

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. & POLITICS

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liaisons have taken place, but this one doesn't seem on. All the two have in common is conflict with the ANC and some other groups in extra-parliamentary politics. And even then, Inkatha's opposition to the ANC is far more subtle and complex than that of the CP. (304A) (H)

Buthelezi used to be an ANC member; Inkatha was originally formed with the blessing of the ANC's external mission, later to part on ideological differences. The CP's dislike of the ANC is much more simple — they represent its worst fears about a black takeover.

This can probably be seen in Buthelezi's response to Treurnicht's call for the chief minister to join his stand against the "ANC, communism and terrorism," made at Saturday's Voortrekker Monument rally.

It would not be surprising if Buthelezi had



Treurnicht

Buthelezi

his tongue in his cheek when he replied that the CP leader should join his stand against intimidation politics, because then "he would ... have to do the only thing that can possibly be done to ensure that peace, stability and prosperity characterise the future — ensure that the 1912 aims and objectives of the ANC are actually put into practice and form the basis of much of the legislation which will govern a future democratic and prosperous SA."

Which does bring up a second similarity between the respective leaders: while Treurnicht felt so strongly about Nat leaders deviating from the original Verwoerdian line that he split from the party and formed the CP, Buthelezi feels that some ANC leaders, particularly those on the external mission, have betrayed the original aims of the organisation he once belonged to. ■

CP AND INKATHA FIM 116190

Not on the cards (H)

Talk of an alliance between Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement is intriguing. But it's unlikely to happen, judging by the two leaders' references to each other at the weekend. (304A) (H)

On the Machiavellian dictum that "my enemy's enemy is my friend," some bizarre



AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche addresses a Republic Day rally at Waterval, Johannesburg.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

AWB told to talk with guns

LINDEN BIRNS

AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre'Blanche called on his followers to "speak with the voice of your rifles", against the reforms of President F W de Klerk.

Addressing a Republic Day rally in Waterval, Johannesburg, Terre'Blanche told the meeting to rely on "strong self-discipline" while spiritually preparing themselves for using "guns and grenades in order to protect the volk". (304A) (S)

He announced retired senior SAP officer Col Servaas de Wet would take up the post of commandant-general of the "boere commando". He would lead a general staff who in turn would co-ordinate commando operations from a central office.

Col de Wet said he was prepared to continue the Afrikaner struggle for freedom and "pay the highest price".

Terre'Blanche and HNP leader Jaap Marais called on CP leader Andries Treurnicht to create a constitutional crisis giving De Klerk a two-week ultimatum for calling a white election. Failing this, they wanted Treurnicht and all CP MPs to resign.

"The AWB will never accept black majority rule, or ANC rule. The day that happens, we will make war in SA," Terre'Blanche warned.

Go for grassroots politics, Wynand tells DP

AKL 1/6/90 (30kA)

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE Democratic Party may have to accept becoming "leaner" while continuing to have an important activist role in politics, according to Mr Wynand Malan, one of its co-leaders.

He told a Cape Western region of the party in Stellenbosch that the party should forget about "election politics" as there would not be one for a number of years and the next one probably would be on a proportional representation basis.

Dr Denis Worrall, another co-leader, said they remained part of the political future through encouraging the "convergence" of democratic values in a new society.

The DP was able to form alliances with many other groups.

Mr Malan said that at present the DP could play an activist role in drawing together groups from all over the political spectrum in the transition period. The party should get involved at the grassroots level.

The congress passed a resolution calling for special action to redress past economic discrimination.

Dr Worrall said the DP should press for the negotiation process to be open to all, including the right wing.

However, there should be a distinction between the National Party in government and as a partner in the negotiations.

The National Party, as the group supervising the talks, was unacceptable and an independent facilitator, such as the Chief Justice, was needed.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP, chairman of the DP, said the party had important skills and wisdom to contribute in a time of transition.

There was the need for the psychological liberation of various groups of South Africans. Whites had to be freed from fear, isolation and paranoia and blacks from a culture of suppression.

Mr Jannie Momberg, MP, new regional chairman of the party, said that while the DP admired what President De Klerk was doing, it still had a great fight ahead to bring together all those who believed in liberal values and democracy.

DP votes to retain troika leadership

Political Staff

A RESOLUTION calling for a single leader for the Democratic Party has been defeated by the Cape Western region of the party.

Constantia delegates said they had found that voters felt that the party should have one strong leader and should not be seen as a weak alliance of liberal groups.

While a fragile unity had come about at last year's congress the party had now come together completely and there should be one leader.

Mr Herbert Hirsch of Sea Point said that the troika leadership had worked well. There were no indications of differences between the leaders.

There was the possibility that if alliances were formed with other groups leaders could be added.

Co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said that the three had developed a strong, cohesive relationship.

They were also specialising in certain areas with Dr Zac de Beer as parliamentary leader, Mr Wynand Malan giving attention to the extra-parliamentary field and Dr Worrall dealing with organisation.

The Constantia resolution calling for the next national congress to elect a single leader was heavily defeated.

Cabinet splits three ways over ending the Emergency

By ARTHUR GAVSHON

THE CABINET is split three ways over the future of the State of Emergency, with the various factions arguing that it should be ended soon, renewed countrywide, or applied selectively in areas such as Natal and Welkom.

The split was disclosed this week as new details surfaced in London about President FW de Klerk's May 19 talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

In private briefings on those talks with Commonwealth and other friendly governments, the British Foreign Office reported that De Klerk advised Thatcher the issue must be settled by June 12 when the Emergency laws are due for renewal.

There has been heavy international pressure on the government to end the State of Emergency ever since it was first introduced in 1985.

Diplomats briefed by Foreign Office officials said De Klerk told Thatcher hardliners in his cabinet favoured continuation of the Emergency — because of township violence and also because of the need to deal with the possibility of a violent white backlash against the reform initiatives.

De Klerk himself was said to prefer an end to the Emergency in order to reinforce his drive towards normalising the political climate.

As a compromise, ministers concerned with security were said to deem it essential for the government to reserve powers to cope with the turbulence in Natal, Welkom and oth-

TO PAGE 2

British told of split over Emergency

er flashpoints.

De Klerk's demeanour during his session with an extremely friendly Thatcher was portrayed by Foreign Office briefers as buoyant. He sought to assure his hosts that last year's election was the last that would exclude blacks.

He reportedly said he been given a mandate for reform, but felt honour-bound to submit any finally-agreed reform package, based on a one person, one vote system, to the country's white constituency in a referendum before the new constitution was implemented.

He was confident that the referendum would result in the endorsement of his programme. However, he did not expect full-scale negotiations

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would take place before next year because the ANC needed more time to consolidate its position.

Other details of the De Klerk-Thatcher exchanges that have emerged from the Foreign Office briefings:

● South Africa will be ready to take back and resettle its political refugees scattered across the world. But because there are so many, the government wants the international community to help finance the resettlement programme.

The Foreign Office reaction seemed cool because the British view the issue as a South African responsibility.

● De Klerk made plain that his agenda this month would include the repeal of discriminatory legislation. He was said to have listed the Population Registration Act, Separate Amenities Act and Group Areas Act — and their replacement by a Bill of Rights designed to safeguard minorities.

● Consideration is being given to the idea of creating a second chamber under the new constitution specifically to protect minority rights.

● A major concern voiced by De Klerk, an informant said, was a need to prevent "land grabbing" if and when the Group Areas, Land and other Acts were abolished. The idea is to ensure white property rights are protected.

Govt introduces Bill to outlaw segregation from October 1

Death knell for separate amenities

amenities

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act is to be scrapped entirely. Legislation, tabled in Parliament today, means that all public amenities such as parks, libraries, resorts and transport will be open to all races.

The Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Repeal Bill also repeals discriminatory provisions in other Acts.

The new legislation comes into effect on October 15. The effect of the Bill is to remove the protection of the law to anyone who attempts to segregate amenities after that date.

According to a memorandum published with the Bill, its object is to end laws which "authorise differentiation between persons on a racial basis in relation to public amenities".

Hernus Kriel, Minister of Provincial Affairs and Planning, who introduced the new Bill, said in an interview today that the effect of scrapping the Separate Amenities Act would be that proprietors of amenities could face common law legal action if they continued to discriminate.

He stressed that this would apply as much to the Government as to anyone else.

He did not answer directly when asked if the Government intended to place some "sensitive" separate amenities under the own affairs departments, but said if this were so it would not mean that the amenities could be reserved for the exclusive use of one group.

