The federal congress will be held in Bloemfontein on September 4.

This decision arises from a federal council meeting in Pretoria on Wednesday at which it was also decided to appoint outgoing Minister of Education and Training Dr Steffel van der Merwe to the new post of NP secretary-general.

Although federal congresses of the NP have no decision-making powers, they have traditionally been called to obtain agreement in principle for major policy shifts or advances, such as the decision to call a referendum for a republic (1980) and introducing the tricameral Parliament (1983). — Sapa.
The ANC Women's League has pulled out of the Goodwill Foundation's "Peace and Reconciliation" programme next month, citing as a reason the choice of President de Klerk's wife, Marike, as the guest speaker at an event at the First National Bank Stadium.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Women's League president Gertrude Shope said that while the league believed peace and reconciliation were priorities, it would nevertheless not allow itself to be used to promote Pretoria's image here and abroad.

Mrs Shope said the Goodwill Foundation's choice of Mrs de Klerk as guest of honour and the main speaker at a function on September 30 was "a political statement".

She said it was strange that the Goodwill Foundation, an organisation which claimed to be non-political, could have "picked" Mrs de Klerk. That, she said, gave "the distinct impression that the Goodwill Foundation intends to promote the present Government with a view to improving SA's image worldwide".

Mrs Shope was also critical of the involvement of the Department of Foreign Affairs.
This week the leader of the Soviet Union was briefly ousted in a Third World-style military coup.

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK weighs up the possibilities of it happening in South Africa.

EVER since President FW de Klerk unbarred the African National Congress and released Nelson Mandela, he has been compared to his equality bald counterpart in the Kremlin. Some international journals even dubbed his reforms Pretoriatrolsk.

So it is not important to ask whether the Soviet Union's Third World style coup could ever happen here.

Can we avoid tomorrow the sight of David Hall-Green on Good Morning South Africa telling us that De Klerk has been toppled and some faceless military council has assumed all his executive powers?

One picture tanks lurching through the streets of Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town supporting parliament, Union Church and the Union Buildings?

Despite the fact that South Africa and the Soviet Union have a lot in common, the answer has to be no.

Under the term "reform", De Klerk and Mikhail Gorbachev have gone to considerable lengths to reverse out of the cold war that their predecessors drove their countries into.

Both have taken political risks and apparently threatened the entrenched power of the apparatchiks and the military. Necessitated by ambiguous figures, both are under attack from the right and the left.

In South Africa the skilful politicians, the anti-Semitism, the anti-Semitism that were kept tightly lidded under the Stalinists have come out of the bottle in the Soviet Union.

That is where the comparisons end.

Gorbachev, in his primary effort to boost the Soviet economy, has failed because, in the short term, it has proved impossible.

De Klerk's primary effort has been political, where gains are quicker. Despite false starts and the squabbles, he has much to show for it: sanctions are crumbling, there are no more bombs in Wimpy bars and South Africa is returning to the international community and world sport.

For the establishment — those that might back a coup — it has been an easy ride so far. International recognition has been won without a shake-up of the civil service or the military, the bedrock of the old order.

There has been enough advance warning for civil servants to white-shirt the state, to redistribute their own pension and housing packages.

The economy is not in great shape, but it is black people who are the victims, not the civil service. Their leaders would be De Klerk's natural allies against any potential right-wing coup.

But the reason why a coup can't happen here is the very reason that it didn't work there.

It would have no popular support. It would lead to resistance, including demonstrations and strikes. The international community would strongly disapprove and might even intervene.

Who needs a coup? The violence of the security forces, it could be argued, is an advance coup aimed at weakening an African National Congress government before it comes to power.

Professor Andre du Toit, of the Political Studies Department at the University of Cape Town, says that while there are similarities at the level of change between South Africa and the Soviet Union, the former has no structures to rival its Communist Party.

"There is splitting away from the (Soviet) party but there is no alternative," he said. "In purely organisational terms, the Communist Party is the only show in town. The same goes for the huge army and security apparatus with its enormous resources.

"When it comes to a coup like this, the role of the party and the army is decisive. If there is going..."

To Page 4
Apartheid is still alive and well on the statute books

REPORTS of the death of apartheid have been much exaggerated.
This is the inevitable conclusion one comes to after a cursory reading of Butterworth's Statutes. At least 22 racial laws and hundreds of by-laws and provincial ordinances must be amended or scrapped before apartheid has been removed from the statute books.

With the repeal of the Population Registration Act earlier this year, the government put out the word that apartheid was a thing of the past. In fact, all that changed was new birds would no longer be registered on a racial basis.

The National Party argues that the remaining racial laws are part of the "own affairs" package which can only be done away with once a new constitution has been negotiated, but the Democratic Party believes most of these could be changed immediately. "Our policy is to start now in rolling back 'own affairs' provisions," says DP research director James Selfe.

What the DP proposes is to use section 16 of the constitution, which empowers the state president to take control over the "own affairs" measures listed in section 14 of the constitution. This, for example, would mean that apartheid in education, health and pensions could be eliminated immediately.

So far the government has rejected this approach. Among the apartheid statutes which remain in effect are:

1. The Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983 is the cornerstone which creates the basis for most of the remaining apartheid statutes. It is the legislative basis for the tricentral parliament and all that falls under its direct power — the separate, racially defined government departments, racial by-elections and referenda, and the exclusion of blacks from parliament.
2. The Electoral Act of 1979 provides for the separate franchise for whites, coloureds and Indians, and none for blacks.
3. The National States Citizenship Act of 1970 makes many blacks foreigners in the land of their birth. Its consequences have been mitigated but not removed, by the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act of 1986. It establishes the basis for the four "independent" homelands, each of which came into being through a separate Act — the Bantu States of Transkei Act (1976); the Bantu States of Bophuthatswana Act (1977); the Status of Venda Act (1979); and the Status of Ciskei Act (1981).
4. The Black Status Constitution Act of 1971 enables the state president to confer "self-government" on homelands and is the basis for the existence of the six "self-governing states".
5. The kwazulu Police Act of 1980 removed the KZP from the control of the South African Police and placed them under the control of the kwazulu homeland government.
6. The Black Administration Act of 1927 gives powers to the state president to deposes tribal chiefs.
7. The Black Authorities Act of 1951 allows the state president to establish tribal, regional and territorial authorities, and describes their powers, functions and duties.
8. The Aliens Act of 1937 allows for citizens of the "independent" homelands to be deported.
10. The National Education Policy Act of 1967, as amended, lays down the relation between the minister of national education and the racially separate "own affairs" mini-
We're still paying for the tricam sham

The United Democratic Front marked its eighth anniversary this week, by shutting shop. In a couple of weeks, a related but flashy anniversary takes place, also without fanfare. The tricameral parliament will be seven years old.

The UDF was formed specifically to oppose the "Koornhof Bill" and the tricameral system. Its officials and members, who paid a heavy price in their fight for a democratic system of government, will get neither pensions nor golden handshakes. They fought for a cause and they must look back on a job well done.

In another six months, all the incumbent MPs who were elected — in a manner of speaking — to the first tricameral parliament in 1984 will be preparing to laugh all the way to the bank.

Although the majority of those classified Indian and coloured refused to endorse them, MPs in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives joined their colleagues in the House of Assembly to pour a cash, undemocratic system.

They will be qualifying for life-long pensions, paid from taxpayers’ money. As far as can be established, MPs' pensions are based on a scale of 15. The qualification period is a minimum seven-and-half-year service.

Those who entered the tricameral sham in 1984, and step down now, will get 50 percent of their already heavily-inflated salaries. Those who have been in parliament and other National Party-created apartheid institutions, such as the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council and the South African Indian Council, for 10 years will get two-thirds. MPs who’ve been in one of these institutions for at least 15 years will get the equivalent of their full salary on retirement, resignation or death in an election.

These are minimum figures. Increases are linked to the percentage hikes of other state pensions.

It means that those who decided to serve in an undemocratic institution, which plunged the country into unprecedented chaos and violence from which we have not fully recovered, will be rewarded handsomely for life.

Many of them don’t even work a full year as MPs. In addition to their fat salaries, they get all sorts of healthy perks. They also have other sources of income — some no doubt still have their own businesses or have been appointed directors of companies.

It would be of great interest if they’d tell us exactly what “work” they do as MPs, and what other sources of income they have. For instance, it is rumored that a House of Delegates MP has contracts to develop housing schemes. Is this what “free enterprise” is about?

Can anything be more easy and profitable, now and in the long term, than being an MP? Is it no wonder then that during the tricam election campaigns, so many candidates spent huge sums of money, legally and illegally, to get the few to vote for them?

Is it any wonder that they tried various methods of persuasion to get pensioners and semi-literate people to cast “special votes” (votes not cast at a polling station on election day)? In an extraordinary number of cases, 49 percent of the registered electorate that voted, 80 percent cast “special votes”, prompting Union academic William Klassen to declare it a world record.

And is it any wonder that no MP has heeded pleas from extra-parliamentary groups for them to resign from the tricam sham?

Little is being said publicly about the morality of giving our hard-earned money, for the rest of our lives, to people whose jobs, salaries and perks the majority of civilians did not endure in the first place.

It is not just a straightforward case of anti-apartheid activists paying for sacrifices and collaborators gaining money. Often, activists were locked up for long periods merely because they spoke out against the collaborators. In many cases, these activists were the bread-winners for their households, and while organizations such as the South African Council of Churches and the International Defence and Aid Fund contributed to their welfare, the families really suffered financially, physically and psychologically.

Are we to have them suffering as a price “for the cause” while we turn a blind eye to the continued prosperity of collaborators’ families?

That is why the pensions issue must be placed high on the agenda when constitutional negotiations eventually get under way. Or we must continue to let evil triumph over good.

Ameen Akhalways is editor of The Indicator.
In a major move towards negotiations, the National Party has, after intensive behind-the-scenes planning by its top leaders, called a federal party congress in Bloemfontein for September 4. These federal congresses are rare occasions and only take place when major policy planning is needed, reports TOS WENTZEL of the political staff.

Nats call federal party congress

Leaders of the National Party have formulated their basic policies and plans for the new South Africa and will now involve key followers in completing the planning.

This is the significance of September's federal congress.

Details of the blueprint are not known but some Nationalist theorists are playing around with the idea of a two-chamber parliament, one a chamber elected by popular vote on a basis of proportional representation instead of the present constituency system.

They also have in mind a second chamber which could in some way reflect group interests and could perhaps provide for a minority veto over decisions of the main chamber which intimately affect the rights of any groups. There could also be a two-thirds majority provision to protect the rights of minorities.

These are involved formulas which may not be stipulated in the document that will be presented to the Bloemfontein congress but which will have to be worked out at the negotiations.

The party is also in favour of a bill of rights to protect individuals and an independent judiciary which could have interpretative rights over the constitution.

According to Mr De Klerk the new constitutional dispensation should also embody the following qualities:

- Built-in guarantees against a one-party dominated government or a dictatorship;
- A bill of human and individual rights;
- Regular elections based on constitutional stipulations;
- An economy founded on the proven principles of the free market, free enterprise, private initiative and private property ownership;
- Representation of minorities in government structures;
- The right of people who so desire to maintain a community life of their own;
- An independent judiciary, accessible to and accepted by all South Africans;
- Professional and well-trained security forces not subject to political subservience or expediency.

These will be the principles the Bloemfontein congress will have to consider.

Top Nationalist sources do not expect that detailed government proposals for the actual new constitution will be spelled out at this stage. There will still have to be a lot of give and take at negotiations and the government would not want to give away too much about this before it gets to the negotiation table.

In a way the Bloemfontein congress also signifies the start of a plan of Mr De Klerk to separate the government and the National Party for the purposes of negotiations.
DP scorns chances of slush fund body

JEAN LE MAY
Weekend Argus
Special Correspondent

There is "not a chance" all secret projects will be disclosed to the special "slush fund" committee appointed this week, according to Mr. Rex Andrew, Democratic Party spokesman on finance.

The appointment of an ad hoc advisory committee on special projects was a "totally inadequate" response to the credibility crisis in which President P.W. de Klerk found himself following the Inkhata scandal, he said.

"I can't see a white-establishment group - and a pretty conservative group, at that - from the private sector will enjoy any credibility at all."

The DP view is the secret funds should be monitored by Parliament, either by the Joint Committee on Public Accounts or by a special committee of Parliament established for the purpose in order to get extra-parliamentary input.

"Most people expect the state to be involved in various covert operations. But the government has a bad record for dirty tricks," he added.

"This, combined with a great deal of residual arrogance on the part of the government, makes me very doubtful the slush fund committee will be able to clean up the show."

"It will report to the president, and I suspect that will be the end of it. If any good comes of it, I shall be very, very surprised."

The African National Congress and Cosatu were equally sceptical about the committee.

"We have appealed to the private sector not to become involved in the government's dirty work and we see no reason to change that opinion," said Mr. Pallo Jordan, ANC secretary for information.

The appointment of the advisory committee on special secret projects was announced by Mr. De Klerk this week. He undertook to appoint such a committee after it was disclosed that Inkatha and other political organisations had received money from secret funds.

The committee's chairman is Professor Ellison Kahn, a former vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand. Other members are Professor SAS Strauss, a law professor from the University of South Africa, Mr. Jimmy McMillan, former editor of The Natal Mercury, and Mr. Jan Graafford, a Pretoria chartered accountant, who served as chairman of finance minister Mr. Barend du Plessis's zero budgeting Committee for five years.

The committee's function is to rule on whether funding political parties or organisations is in the national interest.
Constitution:
All must agree
Political Correspondent
Whites and blacks
would have to agree to a
new negotiated constitution
in a referendum, ac-
cording to President F.W.
de Klerk.
Mr De Klerk told New
Nation newspaper in an
interview published yes-
terday that if a new con-
stitution was to succeed
it had to have the sup-
port of the majority of all
South Africans.
Mr De Klerk said he
was "bound by my word
of honour" to hold a re-
ferendum on a new con-
stitution.
New peace accord thrashed out

THE Government, the ANC and Inkatha have agreed to an official draft of an historic peace accord which will be submitted for approval to a multi-party national peace convention on September 14.

The final draft of the 32-page peace accord — which establishes comprehensive mechanisms to end violence and subject the security forces to more independent supervision — was submitted last night to other parties which have not so far been involved in the negotiations to end violence.

These included the PAC, several homeland parties and many parliamentary political parties. The only conspicuous absentee were the Conservative Party and other parties to its right.

The final draft of the peace accord agreed to this week differs from earlier published drafts in only two significant ways.

Earlier drafts provided for the three main players — the Government, Inkatha and the ANC — to be represented on all major peace structures established in the peace accord.

In the final draft, the peripheral players appear to have exerted greater influence as there is no mention of specific parties being represented in these structures.

The second important change involves the conditions for the carrying of cultural or traditional weapons and suggests that Inkatha Freedom Party is digging in its heels on the bearing of traditional weapons at "cultural" occasions.

Where earlier drafts of the peace accord provided detailed conditions for the carrying of traditional weapons, the final draft accepts the principle that dangerous weapons should not be carried at political gatherings but leaves the details to be worked out in future negotiations.

The other key elements of the final draft are similar to those already disclosed including, among others:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds it accountable to society.
- A code of conduct for political parties which obliges them to instil the values of democratic tolerance into their followers.
- An elaborate bureaucracy of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a committee to enforce the peace accord and resolve conflict at all levels.
- A statutory commission (already legislated for) to be headed by a judge to investigate the causes of violence.
- The creation of a special police unit, headed by a general, to probe alleged police misconduct.
- The establishment of a special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence.
- Special courts to deal with political violence.

The parties and organisations represented at last night’s meeting at the headquarters of the Premier group in Johannesburg included the SACP, Democratic Party, Labour Party, Solidarity, various unions, KANwane, QwaQwa, Ciskei, Venda, Contralese, and various employer bodies.
Moscow lesson for SA

OPINION

No standards can arise from

contrived

history.