He said the only way the own affairs administrations had been able to reserve facilities for one group was through the Separate Amenities Act.

Once it was scrapped they would no longer enjoy any legal protection against common law action.

Details

Apart from scrapping the Separate Amenities Act, the new Bill also repeals parts of the Group Areas Act, the Road Transportation Act ordinances in the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal, and sections of the Local Government Ordinance in the Free State.

The memorandum explains the details of the Bill:

● Section 1 (4) of the Group Areas Act is scrapped. This does away with control by means of permits issued on a racial basis in respect of places of public entertainment, places where refreshments are served and clubs.

● Section 1 (1) of the Road Transportation Act is amended. The effect will be that road carrier permits may no longer be issued subject to the condition that only persons of a certain race group may be transported.

● The Cape, Natal and Transvaal ordinances which authorise the respective administrators to direct local authorities to reserve amenities for the exclusive use of one race group or class are repealed in full.

● The Free State does not have the same ordinance, but section 146 of the Local Government Ordinance authorises a local authority to differentiate who shall enter municipal property on racial grounds.

This provision is repealed except in so far as it applies as a law on own affairs of the white population group.

The memorandum says: "It is planned to repeal the said provision by means of a Bill to be introduced in the House of Assembly."



President Bush (front) of the United States and President Gorbachev of the Soviet Union stand to attention during the 21-gun salute for the opening ceremonies of the four-day superpower summit yesterday. The Jefferson Memorial is in the background.

Bush and Gorbachev claim progress

WASHINGTON — President Gorbachev and President Bush claimed progress yesterday on the one issue that could upset their summit — the future of a united Germany — and Mr Gorbachev boldly predicted major results from his latest meeting with a US leader.

Mr Gorbachev arrived at the White House yesterday morning just 24 hours after describing as "a broken record" the demand of Mr Bush and other Western leaders that a united Germany remain in Nato. He warned the West not to dictate to the Soviet Union.

But by yesterday afternoon, Mr Gorbachev told reporters that "something has emerged" in his talks with Mr Bush on Germany and that the foreign Ministers of the two countries would hold a special meeting to discuss the German question.

He added that he did not expect a breakthrough to take place at this summit: "I think it is not here that the German question will be resolved."

Mr Bush told reporters that differences remained on the German question, but added: "There was a proposal that President Gorbachev made ... I took some heart from that. I was encouraged by that. Let's hope the differences have been narrowed."

But a US official, hours after the two leaders made their comments, urged caution, saying progress had not really been made on the German question.

The official said: "The word progress is wrong. The bottom line is that both presidents restated their well-known positions. I would guide you away from the concept of new ideas."

"It was clear that they weren't

going to solve it. There was no breakthrough in terms of concept so there was agreement to have the foreign Ministers to take the positions and see how much they can narrow the differences."

In a toast at a White House dinner in his honour last night, Mr Gorbachev said: "I think that my talk today with the president ... makes it possible to expect major results from this meeting ... the biggest results compared to all the other meetings of previous Soviet-American summits."

His words brought applause from an audience of politicians, industrialists and celebrities that only minutes before had heard President Bush declare that America wanted a new era of friendship with the Soviet Union and wanted Mr Gorbachev's policies at home to succeed. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.

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Whites saying 'goodbye' to domination

By Carina le Grange

The negative and strong reaction and opposition of white English-speaking South Africans to reform initiatives towards a united, non-racial democratic South Africa must not be ignored or underplayed, Dr Beyers Naude said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Dr Naude was speaking to members of the Afrikaanse Demokrate (AD) at an informal "brunch".

Committed

The organisation is committed to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa and operates within the broad framework of the Mass Democratic Movement.

Casually dressed and wearing a borrowed pink straw hat trimmed with small flowers, Dr Naude relaxed on a kitchen chair, speaking openly to AD members. He said the impression must not be created that it was only (some) Afrikaners who

were opposing and fearing new initiatives towards a just South Africa.

On the role of Afrikaners, he said: "I think we are going through a social and political revolution which will be the most decisive we could live through. We are saying goodbye to 300 years of white domination."

"We are experiencing change which has taken on a momentum which cannot be stopped. It is important that Afrikaners understand the changes due to their decisive control, specifically in military and economic matters, in the country."

He said Afrikaners quickly forgot that they had embraced nationalisation and communism in the time they were oppressed economically; historical facts which were known to the black oppressed today and could form a basis for talks.

He said he could not see the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging formulating any meaningful political programme.

Ex-cop is new 'Boer general'

Cape Times

1/6/90

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JOHANNESBURG. — A former senior police officer, Colonel Servaas de Wet, was appointed commandant-general of the "Boere Commandoes" at a joint AWE-HNP Republic Day celebration here yesterday.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche made the announcement and told the few hundred people at the gathering that Colonel De Wet was one of the best militarists in South Africa.

After the announcement, Colonel De Wet said he was prepared to continue the Afrikaner struggle for freedom and pay the highest price.

He retired in June 1989 as police divisional commander for Krugersdorp. He was previously district commandant in Cape Town and Windhoek.

Earlier, the gathering heard an emotive and poetic Mr Terre'Blanche warn of a demonstration of force on December 16 — the Day of the Covenant — that "would make Magnus catch his breath", he said referring to Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Mr Terre'Blanche called on his followers to "speak with the voice of your rifles", against the reforms of President F W de Klerk's government.

He told the meeting to rely on "strong self-discipline" while spiritually preparing themselves for using "guns and grenades in order to protect the volk".

He and HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais called on CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to create a constitutional crisis giving Mr De Klerk a two-week ultimatum for calling a white election. Failing this, they want Dr Treurnicht and all CP MPs to resign from Parliament.

Meanwhile, the Boerestaat Party cold-shouldered Republic Day saying it was not a day of celebration for "Boere".

Instead of celebrating the day, the party will organise and mobilise the "Boerevolk" in order to restore the former Republics, BP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said yesterday. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

The 'volk' celebrates

THE AWB and HNP yesterday celebrated Republic Day in Greymont, Johannesburg, with lots of war talk by their respective leaders, Eugene TerreBlanche and Jaap Marais.

4/6/90
Soweto
About 400 people commemorated the Afrikaner's struggle against British oppression. The day was marked by frequent shouts of "hang Mandela", "kaffirs" and, at the mention of State President FW de Klerk's name, of "traitor" and "kaffir boetie".

TerreBlanche said all whites should join armed commandos.

"I am armed, the Boere are armed, and beware the bastard who tries to take our weapons away."

DP rejects link with NP

Political Staff

TWO Democratic Party MPs, Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Tian van der Merwe, have rejected suggestions that the party link up with the Nats.

Mr Momberg, who was elected chairman of the party in the Western Cape, said the DP had to teach the NP what democracy really meant.

"What does the Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Assembly (Dr Sam de Beer) mean by non-racial own affairs?" he said.

"How can the Minister of National Health, Dr Rina Venter, abolish apartheid in hospitals and then say patients can still be separated on grounds of language and colour?"

"If that is the NP democracy, then we have to demonstrate our values in democracy."

Mr Momberg said that if anyone believed he would lead the DP into the NP in the Western Cape, they had

better look for a new chairman.

Mr Van der Merwe said the DP had been motivated by outrage at the injustices in South Africa and the need for negotiations.

Since February 2, the government had undertaken to remove injustices and had initiated negotiations, but this did not mean the DP had no part to play.

The DP had a role in bringing all parties to the negotiating table and educating people about the realities of the new South Africa.

"We all have a role to lead South Africa in a new direction," Mr Van der Merwe said.

● A call for a single leader of the Democratic Party was rejected after a vote by the party's Western Cape congress in Stellenbosch yesterday.

The vice-chairman of the party in the Western Cape, Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, who was in the chair at the time, said the resolution was rejected by "a substantial majority".

Call to monitor police, SADF

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has suggested that a multi-party group monitor the police and defence force during peace-keeping operation.

The national chairman of the party, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said this would ensure that the security forces were non-partisan and would support police and defence force units in maintaining order.

Addressing the party's Western Cape congress at Stellenbosch, he said multi-party monitoring groups should be established to oversee the activities of the SABC and any government institutions involved in the dissemination of information.

In Namibia, the international community exercised effective control over state functions such as the police, the military and the electronic media to ensure even-handedness throughout transition, he said.

DP's Western Cape congress

ALL forms of discrimination based on gender or sexual orientation were infringements of human rights, the Democratic Party's Western Cape congress resolved yesterday in Stellenbosch.

But a call to drop the use of the words "chairman" in favour of chair and "spokesman" in favour of spokesperson were deleted from two motions proposed to branches of the DP's youth wing.

Instead, the party merely said it would continue to oppose any practices or laws that entrenched sexual discrimination and continue to avoid the use of discriminatory or derogatory terminology.

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THE DP was bound to lose support if it practised what it preached, one of its co-leaders, Mr Wynand Malan, warned yesterday.

But it had to become actively involved in empowering the majority of people in South Africa, not only at the ballot box but also elsewhere, so that they could take control of their lives and futures.

Mr Malan said values which were supported in the First World would not be supported by the majority of South Africans until they had been empowered.

He also said some form of anti-trust legislation would have to be introduced to address the question of monopolies, cartels and conglomerates because this was the only way people could be empowered.

□ □ □ □

THE isolation of the National Party would become clear as soon as political parties formed constitutional alliances, the co-leader of the DP, Dr Denis Worrall, said yesterday.

The DP was relaxed about the concept of a constituent assembly because it believed it could form alliances, he said.

"The DP does not have hang-ups about apartheid. The NP is the party of apartheid and hit squads."

The DP would be part of the majority because its vision of a non-racial, apartheid-free democracy based on a free market economy was the vision shared by the majority of South Africans.

As a result of President F W de Klerk's speech on February 2 and the steps taken since then, the moral right of black people to participate on the same basis as whites had been established.



FW turns his attention inwards

PRESIDENT De Klerk had sound reasons for postponing his trip to the United States.

At this stage he does not need the controversy being engendered there about his visit, especially about the fact that he would be there before Mr Nelson Mandela.

The African National Congress itself was not unduly concerned about Mr De Klerk being there first, but some self-appointed saviours of South Africa in the US decided to start a campaign with this as the focus.

Mr De Klerk is not a self-important person and his reason for postponing the visit was not a dislike of demonstrations or the feeling that he would not receive the welcome he felt he was entitled to.

Pledged

Behind the decision to postpone the trip was the concern that US congressmen would be pressurised into staying away from functions which would have been arranged for them to meet Mr De Klerk.

It was important for Mr De Klerk to meet these congressmen, especially as the Bush administration is pledged to co-operate closely with Congress in the field of foreign relations.

It was therefore thought unwise to expose Mr De Klerk to boycott actions, especially after his successful European trip.

It was felt that it was necessary not for him to visit countries where controversies could arise.

Discussions

As Mr De Klerk said this week he believed that it was in South Africa's interest that his visit to the US should take place in circumstances where he could have a broad range of discussions across the political spectrum which would make the visit most productive.

The decision not to go to Washington next month was not taken lightly and the US ambassador, Mr Bill Swing, was called in for consultations. The message back from the White House was that it was an open invitation and that Mr De Klerk was welcome to come at any time.

There may well have been a sense of relief because Mr De Klerk had decided not to come under these circumstances.

There was also some contact with the ANC which gave the assurance that it was not involved

in the controversy which had started in the US and that it had no strong feelings about Mr De Klerk getting there before Mr Mandela.

Now it seems as if Mr De Klerk may go next year and that the visit may be combined with visits to other countries.

Canada had indicated that a visit would not be opportune at this stage. This had something to do with a visit by Mr Mandela virtually at the same time.

The Netherlands and Israel are being mentioned as countries that would like Mr De Klerk to visit. At some stage there is also the possibility of visits to African countries but for the present Mr De Klerk has decided to stay home to give attention to what he has described as certain important matters which require his personal attention in the next few weeks.

Priorities

This was the second reason for him putting off the trip to the US.

He has had to attend to a lot soon after his return from Europe. One of his priorities will be to step up reform moves and to get negotiations on a new constitutional system going.

He chose first of all to confront the right wing, running rampant with its defiant statements that it will mobilise the Afrikaner to resist Mr De Klerk's reform moves.

On his arrival back from Europe he made it clear that the government would not be intimidated by "large gatherings", a reference to the huge rally the Conservative Party had organised at the Voortrekker Monument.

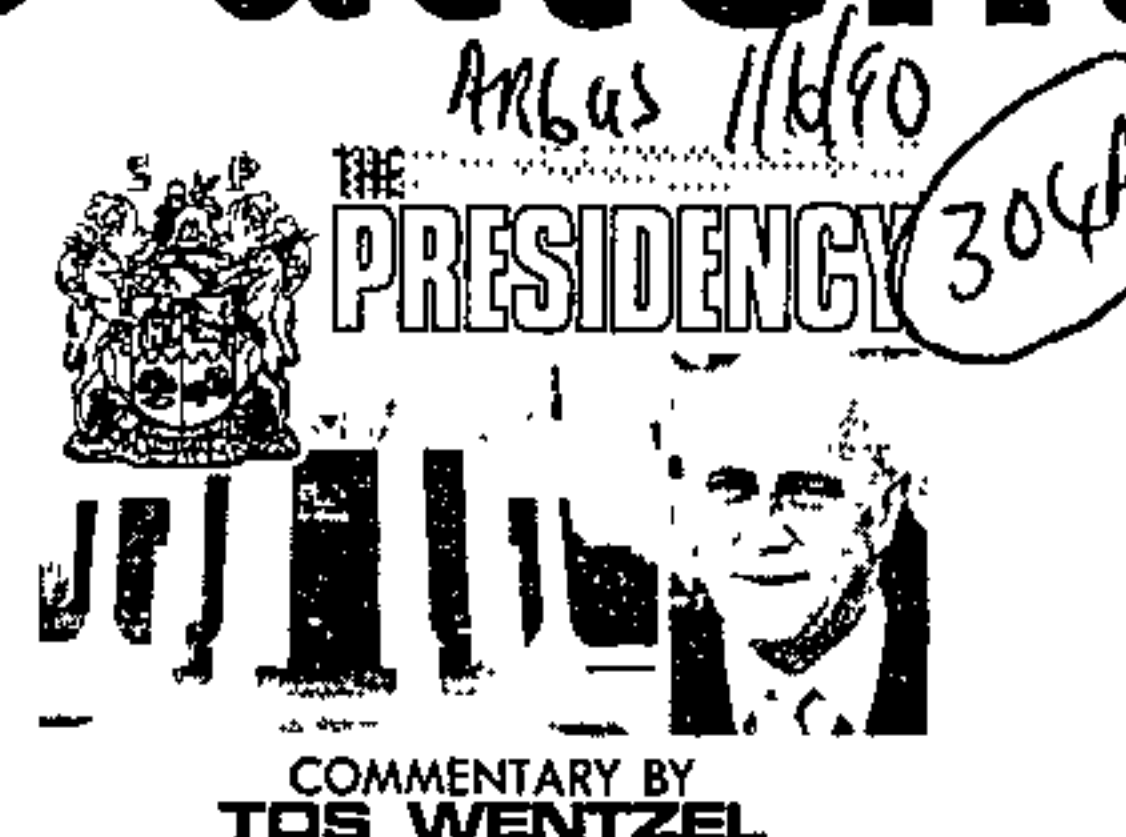
Attack

He maintained that the new South Africa was being born and that no-one could stop this.