In the hope of explaining the

phenomena of

inducement,

we set in the

sphere of

our two

great efforts,

the control of

people.

But the lesson of

our two
great
efforts,

the control of

people.

But the lesson of
Time to scrap double-speak

A NIGHTMARE for political commentators is to try to simultaneously present the Government and the ANC's positions on a variety of issues pertaining to the process of political transition. The first problem one encounters in this regard is the fact that these parties strictlyly resist using the same names for almost anything, even if they are virtually talking about the same thing.

Firstly, the Government uses the term "multiparty conference" to describe a gathering of all the parties that have agreed to take part in constitutional negotiations leading to the drawing up of a new, hopefully democratic, constitution for post-apartheid South Africa.

For a conference with the same aim, the ANC uses the term "all-party conference". Therefore, to present their views, a commentator has to write something like this: multiparty/all-party conference.

Secondly, the ANC uses the term "constituent assembly" for a body that will be responsible for drawing up the new constitution. Because the Government is vehemently against the notion of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote, or even proportional representation, it makes it a point to avoid the name "constituent assembly" at all costs.

Instead, it uses the term "negotiating forum". Note that in actual fact, the Government should not be against the term "constituent assembly" as such, but should be against the manner in which members of the CA are selected. But, in order to put the issue beyond doubt, it avoids the term "constituent assembly".

Thirdly, since the Government-Inkatha secret funding scandal, there is an intensified debate about the need for what the ANC calls an interim government or an interim government of national unity. According to the ANC, the Government needs to resign and hand over power to an interim government which would then oversee the process of political transition and prepare for the holding of elections. The Government rejects the notion of resigning and handing over power before a new constitution is in place. It is, however, prepared to discuss with the ANC and others, a mechanism (not clearly defined) whereby the ANC and other parties would be included in the legislative and executive levels of the existing Government.

Of late, the Government sometimes uses the term "interim transitional arrangement" or "interim transitional authority" to describe what it wants.

Finally, the Government favours a future constitution that will provide for maximum devolution of power to regional governments. It studiously avoids calling this arrangement a federal arrangement. The ANC, probably suspecting that devolution of power to regions is a ploy to weaken central government, retains the territorial integrity of existing homelands and sometimes prefers to use the expression "bringing government closer to the people".

The ANC, like the Government, also studiously avoids the use of the term "federation".

When the two parties begin to use the same codewords during negotiations, we will perhaps be able to say the constitutional settlement is closer.
However, there still seems to be differences of opinion between the ANC and the IFP about the carrying of traditional weapons. Efforts will be made to solve this issue before September 14.

The Continuation Committee of business leaders, church leaders and politicians who have signed the National Peace Accord, will be transformed into a permanent National Peace Commission (NPC).

A neutral chairman and deputy chairman will be appointed from the ranks of business and church leaders, while representatives of each party will be co-opted on to the NPC.

The NPC will monitor the application of the accord and settle differences.

The NPC will take decisions by consensus and a meeting of national leaders of the parties will be called when consensus cannot be reached. Differences in the interpretation of the code will be referred to arbitration.

A National Peace Secretariat (NPS) with regional and local conflict resolution committees will be formed to counter violence. Initially the committees will be voluntary bodies but they will later become statutory bodies.

The NPS will consist of four full-time members nominated by the signatories and one representative of the Department of Justice. The NPS will report to the National Peace Commission.

Regional conflict resolution committees will consist of representatives of all the involved political organisations, churches, trade unions, local associations of trade and industry, local management bodies and the police.

Local conflict resolution committees, consisting of representatives of the signatories, will try to create confidence and reconciliation between local communities, the police and the SADF.

They will co-operate with justices of the peace to combat violence and intimidation and settle differences which could lead to violence.

They will try to eliminate conditions which could impair peace, draw up rules for marches and political rallies and liaise with the local police and magistrate on marches and the prevention of violence.

More justices of the peace will be appointed in consultation with the signatories and local committees on grassroots level to promote peace and assist local committees.
We need them, they need us!

Helen Suzman finds important

Reasons to be hopeful

There are enough signs on the
A COMPREHENSIVE draft peace accord for South Africa was approved in Johannesburg on Friday.

It involves most of the political parties and organisations, church leaders, business leaders, trade unions and even the so-called self-governing territories.

The rightwing, however, was not present at the talks.

Parties were given the opportunity to comment on the draft accord before September 14.

The final version will be discussed and hopefully approved on this date at the National Peace Summit.

The initiating committees of the National Peace Initiative - in which the government/National Party, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have until now been the key players - met on Friday at the head office of Premier Viljoen in Killarney, Johannesburg.

The meeting was called to discuss the draft peace accord - agreed upon last week by the key players - with other parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties, trade unions and homeland representatives.

The PAC and Cosatu attended the meeting, but not Azapo, the Conservative Party and other rightwing groups. KaNgwane and QwaQwa were represented, while Venda and Ciskei sent observers.

The draft accord provides for codes of conduct by the SAP and political parties; a system of monitoring under the supervision of a National Peace Committee; a statutory commission to investigate the causes of violence; a police council to advise on policy for policing; and a special police unit to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the police.

The accord also provides for the appointment of ombudsmen on a regional level to investigate misconduct by police, to investigate acts of political violence, and the introduction of special courts which will handle political violence.

According to reliable sources the ANC, the government and the IFP agreed on Wednesday in Durban that no dangerous weapons or firearms may be taken to political meetings or be carried or shown during political marches.
**Nats set the pace with proposals on constitution**

**Political Staff and Sape**

ALL indications are that the National Party has decided to set the pace on constitutional proposals in the run-up to a multiparty conference.

It became known at the weekend that the NP plans to reveal a package of constitutional proposals within 10 days.

One of the recommendations is to replace the single presidential head of state by a council of three to five members.

The NP's proposals — described yesterday by the party's new secretary-general, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, as not necessarily the final draft — are to be tabled at a special federal congress in Bloemfontein on September 4.

Dr Van der Merwe said, however, the proposals were not "startlingly new" and that what the party had done was to put together the constitutional thoughts of the past 18 months or so into a coherent plan.

Asked if the NP would also be presenting its negotiating strategy for approval by the federal congress, Dr van der Merwe said if this happened it would be a "by-product".

The main purpose of the congress was to ratify the constitutional plan.

He confirmed the NP had decided to present its constitutional plan to its membership now because of the new sense of urgency in the negotiation process.

Emphasising that no final constitutional plan had been drafted, Dr Van der Merwe said one of the critical areas being worked on was how minorities would be represented in the proposed upper chamber of the legislature.

Political observers agree this crucial area of group representation will determine how widely the NP plan is accepted by other political groups.

This latest development confirms a report on Friday that the NP had shifted its organisational and policy programme into top gear.

Senior party sources were quoted as saying that the matter had become more vital since a multi-party conference was expected to follow the signing of an all-party peace accord in Johannesburg on September 14.

The NP's proposals include:

- A multiparty Cabinet made up of candidates from parties with "sufficient" support;
- Two houses of parliament;
- Proportional representation instead of the winner-takes-all model in the first house of parliament; parties will be allocated representation based on countrywide support and not on the number of constituencies won;
- Nine regions, each with its own "government";
- New municipal boundaries so that all racial groups would be administered by single municipal councils;
- A democratic state with no apartheid and no discrimination based on race, and
- One person one vote, without group domination.

Meanwhile, reports from the Northern Transvaal were that Cabinet members and MECs gave several clear hints — on vital issues — in Pietersburg on Saturday of the government's future negotiating stance.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis told a regional congress of the NP that the government had no intention of handing over power.

He said political and economic reform had to go together.

Mr Du Plessis insisted that there could be no lasting peaceful solution to the country's political problems without a healthy economy.

He said factors such as increased productivity and better management at all levels were therefore receiving urgent attention, as they were vital in fighting inflation and other economic ills.
Spy’s cover was blown in a curious comedy of errors

The man who — quite unconsciously — set in motion the train of events which led to the shorting of Williamsson’s spying career was ANC NPC member Mac Maharaj. Some time in 1979 Williamsson handed Maharaj a letter, which was passed through Europe, a copy of the IFP’s SA funding proposals for the following year. He was to deliver them to the ANC headquarters in London. Since the ANC was the IFP’s primary SA contact, the ANC was traditionally given the right to comment on the IFP’s SA budget. Maharaj put the envelope in his pocket, and promptly forgot all about it. The proposals never reached London.

The Swedish government, the most important funder of the IFP, and a long-time ally of the ANC, was particularly interested in the ANC’s views. Indeed, it required ANC comment before it would hand over the funds to the IFP.

There followed a period of confusion, with the Swedish getting impres- sion at the ANC’s lack of cooperation, and the ANC repeatedly saying that it had not received the necessary documentation. Eventually, this forced a meeting between Dudley Morgan and a Swedish diplomat based in London. Given his central role in this chain of events, the discussion naturally turned to Williamsson — in his official diplomatic manner — explained the ANC’s view that Williamsson was a friend of the organisation although, one about which there were certain reservations.

The Swedish diplomat mused what Maharaj had told him, and wrote to his foreign service superiors saying blandly that the ANC did not trust Williamsson. This, the ANC says, was a misrepresentation of Jeffrey’s words (although, from its point of view, a fortunate one). The Swedish foreign service promptly showed the letter to Williamsson, Williamsson’s superior and friend, Erikson, whose loyalty towards his employee could not be doubted, passed it on to Williamsson. Williamsson’s act prompted two developments. Firstly, Williamsson embarrassed certain ANC acquaintances by confronting them and demanding an explanation of how they could think of him that way, in the light of all the funding assistance and covert intelligence he had given them.

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According to the ANC, Williamsson notified Coetzee, who immediately flew to Europe to try and sort out the situation. Coetzee’s first stop was a meeting with Erikson. Prior to that, however, Williamsson asked Coetzee to provide a security for his安宁

Coetzee apparently tried to convince Erikson to co-operate. Coetzee argued that he (Erikson), a Swedish national, was an agent of the NSA, and should therefore allow Williamsson to continue his espionage activities. Coetzee had heard that the NSA did not object to his work.

The point was that, if Williamsson’s throw-aways were made public, the NSA would not survive which would put Erikson out of a job. But Erikson, Williamsson contended, refused to co-operate.

There were other suggestions - whose details are unclear - that the ANC attempted to call Erikson into co-operating. But Erikson and Williamsson had had no contact but to pull out of foreign intelligence work, and that was the end of Williamsson’s usefulness to the ANC.

The final effort, probably, was Coetzee. Had he not arrived in Geneva and confirmed Williamsson’s loyalty, the ANC might have simply given Williamsson a mauling for the "misunderstanding" and allowed him to continue.

Williamsson says the Swedish diplomat might have received the letter in Stockholm. He showed Business Day a letter from Jeffrey to Erikson, dated 9 March 1979, in which Jeffrey assured Williamsson that the ANC did not believe he was a spy. However, this does not contradict the ANC’s assertion that while supplies existed, no one would believe Williamsson without the evidence.

Williamsson’s and the ANC’s version of these events are in accord in all significant respects. However, Williamsson says there were two other events which occurred at the same time as the ANC was unaware — which made his withdrawal from Europe necessary.

The first involved a senior Zimbabwean National Union official, who became a junior cabinet minister who took a dislike to Williamsson and for the latter’s ”pro-Zapu” stance and began spreading rumours that Williamsson was a spy. Williamsson’s apparent predilections for Joshua Nkomo’s Zapu alienated him from the ANC. Williamsson claimed that he was asked to leave the party and that he was a spy. However, this does not contradict the ANC’s assertion that while supplies existed, no one would believe Williamsson without the evidence.

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NP close to final blueprint

Political Staff

DURBAN - The National Party is close to its final constitutional blueprint, which scraps the current single presidential head of state for an executive council of three to five members.

It also breaks from South African tradition by proposing a multi-party cabinet of members from parties with "sufficient support" and the use of a proportional representation system to elect members to one of two houses of Parliament.

The plan is to be put to the NP's special federal congress in Bloemfontein on September 4.

A senior NP source confirmed yesterday that details of the plan - first disclosed in yesterday's Rapport - were "mostly correct."

It is understood that the draft constitution could still be adjusted within the next few days and a completed version will be made public the day before the federal congress.

It has given rise to speculation that a referendum might be called sooner than anticipated. President F W de Klerk, under fire for reforming without a mandate, has promised to put any NP plan to the electorate before a new constitution is in place.

The government has, however, been cautious about the timing of this and senior figures have indicated that the referendum could be called at almost any stage during negotiations.

An NP source said yesterday that he was disappointed that the details had been leaked to the media, but it is clear that the party is moving fast to address criticisms that it has no vision of what the "new South Africa" will look like.

Various aspects of the proposals revealed at the weekend have been aired before, particularly at past NP congresses, but never combined in one document.

The party's draft constitution overlaps considerably with ANC thinking revealed earlier this year in its "discussion document". However, it differs sharply by dividing the country into nine regions, each with its own "government". Details of this are fuzzy and it is not clear whether the plan is in fact a move towards federalism.

President De Klerk has hinted heavily at decentralised government in recent speeches, and in Natal last week twice made reference to the province in future having more say in the way it is run.

The ANC envisages a heavily centralised system with as much power as possible in the hands of a president, the cabinet and Parliament.

Democratic state

Key elements of the proposals are:

- A multi-party cabinet made up of candidates from parties with "sufficient" support;
- Two houses of Parliament;
- Proportional representation instead of the current winner-takes-all model in the first house of Parliament - parties will be allocated representation based on countrywide support and not on the number of constituencies won;
- Nine regions, each with its own "government";
- New municipal boundaries so that all race groups would be administered by single municipal councils;
- A democratic state with no apartheid and no discrimination based on race, and;
- One person one vote without group domination.
Aiming at a shared cabinet

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party was aiming to become part of a European-style, multi-party coalition government under a new constitution, the party's chief strategist and newly appointed Secretary-General, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night.

He was commenting on the still incomplete draft constitutional proposals the National Party will debate, at a hastily convened federal congress in Bloemfontein next week.

The NP's blueprint for the future, which the party will take to the negotiating table, includes a number of features that will drastically alter the powers of central government and ensure multi-party control over some of the critical levers of power.

Dr Van der Merwe said he was confident that if the NP's plans for a new South Africa were propagated properly, the party could win the country's first non-racial election.

However, even if the NP won the poll and the ANC came, say, second, the NP now believed that the ANC and other parties who fared well in the election should be given a say in decision-making.

"We need participatory democracy so that we don't end up with a winner-takes-all system in South Africa," he said.

President F W de Klerk said at the weekend that

From page 1:

the NP aimed to be part of a new central government with considerably less power than at present.

Speaking in Mariitzburg in his capacity as leader of the National Party, Mr De Klerk appeared to rule out demands from the right for a white election and calls from the left for an elected constituent assembly by saying the next real party-political contest in the country would be a referendum over which value system South Africans supported.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the NP's proposals had moved close to many of the DP's own proposals but greater clarity was needed in several areas, particularly regarding a federal system.

NP close to final blueprint — Page 7
Nats unveil future South Africa ideal

THE National Party will within 10 days - on September 4 - reveal to its supporters, black and white, the constitutional model and proposals it will take to the negotiation table.

With this, the NP will take its second leap into the present - where talk surrounds nonracialism, participatory democracy, one-person-one-vote, the protection of individual rights under a Bill of Rights and a parliamentary system which will prevent the abuse of power.

While the NP's biggest departure from its dinosaurian policy of whites-only control of the black majority was its opening of ranks to all races last year, next week's proposals are, in terms of its constitutional evolution, the second time the ruling party has offered to effectively (and ultimately, totally) share power.

Nonracial

Eight years ago the Constitution Act of 1983 came into being, and "coloured" and Indian people were for the first time allowed a role - albeit selectively - in the central government.

With the new proposals, subject at this stage only to approval by the party's provincial congresses, the NP has set its sights on creating a massive nonracial party that intends winning a comfortable proportion of the votes in a general election at the end of what is expected to be a protracted period of negotiations.

The plan, in its present stage, appears largely based on the American and German systems of federal government.

The proposals are also remarkable in that through them the NP have reached a confluence on the issue of a bicameral parliament (two chambers).

The two appear also to be moving closer on the issue of a Bill of Rights, the constitution being the highest authority and that the individual is protected from the State by the constitution.

During the course of this week the NP will iron out the wrinkles and smooth over the rough edges of its proposals.

One of the cornerstones of the NP's game plan is proportional representation: roughly translated, the majority party will not rule exclusively.

Another aspect of the NP's plan is the concept of rule by law and the protection of all citizens by the constitution of the country - a concept which at this stage appears to be loosely based on the American system.

Protection

In terms of the NP's plan, the government of the day will be held in check by the constitution to ensure the protection of the right to freedom and liberty of all citizens of the country.

According to the NP mouthpiece published in Johannesburg yesterday, the NP's new proposals include:

- A Cabinet made up of all parties with "enough support" and not just the majority party;
- An executive college made up of three to five members as opposed to a single leader;
- Two Houses - based perhaps on the American or German models;
- Proportional representation - parties will be represented according to their total support nationwide and not on the basis of constituencies it has won;
- The country is divided into nine regions each with its own regional government. This includes newly defined municipal boundaries, which provide for nonracial local government; and
- A "democracy" based on one person, one vote, wherein race will play no role and wherein there will be "no apartheid and no discrimination".

The proposals, which were drawn up by the NP's federal council, were approved by the party leadership last week.

The NP will reveal its game plan for a new South Africa, which it will take to the negotiating table, at a snap federal congress on September 4.

Policies

A senior Cabinet source recently told Sowetan that the NP had no problems with the idea of it becoming a majority black party.

Such an NP, he said, could even elect a black leader.

"Anybody who agrees with the National Party's policies can become a member. And if we win the majority of the votes in a free and fair election based on one man, one vote - and we intend to - we could be obliged to be a majority black party," he said.

With its new proposals, the NP has put itself on the road to winning that black majority.

The proposals advocate, by implication, a free market economy with enough checks and balances to ensure that no single party dominates - all of which is subject to the actual negotiation process.

As the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said at a recent briefing: "The mere fact that you are involved in negotiations means that you are not bound to your own position."
Parys meeting will determine Nat tactics

Northern Transvaal Bureau 39

PIETERSBURG - Tonight's National Party meeting in Parys would "determine the future attitude of the party leadership to threatening right-wing elements," Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis told the Northern Transvaal NP conference on Saturday.

Referring to a recent agreement he made in the wake of the Venterdorp violence with AWB leader Eugene Terre-Thermes about future attendance of rightwingers at NP meetings, Mr. du Plessis reiterated that anyone would be welcome.

However, they had to abide to accepted procedures.

"Nationalists don't need such agreements - they automatically observe the rules." MTRP.

He claimed Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht was obliged to take full responsibility for the Venterdorp violence.

He rejected the insinuation by Mr. Terre-Thermes last week that members of an audience be allowed to propose a motion and elect their own chairman.

"That was not part of our agreement. The democratic procedure is to listen to the speaker at a public meeting before asking questions and proposing any motion."
Soft words of pride and passion

A CARDCARRYING AWB member is hard-to-find, and seeking one out among the mourners at last week's AWB funeral in Orkney was more difficult than I anticipated.

The bulk of rightwingers at an AWB gathering are in fact members of the Conservative Party, if members of anything.

George van der Smit (76), silently watching proceedings in Orkney's shadeless cemetery, looked to me like a genuine "Boer" — an old veld hat covering his tired eyes.

Expecting the usual dismissive treatment meted out to the inquisitive "Engelse pers", I was pleasantly surprised.

Here was a real "Boer" — displaying a grandfatherly charm, yet fired with pride and passion about the land his Dutch ancestors claimed as their own.

Mr van der Smit is one of the original card-carrying AWB members — and his eight children have all grown up committed to a "Boer nation".

He raised cattle in "South West Africa" before retiring to Potchefstroom in 1973. "It was a sad day when I sold my farm, but I could see the blacks were going to take over.

"Now the same is happening here and there is nowhere to go, so we must fight. We must fight to the death for our land."

It was only three years after arriving in South Africa that Mr van der Smit became a member of the AWB, having supported the National Party until 1976, when he became disillusioned

AWB member "Oom" George is not a stereotyped khaki-clad firearm-carrying demagogue.

HELEN GRANGE reports.

by "deceit and traitorism".

During the 1940s, Mr van der Smit had been a member of the Ossewa Brandwag.

Like many "Boers" in the AWB, he is passionately aware of his own ancestral history — related by him as a history of persecution by the British and fear of the threat of "black communist" revolution.

"My father was a teacher from Holland, and when the Boer War broke out, he joined the Boer Kommandos and fought bravely against the British. My mother is directly descended from an Afrikaner called Prinsloo, who was hanged as a traitor by the British because he fought for Boer independence.

"How, after our people gave their lives for this country, can we just hand it over?"

He gazes at the yellow veld: "We don't want to suppress blacks, you know. We just want our own piece of land." And for this, Mr van der Smit says, he and his family are willing to die.

But Mr van der Smit must get home to his wife and children. He takes my arm and walks to the waiting bus, shaking my hand before climbing up. He has enjoyed the chat. ❄️
The average AWB guy wants to be responsible.
The page contains text in English, discussing various topics, including economic strategies and international relations. The text appears to be a mix of paragraphs and sections, possibly from a book or academic article. The layout is standard for a printed page, with paragraphs aligned to the left and occasional use of bold text for emphasis. The content seems to address complex issues, likely requiring thorough reading to fully understand its implications.
CP dismisses constitutional blueprint

THE Conservative Party has dismissed the National Party's constitutional proposals, leaked to a Sunday newspaper at the weekend, saying the blueprint rejected First World standards and paved the way for black majority rule.

The CP charged the one man, one vote system being proposed by the NP gave no protection to ethnic group rights or interests.

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, issued a statement today saying the NP proposals wanted to force all the peoples of South Africa into an artificial unitary state.

Earlier, ANC sources said the proposals wanted to artificially force a federal system on what was already a unitary system.

"The NP and the ANC will see their artificial unitary state disintegrate in the face of rising nationalism, just as the artificial unitary state of the Soviet Union has done," Dr Treurnicht said.

The fact that the plan did not indicate who would control the security forces, or appoint judges who would decide constitutional matters, confirmed the proposals were so vague as to make them meaningless and of no value, the CP leader said. — Sapa.
'Build government of national unity'

Political Staff

If a new constitution is to succeed, the task of nation-building has to start now, says Mr. Colin Eglin.

The Democratic Party MP told a meeting in Sea Point last night that the period of transition ahead should be used to broaden the base of government.

It was a time to build mutual trust, promote co-operation and confidence, prepare people for non-racial democracy and break down the barriers that years of apartheid had erected.

The DP believed that, in the unique circumstances in which South Africa found itself, there should be a transitional government of national unity.

The DP had a constructive role to play.

Recent events such as the secret funds disclosures and the VAT debacle highlighted the need for an alert and principled opposition that would probe, expose and confront a government that had, through 42 years in power, become increasingly arrogant and insensitive.

Mr Eglin said he felt optimistic about the future. In spite of the violence, the posturing and the tactical manoeuvring of recent months, a fascinating process of convergence was taking place, not only on the key issue of negotiation but on the character of the new South Africa.

Mr Henrie Bester, new MP for Green Point, said it was heartening that many of the DP's constitutional proposals were now being accepted by the National Party.
Nats call off meeting to avoid chaos

THE NP yesterday called off a public meeting in Parys as reports were received of thousands of right-wingers moving into the Free State town.

NP Free State leader and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the meeting, set for last night, had been rescheduled because of fears that the AWB would cause chaos and confrontation.

Sources in Parys said last night that local NP chairman Henrie Stander had called a notice to the town hall door saying the meeting had been postponed. The source said about a hundred AWB members, claiming to come from the all-white town of Morganston, roamed the streets claiming victory over the NP.

The AWB said it seemed the NP was finally taking notice of the organisation, adding that its members had been instructed to attend the meeting in force but to be well behaved.

AWB secretary Ernst van der Wijghutzen accused the NP of sidestepping a recent agreement between NP Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis and AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche to hold open NP meetings provided right-wingers attended unarmed and did not disrupt proceedings.

The CP, which last week agreed to cooperate with the NP in ensuring the meeting was orderly, said every future NP meeting held the danger of conflict because the NP had betrayed its people.

CP national secretary Andries Beyers said the postponement of the Parys meeting was a wise decision, adding that it had become dangerous for NP leaders to appear in public. This was not a threat but a reality, Beyers said.

The only way to neutralise white violence was for government to hold a whites-only election.

DP leader Zach de Beer said freedom of speech had now become "a most uncertain quality in SA".

DP Law and Order spokesman Peter Gantrow said postponing the meeting had set the dangerous precedent of giving in to threats by political disruptors. At a time of heightened political tension, parties should stand firm to defend free speech, even if police protection was required.

A Parys NP source said it had been understood earlier yesterday that thousands of AWB members were on their way to the town for the meeting. He said the local NP had not wanted police to be in the front line in a possible repeat of the Ventersdorp clash two weeks ago in which three people died.

Coetsee said reports indicated "large numbers" of Free State AWB members would attend the meeting, due to be addressed by Agriculture Minister Karel van Niekerk. This was contrary to the democratic process, he said, aimed at using intimidation to prevent political parties from communicating with voters.

JONATHAN REED
Mixed reaction to NP’s proposals

THE NP’s recently released constitutional proposals were unworkable, contrary to accepted ideas of democracy and could exacerbate conflict, ANC sources said yesterday.

While the DP has given the plan a broad endorsement, the CP and HNP have criticised the proposals, saying SA would be run by a black majority government and descend to Third World standards.

ANC constitutional experts, commenting on aspects of the NP’s constitutional proposals leaked to a Sunday newspaper, said there was a significant degree of superficial overlap between the two groups’ constitutional proposals.

Both emphasised the rule of law, the need for an independent judiciary and some rights.

But the NP’s proposals for proportional representation at Cabinet level and a three- to five-member body acting as a head of state were “unworkable”, the sources said.

A Cabinet operating by consensus was impractical and would amount to letting a minority group veto policy proposed by the democratically elected majority party.

The ANC sources said by suggesting nine regional governments, the NP apparently aimed to create a weak central authority with as much decentralised power as possible.

SA Communist Party spokesman Essop Pahad said the SACP opposed any arrangement which restricted voters’ democratic rights.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the blueprint was vague while HNP leader Jaap Marais said it would merely serve as a transition to majority rule.

The plan will be put to the NP federal congress in Bloemfontein next week and then to the party’s provincial congresses.

It proposes, among other things, an executive council of three, to five members to replace the present State President and a Cabinet made up of candidates with “sufficient support”.

It also recommends two houses of Parliament elected on a proportional representation basis and nine “governments”.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke opposed the elements that pointed to federalism and the executive council system while Azapo president Pandelani Nofotloho said the plan was a disguised way of protecting white interests.
Plight of right-wingers draws fire from ANC

THE ANC was deeply concerned about the possible deaths of Orde Boerovolk hunger strikers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz, it said yesterday.

Since it was within the power of government to resolve the whole issue of political prisoners, their deaths would be tragic and totally unnecessary, the ANC said.

Government should long ago have had discussions with them.

"The government's behaviour is even more disturbing because Martin and Maritz were apparently members of the NIS and Military Intelligence," the ANC said.

To allow persons who had actually operated for government to deteriorate to the point they were likely to die showed "the most appalling cynicism", it said.

In Pretoria, AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph welcomed the concern expressed by the ANC.

Rudolph said President FW de Klerk was "taking politically foolish decisions" by not releasing Martin, Maritz and Lood van Schalkwyk.

"It is, however, heartening to note that the ANC views them as political prisoners," he said.

Orde Boerovolk leader Nic Strydom said the men were in a critical condition when he visited them at Pretoria's HP Verwoerd Hospital on Sunday. — Sapa.
CP, ANC lash out at NP proposals

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party yesterday claimed that the National Party's constitutional proposals were "of no value," while the ANC said they would entrench federal structures.

The ANC said the creation of nine regional governments would not only create more bureaucracies but would effectively deny the majority party the right to govern.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement that the NP proposals rejected First World standards and paved the way for black majority rule.

The one-man-one-vote system being proposed by the NP gave no protection to ethnic group rights or interests.

"The NP and the ANC will see their artificial unitary state disintegrate in the face of rising nationalism, just as the artificial unitary state in the Soviet Union has done," Dr Treurnicht said. "The irony is that while the Soviet Union is banning the Communist Party, the NP is actually trying to accommodate the SACP and its allies in its constitutional proposals and to give them decisive power."

The fact that the plan did not indicate who would control the security forces, or appoint judges who would decide on constitutional matters, confirmed that the proposals were so vague as to make them meaningless and of no value, Dr Treurnicht said. ANC sources said the NP proposals were an acceptable formula for an interim government but too far-fetched to be permanent.

"They limn or deny the consequences of majority rule, and it will make the task of reconstruction very difficult," one source said.
DP to battle on — Eglin

27/8/91 Political Staff

ALTHOUGH many apartheid laws had been repealed, the fight to eliminate apartheid from the system was far from over, the chairman of the Democratic Party's parliamentary caucus, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

He believed the DP would do a disservice to South Africa if it got into bed with the National Party, but said it could change gear.

"For 30 or more years, some of us have been working to prevent things from happening. Now at least we can work to make things happen," said Mr Eglin, the MP for Sea Point, at a report-back meeting in his constituency.
NP calls off
Parys meeting

JOHANNESBURG. — The NP yesterday called off a
public meeting in Parys as reports were received of
thousands of right-wingers moving into the Free
State town.

National Party Free State leader and Justice Min-
ister Mr Robie Coetzee said the meeting had been
rescheduled because of fears that the Afrikaner
Weerstandsbeweging would cause chaos and con-
frontation.

Sources in Parys said about 100 AWB members
claiming to come from the all-white town Morgan-
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finally taking notice of the organisation, adding that
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ing in force but to be well-behaved.

AWB secretary Mr Ernest van der Westhuizen
accused the NP of sidestepping a recent televised
agreement between NP Transvaal leader Mr Bar-
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wingers attended unarmed and did not disrupt
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said that postponing the meeting had set the danger-
ous precedent of giving in to threats by political
disruptors. At a time of heightened political tensi-
ons parties should stand firm to defend free speech,
even if police protection was required, he said.
Billion plan to upgrade

Political Staff
Johannesburg. — The government will today disclose details of the socio-economic projects it will fund with the R1 billion gleaned from selling off strategic oil reserves, Economic Co-ordination Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday.

It is understood that Dr De Villiers will announce that the R1bn will be spent on once-off investments to fund community-based projects to stimulate economic growth and to provide jobs over a protracted period.

A source said the government realised it had a responsibility to the least privileged sectors of the community and it had been decided that some of the major projects that would be funded include:

- Building community centres;
- Building 141 primary health clinics;
- Developing sports facilities in squatter settlements;
- Upgrading 50 hostels in the Transvaal townships; and
- Setting up systems for potable water in self-governing homelands.

A spokesman for his office said that Dr De Villiers would discuss the expenditure and allocation of the R1bn at a press conference this morning.

The funds raised from selling off oil reserves would be spent on special projects "designed to make the maximum contribution to economic growth, job creation and social stability," the spokesman said.

The sale of reserves to fund socio-economic upliftment was announced by President P W de Klerk during his budget vote in Parliament earlier this year.

Dr De Villiers's office received floods of proposals for funds following Mr De Klerk's announcement.