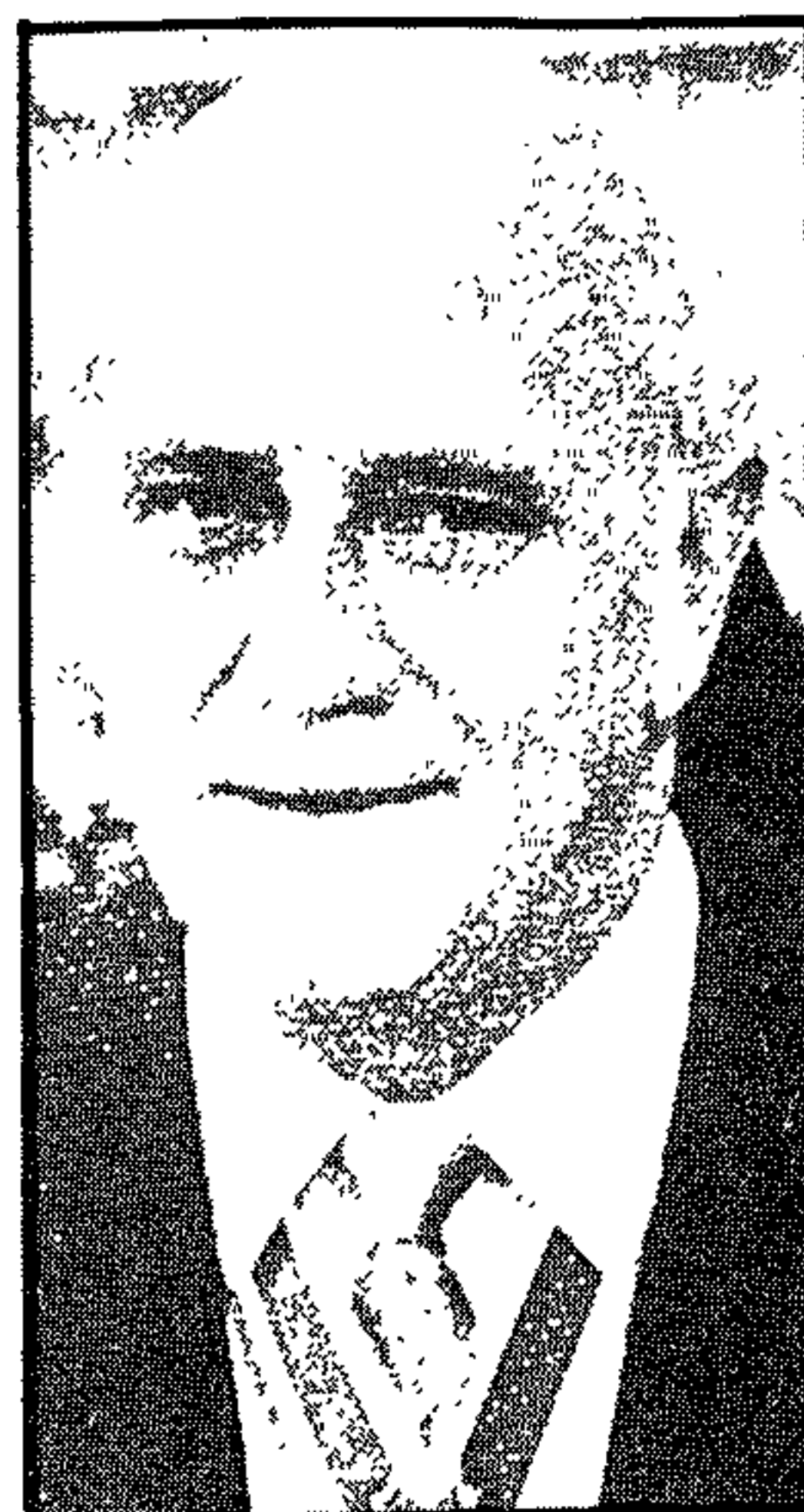
He followed this up with a sharp attack on the CP, accusing it of "a total campaign of incitement based on the blatant lie that the National Party had now suddenly surrendered the whites to domination and suppression."

He also maintained that unless radical elements in the CP were stopped, the party would be "on a slippery slide to a morass of violent broedertwis".

Dr AP Treurnicht remained defiant, expressing the CP's determination to mobilise white resistance to Mr De Klerk's "surrender steps" and his "undemocratic" action.



COMMENTARY BY
TOS WENTZEL



Mr F W de Klerk

The CP's "wild man", Mr Koos van der Merwe, even suggested "Nuremberg trials" for Nationalist leaders.

One of the right wing's criticisms of the government is that it did not obtain a mandate for the far-reaching steps now planned, a point hotly disputed by Nationalist leaders.

The National Party kept its plans rather fuzzy in last year's election campaign and its propagandists were ready to exploit contacts Democratic Party figures had had with the ANC, especially with Communist Party leader, Mr Joe Slovo.

Abandoned

Not so many months afterwards Mr Slovo was at Groote Schuur talking to government leaders.

Whatever happened at that election the government has now acknowledged that there will never be another whites-only election. Plans for the redelimita-

tion of constituencies for separate Houses of Parliament have been abandoned for all practical purposes.

There will not again be an election in which the CP can make much of a constitutional impact. Its last chance might be in a referendum on constitutional changes but in this it is likely to face the joint support of the National Party as well as the Democratic Party.

There will be an interesting test of electoral opinion in the Umlazi by-election next Wednesday.

Supporters

Indications are that the National Party will lose some support to the CP but that at the same time there will be a drift of DP supporters to the NP. Among voters to the left of the NP there appears to be the feeling that Mr De Klerk must be supported against the right wing.

In addition to his squabbles with the CP Mr De Klerk will also be giving attention to factors connected with consolidating the good reception he has had in Europe and ones which may lead to more tangible results in the form of the easing of sanctions that may lead to overseas investor confidence.

While giving him a warm reception some European statesmen suggested to Mr De Klerk that more could be done, especially about political prisoners and the state of emergency.

Agreement

These matters are now among Mr De Klerk's top priorities.

Both the government and the ANC sides have spoken positively about an agreement which has been reached by the working group appointed after the Groote Schuur talks to define political prisoners.

The agreement deals with norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of political offences to those inside and outside South Africa.

In the process the government appears to have made a concession on the question of people who have been involved in violence.

Stopover

On the other hand the agreement can also affect others, including people involved in clan-

destine South African destabilisation efforts. There has been the suggestion that Mr Mandela's recent sudden stopover in Zimbabwe may have had to do with a South African agent held in jail there.

The Groote Schuur Minute also said that the government may consult other political parties and movement and other relevant bodies.

In addition to this the government has undertaken to review existing legislation to bring it into line with "the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities."

Obsolete

The ANC is objecting especially to the Internal Security Act, terms of which organisations and individuals can still be banned.

According to government sources there are obsolete provisions in security legislation which are never applied and which could be eliminated.

As far as the state of emergency is concerned Mr De Klerk will no doubt constantly review the situation to ascertain whether it can be at least partially lifted.

The government has reiterated from time its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency and the ANC has undertaken to exert itself to fulfil the commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation.

Realisation

In government circles much has been made of the success of Mr De Klerk's European visit but there is the realisation that more needs to be done before the crucial meeting of European Community heads of state on June 25. In a way the deadline is June 18 when the EC Ministers of Foreign Affairs meet to decide on recommendations for the June 25 meeting.

Mr De Klerk must be hoping for at least a symbolic gesture from the EC meeting such as the lifting or easing of some sanctions, perhaps those affecting scientific and cultural relations.

This could start influencing foreign investment attitudes.

The feeling in top government circles is that it need not all happen on June 25 but that Mr De Klerk's credibility has now been established in Europe and that the positive results must follow.

Hotelier apologises for pro-CP speech

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The owner of the Tsitsikamma Forest Inn, Mr Jan du Rand, has apologised to Fedhasa for pushing Conservative Party policies during his speech at a conference on Tuesday.

Most of the delegates at the conference walked out during Mr Du Randt's speech — his first after being elected as regional chairman of tourism.

A vote of no confidence was held, and Mr Du Rand resigned from the chair.

He was not available for comment yesterday, but his wife, Mrs I du Rand, confirmed that Mr Du Rand had issued an apology to Fedhasa (Federated Hotels Association of South Africa).

Mrs Du Rand said her husband had also resigned from all management structures of Fedhasa.

In his statement of apology to Fedhasa, Mr Du Rand said he was not a racist.

"All race groups were always and are always welcome in the hotel," he said.

Swinging both ways

About 90% of DP supporters regard President De Klerk's performance as either "very good" or "good" as opposed to 75% of NP supporters and 10% of CP supporters.

That's one of the conclusions from an opinion poll conducted by the Human Rights Trust (HRT) among voters in two key Port Elizabeth constituencies. It suggests that the DP could lose 21 of its 33 parliamentary seats if an election were called now.

The poll also showed that if the switch in support from the NP to the CP in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage region extends to the rest of SA, the NP would lose 25 of the 94 seats it now holds. These swings would leave the NP with 90 seats, the CP with 64 and the DP with 12. (304A)

The polls were conducted after De Klerk's opening of parliament speech on February 2. The results were published at the weekend in the HRT's journal, *Monitor*.

They also show that the LP has the support of only about 8% of "coloured" voters in the area and that 70% of voters who expressed loyalty to the LP in last year's general election have deserted the party.

When asked how they would vote if an election was called now, 41% favoured an ANC-MDM alliance headed by Nelson Mandela, 31% the NP, 19% the DP headed by Zach de Beer and 8% the LP.