According to one source, some organisations sent in the same request in two different guises that could result in their getting double funding for their projects if this was not discovered in good time.

It could not be established yesterday how the funds would be channelled to the projects.
Nats give in to AWB threats

THE National Party has dramatically bowed to the threat of AWB disruption and called off last night's scheduled meeting of Agriculture Minister Mr Kraai van Niekerk in Parys, in the Free State, at the last moment.

NP Free State leader Kobie Coetsee announced yesterday that he had decided to postpone the meeting and that he and Van Niekerk would address a joint meeting later.

Elderly people

He said large numbers of AWB supporters were planning to converge on Parys to disrupt the meeting.

Many NP supporters in Parys were elderly people whose safety could be threatened.

NP Parys vice chairman Mr Hennie Stander said he was certain 'there would have been bloodshed' if the meeting went ahead.

SOWETAN Correspondent

There were about 50 AWB supporters who had already gathered there.

AWB sources confirmed last night that they had intended disrupting the meeting but Conservative Party Parys chairman Mr Gerrit van den Berg claimed that the NP had called off the meeting because it was afraid it would lose face if the CP succeeded in passing a motion of no-confidence in the Government at the meeting.

The postponement followed an agreement between the CP and NP that CP members could attend the meeting if they did not disrupt it.

However CP Free State secretary Mr Gustav Claassen stressed yesterday that the agreement had never been binding on the AWB or any other parties.

It is understood that police were 'ready for any eventuality' and had deployed sufficient forces and back-up to deal with a threatened disruption.
EASTERN EUROPE could help South Africa back into the international community, says Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs.

There were all prominent members of the newly aligned movement which had undergone very severe changes: “It is a far more ambitious country which has been aware of the problem.”

Hunting

“They will hunt in packs in New York and Paris, and place multi-national, multi-cultural things on stage and be happy to facilitate in bringing South Africa back into the international fold,” he said.

Van Heerden said this was an option that could not yet be dismissed, because “the numbers are big and the initiative has been taken very seriously.”

“On his recent visit to Europe, Hanover had met a special interest in South Africa but has been keen to link up with us and discover the South Africa for the international minds about community taking over.

“They are, of course, quiet and quietly talking of job possibilities for technicians - not necessarily permanent immigration, but people on contract. They regarded South Africa as a healthy country where there are plenty of working possibilities.”

Fears

They were not particularly interested in discussing with Van Heerden the dangers in having a communist party at the forefront in more South African minds about communism taking over.

They can hardly overlook the spectre of communism in the world where there are still people who are amenable to that kind of ideology.

They were, of course, quietly talking of job possibilities for technicians - not necessarily permanent immigration, but people on contract. They regarded South Africa as a healthy country where there are plenty of working possibilities.

Directions

South Africa has missions in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. “I think our visit to Hungary was a great success. We have established a useful relationship which we hope to develop further.”

Many possibilities also existed in the cultural front for scientists, art exhibitions, ballet, and so on.

All of them had made connections in South Africa which had been less visible in the past, and would now pay a role.

The three countries were energetic about the new relations. “We will work to develop them as we go along. We can’t afford to put down big mistakes there. It’s very expensive and we want to do it in a cost-effective way.”

Van Heerden saw the lines rapidly developing into normal bilateral ties with agreements reached on investment, double taxation, air services, export credits. We also agreed on the need to develop these ties during the next five years.

Proposals

“Putting on the table the specific proposals on specific agreements across the whole spectrum of the economy, the defence, the security, the social services would be a good way to start.”

But what are the economic prospects like for South Africa, given the new political situation?

“Unfortunately, we have a country which has been severely damaged by the war. We have to rebuild the economy, and we are looking to Europe and the United States for advice on how to do it.”
Search for goodwill

By Stan Blophe

All South Africans who are interested in reconciliation but who say "What can I do?" can become actively involved in Reconciliation Forum, which will hold its inaugural meeting at the Old Edwardian Sports Club, Lower Houghton at 6 pm on Thursday.

The forum's executive director, Helen Dick, says they are looking for black and white people of goodwill who want to work together to make the "new" SA a reality at grassroot levels.

Ms Dick said the forum's goals are peace and prosperity, starting with solving the greatest problem facing the country - unemployment.

She said the meeting will address related problems such as adult technical education, work opportunities, cottage industries, entrepreneurs, exports, management training, cultural differences and socio-economic advice.

Ms Dick said they are planning a technical school in Honeydew as their first project.

The Forum will also establish a trust fund to finance projects proposed by members and will provide research, expertise and assistance.

For more information contact Ms Dick at (011) 440-2308, Qhude Majola at (011) 337-2330 or Mike Clarke at (011) 476-6162.
NP's withdrawal a dangerous precedent, says DP
THE National Party's constitutional proposals to be debated at an especially convened federal congress in Bloemfontein next week appear to be a curious blend of the old and the new.

A number of the still incomplete NP proposals represent a break from the past in that they try to ensure that a future government will be prevented from "doing unto others what the Nats have done unto us" for all these years.

In fact, the blueprint in many ways amounts to a collective admission by the NP that key elements of its constitutional policy-making and thinking over the years have not only been patently unjust but simply wrong-headed — something President De Klerk has not yet been able to bring himself to acknowledge.

However, such is the level of mistrust of the NP's intentions that many of its proposals — even the outwardly sensible ones — have raised suspicions among opposition parties that the Nats have a hidden agenda to cling to power and entrench apartheid under new guises.

Now that the NP is about to lose its exclusive grip on power, the current system in which central government — and particularly the executive State President — enjoys enormous clout has become anathema in government circles.

Because of the NP's track record, some government critics are inclined to see this necessary shift as an attempt to rob a new government of its ability to redress the major imbalances in our divided society.

It would be fair to conclude, though, that a number of the NP's proposals appear designed to prevent the party being sidelined and enhance its prospects for remaining a major player, if not the decisive one, in running the new South Africa.

Apart from drastically curbing the powers of central government and devolving many of these to regional and local level, the NP plan for the future envisages multi-party control over many of the critical levers of power in a new dispensation.

Among these are a three to five-member executive council to replace the post of State President, a multi-party Cabinet, a two-chamber Parliament based on proportional representation and subject to a constitutional court and a Bill of Rights, and a federal-type structure with nine regional governments.

Perhaps the most surprising and controversial aspect of the NP's power diversification plan, particularly in the light of its unmerited lambasting of the Democratic Party's "troika" leadership arrangement, is the replacement of the president by a multi-party executive council.

Clearly, the NP hopes by this device to retain a say at the highest level of government but such a system, even if there was a rotating leadership, would create a number of obvious logistical and practical problems.

The ANC, particularly if it won an election by a large margin, would view such an arrangement as an attempt to prevent it from governing effectively.

However, those parties recognizing the importance of peace and stability in a future South Africa should be less hasty in rejecting outright the notion of a coalition government, at cabinet level, of the most popular parties.

Another aspect of the NP's constitutional thinking that has provoked much comment is a plan to drastically devolve real power, including the ability to allocate money, to relatively autonomous regional and particularly local government structures.

This would include allowances for a system of "super local option", which some parties believe could be used to bolster existing patterns of (white) power and privilege.

But whatever the shortcomings, real or imagined, of the new Nat plan — at least the ruling party is finally putting its proposals on the table.
'Chicken-Nats' slated

By THEMBA MOLEFE

The National Party has been criticised by its white political opponents after it bowed to right-wing pressure and cancelled a public meeting in Paarl on Monday night.

NP Free State leader Mr Kobie Coetsee said the meeting was postponed because they feared a confrontation with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbebewing.

This was after sources said hundreds of AWB supporters, would be brought from outside the Free State town.

Meeting

AWB sources confirmed they intended disrupting the meeting and were "waiting for the next one".

Democratic Party Law and Order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said: "If a party as powerful as the NP starts making exceptions, others to the left and right might think they can intimidate political opponents in the same way."

ANC set to reject NP bluesprint

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC is set to reject the NP's constitutional master-plan as a ruse to deny majority rule and entrench the status quo in South Africa.

A discussion paper has been drawn up urgently by a senior ANC constitutional expert following the disclosure this week of details of the NP's proposals. The crucial NP blueprint is to be put to a special federal congress in Bloemfontein next week.

The ANC document says the NP plan to vest veto rights in a second House of Parliament in which minority parties will have as much say as majority parties - as well as the proposal to replace a single head of state with an executive council - runs counter to the principles of both participatory and multiparty democracy.

The envisaged form of mandatory, rather than voluntary, coalition politics would render the new South Africa ungovernable, according to the document.

The ANC paper contains a strong attack on the NP plan to 'fragment' South Africa into nine autonomous regions, thereby severely curtailing the powers of the central government.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said a formal response to the NP blueprint would be forthcoming after it had been fully discussed.
R1-bn handout the wrong approach, says business

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The Government's allocation of R1 billion to alleviate poverty has been cautiously welcomed among beneficiaries — although the business sector has spoken out over the "ad hoc" manner in which the handout was planned.

Dr Ben van Rensburg, chief economist at the SA Chamber of Business, said the Government's action had been an "ad hoc" approach when the country's need for social upliftment least needed such an approach.

"It should have been strategised along the lines of a social accord, which would have defined and calculated the needs over a specified time period.

"By throwing amounts of money out, expectations are not going to be toned down, as they should be.

"It is only when everybody understands the degree and size of the problem relative to what is affordable that people realise the earnest attempts made to address the problem. The fund should have been planned with broad consultation among the various bodies concerned," Dr van Rensburg said.

Democratic Party spokesman Louis de Waal said the funding was a very positive move and the various allocations seemed to constitute a good mix. He added that this type of funding would undoubtedly be an ongoing feature of Government spending.

It was known that with the impact of VAT, there would have to be considerable amounts channelled into community projects — although a lot more was required.

Conservative Party spokesman on trade and industry Daan Noite said it was unfair and economically absurd that the Government had sold its belongings to provide a R1 billion donation to the poor. "They are only doing this to win the support of the ANC."

The ANC's economic officials were still analysing the allocations yesterday afternoon.

Sam van Coller of the Urban Foundation said the money to be spent on housing sites was welcome and desirable, but emphasised that the issue of location of the sites as well as the question of ownership was important.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said it particularly supported the proposal to spend about half the amount in the current financial year and the creation of 80 000 jobs over 18 months.
Socialism only way

– SACP document

By Esmeré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The South African Communist Party is "very confident" of convincing the majority of citizens that socialism is essential to achieve the basic goals of democracy, the organisation says in its first draft manifesto.

"National democratic transformation represents the most direct route to socialism," says the internal discussion document, "Building workers power for democratic change", which is being circulated among members before final adoption at the SACP's national congress in December.

The 24-page manifesto openly admits that the "virtual end of the world socialist system" has had a negative impact on the SACP's struggle.

However, it remains committed to the implementation of a unique socialist model based on the principles of Karl Marx.

In its analysis of events in Eastern Europe, the manifesto concludes that the lesson to be learnt from "the crisis" is that it is impossible to sustain and develop socialism in an authoritarian environment.

Nationalisation

Thus, emphasis should be put on democratic participation in sectoral and communal organisations affecting people's lives, their work, environment, education and recreation.

The manifesto notes that a post-apartheid society must not merely encompass political democracy but must also achieve a broadening of economic democracy to put the economy under public control. State ownership or nationalisation is "neither sufficient, nor is it necessarily always the only or most effective form of socialist ownership", the SACP says.

“Our enemies like to spread the lie that the SACP wants to take away people's cars, houses or furniture. “Democratic socialism will give every individual the right to own and to dispose all non-exploitative private property.”

The SACP adds: “Nothing will dissuade us from our firm conviction that a system based on the needs of the working people will prove to be far superior to the present system based on greed and private profit.”

The scrapping of all racist laws, a democratic constitution and one person, one vote elections would be an important victory, but the objective of the transformation should be to overcome the effects of colonial conquest and dispossession as well as "racist capitalism", the manifesto states.
Cabinet to Rule on Pasting Right-Wingers

By Tom Westcott and

Shirley Woodgate

[Image of a page with text and a signature]
Consultation needed, says DP

Millions of rands would end up wasted if there were no consultation over the way in which the R1 billion set aside to eliminate socio-economic backlogs was to be spent, Democratic Party spokesman on finance Ken Andrew said yesterday.

He said in a statement that the allocation was welcomed and that the proposed projects seemed appropriate at first sight.

"It must be recognised, however, that intensive negotiation at national, regional and community level is essential if the money spent is to yield maximum dividends," he said.

"Gone are the days when a white central government can tell the majority of the population what is good for them or what their priorities should be," he said.

There was no plan to eliminate backlogs in a systematic way, Mr Andrew added. - Sapa.
Govt may take up more German funding

FRANKFURT — The SA government may take up between DM50m and DM100m of new funds in addition to rolling over a DM280m bond maturing in December. Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser said yesterday.

He said the public issue would be a prelude to broader public financings on the international markets by government and other SA borrowers.

He confirmed SA was having talks with Deutsche Bank, which issued the original DM280m facility. The planned issue would be its first in six years.

Croeser said SA's strategy envisaged refinancing 75% of its bonds maturing in 1991 after 40% in 1990. It aimed to refinance the DM280m in bonds expiring in 1992, with some issues to exceed the original amounts.

Croeser said the Independent Development Trust (IDT) and the Development Bank of Southern Africa also intended to come to the market soon.

Special adviser to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis Jan Lombard said the bank planned a small token issue on capital markets soon. — Reuter.
Will apartheid share fate of communism?

STANLEY UYS
Special Correspondent

LONDON. — What a terrible judgment the Soviet people have passed on communism. It was not just its defeat they wanted to proclaim, but its death — they wanted to dance on its grave. It was not only anger they wanted to express for what they have endured for more than 70 years, but loathing and revulsion.

The Idols they have dethroned are not only Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, but also Lenin and Marx — now they want Lenin's body removed from its mausoleum and reburied in an ordinary cemetery. This is not just a change of system, but an exercise.

Where does the SA Communist Party go after communism's humiliating collapse in the country of its birth? Can it continue in business? And what happens to the ANC's alliance with the SACP? Why did the organisation delay so long in responding to the Moscow coup, and then so half-heartedly? For how long can the ANC afford this inhibition, even paralysis, of thought — and morality — resulting from the alliance?

South Africans are asking whether apartheid will share the same fate as communism in the Soviet Union. Certainly, the anger and hurt among the black population are there (some no doubt even want a blood-letting), but it seems to me that President de Klerk possibly has averted the explosion by making the admission about apartheid that Mikhail Gorbachev was unable to make about communism — that it is unformable.

White rule continues in South Africa, but it is on the table for negotiation. The ideology of apartheid itself is in the ash-can, and President de Klerk (with some earlier help from Mr P W Botha) put it there. He understands at least this lesson: that if you intend to reform, do it quickly, do it through consensus, and make sure that the process is controlled.

This has been President de Klerk's great advantage over President Gorbachev: that he and Mr Nelson Mandela have been able to control the reform process. Mr Gorbachev lost control because he could not retain a power base — both the left and the right withdrew from him, leaving him stranded in the middle. He had pushed reform beyond the limits the right would tolerate, and yet could not bring himself to throw in his lot with the left.

Compared with the Soviet Union, South Africa's reform process has been remarkably controlled and disciplined. Let's hope it stays this way.

Where, for example, does the Soviet Union go from here with its awesome economic problems, the clamour already by eight (of 15) republics for independence (and the problems this will create with the ethnic minorities within their borders), the emerging tensions over where the nuclear warheads will be located and who will control them, the West's concern that the Soviet centre will fall into a black hole, and so forth?

There is a dark side to Mr Yeltsin. He oscillates between exuberance and moroseness, intensity and melancholia.
Faction in NP opposed to De Klerk, claims journal

A FACTION in the NP, including four Cabinet ministers, considers him lacking in experience and political astuteness, an article in the ANC's official journal Mayibuye claims.

The article, written by an unnamed "researcher", details the history of the SADF's Special Forces and concludes that the five reconnaissance regiments, 31 and 32 Battalions and the Civil Co-operation Bureau should be disbanded.

It states that recent revelations by "certain patriotic soldiers" have indicated that the Recces regiments continued to be used after De Klerk's election to undermine the negotiations process.

"Some observers make the point that De Klerk's difficulties are made even more problematic by the presence of an anti-De Klerk faction within the NP..."

The group, Mayibuye says, includes Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Planning, Provincial Affairs and Housing Minister Hermus Kröe and Education and Culture Minister Piet Class.

"This faction, it is argued, believes that De Klerk does not possess the political astuteness or the managerial experience to secure a favourable outcome for the NP at the negotiating table."

Mayibuye says the faction also believes a more aggressive campaign against the ANC is needed.

Military Intelligence and Special Forces are well situated to realise these objectives, the article says.

"Indeed the present Chief of the SADF (Gen) Kat Liebenberg was Officer Commanding the Special Forces between 1982 and 1985, a period when the bulk of Special Forces external operations were conducted and the CCIB was formed."

"It is significant that De Klerk, supposedly committed to democracy appointed Kat Liebenberg to this position," the researcher writes.

The article states that the Department of Military Intelligence and Special Forces control the R4,1bn Special Defence Account which is not subject to public audit.

The article also alleges members of 5 Recces Regiment were used in recent train massacres, "often posing as Inkatha impi".

Call for interim bill of rights

THE ANC intends arguing for the adoption of a "transitional bill of rights."

The call for a transitional bill of rights is a new facet of the ANC's demand for an interim government which, in the ANC's view, will be established by an all-party congress and will have the country until democratic elections take place.

The latest issue of the official ANC journal Mayibuye, due for publication tomorrow, says the bill of rights will set out people's rights during the transitional period.

An ANC source said yesterday the bill of rights would be temporary until a final bill of rights was accepted in either a referendum or by the newly elected Parliament.

However, the temporary and the final bill of rights might contain the same or similar provisions, the source said.

In an article on the interim government, Mayibuye argues that the Inkatha government has shown government cannot be trusted to supervise the transition.

"The government is neither willing nor capable of clearing obstacles to negotiations."

"There cannot be any serious movement forward if (President F W) De Klerk's administration is still in place."

NEWS IN BRIEF

Sebina to return

ANC spokesman in Zambia Tom Sebina and about 270 exiles were expected to return to SA tomorrow. Sebina has not been home for 27 years.

Grant for science

SANLAM has given R100 000 to the Urban Foundation for its programme to upgrade science tuition in black primary schools. Sanlam chief legal adviser and secretary Emel Linde presented the sum to the foundation's western Cape regional director Vernon Rose in Cape Town yesterday.
MP slams left's 'empty slogans'

TIM COHEN

DP HOUGHTON MP Tony Leon last night criticised parties which used "inflammatory, meaningless slogans" to promise more than the economy could deliver and accused government of a "laconic and ambiguous" attitude to violence.

In a speech prepared for delivery at a report-back meeting last night, Leon accused parties to the DP's left of mortgaging SA's economic future in advance.

Leon said he had read extensive legal documentation relating to violence and so-called traditional and cultural weapons. "I am convinced now that at significant stages during the last 18 months, the state was remarkably laconic and ambiguous in its response to the threat of violence," he said.
Proposals lead to play-off of Agreement vs Majority Rule

WITH the publication of the National Party's concept constitutional proposals the political contest in South Africa has finally crystallised into two conflicting models of democracy challenging each other. The challenge is well encapsulated in the words of Jurgen Steiners study on conflict resolution in Switzerland. It is called: Amicable Agreement versus Majority Rule.

In essence the ANC is proposing the German model of majority rule. Although not a classic form of Westminster winner-takes-all rule the German model does make it possible for one of the two largest parties to be kept out of government for a prolonged period. For close to ten years the Christian Democrats have been effectively kept out of the executive level of government.

By contrast, the NP's concept proposals take as its model for the executive party an Amicable Agreement of the Swiss. Without agreeing in advance on a common programme the two federal chambers choose a federal council or cabinet according to the Swiss formula. Van Zyl Slabbert and David Welsh in their seminal study, South Africa's Options: "As all important interests are represented within the council, the process of collective decision-making requires that differences be negotiated, which has the effect of ensuring that each decision is a nationally acceptable compromise."

It is known that President De Klerk carefully questioned members of the Swiss cabinet during his recent visit to that country. They urged him on the necessity of keeping the executive cabinet as small as possible. In all probability this decisively shaped the NP's idea of a presidential college consisting of at least three but not more than five members. This is within the presidential college that the conflicts which build up in the larger cabinet will ultimately have to be resolved.

The NP further disputes the principle of majority rule by proposing for the second chamber the model of the American Senate which gives each state equal representation. Applied to South Africa this would mean that the sparsely populated Northern Cape region would enjoy equal representation on the second chamber with the Witwatersrand, as does North Dakota and California.

Franctic lobbying

The NP's final curb on majority rule is a thorough-going devolution of power to the regions in the federalist structure which would presumably be given the optimal capacity to raise and redistribute revenue. Here Switzerland must again act as a model. One of the main reasons why the Swiss model works so well lies in the conflict being resolved on cantonal level. This considerably eases the burden of the national government and makes capture of the central state machinery less burdensome.

The challenge between the NP espousing Amicable Agreement and the ANC promoting Majority Rule will be the main issue confronting the parties in the forthcoming negotiations. At the same time we shall undoubtedly see front-line international lobbying by both the NP and ANC in an effort to prove that its brand of democracy is the genuine kind and the most suitable for South Africa.

For its part the ANC can count on a well-established tradition in Westminster thinking that democracy must involve some form of majority rule. It can also draw on statements by eminent American political scientists in arguing the case that majority rule is indeed the most suitable form of government for South Africa.

On the basis of comparative studies scholars have argued that unless a political system generates enthusiasm and high voter participation it is bound to be unstable. Radicals are inevitably drawn to unconstitutional means if they find that the system retains the existing balance of wealth and power. Loaders of the poorer group are unwilling to demand sacrifices from their fellows because they are not really in a position to deliver substantial material rewards. With this in mind the renowned American political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset has argued that "if the outcome of the political game is not the periodic awarding of effective authority to one group, unstable and irresponsible government rather than democracy will result".

Power-sharing

The NP response to this argument will be that majority rule in South Africa will cause far greater levels of conflict. It will lead to a massive setting of scores between black groups which have been fighting each other. The white rightwing in alliance with sections of the armed forces may embark on a scorched-earth campaign. We could well have plunging investor confidence and an exodus of capital and skill. Like the Soviet Union, South Africa could implode.

The NP, in short, will argue to the world that majority rule works only in ethnically homogeneous states. They argue that the only hope for democracy in divided societies such as South Africa lies in a form of power-sharing. It will point to Switzerland as a case where majority rule is not necessary to resolve conflicts between quite different groups. The Swiss experience has been that Amicable Agreement in the resolution of conflicts—from the information gathering stage to the ultimate making of decisions—produces a reduction of hostility between groups.

For the ANC, entering into a power-sharing agreement with the NP is one thing, however, to do so because the constitution actually prescribes it as a most undesirable process. It raises the spectre of finding itself ensared in the very same predicaments as the Labour Party under the present constitution. The ANC must resist all attempts to postpone a decision as long as possible. However, here the crucial question is whether it has the resources to do so. The most revealing aspect of the ANC's July conference was that it ratified for more than 99% of its income on external funding and sources. The response of major donors such as the World Bank and other countries may be crucial in forcing its hand.

No dominance

Even more significantly, its own constituency may not be as averse to the idea as is generally thought. Opinion polls, some taken at the height of the recent campaign, indicate that the great majority of blacks want a government in which all groups are represented without anyone dominating it. Unless the government commits another Inkathagate type of blunder or fails to control the security forces, the ANC will probably end up by having to buy something close to the NP's current proposals.

Hermann Giliomee Head of the Department of Political Studies, UCT.
MP: NP denying ANC role

Political Correspondent

THE National Party's constitutional proposals were based on a "carefully planned hidden agenda", DP MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck said last night.

Speaking to a Black Sash meeting in Johannes burg, Mr Van Eck said the NP's hidden agenda included denying majority parties such as the ANC their rightful place and role in a new democratic government and ensuring that the NP and its conservative allies retain a stranglehold on power after the first one-person-one-vote election.

Mr Van Eck said this hidden agenda "boils down to the NP manipulating both the negotiation process and the electoral process" to ensure the NP and the conservative alliance would soon create won the first non-racial democratic elections.
Looking to the Future

Victims, Unjust Political System Could Lie Ahead
CP warns Nats

THE rightwing yesterday warned that the National Party's "ticket-holders only" plan at its public meetings would recreate the tensions of Ventersdorp.

"This is not a solution," said Conservative Party secretary Mr Andries Beyer. "It is a perpetuation of the problem." 21/8/91

"The only place it is safe for Government leaders to appear in public is abroad. In South Africa it is not safe for any leader of the NP to do so." - Sowetan Correspondent.
REG VAN TOEGANG
VOORBEHOU GEEN
WAPENS OF GEVAARLIKE
VOORWERPE, TOEGELAAT
NIE

Jammer ou maat, jy's last... a latecomer is refused entrance to the National Party meeting in Dewetsdorp.

Pictures: John Hogg

Rightwingers locked out at NP-meeting

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

DEWETS Dorp — About 150 people attended the National Party meeting behind locked doors in the town hall last night as a cordon of police held about 10 rightwingers at bay.
The khaki-clad rightwingers circled the square in a bakkie and then disappeared.

Four men claiming to be NP supporters from Bloemfontein, who arrived late for the meeting, were not admitted because they were not known by any of the guards at the door.

Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs, National Housing and Local Government Leon Wessels told the gathering neither the Right nor the Left could deal with the country's problems as effectively as the NP. He said the respect in the country for President de Klerk far outstripped that held for the NP itself.

"We will all have to work on this," he said.

Linden to fight highways and business development

By Staff Reporter

Ratepayers in Linden, Johannes burg, vowed last night to fight multilane highways and commercial development in their north western suburb.

At the inaugural meeting of the Linden Ratepayers' Association last night, about 200 residents elected a steering committee to fight business development and preserve the suburb's residential status.

The eight-man committee is headed by resident Blackie Swart.

Residents were warned their suburb was under threat from large scale business development — including an office park in Darrenwood adjacent to Linden — and plans to turn Republic Road and Third Avenue into a six-lane highway. This would link with D F Malan Drive and split Linden in half.

More than 2 000 children crossed these roads daily, the meeting was told.

Vice-chairman of the committee, Bobby Henny, accused authorities of attempting to use the suburb to achieve commercial aims. He said commercialisation would result in residents becoming increasingly demoralised.

"This is the warning to the authorities that residents are not interested in the upgrading of roads.

"We will find ways to make Linden the safest suburb for our children. We've got something for them and that is they ain't seen nothing yet," Mr Heaney said.
Men from the ministry just keep multiplying

By Michael Chester

Despite Government promises of cutbacks in the size of its bureaucracy, the civil service has become more bloated than ever, it was revealed yesterday.

The Econometrix research unit warned that heavier tax burdens and higher inflation looked inevitable unless trends were reversed.

Its studies have revealed that employment in the central Government had climbed to a new peak of 500 505 by the first quarter of this year — almost 21 600 higher than a year ago, contrary to political assurances.

The number of jobs in the four provincial administrations grew by 25 000, boosting the combined total to more than 784 000.

Still worse, says Econometrix director Dr Azar Jammine, has been the scale of increases in the wage bill for civil-service operations, which outpaced the inflation rate.

The wage bill for Government and provincial administrations soared to R4 445 million for the three-month first-quarter period — as much as 28.8 percent higher than 12 months earlier. The wage bill for central Government alone rose by 28.4 percent to reach R3 440 million.

Even allowing for a 4 percent increase in job numbers, that equaled average raises of 23.5 percent — about 9 percent more than the inflation rate.

Dr Jammine said that in the past decade employment in central Government had grown by a staggering 72 percent.

"Even if a significant proportion of the increase is attributable to an increase in the number of teachers and nurses rather than bureaucrats, one is still talking about an increase in civil-service employment which substantially exceeds the population growth rate."

Undoubtedly, much of the sharp increase in wage rates went into efforts to raise the pay of low-income workers.

However, he said, the higher tax and inflation rates caused by a bigger State bureaucracy were bound to threaten a continued decline of the economy."
ANC smells a big Rat

The NPF main negotiators partners don't like its blueprint. Wigna Johnsmo

OPINION
Sanctions will remain in place until Americans receive a clear signal from all major players in the South African peace process that they should be lifted.

This was the message from US senators Paul Simon and Charles Robb who yesterday ended their two-day trip to SA.

At Jan Smuts Airport, the senators said they were optimistic about South Africa's future.

Asked to elaborate on the signals the US hoped to receive from South African leaders before lifting sanctions, Mr Simon said the American government would not be prescriptive on the major players in the peace process "but if we get a message from Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela, and other leaders that there is change, we will lift them".

The senators met various political leaders, including Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, during their visit.

Commenting on his meeting with Dr Treurnicht, Mr Simon said: "We had a chance to understand their perspective. What we did do is encourage everyone, including Dr Treurnicht, to participate in the negotiations. "And Dr Treurnicht did not rule out participation. I think that was the encouraging part."

Mr Simon said he was confident that no one either from the Right or the Left could scuttle the peace process.

Mr Simon hoped that the peace process would move forward expeditiously on a new constitution.

He said: "Right now South Africa has key sectorial leaders who are committed to working together for the future, leaders who are not ideologues. That may not always be the situation. Human life is fragile. "An opportunity not seized when the time is right may be an opportunity that can never be seized."

Mr Simon said his government shared with South African political leaders they had met a serious concern on the subject of violence.

"We come from a nation that also has too much violence. But at this key point in your history, violence is a barrier to the breakthrough you need."

The senators welcomed next month's planned peace summit on violence.

Mr Simon said confidence had to be restored in the security forces, who were accused by many leaders they met of fomenting violence.

The US senators said South Africa, like America, had a significant underclass whose needs had to be addressed "if our two nations are to achieve their economic potential".

American message . . . economic curbs will stay until there is a clear signal they should be lifted, senators Paul Simon (left) and Charles Robb said yesterday.

Picture: Jacobo Rykoff
Algeria praises FW, calls for SA links

By James Tumlin
Star Foreign Service

PARIS — Algeria yesterday called for normal relations with South Africa and praised President de Klerk’s peacemaking abilities.

Ever since independence in the '60s, Algiers has been in the forefront of all anti-apartheid moves in Africa and in the United Nations.

But all this has changed, according to Algerian Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi in an interview appearing yesterday in the Paris daily Figaro.

Asked whether several Arab countries would be prepared to enter dialogue directly with Israel over the Palestinian question, Mr Brahimi replied: "Let me make a comparison with South Africa. Our only problem with this country has been apartheid. There is absolutely no other reason for not being friends.

"I believe that there are many things that we can do together.

"Despite this, we have carried out a rigid boycott policy just because of apartheid.

"But as surely as the reform process continues in South Africa, we will undoubtedly start normal relations.

"We have a similar attitude to Israel. We would like to see a De Klerk in Tel Aviv."

"Asked whether this day was approaching, Mr Brahimi said: "It would be a good thing if we were helped in finding a De Klerk in Israel. For the moment, I do not see anybody. But then, only a few years ago, South Africa also never saw a De Klerk."
The Democratic Party is proposing a federal system with between eight and 12 states, a two-chamber Parliament and a rigid constitution.

The provisional proposals, which were drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr Denis Worrall MP, have been published in a policy discussion paper which has been sent to party formations.

It will be dealt with at the party’s national congress in Cape Town in November.