The white voter analysis concluded that:

- ☐ De Klerk's reforms are more popular with DP supporters than Nats;

- ☐ Mandela is regarded as "impressive" by about 50% of DP supporters, but by only about 20% of NP voters and less than 10% of CP voters;

- ☐ Mandela's comments since his release from jail are regarded as "reassuring" by about 20% of DP supporters, less than 10% of NP supporters and by no CP supporters;

- ☐ About 50% of DP supporters, 25% of NP supporters and 2% of CP supporters are confident about the future; and

- ☐ The NP has not lost as much support to the CP as is sometimes suggested. ■

UMLAZI BY-ELECTION F1M 11/6/90

Sniffing the wind

Some by-elections are more important than others: that in the Natal constituency of Umlazi (on June 6) is one of them. It will be the first electoral test-of-the-wind since the September general election, President De Klerk's astonishing reforms and the release of Nelson Mandela. The electoral history of Umlazi provides some useful hints as to what Wednesday's contest will mean.

In 1981, there was a straight fight between the New Republic Party and the National Party; the Nats won narrowly with 52% of the vote. It had always been a conservative constituency, with a strong residue of old United Party supporters; the old PFP did not even bother to fight the seat in 1981, when it did very well elsewhere.

In 1987, the PFP had high hopes of taking Umlazi from the Nats, fielding a strong candidate in Durban mayor Sybil Hotz. But Con Botha romped in with a majority of nearly 5 000 votes, one of the biggest in the country. The NP got 65% of the vote; the

PFP only 26%; and the Conservative Party a measly 9%. Umlazi became one of the safest Nat seats.

In 1989, the DP improved slightly on the PFP's performance (up to 28% of the vote), but the NP's share was slashed to 52% — most of that support going to the CP (up to 20%). This represented a swing of around 12% from the Nats to the CP — higher than the national average, but from a low base.

DP stable

Given the stability of the DP vote in two general elections and the new Nat profile this year, expect DP support to shift to the NP or to remain the same. An increased DP share is highly unlikely.

This means the fight is really between the NP and the CP. To take the seat, the CP would require a swing of around 16% since September. Not impossible — but such a shift would be phenomenal, even for a by-election, when an opposition party's support tends to be inflated. It would mean that if a general election were to be held now, the CP would almost certainly win a comfortable overall majority in parliament (more than

the NP and DP seats combined).

Of course, a general election will not be held now; indeed, there will probably never be another whites-only election. In this sense, a CP win would be irrelevant.

But De Klerk will be staying up on Wednesday evening for the result. A CP win or near-win would put enormous pressure on De Klerk to harden his negotiating positions on issues such as Group Areas and racially exclusive education; he would feel bound to be much tougher with the ANC and on security issues. A CP victory would also be a blow for moderates within both the NP and the ANC and inspire extremists on the far Left and Right.

The NP will be happy to retain the seat with a reduced majority, while hoping for confirmation that the DP remains strong enough to be an effective ally. And any Nat majority of more than 1 000 over the CP will be interpreted as a signal of, at worst, re-signed acceptance of De Klerk's quest for "the new SA." The same will apply if there is a very low percentage poll.

After all, there is no turning back — and everyone knows it.

David Williams

F1M 11/6/90

30419

divided

been sent to Coetsee's department which will forward it to Advocate-General Piet van der Walt.

Replying to the debate, Kriel said Smit should furnish him with evidence on possible irregularities. Smit, in reaction, told the FM it was not up to him to present the minister with evidence: "That is why we want the Advocate-General to investigate the matter."

Smit would not comment further. Louw was also not prepared to discuss the matter with the FM, nor to react to claims that he and Smit had been threatened with civil actions and that the matter had been referred to the party's *Hoofraad*.

Eddie Botha

THE CABINET FIM 1/6/90

Shrinking Magnus?

Is Defence Minister Magnus Malan playing a destructive role in the delicate pre-negotiation phase? (304A) (204) (HA)

His wide-ranging attack last week on ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela, and statements on what cannot be negotiated with the ANC, took NP colleagues by surprise. They prompted Pollux, the satirical columnist in the Afrikaans Sunday paper *Rapport*, to suggest that Malan place "the entire President's Guard in front of his mouth." Many members of the Nat parliamentary caucus agree.

Their concern was heightened this week when Malan scathingly attacked the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, after talks in Lusaka with former SADF officers. The talks explored the possibility of incorporating Umkhonto into the SADF. Malan said the two organisations were diametrical-

ly opposed and, therefore, irreconcilable.

Nat MPs are unsure of what Malan is trying to achieve. Though last week's statement attacking Mandela came from a military angle, its political tone was unmistakable and way out of line with Cabinet thinking. (HAP) (204)

Malan was not a member of government's team at last month's Groote Schuur talks with the ANC and would seem to have no brief to comment on whether Mandela is perceived to be contravening the spirit of the "Groote Schuur Minute."

Admittedly, Mandela's recommitment to the armed struggle during his African tour was extremist. Malan was also clearly angered by the ANC leader's warm embrace of Libya's Muhammad Gaddafi. But posturing of that sort is to be expected from a black leader trying to consolidate a position.

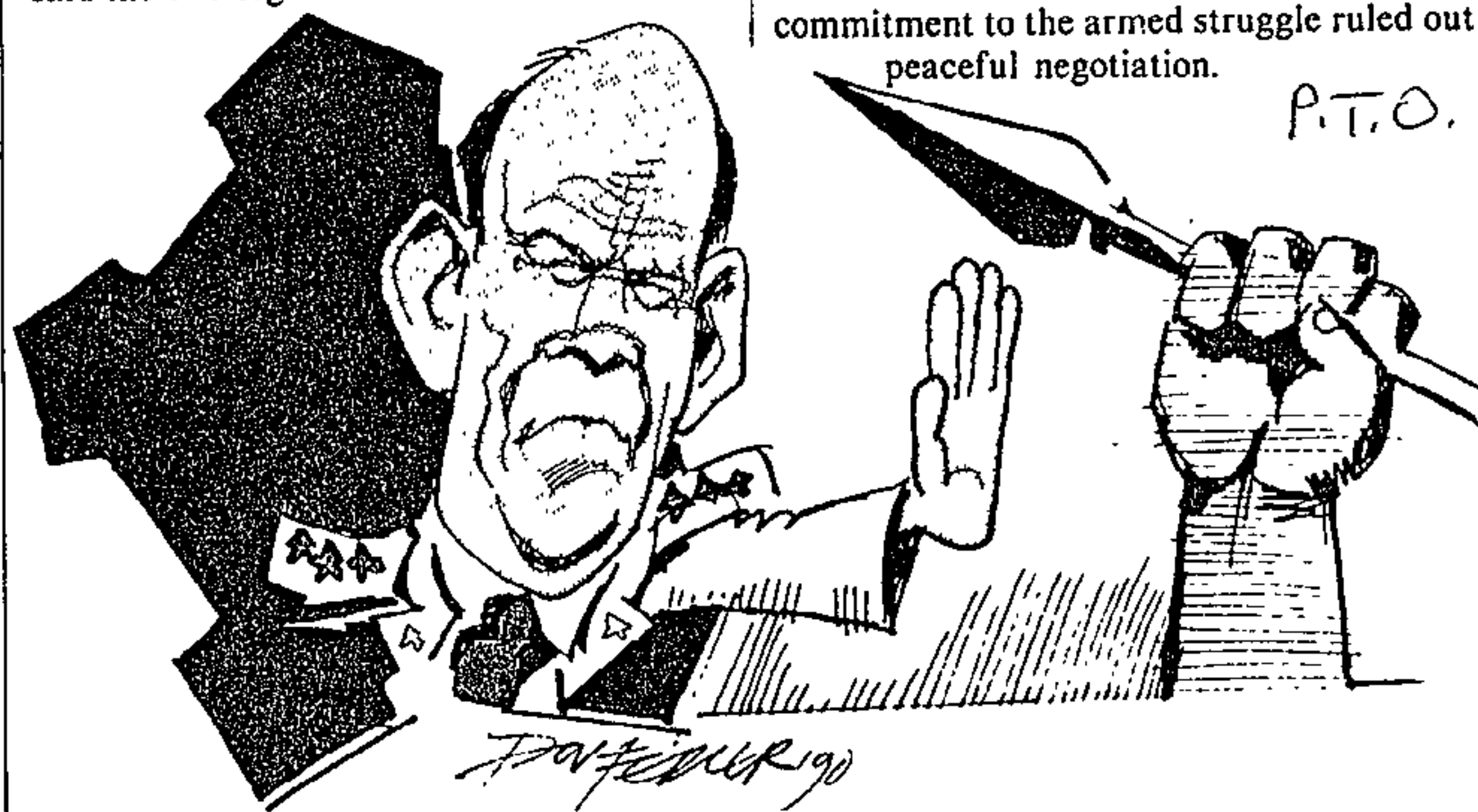
Malan seemed to miss the point and accused Mandela of inciting a revolutionary climate and ignoring the terms of the Groote Schuur agreement in which both government and the ANC undertook to work towards stability and peaceful negotiation.