The paper says the DP believes that the people must govern and that federalism enables more people to take part. Federalism would distribute power, was a defence against tyranny, and accommodated pluralism.

The TBVC countries should be part of the country as established by Union in 1910.

The central Parliament would enjoy co-ordinate sovereignty with the state parliaments, the paper says.

Criteria for determining the boundaries of states are:
- The rejection of states delineated on racial or ethnic lines.
- Community of interests of the population of an area.
- Economic viability and potential.
- Administrative effectiveness.

The right of linguistic communities to choose mother-tongue education and to promote their culture should be constitutionally protected.

The federal government would exercise those powers essential to the national interest, but all other powers would be exercised by the state powers.

The plan proposes a dual executive consisting of the president and prime minister with a Cabinet drawn from and accountable to Parliament.

In the bicameral legislature there would be a National Assembly and a Senate with co-equal powers except in the case of appropriation and other money Bills where the Assembly would be able to override objections from the Senate.

It is proposed that the Assembly should consist of 350 members elected by all adult citizens on the basis of proportional representation.

- Nat, ANC plans — Page 13
Commonwealth leaders reconsider visits to SA

AN EXPECTED flurry of visits to SA by foreign heads of state before and after the Commonwealth heads of state meeting in Harare in October is unlikely to materialise, because of opposition from the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups, diplomats said yesterday.

A spokesman for Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed there had been indications from Canada, Australia and New Zealand that their heads of state were considering coming to SA.

However, he was unable to say whether any of them would come.

It is understood that British Prime Minister John Major will not visit SA in October, despite speculation that he would be one of the first to do so.

A spokesman for the British Embassy said Major would like to visit SA, but only when the time was right. Apparently an October visit is considered inopportune.

However, other SA government sources believed that visits by leaders of at least Canada, Australia New Zealand were probable after the dramatic progress made by the ANC, Inkatha and government in combating violence.

There were initial indications from Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke that he would visit SA for two or three days in mid-October, just before the Commonwealth meeting in Harare, which starts on October 16.

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was apparently keen to visit SA and initially it was planned he would come on October 23 and 34, right after the meeting.

It is believed New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger was earlier also exploring the same time.

A Canadian diplomat, who visited SA last month as part of an advance task group to assess the advisability of a visit by Mulroney, said the task group had discussions with the ANC, government and other parties.

It had been made clear that Mulroney would visit only if he could contribute to speeding up the negotiation process.

The Australians had communicated a similar message, sources said.

Now, apparently, all three governments were reconsidering the advisability of their leaders visiting SA.

DARIUS SANAI reports that German Deputy Foreign Minister Helmut Schaefer will visit SA in November, embassy sources said yesterday. Schaefer is a close colleague of Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Schaefer's trip could be a precursor to a visit by the Foreign Minister next year, the sources said.
Vlok and Malan demoted today

Two of the most powerful ministers in the government will be demoted today when the new cabinet is officially sworn in at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Law and Order Minister Mr. Adriaan Vlok will assume his new portfolio of Correctional Services, and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan will have two months without a portfolio until he can take over Water Affairs and Forestry from the retiring Mr. Gert Kotze.

General Malan, however, will immediately assume responsibility for Housing and Works and the Budget in the House of Assembly administration.

The new Law and Order Minister will be Mr. Hermus Kriel and Defence goes to Mr. Rosel Meyer. President F.W. de Klerk, announcing the cabinet reshuffle last month, said the men were being shifted to the new portfolios because of the controversy surrounding the security forces.

Among the new faces in the ministerial ranks will be Natal's indirectly elected MP, Mr. Beniër Schoeman, who becomes deputy minister of Foreign Affairs.
DP: 7-year president, PM to rule

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party yesterday unveiled its constitutional proposals, which make provision for a directly elected executive president ruling in tandem with a prime minister in a highly decentralised, eight-to-12-state federation.

Within this dual executive system, the seven-year-term president would run the country along with a multi-party cabinet under a prime minister appointed by the majority party.

The cabinet would be constituted on a proportional basis from representatives of political parties enjoying 10% or more of the support of the lower House or National Assembly.

The prime minister, responsible for the day-to-day running of the country, would be vested with the power to allocate cabinet portfolios.

But Parliament would operate in an environment where the constitution was supreme and many of the powers currently enjoyed by central government — including education, police and some taxation — would be devolved to state governments.

One of the most distinctive proposals contained in the 12-page DP blueprint is a seven-year term for a directly elected executive president. The president, therefore, need not necessarily belong to the same party as the most popular party in Parliament.

The fact that the president would be directly elected is designed to ensure that the head of state is capable of adopting a more independent view, somewhat removed from party pressures.

In a major departure from the Westminster system, the courts, whose judges would be appointed by a Judicial Appointments Commission, would be the only arbiter and interpreter on matters affecting constitutional rights.

The DP believes the process to bring federalism about would be to limit the powers of the central government and deliberately devolve these to regional authorities. It would then be essential that the constitution guarantee equitable access by the regions to the national resources.

The DP also accepted that the TBVC countries should, by way of negotiation, be reintegrated in South Africa.

In terms of the proposals, central government would exercise those powers essential to the national interest while all other powers go to the state governments. These included health, local government, education, police, prisons, town planning, nature conservation and tourism, licensing, roads and land settlement.
NP will not be scared off — FW

Political Correspondent

President F W de Klerk yesterday vowed that the National Party would not be scared off by political thuggery or threats from holding political meetings throughout the country.

His promise not to bow to pressure follows the cancellation of an NP meeting in Parys this week and reported division among NP leaders about how best to handle right-wing threats.

Mr De Klerk, leader of the NP, yesterday denied that there were differences of opinion on the handling of threats to NP meetings.

He said in a statement that the NP did not allow itself to be intimidated by threats "which come almost exclusively from right-wing elements".

The party would continue to put its case throughout South Africa "in a sensible manner". This included meetings.

Mr De Klerk said the four provincial leaders — Ministers Mr Dawie de Villiers (Cape), Mr Kobie Coetzee (Free State), Mr Barend du Plessis (Transvaal) and Mr George Bartlett (Natal) — had been in complete agreement with him over the continuation of the Ventersdorp meeting as well as the postponement of the Parys meeting.
Top-level SA visits now off?  
CT 30/8/91 Political Staff  

JOHANNESBURG.—An expected flurry of visits to SA by foreign heads of state before and after the Commonwealth heads of state meeting in Harare in October may be postponed because of opposition from the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups, diplomats said yesterday.

It is understood that British Prime Minister Mr John Major will not visit SA in October. A British Embassy spokesman said Mr Major would like to visit SA but only when the time was right. An October visit is considered inopportune.

A spokesman for Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha confirmed that there had been indications from Canada, Australia and New Zealand that their heads of state were considering coming to SA. However, he could not confirm any visits.

All three governments are apparently reconsidering after indications from the ANC and other parties that any October visits would not be opportune.

However, SA government sources believe the visits could go ahead following dramatic progress made by the ANC, Inkatha and the government towards agreement on combating violence.

*German Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Helmut Schaefer will visit SA in November, embassy sources said yesterday.* Mr Schaefer is a close colleague of Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his trip could be a precursor to a visit by Mr Genscher next year, the sources said.
Give and take at talks - Stoffel

THE National Party’s new secretary general, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, foresees complicated compromises in the coming negotiation process.

Speaking during a chat show on Radio 702 on Wednesday night, he said:

"The job is of course politically more controversial than the one that I'm leaving in the sense that it would now be concentrating on party politics," the outgoing Minister of Education and Training said.

"We feel it’s necessary that the party should build its own identity separate from that of the Government," he said. - Sapa.
Talking, listening to peace

By ISMAIL LAGARDEIN
Political Correspondent

Focus

DE TENTE is a very Western concept which has worked well. It led to the end of the Cold War and was instrumental in creating a new world order.

The word means the easing of tensions, especially between nations or political parties.

It can also be interpreted as good public relations. For example, you might not agree with your opposition but, if you sit down and listened, or if your opposition sat down and listened to you, each party might have a better understanding of the other.

This is commonly known as talking. And while we are at it, we might as well add that talking is better than fighting.

Talking has the added benefit in that it can influence opposing views, perhaps even alter them.

Africa has its own kind of détente, which is rooted in the inherent peaceful nature of the Africans - and this is perhaps best explained by the concept of ubuntu.

This is manifested even in the most militant and radical slogan of the Africanists of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress: "Peace among the Africans, war against the enemy."

While this is (politically) an extremely provocative slogan, it also in principle seeks peace first - albeit through the barrel of a gun.

As things stand, the PAC will not (officially) speak to the ruling National Party, but it will speak to the ANC, Azapo and Wosa.

And this appears to be because the NP is white. This could not be further from the truth, because the ANC and Wosa have white membership... Similarly, and to substantiate this, the PAC this week released a statement about the launch of its Johannesburg Central Region and the envisaged creation of a Civic Association for this region.

The carefully worded statement was explicit - anybody who saw him or herself as an African and who paid allegiance to Africa could join the JCR.

The PAC's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said at the time: "The PAC recognises only one race - the human race."

In essence these two positions - which the PAC has held since its inception in 1959 - are light-years ahead of the pack.

The distinct Africanism sounds very similar to the ideas expressed by the NP (than those even) of the ANC, who has not expressed a purely Africanist train of thought.

The NP is prejudiced against any foreign interference in the local conflict - it is even against intervention by other African states, for that matter.

The latter can be ascribed to fear rather than loathing...

When President FW de Klerk released his "Marshall Plan" almost two years ago, the desire was for the restructuring and rebuilding of the African sub-continent for the sake of Africans.

The charm between the NP and the PAC, is thus, not as wide as it appears at first glance.

The thing that keeps the two apart is more an issue of semantics and interpretation than dogma or ideology.

Let's consider some of the positions.

The PAC is, in principle, not opposed to a negotiated settlement, nor is the NP.

The PAC believes there should be a new constitution, so does the NP.

The NP believes there should be a transitional authority, so does the PAC.

But where the fundamental differences lie are in the unfolding process of the democratisation of the country.

The PAC believes the present authority wielded by the Government (and by implication the NNP), was unfair in that the State was determining the pace, tempo and speed of the negotiating process.

All of this shifts the NP and PAC a little closer to each other, whether the militants appreciate this or not - it is a fact.

Which puts the question: how would it damage the image or (stretch) the credibility of the PAC if it engaged the Government in some form of talks for the sake of détente (or ubuntu for that matter) - or simply for the sake of influencing the process - by going to the eye of the storm, the ruling National Party?

The PAC and Azapo leadership, have in the past at some point or another, found themselves in the company of the NP or members of Government.

Consider the scenario - and remember the concept of ubuntu and the idea of détente: Two American senators arrive in South Africa to try and understand the unfolding democratic process in the country.

Upon their arrival their hosts - say, for argument's sake, the American Embassy - have a cocktail party to welcome the senators to South Africa.

On the guest list are members of all the political parties including the NP and PAC... Should the PAC refuse to attend the cocktail party and allow the opportunity to meet (and indeed) influence the senators simply because there are Government officials present?

Let us take the analogy a bit further and let us assume that the PAC leadership and followers would like to see an African government in the next South Africa.

Can the PAC, by petulantly storming out of a cocktail party (and remember this is a hypothetical situation), convince the world that, as the next government, it is capable of plugging into a world order of tolerance and détente?

The answers to the questions lie in the PAC and not the NP.

If the PAC believes that it has ideas which could positively influence the democratic process, it must share them - for the sake of democracy, and for the sake of the future of this country, not for the sake of the PAC.
DP proposes federal system, two chambers

TONY WENTZEL, Political Staff

A FEDERAL system with eight to 12 states, a two-chamber parliament and a rigid constitution are being proposed by the Democratic Party.

The provisional proposals, which were drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr Denis Worrall MP, have been published in a policy discussion paper.

It will be dealt with at the party's national congress in Cape Town in November.

The paper says the DP believes the people must govern and that federalism enables more people to participate. Federalism would distribute power, was a defence against tyranny and accommodated pluralism.

The central parliament would enjoy co-ordinate sovereignty with the state parliaments.

Criteria for determining the boundaries of states are: The firm rejection of states delineated on racial or ethnic lines; community of interests of the population of an area; economic viability and potential administrative effectiveness.

In addition to the language of record each state will have the right to adopt further languages as official languages.

The right of linguistic communities to choose mother-tongue education and to promote their culture should be constitutionally protected.

The federal government would exercise those powers essential to the national interest but all other powers would be exercised by the state powers.

The plan proposes a dual executive consisting of the President and Prime Minister with a cabinet drawn from and accountable to parliament.

In the bicameral legislature there would be a national assembly and a senate with co-equal powers except in the case of appropriation and other money Bills where the assembly would be able to override objections from the senate.

The draft plan also envisages a constitutional court and a Civil Bill of Rights.
The National Party envisages a united, democratic, nonracial South African republic, but with heavy emphasis on the devolution of power from the central government to regional and local authorities, and weighted representation for minorities.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A unitary state, comprising the present RSA including self-governing territories, but with a strong federal flavour. The future states of the TBBV states has not yet been made clear.

Three branches of government: the executive, legislature and judiciary.

A multiparty Executive College to lead the state, consisting of between three and five members of the strongest parties in the first house of Parliament, deciding by consensus. These parties together should command a majority of the representatives in this house. The chairmanship of the Executive College would operate on a rotational basis. A multiparty Cabinet would be appointed on the basis of consensus by the Executive College, and would be obliged to follow its policy.

Two houses of Parliament. The first elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage. The powers of the majority in the first house would be limited by the requirement of an increased majority for some “sensitive” matters and the need for agreement with a second house of Parliament.

The second, smaller, house would be the seat of power of minorities, representing the proposed nine regions. Each party achieving more than a specified minimum support level in elections for the legislature in that region would get equal seats for that region. The functions of the second house would be by a simple majority to approve ordinary laws passed by the first house by a two-thirds majority to pass legislation amending the constitution, or affecting regions or minorities, or which was entrenched in the constitution, and to initiate laws affecting the specific interests of minorities and regions.

Elections would clearly be held regularly and conducted by secret ballot. This assumption is made on the basis of previously consistent NP statements, although these electoral mech-
Could talks start in November?
Two visions

For the first time, both the Government and the ANC have put on the table their detailed plans for what the new South Africa will really look like. Sifting through the complicated documents, PETER FABRICIUS and SHAUN JOHNSON discover some important similarities — and a lot of deep differences.

At first glance the two models bear a strong resemblance to each other — surprisingly so, given the decades of ideological hostility between the National Party and the ANC. But close analysis shows that, once implemented, they would produce strikingly different forms of government.

There are broad, important areas of convergence. Both models are apparently democratic; both acknowledge the right of political parties to compete. The ANC model would allow a bicameral legislature involving a system of proportional representation; and both would envisage the devolution of power by proposing elected regional and local authorities.

However, these resemblances mask some significant underlying differences. The ANC would give equal weight to every vote at every level of government, but the NP would give more weight to different regions at every level of government.

In essence, the ANC model would be more representative of the country as a whole, while the NP model would give more weight to different regions at every level of government.

The ANC proposes a majoritarian government where the majority's power would be exercised by the majority and not by any other political party. The NP proposes a consociational model where the majority's power would be exercised by the majority and not by any other political party.

Quality

The ANC model would give each region an equal voice in the legislature, while the NP model would give each region a greater voice in the executive. The ANC model would give each region a greater voice in the legislature, while the NP model would give each region a greater voice in the executive.

The aim of this provision would seem to be to ensure that the majority in Parliament could not selectively remove minority-party members of the Executive College.

Unlike the relatively weak ANC Senate — it is viewed as the "guardian of the constitution" — the NP's second house of Parliament would be an extraordinary powerful body, with a veto over decisions by the majority in the first house, and the authority to initiate its own legislation on matters of national importance.

Since this would be the seat of power of minorities, the veto right of the second house would give minorities enormous clout — to the extent that, hypothetically, if they decided to form coalitions, their power could possibly be even greater than that of the majority.