He also saw fit to lecture Mandela on the meaning of democracy. "Democracy as we understand it has a value content on which a nation must work. It is more than the right to vote, it is a value system that includes such things as responsibility and standards of behaviour."

The attack went much further. Malan rejected the concept of nationalisation as an issue for negotiation: "It is unacceptable to SA." By contrast, President F W de Klerk's position is that nationalisation is precisely the sort of controversial issue that must be thoroughly thrashed out during negotiations.

Malan also rejected the possibility of negotiating a ceasefire with the ANC: "It is not on the table." He said the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle ruled out peaceful negotiation.

P.T.O.



FIM 1/6/90

of apartheid departments damages De Klerk's image as a reformer and he apparently wants to move quickly to eliminate the problem.

The dramatic and unexpected opening of hospitals was regarded by government as an acid test to determine at what speed other facilities and services can be desegregated. Public reaction, particularly from the white Right, was more positive than had been expected, according to a government source, and has created a solid base from which to move forward.

Local option

This week a technical committee of government's Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs recommended a "local option" at local government level. In an interim report, which has been handed to government and will go to Cabinet soon, it suggests five possibilities:

- ☐ Retain the status quo;
- ☐ A local services council jointly administered by autonomous local authorities;
- ☐ A joint local authority constituted by non-racial neighbourhood management committees;
- ☐ A simple majority model with or without protection for minorities; and
- ☐ Any other locally negotiated model.

Kriel says the technical committee has also been asked to flesh out its suggestions, particularly regarding the detail of how a forum can be established to negotiate a local option.

He regards local government reform as an important part of the overall programme of constitutional change.



Kriel

The scene is now set for the dismantling of the remaining "own affairs" empires.

"Own affairs" agriculture is regarded as a non-issue which is being overtaken in any case by imminent land and farming reforms aimed at making more land available to black farmers.

The gradual integration of agriculture is unlikely to cause serious problems.

Education is far more sensitive for whites. At this stage government is likely to adopt a freedom-of-choice approach. Models in terms of which white government schools may be opened to all races are being debated by interested parties.

"Own affairs" Education Minister Piet Clase has stressed, however, that this doesn't mean parents will have to choose one or other way to open their children's schools. Provision will be made for them to remain segregated.

Radical change at local government level is inevitable if government scraps the Group Areas Act.

This week's recommendations pave the way, at least in principle.

REFORM FIM 1/6/90

Men of affairs

Proposals this week for the radical restructuring of local government have pushed the concept of "own affairs" closer to the constitutional scrapheap.

Planning & Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel agrees that, if the recommendations are implemented, "own affairs" local government will become redundant.

And "own affairs" Health Minister Sam de Beer confirmed in parliament this week that the 44 white "own affairs" hospitals under his administration are open to all South Africans. All other aspects of "own affairs" are expected to be abandoned as soon as mechanisms are established for "orderly" transition.

Though the dismantling of separate bureaucratic structures is in line with President F W de Klerk's commitment to scrap apartheid, the speed of the process is astounding some of his critics.

Issues regarded as particularly sensitive were determined to be "own affairs" when the tricameral constitution was enacted in 1983. They were education & culture, health services & welfare, housing, agricultural development and local government.

Each "own affairs" department has a minister. There are now 14 "own affairs" ministers and one deputy minister for each. They have the same status, salaries and allowances as full Cabinet ministers and deputies and are backed by an array of personal staff.

Critics have argued that, apart from the unnecessary extra cost in ministerial expenses, this leads to considerable duplication of administrative procedures and services. Privately, some of the ministers agree. Publicly, they argue that their departments do much good work which would in any case have to be done in a unitary system.

Apart from the duplication, the perception

Insider traders will be hit in the pocket

Stc 26/90

3044

THE authorities are making a determined effort to drive insider trading from the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Provisions in a Bill published in Cape Town this week will make it much easier for the JSE's Securities Regulation Panel to find an offender guilty of insider trading.

It also provides for anyone who has suffered a loss as a result of insider trading to receive compensation from the offender.

As this compensation could greatly exceed the profits made by anyone guilty of insider trading, it could prove to be a major deterrent.

A memorandum accompanying the Bill says: "For the purpose of effective enforcement of the rules of the panel, provision is being made for obtaining civil relief, including an order of specific performance, an interdict and an action for damages."

The Bill makes it an offence for anyone to deal in a share or any other sort of security on the basis of what is termed "unpublished price-sensitive information" if he knows that this information has been obtained through espionage, theft, bribery, fraud, misrep-

resentation of other wrongful method."

DEREDMMEY

It is also an offence to use such information if it has been gained through a breach of a relationship of trust or any contractual relationship, whether or not the person concerned is a party to the relationship.

Taken together, these provisions would make it illegal for anyone to make use of tips obtained from a company official on the inside.

Sensit information

According to the Bill price-sensitive information relates to the internal affairs of a company or its options, assets, earnings, and its involvement as an "offer" or "offeree" in a transaction, proposed transaction.

The Bill gives two other definitions of price-sensitive information. The first is that it is information which is not generally available to the reasonable investor and the second is information which would materially affect the price of a securities if it were generally available.

The Bill also defines "generally available" as information which is "publicly available". It means that steps

have been taken and enough time has elapsed that it can be reasonably expected that the information is known to the investor.

Provisions in the Bill make it easier to gain a conviction for insider trading. If it can be proved that a person dealt in a share while in possession of unpublished price sensitive information it shall be deemed, unless proven to the contrary, that he knowingly dealt in the share on the basis of this information.

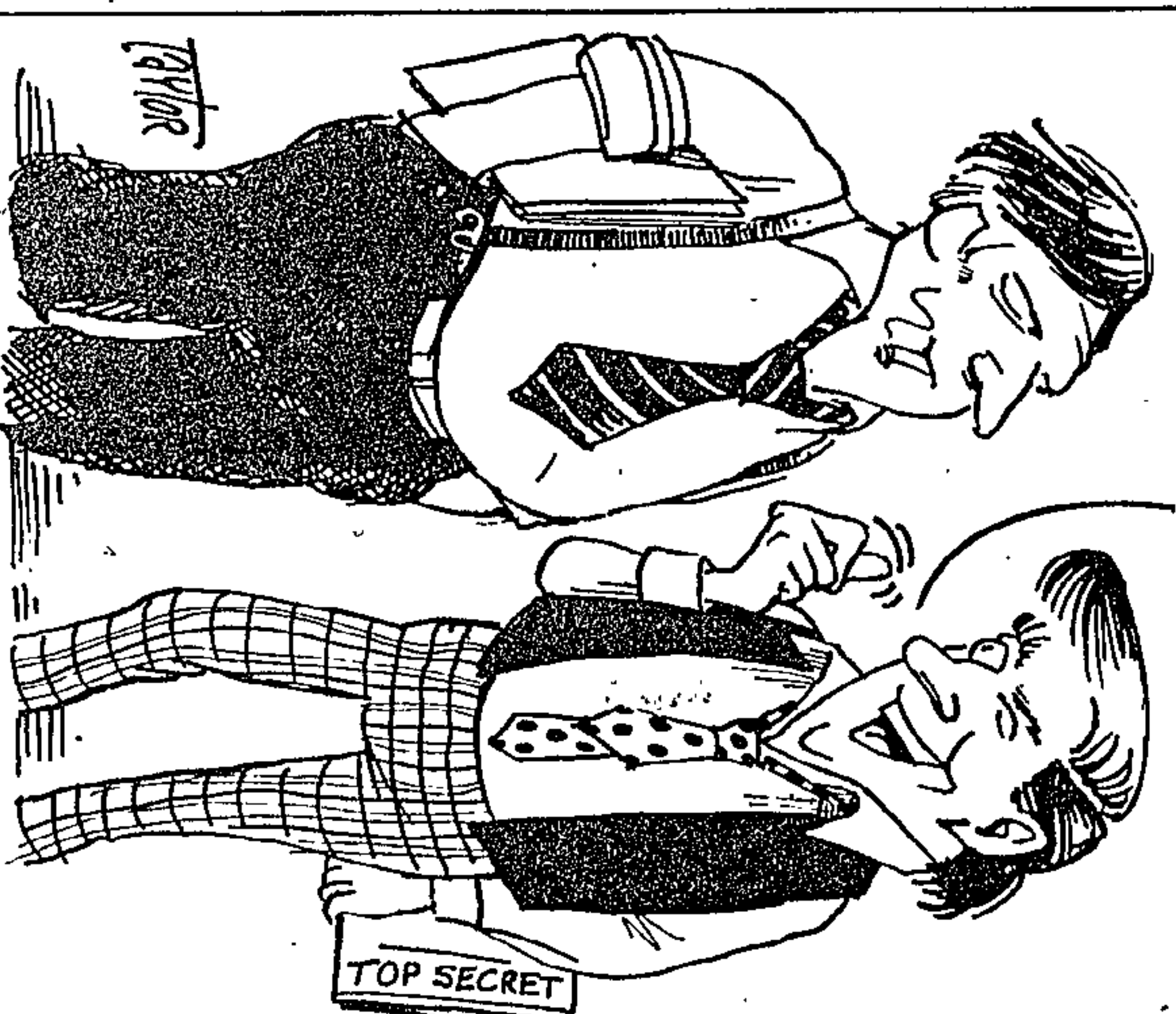
The Bill provides for anyone who engages in insider trading to be liable "to any other person for any loss or damage suffered as a result of such contravention".