The NP proposes that each of the country's nine regions should receive equal representation in the second house. Although it is impossible to compute the permutations of how this elaborate system might work in practice, it is clear that it would impose tremendous constraints on the majority, and oblige it to enter into coalitions in order to pass legislation.

Approval

Even in the first house of Parliament — elected on the basis of one person, one vote — a simple majority would not be enough to secure approval in an constitutional sensitive matters.

At lower levels of government, the NP would allow the second house to substantially dilute the power of the majority. In town and city council, for instance, it proposes that property owners, tenants and ratepayers should receive greater representation than ordinary voters.

Geographically, the NP also proposes to devolve real "original" and not merely delegated powers to the nine regions — each with its own legislature and executive — and to elected local governments.

It goes even further by proposing that elected neighbourhood councils be set up within municipalities, possibly at sub-urban level, to control very localised matters such as the granting of licences for property use.

The plan does not seem to have defined the precise powers of the lower levels of government, though the NP has made it clear before that it would like them to be considerable.

It is only when one moves beyond the shared declaratory commitments to broad principles such as nonracialism and democracy that the very different points of departure being utilised in each political camp become clear.

And it is the detailed proposals which flow from these points of departure that will be the focus of the real horse-trading around the constitutional negotiating table.
The ANC blueprint

The ANC envisages a united, democratic, nonracial and non-sexist South African republic, with only limited powers devolved from central to regional and local structures, and no special dispensation for minority groups.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

- A unitary state, that is a single, non-fragmented entity including Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, with a strong central government.

- Three branches of government: the executive, legislature and judiciary.

- A president, who would be head of the executive and head of state. It is undecided as to whether the president should be elected directly by the public and consequently vested with greater executive powers—or elected by and answerable to Parliament. A Cabinet would be headed by a prime minister, who would be subordinate to, but act in consultation with, the president. Both the prime minister and the Cabinet would be appointed by the president.

- Two houses of Parliament. The first a National Assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage in which all persons would have an equal vote without regard to race, gender, ethnic origin, language or creed. Primary, legislative power would be vested in this house.

The second house would be a Senate, also elected by universal suffrage, but on a different electoral system allowing for regional—though not ethnic—representation. The ANC insists this would neither be a corporatist chamber made up of interest groups (youth, labour, women or business, or other groups), nor would it represent ethnic or so-called “community” interests. The Senate, as the "guardian of the constitution", would refer constitutional disputes to the appropriate courts, and have the power of review. It would be able, where appropriate, to delay legislation from the National Assembly but not to veto it.

Elections would be held at intervals of not more than five years, and conducted by secret ballot. An independent electoral commission would supervise them, and also adopt regulations for access by parties to public media.

The use of proportional representation means there would be no delimitation of constituencies, which is regarded as too time-consuming and expensive. There could be both national and regional electoral lists, with regions given, for example, half the available seats. Despite the possibility of having two lists, voters would cast one vote only.

A constitutional court, appointed by the president possibly on the recommendation of a judicial service commission, would be responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and the application of the law of the land. The constitution would be amended only if two-thirds of the National Assembly concurred, or two-thirds of voters in a national referendum. The constitution would be supreme.

Positions in organs of local and regional government would be elected by universal franchise. Although their powers would be delegated from the centre, they would have wide discretion over local policies provided they were not in conflict with national policies.

Regions would not be devised as means of perpetuating privilege, or ethnic or regional divisions along territorial zones, but would be based upon the distribution of population, availability of economic resources, and urban/rural balances. Central government would control external relations, defence and security, general economic, fiscal and tax policy, national policy frameworks; and resources for social upliftment and the removal of historical imbalances in the society. Regional and local authorities' powers would be clearly circumscribed.

A justifiable bill of rights would protect rights and freedoms, including economic rights. All legislation inconsistent with the bill of rights would be invalidated.

A human rights commission would investigate violations, and a public service commission would be established to oversee recruitment, promotion and dismissal and to implement an affirmative action programme in the public service. An independent ombudsman would investigate complaints against the public service.
Hugh Roberton reports on US comparisons of the USSR and SA

Vital difference in the similarities

In the wake of the Soviet coup, many Americans with a close interest in South Africa have begun to draw parallels between events in the country and the shambles in the Soviet Union. They are not deterred by the fact that for every similarity it is possible to list at least three important differences.

But it would be unfair to suggest Americans are limited to seeing only the crudely obvious. Certainly much of what they see for the first time is familiar scenery to most South Africans.

We all know, for instance, that South Africa has something of a KGB problem of its own, that in both countries there is a bewildered generation which was nurtured on a false ideology and which can barely think outside indoctrinated parameters. All would agree that there is no shortage in either country of far-right hotheads who would resort to unconstitutional means to resist change.

And generally there are similarities between the Stalinist tradition of the Communist Party in each country. Both parties exert influence secretly through other organisations - through the ANC’s national executive and the unions in the case of the SACP.

But what is less obvious is the similarity with which South Africa and the Soviet Union are viewed by businessmen and bankers who judge by cold-eyed criteria far removed from the rhetoric and passion of politics and whose decisions are going to be crucial to the successful reconstruction of both countries.

They appear to be scared stiff by what they have seen so far of societies in change, of communities turning to violence, of security forces with political agendas, and of would-be rulers whose grasp of free enterprise is, to say the least, fragile.

When the coup crisis began, US newspapers published lists of US business projects in the Soviet Union — almost all of them still in the pipeline, an inordinate number of them short-term.

And last week a report on the latest survey of business attitudes to investment in South Africa showed much the same picture. Little, if any, significant US investment has flowed into the country in the six weeks since President Bush lifted sanctions and most businessmen who might consider investments do not envisage long-term commitments.

The comparisons grow more disturbing. President Bush, backed by many in Congress, has strongly resisted calls for more aid to the Soviet Union. His reasons for doing so are lucid and persuasive and they apply with equal logic to South Africa — the US government is not going to pour massive funds into places where US business fears to tread.

That ought to serve as a timely warning that the multi-billion dollar aid package now being considered in the US Congress for South Africa is far from being a done deal. As the survey on investment in South Africa warned, competition for aid and investment is going to be a brutal and unsentimental business in future.

It is here that many well-disposed Americans see a significant difference beginning to emerge between South Africa and the Soviet Union. It is that tomorrow’s leaders in Moscow have embraced the fact that freedom is incomplete without economic freedom, that free enterprise is inseparable from democracy — whereas their South African counterparts, absurdly, still look with some affection at the model of an economy in bondage to an ideology.

None of the comparisons drawn between the two countries comes anywhere near being as ominous as this emerging difference, and it suggests that if the new South Africa is to prosper, much the same catharsis awaits the ANC and SACP as that which Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and Soviet communists are now living through. — Star Foreign Service
A black hole we must avoid

The ending of Soviet communism has some lessons for South Africa, says Stanley Uys
Recalcitrant whites in the civil service need to be disciplined

It's often argued that, without even trying, the bureaucracy is an obstacle to reform — an obstructive and self-serving network that is, by its very nature, resistant to change. The public service, it is claimed, lacks the capacity, or the will, to make or break it common throughout the country. SA's tradition of a centrally controlled and seemingly interminable bureaucracy enforces restrictive and oppressive policies that have helped maintain the economic and political dominance of the country under Apartheid. However, it is government's will that change and the ticket to successive electoral victories.

But while the Bantu (Apartheid) era, the ethos changed dramatically. The bureaucracy was called on to spearhead the reform process, not block it. Problem is how do you turbocharge an ox-wagon?

According to the 1996 figures, there are nearly 1.7m people of about 6.2m public servants, of whom 1.6m are white. The public service comprising thewp, Commissions, and public enterprises, employs 750,000, or 300,000 whites.

In addition, whites dominate the administrative and clerical functions. Public Service Association general manager Ham Olivier says 73% of the administrative staff and 71% of clerical workers are white. And by far the majority of these white public servants are conservative Afrikaners. Until February 2 1989, most of them probably supported the National Party. But that may have changed.

With transition to democracy no longer on "the" but a "when", many bureaucrats justify their fear for their futures.

Will the next government immediately purge the senior ranks?

The public service is currently, at the beginning of a new era. The ANC views the issue from a different perspective. Information chief Pops Jordan says the reluctance to change goes beyond the public service and right up to government. "The incumbent government is an obstacle to change. While it has been compromised by a mix of national, regional and intergovernmental pressure to change, this has not been enough to change the system itself. The public service, a large part of which has been government's constituency, reflects the same mood."

He says the agreement of the public service to the next government is more of an issue than the capability of public servants to implement the change. "It is my opinion, inclusion in public service is upward, big and loyal enough to face the challenge of a new constitutional reform with loyalty, dedication and confidence."

The Democratic Party's Kobus Jordaan, the former minister in the Department of Constitutional Reform, believes the perception of the white bureaucracy being punctiliously public servants in the public service is the consequence of the 1976 constitutional reform. But if he was not already addressed and has been the country's highest 'assets'. Attitudes will change when they are addressed."

Jordan says if the ANC encourages the blocking strategy, it is in the interest of public servants to be prepared to change for the better. It believes that when it comes to the crunch, only a percentage of public servants will be willing to risk their positions in pursuing political ends. The ANC views the issue from a different perspective. Information chief Pops Jordan says the reluctance to change goes beyond the public service and right up to government. "The incumbent government is an obstacle to change. While it has been compromised by a mix of national, regional and international pressure to change, this has not been enough to change the system itself. The public service, a large part of which has been government's constituency, reflects the same mood."

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The twain can meet

Stoffel van der Merwe... spearheading the NP plan

Until the ANC formally responds (as it says it will), ANC constitutional committee members are saying that the NP proposals are nothing new. One, referring especially to the idea for a three- or five-member presidency, ventures to suggest they could be a formula for an interim government, but not a lasting solution. This suggests room for manoeuvre. The NP plan is seen as a convoluted way of, in effect, entrenching ethnicity.

The proposal for a collegiate presidency is derived from the Swiss federal council system, under which major parties share the presidency on a rotational, federal basis. It is an informal convention not actually written into the Swiss constitution. However, it is uniquely Swiss and difficult to export.

According to Welsh, who has no quarrel with this proposal in principle, the need for SA to avoid a winner-takes-all arrangement is amply supported by the voluminous literature on divided societies.

On regional and local government, there is a strong case for saying that government has become a centralised, bureaucratised levitish, suggesting that effective local or regional government will be a good thing. There can be no reasonable objection to decentralisation per se, says Welsh.

Of course there are all kinds of inconsistencies in what government is now proposing and what it did in the past. However, SA has entered a whole new era.

Nelson Mandela, in an interview with Stanley Uys, as well as other ANC figures, have said that they do not want to see minorities excluded from power. But their formal inclusion in government is another matter. The ANC may argue that, having agreed to proportional representation, it will accept a kind of coalition government, even if this is not entrenched in a new constitution. President F W de Klerk could counter that, with 30%-40% of whites sympathetic to the CP, he might lose a referendum unless this is inserted into the constitution.

It could be argued as transitional measure entrenched for some years, as in Zimbabwe, and performing a stabilising role while politics in the new SA develops its own momentum. It would, after all, be a compromise in which the word race does not feature.

Clarity is yet to emerge also on the bicameral parliament. Welsh points out that a second chamber must have real power. Whether it is to be veto power remains to be seen; suffice to say that mere delaying powers as in Namibia — is not enough. Experience has shown that without genuine power, a second chamber is ineffective and pointless.

For all that, there is an interesting convergence in the ANC and government positions, observes Welsh. Both agree on multiparty democracy, universal suffrage, nonracialism, a common voters' roll, proportional representation, a bicameral parliament, the rule of law, a Bill of Rights, judicial review and having an ombudsman.

The differences appear to be over a collegiate presidency and regional government, which, Welsh argues, are eminently negotiable: "I am therefore fairly optimistic that a new constitution is basically within sight."

NATIONAL EDUCATION

Still cutting

Retrenchment of teaching staff in Natal is going ahead and will probably continue next year — despite the June 27 statement by three Education Ministers which, relieved educationists understood, overturned the previous "own affairs" rationalisation process.

John Deane, deputy director of the Natal Education Department (NED), confirmed this week that 688 posts in Natal would go by the end of the year. He did not rule out further retrenchments next year, though he said numbers would depend on the amount of funding the province gets for education.

This is hard to understand in the light of the earlier statement from Ministers Piet Clasie, Stoffel van der Merwe and Louis Piennar, which, though coming at a time when President F W de Klerk was under pressure to halt staff cuts and school closures (and after black pupils had occupied the empty Orange Grove Primary School), seemed to indicate that cuts would stop and under-utilised resources made available to all pupils.

Apparently not so. Deane says the June 27 statement "has not substantially changed our situation because retrenchment of teaching staff is being undertaken in the light of the amount of money we are getting."

It could be argued, according to De Klerk (Current Affairs July 5), gets the most favourable dispensation for white education in SA and,
A case of the messenger muddying the message?

The National Party's constitutional plan is not a bad system — the problems arise from its origins, says the Democratic Party's TONY LEON

Van Zyl Lobbedey - Golding split

by enigmatically senior and guiding spirits

Arnold Lategan, Van Zyl Lobbedey, John Dugard and even Alan Piter.

The most dramatic break from the past is the next new plan: the National Party's constitutional plan for South Africa is in the liberal orbit of the total abandonment of racial relations and the removal of compulsory group membership as a prerequisite for either franchise rights or the construction of a new and equitable community of a new and equitable area of government.

The plan for South Africa will diffuse power and divide authority. It makes conciliation in majority rule but to deeply suspicious of "majoritarianism".

On the local level, it provides for an inter-class division of competencies and powers into three classes of government. Having happily emasculated local and provincial decision-making over the past 40 years, the government now proposes the division of South Africa into nine regions or states, each to be invested with its own powers and functions, national powers. Further powers are also granted to expanded, non-racial local governments.

The term denigrated "state" has geographic, not racial, boundaries. Anticipating the cry that this will simply be bantustanization with historically large, it is worthwhile noting the extent of the ride — Western Province, Northern Cape, Orange Free State, Eastern Province, Natal, Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal, PWV and Western Transvaal — in an inflexible craft majority.

On a horizontal level, parliamentary pow-
er will be dispersed bicameral. The "First House" will be elected, non-racially, by proportional representation or through a "hybrid" system of half-proportional representation, half-constituencies, in accordance with the German electoral model. The "Upper House" will provide equal representation for the nine regions, either through direct election or via some form of electoral college. It will have a right of vote on legislation.

At an executive level, the current state president is stripped of his awesome powers and replaced by a collective, collegial executive consisting of the leaders of the four major political parties in the First House. The chairmanship of the committee rotates annually.

Of course, the Nats did not just shuck

Just face independence on them...

And they'll all resist like crazy

There's poet!

I... I thing you chose gave me anopha fife yea plen!

remembering a Godstowen, especially include in. Kransvenkopp, for the now-defunct Progressive Federal Party during the 1997 election campaign. The National Party legislation machine churned out a particular piece of peremptory to muddle the progressives' mildly constitutio-
nal constitutional proposals. The hotline screamed: "PFP laments on the sluggish to black majority role". Nondies to say, our candidates last has deposit.

We same propaganda organs have published Decisionmaking Democracy in a Republic, the Nats vision for "a new democratic constitutional model for South Africa." It enthusiastically embraces the very proposals they so steadfastly resisted 15 years ago.

The document kicks over the traces and emboldens the hope, eager attempt to articulate hard-hitting proposals for the local government. Reduction from the more marginal political extremes were indefensible, nor comforting.

"The proposals mean South Africa would be run by a liberal, majority government, derailing us into Third World standards," a spokesman for the Opposition Democratic Party, Dr Aartjie Trenell. He cites his number in Apartheid, Pardalishu Nedrefasubobo, was equally conditional, for nearly different reasons: "It's a disguised attempt to protect white interests," he charged.