It adds that the plaintiff shall not need to prove intention or negligence towards him in such an action.

The memorandum says that the provisions were derived mainly from the equivalent provisions in the United States, mainly because interpretations by the courts in the past few years have given rise to a high degree of certainty in the legislation.

Some South African financial institutions expressed the view that the net has been cast too widely and that certain important, innocent investment activities would be included in the prohibition.

If you want to make some money...



The right wing has become more bellicose in recent weeks, giving rise to fears that they might consider armed resistance to ensure white privilege. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS and Weekend Argus Reporter GRAHAM LIZAMORE look at the possibilities.

CONSERVATIVE Party politicians have become increasingly dexterous at veiling threats of aggression in righteously indignant rhetoric.

It is one of the few things left for them to do in their attempts to harry or, they hope, halt President De Klerk's "irreversible process".

But the passion of the CP's increasingly militant outbursts has caused alarm, not least because it raises the prospect of armed white resistance, of *broedertwis*, of civil war.

If the CP was angered by "Prog P W Botha" in the early 1980s, it has become enraged by the mercurial politics of F W.

At the very time that it could achieve its best election performance — some say it could win if there were a vote tomorrow — the likelihood of ever getting to the ballot box to demonstrate its vehement opposition electorally is less than slim.

And even if there were a general election and the CP won the most white votes, their tricameral partners in the present constitution could block their every attempt to undo reforms.

It is not surprising then that their frustration is incautiously expressed.

It would seem the only sensible option left to the mainstream right is to prepare proposals for the negotiating table and fight politically to get the most out of it.

BUT if CP speakers are to be believed, this is furthest from their minds.

Even their once unequivocal commitment to ballot box politics is now questioned, or at least is seen as one of a number of options.

Only this week, CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe indicated that "from time to time we have to consider our position. At this stage there is no question of civil war."

There remained, he said, a "dedication to constitutional methods".

But apparently this might not always be so, because he added: "If this is to change, it will be on Mr De Klerk's head."

His comments followed an unusually hardline speech in parliament by the party's chief finance spokesman, Mr Casper Uys, who warned that Mr De Klerk would have to "use violence to force the Afrikaner volk" to submit to his policies.

"We will not bow down to President De Klerk nor to (ANC deputy president Mr Nelson) Mandela," he told parliament.

The CP was not prepared to negotiate over surrendering authority over whites.

The CP would mobilise white support to protect the freedom of the volk.

Some observers noted that Mr Uys had come close to threatening civil war.

War and revolt — both of which are really politics where diplomacy has failed — have bloodied Africa's political development from the earliest days.

The early Zulu and Xhosa resistance, the Boer War, the rise of the Ossewa Brandwag and the launching of the armed struggle by the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe in the early 1960s were all founded on the anger, fear and frustration induced by the political intransigence of the authorities of the day and the absence of opportunities for a political settlement.

ARGUABLY, the rightwing has much the same view of the National Party government and its rapid initiatives. The super-Afrikaners of the right feel their soul brothers in the mainstream Nationalist camp have betrayed them.

The challenge posed is as much one for CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht as for Mr De Klerk.

Both must know no military triumph would settle the contest.

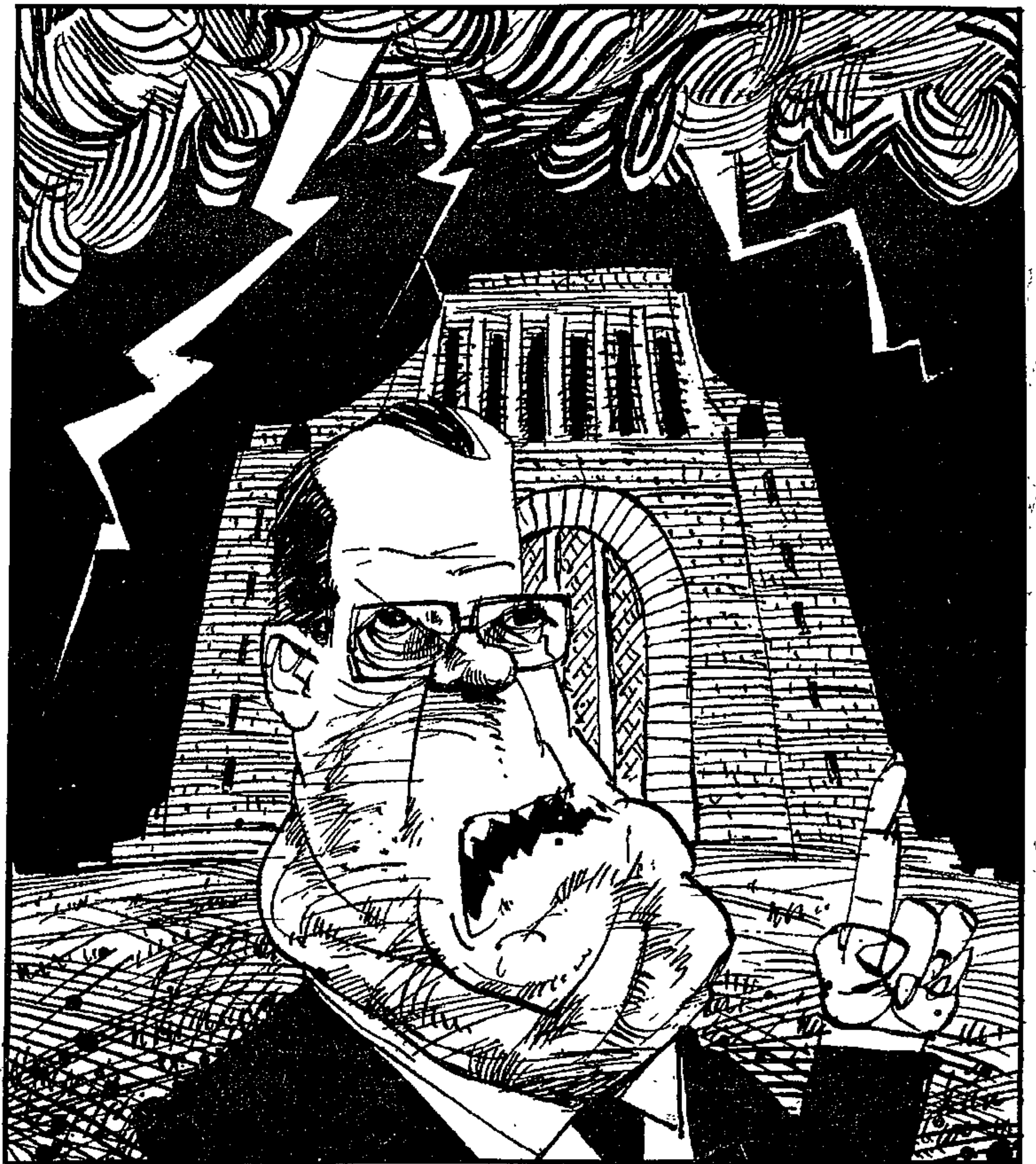
But does the rank and file of the right wing recognise this? And do they perceive the CP's aggressive rhetoric as a political strategy, or does it, as Mr De Klerk has warned, incite them to militant action?