Before ignoring this storm and driving with a Minority Ricks-Davies chemical — "they would say that, wouldn't they?" — it's worth examining whether, remarkably, the Nats and Apartheid government contain elements of truth.

The Nats propose attempts to figure a circlet General's refusal franchise rights to all, over-complexifying misallocation for their loans of present power. Thus they attempt to let majoritarianism prevail, but to formalis,

...
Federation of 8 to 12 states

THE Democratic Party envisages a system on federal lines with a multiparty coalition Cabinet and a two-chamber parliament consisting of a national assembly and a senate.

The DP's federation — eight to 12 states, each with its own government — would have a directly elected executive president with a seven-year term.

The president would run the country in tandem with a prime minister to be appointed by the majority party.

A multiparty coalition Cabinet would be constituted on a proportional basis from representatives of political parties enjoying 10 percent or more of the support of the lower house or national assembly.

The powers of the federal and state governments would be entrenched in the constitution.

The judiciary, whose judges would be appointed by a commission, would be the only arbiter and interpreter on matters affecting constitutional rights.

The central government would exercise those powers essential to the national interest while all other powers would go to the state governments, including health, local government, education, police, prisons, town planning, nature conservation and tourism, licensing, roads and land settlement.

A fiscal commission would establish the reasonable cost of each state's administrative needs. A federal finance council would scrutinise the state and federal budgets to determine what each state could claim from the federal treasury.

Other features of the constitutional proposals include a Bill of Rights, a two-tier legislature (national assembly and senate), an independent judiciary, universal suffrage, regular elections in a multiparty system and proportional representation.

It is proposed that the assembly must consist of 350 members elected by all adult citizens on the basis of proportional representation.

The senate would consist of 100 members, 86 directly elected and 33 indirectly elected by municipal councillors, and the president of the chamber.

A parliamentary ombudsman would investigate complaints of abuse of power or violations of basic rights by the executive, military or police.

In an appendix expanding the party's view on proportionate representation, the party discusses alternatives, all based on a 300-member national assembly voted in by permutations of constituency candidate, party/list and electoral college formats.

It also proposes that a language be decided on in negotiations and that each state may then add official languages applicable in its region.

The right to mother-tongue education and the right to promote individual cultures also should be constitutionally protected.

Docratic Party provisional proposals, drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr Dennis Worrall, have been published in a policy discussion paper.

The proposals will be considered at the party's national congress in Cape Town in November.
A devolution of power

THE National Party envisages a united, democratic, non-racial South African republic.

However, they place heavy emphasis on the devolution of power from the central government to regional and local authorities and weighted representation for minorities.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A UNITARY state comprising the present South Africa and including self-governing territories, but with a strong federal flavour. The future status of the TBVC states has not been made clear yet.

They envisage three branches of government: the EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE and JUDICIARY.

A multiparty EXECUTIVE COLLEGE to head the state, may comprise three to five members of the strongest parties in the FIRST HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, deciding by consensus. These parties together should command a majority of the representatives in this house.

The chairmanship of the EXECUTIVE COLLEGE would operate on a rotational basis.

Weekend Argus Correspondent

A multiparty CABINET would be appointed on the basis of consensus by the EXECUTIVE COLLEGE.

TWO Houses of Parliament. The FIRST elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage. The powers of the majority in the FIRST HOUSE would be limited by the requirement of an increased majority for some "sensitive" matters and the need for agreement with a SECOND HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.

The SECOND, smaller, House would be the seat of power of minorities, representing the proposed nine regions. Each party achieving more than a specified minimum support level in elections for the legislature in that region would get equal seats for that region.

The functions of the SECOND HOUSE would be by a simple majority to approve ordinary laws passed by the FIRST HOUSE by a two-thirds majority to pass legislation amending the constitution, or affecting regions or minorities, or which was entrenched in the constitution, and to initiate laws affecting the specific interests of minorities and regions.

ELECTIONS would clearly be held regularly and conducted by secret ballot.

The use of PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION in elections for the FIRST HOUSE of PARLIAMENT does not rule out the possibility of some parallel constituency representation.

The NP plan makes no mention of a CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, but emphasises firmly that its philosophical basis is a "regstaat" (untranslatable, but roughly a "rule-of-law state"). It sees the constitution as the supreme law, only alterable by special procedures in the TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

The courts would be empowered to ensure these procedures were followed.

Each of the nine REGIONS would have a legislature, chosen by a mix of direct elections on the basis of proportional representation in constituencies and possibly indirect election from representatives of local legislatures. Each region would also have an EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

These would comprise the leaders of all the parties which commanded more than a minimum percentage of the vote in the legislatures. If this became unworkable, the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE could consist of only the leaders of the strongest parties which together commanded a simple majority.

The REGIONAL and LOCAL authorities would enjoy real autonomous powers over certain as yet unspecified matters and would have their own tax bases.

A BILL OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS would be enshrined in the constitution and the courts would be empowered to enforce it.

To ensure that the State did not abuse power, a new procedure would be developed for the appointment of JUDGES to ensure their impartiality. In addition, the AUDITOR-GENERAL, PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION and RESERVE BANK would be given greater autonomy.

An independent and objective OMBUDSMAN would be appointed.
Scenarios for two new South Africas

PETER FABRICIUS
and SHAUN JOHNSON
Political Staff

At first glance, the two models bear a strong resemblance to one another — surprisingly so, given the decades of ideological hostility between the National Party and the African National Congress — but close analysis shows that once implemented, they would produce strikingly different forms of government.

Both models are apparently democratic, both acknowledge the principle of universal franchise, both propose bicameral legislatures involving the system of proportional representation, and both doff a hat to devolution of power by proposing elected regional and local authorities.

However, these resemblances mask substantial underlying differences. The ANC would give equal weight to every vote at every level of government, whereas the NP would allocate different weights to different votes at every level of government. In essence, the ANC model would concentrate power at the centre, while the NP plan would disperse it.

The ANC proposes a majoritarian government, where the majority's power would be qualified only by the constitution and the courts, and not by any other political party.

The NP proposes a consociational style of government favouring minorities, where the power of the majority would be qualified at every turn by other parties and some decisions would have to be taken by consensus.

In the ANC model, the majority party could appoint the president (or this position could be directly elected, still virtually ensuring it was filled by the majority party's candidate) as well as the whole Cabinet. It would control all legislation, except if it did not enjoy a two-thirds-majority; changes to the constitution.

In practice, the ANC's commitment to decentralisation — in the forms of a second house of Parliament and regional and local authorities — would not substantially restrict the power of the majority party in central government. The majority could dictate policy to regional and local authorities. And the ANC's second house of Parliament (where regions would be represented) would have the power to slow down, but not to stop, legislation emanating from the first house, or National Assembly. Control of this house would be vested in a simple majority.

However, the ANC's endorsement of a system of proportional representation in the National Assembly — and the possibility of regional lists in voting for the Senate — would give more power to minority parties than they enjoy under the Westminster system.

By contrast, the NP's model would dispense power to the peripheries in a multitude of ways. The proposal to replace the present executive State President with a three to five member multi-party Executive College would mark this as one of the most decentralised systems in the world.

Further, this supreme executive body would make all decisions by consensus.

The two houses of Parliament might collectively pass a motion of no confidence in the Executive College as a whole, but, significantly, could not exercise this form of censure against individual members of the College. The aim of this provision would seem to be to ensure that a majority in Parliament could not selectively remove minority party members of the Executive College.

Unlike the relatively weak ANC Senate — it is viewed as the "guardian of the constitution" — the NP's Second House of Parliament would be an extraordinarily powerful body, with a veto right over decisions by the majority in the First House, and the authority to initiate its own legislation regional and minority matters. Since this would be the seat of power of minorities, the veto right of the Second House would give minorities enormous clout — to the extent that hypothetically, if they decided to form coalitions, their power could possibly be even greater than that of the majority.
Van Eck: 'Hidden agenda' for power

THE National Party has a "hidden agenda" designed to secure power for an alliance of conservative forces in South Africa's first non-racial democratic election.

This theory has been put forward by Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, who says the NP's constitutional proposals should be evaluated against the background of the party's "hidden agenda".

He told a meeting of the Black Sash this week that the NP's carefully planned strategy was to manipulate both the negotiation process and the electoral process to ensure an electoral victory for a conservative alliance.

"Phrases like "multiparty coalition" and "drastically reduced powers" in the NP's constitutional proposals sound strange, says Mr Van Eck, coming from a government that for more than four decades "opposed and did its best to destroy most of these constitutional concepts in its obsession to dominate and monopolise power".

"The fact that the NP now propagates these concepts has nothing to do with a newfound admiration for these concepts, but has everything to do with its hidden agenda."

The NP's strategy was aimed, firstly, at denying majority parties like the ANC their rightful place and, secondly, at ensuring that the NP and its conservative allies retained a stranglehold on power.
non-sectarian
non-racial
United

equal, non-sectarian
non-racial
United

equal, non-sectarian
non-racial
United

equal, non-sectarian
non-racial
United

How NALC see future government
Venter acts
to defuse money row

Political Staff

DURBAN. — State Expenditure Minister Mr Anton Venter yesterday stepped in to defuse the row between his department and the Finance Ministry over the division of tasks.

Mr Venter said there had been “continuous” and close co-operation” between himself and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis on a “meaningful” division of work between the departments.

The process was nearly completed and to date there had been no easing of control over state spending or delay in planning of the 1992/93 budget.

The State Expenditure department was created five months ago by President F W de Klerk to handle government spending.

Mr Venter’s comments directly contradicted those of his director-general Mr Henri Kruicker, who said on Thursday that Finance Department officials were hampering his job by “clinging to their little empires” and refusing to let him handle government spending.

He said government expenditure was still wholly controlled by Finance and all he was involved in was drawing up the budget for next year.

He added that he was inevitable that he and Mr Venter would be held responsible in Parliament next year for overspending. They were technically the people in charge.

Government spending in the first four months of the fiscal year rose by about 14%, against a budgeted 13.7%.

One senior Finance source was quoted in a report this week as saying that uncertainty over the separation of functions was a major contributory factor to the government’s poor performance in handling its spending.

It was also reported this week that Mr Venter has largely not been able to do his job because agreement on the issue had not been reached.

All queries on government spending made to Mr Venter’s department are referred to Finance director-general Mr Gerrit Croeser.

Mr Du Plessis yesterday declined to discuss the row, but a Finance Ministry spokesman said he had agreed on the statement with Mr Venter.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said yesterday he had warned in a parliamentary debate on Adell that the proliferation of departments could cause problems.

“The last thing we need is endless buck-passing on the management of the economy and central government finances,” said Mr Andrew.
Johannesburg. — Ordinary South Africans have lost faith in President F.W. de Klerk and confidence in the emergent negotiation process following the "Inkatha gateway" scandal, the SA Council of Churches charged yesterday.

"These exposures have created a serious moral crisis in the country," SACC general-secretary the Rev. Frank Chikane said in a detailed review of political developments since June 22 — when church leaders launched their National Peace Initiative.

The government slush-fund scandal had led to fears that the peace process and prospects for negotiations were "terminal-ly threatened."

"It has caused ordinary South Africans to lose faith and trust in Mr. De Klerk. Those of us who called him a man of integrity had to swallow our words," Mr Chikane said.

This had resulted in a "strident" demand for an interim government "or some other form of transitional administration," which would remove power from the National Party because it was a player in the negotiation process.

Mr. Chikane concluded it was not yet the time to lift remaining sanctions and urged the international community to maintain them until change in South Africa was "irreversible and profound."

The recently completed draft Peace Accord — expected to be signed by all major political parties and groups at a National Peace Convention on September 14 — was a "firm foundation" on which to achieve peace, he said.

"It is also hoped that the success of this process will open the way for the actual constitutional negotiations."

It was of great concern, though, that the government was apparently flouting both the spirit and the letter of the Pretoria Minute with the African National Congress on the issue of political prisoners and detainees. — Sapa
Pik Eves the new Joe

OPINION

The SFCB's first president, John A. Johnson, in a portrait from 1941.
End of an era as Vlok and Malan clear out offices

YESTERDAY marked the end of an era in South African politics as the two Ministers in charge of the security forces took their leave from the ministries of Defence and of Law and Order.

At a swearing-in ceremony at the Union Buildings yesterday, President de Klerk's recent Cabinet shuffle came into effect as the Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice C F Eloff, swore in three new Ministers and deputy Ministers — and Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok cleared out their offices to take up humbler positions in the Cabinet.

A staff member described the poignancy of seeing Mr Vlok standing in the "desolate waste of an empty office. It was the saddest day of his life."

Last night Mr Vlok performed his last official function — the presentation of the Policewoman of the Year award.

General Magnus Malan officially left the defence force yesterday after 41 years.

He vacated his office in the spacious Armscor building and moved to the more confined quarters of the Ministry of Housing in the House of Assembly in the historic Ou Raadsaal building on Church Square.

Although, as of the Cabinet swearing-in ceremony yesterday, he is no longer Minister of Defence, General Malan attended a colours parade at the SA Medical Services headquarters at Voortrekkerhoogte yesterday — the last parade he officiated at.

For this reason, the parade had special meaning for him, he said. However, with his usual military efficiency, General Malan did not forego the opportunity of taking one last parting shot at his favourite enemy, the ANC.

Referring once again to the ANC's demand that its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe be incorporated into the SADF, General Malan said it would first have to prove its professionalism and standards.

This last salvo underscored General Malan's now quite famous quote when he heard he was being transferred to Water Affairs and Forestry: "I've defeated the Reds, now I'm going to join the Greens."

At the swearing-in ceremony, Mr de Klerk quipped that while Mr Justice Eloff had handed down many sentences in court, yesterday he had given the new members of the Cabinet "sentences of hard labour of a different sort for the country and all its people."
Too willing to kill for power

The fact that the National Party was forced to cancel its planned meeting in Parys because of the threat of a possible Afrikaner Weerstandsbeuging (AWB) armed invasion should be cause for concern to all South Africans who wish to see political tolerance and pluralism thrive in South Africa.

It should be remembered that a few weeks ago the same AWB strong-arm tactics actually led to the loss of three lives in Venterdorp.

It would appear that this unfortunate incident has not dampened the AWB's apparent determination to use force and not persuasion to sell their policies — whatever they are.

While there is merit in the argument that the leaders of the NP might have created an unhelpful precedent by postponing their meeting because of threats of violence, there is perhaps more merit on the NP's part in putting the lives of their followers above personal political gain.

In this sense, NP leaders need to be commended for they are doing what some of our own political leaders are failing to do. There is still a tendency to sacrifice innocent lives at the altar of political expediency.

Politics that has sunk to that level is not worth having in any civilised and democratic society.

It is amazing that any sane and self-respecting political leader could live with a situation where his organisation becomes topical, not as a result of the policies it espouses, but rather as a result of the amount of violence it can unleash and the extent of the political intolerance and barbarism it can exhibit.

What will be counted in the future election is the number of votes each party has won, and not the number of citizens its members have managed to kill or terrorise.

It is high time the leaders of the AWB also took note of this fact.

Having said all the above, I must nevertheless express concern about the Government's apparent reluctance to deal firmly with the AWB or any other similar elements that are trying to introduce the law of the jungle into our politics.

A democratic culture does not simply grow like wild berries in a forest. It has to be taught, learnt and practised. It also has to be nurtured and enforced if necessary.

It is this element of enforcing a democratic culture that seems to be disturbingly lacking in the Government's kid-gloves treatment of the AWB and its fellow travellers.

The enforcement needs to start with AWB and other right-wing leaders who must be pinned down to specific procedures and rules of the game. If they fail to observe these procedures, then they must be effectively penalised without any mercy.

At a time when all South Africans are trying desperately to create a common vision of a future democracy those who use extra-constitutional and violent methods to promote their political viewpoints do not deserve abundant mercy or respect from the State.