If white resistance does become more militant, what form it will take is beyond enquiry, but the lesson of history is that when diplomacy fails, conflict is inevitable, what Mr De Klerk called "a morass of violent *broedertwis*".

This, he cautioned, was something South Africa — and whites in particular — simply could not afford.

How serious is the regse gevaar?

w/L-Argus 2/6/90 304A



The "third freedom struggle".

AWB secretary Mr F Smit, said the press had to understand the AWB was not planning a war.

Reacting to reports that the ultra rightwing organisation was preparing to train commando units in secret on a farm in the Boland, Mr Smith said training was being conducted in secret because people taking part did not want to be identified.

Although he would not comment on training methods and strategy, Mr Smit said the AWB was simply training people to know what to do in the event of a war.

"If fighting or even a revolution began our people must be prepared," he said.

HE said women, children and the elderly had to be trained in first aid and about storing things like provisions.

"You can take my word we are just preparing

our people because there will definitely be problems. We are not saying it will be country-wide it might just be in Welkom for instance. Our people there were ready; they knew what to do," he said.

He said the AWB were preparing to react to given circumstances as they occurred.

"We are not going to go out and blow things up," he said.

Asked what the AWB would do if the government started locking up rightwingers like the AWB, he said members had been locked up before.

"We still believe in the process of the law — we are law-abiding citizens," he said.

He said there were individuals who might do things on their own but then they had to accept the consequences of their actions.

2/6/90

304A

THE African National Congress's charter for negotiations with the South African government, better known as the Harare Declaration, will be a year old next month.

When the document was first made public it created much controversy within the country despite endorsement and support for it by the OAU's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Frontline States and the United Nations General Assembly which, when adopting it, made few changes from the original document.

Not surprisingly, the detractors of this document were the same people who opposed the 1955 Freedom Charter. They attacked the ANC for not consulting with other black political movements before presenting the document to the public. They also questioned the ANC's wisdom in wanting to talk to the government when fundamental issues had not yet been addressed.

The ANC, however, maintained that these were minimum demands and proposals to the government for a political settlement. They believed that for negotiations to take place in order to resolve the intricate South African

☐ **MY WAY**
.....
With Khulu Sibiya

cfrem 3/6/90
Accelerate the process



conflict a proper climate had to be created.

Today, almost a year since the document was adopted, political organisations to the left of the ANC say only one out of five demands has been met by the De Klerk government – the legalisation of all political movements.

The government's slowness and pussy-footing in dismantling all apartheid structures puts enormous pressure on the ANC. They have been accused of all sorts of things – including "selling out" – in talking to the government.

But one thing the detractors of the Harare Document failed to appreciate (or is this a deliberate oversight on their part?) is that at least

the ANC has contributed towards moving the process of negotiations forward by holding talks with the government.

It is easy to point fingers at people who are continuously exploring ways and means of resolving our conflict. The ANC in this case is a victim of its uncompromising stand.

The De Klerk government should understand that playing party politics at this time by slowly removing one petty apartheid law after another could be dangerous.

Time is of the essence now and both the NP and the ANC should realise this. We would like to see the formation of an interim government as soon as possible.

By now we should be talking of a process of

drafting and adopting a new constitution that will lead to national elections.

Let's face it, we are no longer impressed by government announcing the scrapping of legislation like the Separate Amenities Act. These laws should not have been there in the first place.

Perhaps President de Klerk wants to tell us he needs more time and that we should understand that he cannot leave behind his white constituency.

But De Klerk should understand that this very constituency is now shifting to the right, as evidenced by the number of whites who attended the Conservative Party rally in Pretoria last week.

He has gained more support among blacks than among whites. He is the

first South African president to be called "Comrade" De Klerk. This means one thing: that he should look for more allies within the black community.

It is often argued that if national elections were held in the townships tomorrow, De Klerk could easily match ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela with votes.

But the longer the government delays in forming an interim government the more the ANC and the National Party will lose support to the left and right – the ANC to the left and the NP to the right.

Some people, and I tend to agree with them, believe that should the ANC become the next government, they will experience more problems than any other independent African state has experienced.

The black majority would expect the ANC to provide instant houses, jobs and all the privileges that whites enjoyed during the apartheid rule.

This would be impossible and would create friction.

The only solution, as I see it, is for all black political groups to start now with a Patriotic Front-type alliance. In that way no dissidents will turn around and point a finger at "self-outs"

NP negative talk!

51 Times 3/6/90

3049

THERE are good reasons why the Democratic Party and Trevor Coppen should be supported by Umlazi voters on Wednesday.

Our case is a positive and constructive one. It is a principled one. And we believe that, by any reasonably objective measure, we have the best candidate.

Politics are about things like freedom, taxes, essential services, pensions, hospitals, schools, crime and security, etc.

I know from canvassing that the good people of Umlazi, like South Africans everywhere (black and white), are feeling the economic crunch. They know that hospital services in Natal are in a mess — because Natal has been short-changed for years by the Nat Government.

And they know that the police are short-staffed, poorly equipped and underpaid — also due to Nat incompetence.

Trevor Coppen and his DP team are dealing with these issues.

But the main issue in Umlazi is fear of the future. Understandable fear. Because the NP is not spelling out its policies. It is running away from the issues.

Dull

The DP played a major role in getting the negotiation process started, when President De Klerk took over important planks of the DP's September election programme.

But the DP's potential contribution, once the process is opened up, is enormous.

Firstly, the DP, as the only non-racial party in Umlazi (both the NP and the CP are for "whites only"), and a party with a long established commitment to democratic values, has an important role in strengthening the democratic culture.

Secondly, an important issue in future negotiations is the nature of the economy. The DP believes in a social-orientated market economy, as spelt out by Harry Schwarz, and is best positioned to influence the debate on this issue.

Thirdly, a strong DP is desirable if we are to normalise race relations. The NP accepts the implications of the new South Africa as a matter of necessity and not conviction. This explains the listlessness of its performance in Parliament and its amazingly dull campaign in Umlazi.

It is not even trying to explain policies on health, education and residen-



Co-leader of the Democratic Party **Dr Denis Worrall** explains why the DP has a valid role in opposing the NP

tial areas. Mr Adriaan Vlok, asked a question about group areas at an Umlazi public meeting this week, said "the NP had not repealed the law but was applying it more humanely".

Mr Vlok should tell that to the people who have been uprooted by the Group Areas Act.

He should try to tell that to people who still live in fear of group areas inspectors.

The fact is it's the DP which is normalising grass roots race-relations.

It is DP parents, not Nats, who are opening up schools. It's DP members who are working for "open cities". And it is the DP which, through its interaction programme, is breaking down barriers created by decades of Nat racial separation.

Fourthly, the DP is the party of the future as far as whites are concerned. Our politics are no longer the "whites only" politics of five million people, but the politics of around 35 million people.

This is why the Sunday Times last week described the Umlazi election as "the last white elections". But it might have added that this is also the last election for the NP.

The NP, because it is the party of apartheid, of a "whites only" politics, and things like "hit squads", lacks the credibility to establish alliances with other political organisations.

The DP is the party of the future for whites who wish to be part of that future. Through the DP they can be part of the majority.

These are the arguments Trevor Coppen and his team have been getting across in Umlazi. They have done so consistently and honestly — in the same way that we argued our case in the September election.

The DP has not done a somersault. This is why our supporters are not lost, confused or frightened of the future.

The NP's main argument in Umlazi is a completely negative one: vote NP to keep the CP out. This is a red herring. Umlazi is not going to bring about a change in Government or even affect the process of change. The ending of

apartheid is unstoppable. A win for the DP, given the fact that De Klerk is following the DP's lead, could only encourage him.

If the CP wins, it will be because of the NP's threadbare, unimaginative and uninspired election campaign.

The other argument which the NP has used in Umlazi is that a vote for the NP is a vote for President De Klerk. This is a false argument. Given the listlessness of the NP, and its lack of conviction, the best way the voters of Umlazi could encourage De Klerk would be to vote DP.

But the NP argument is also false in that De Klerk is not standing in Umlazi. Which brings me to the question of candidates.

The CP candidate is a charming, retired Afrikaans-speaking school principal of "verkrampste" persuasion who has an English name which, the CP hopes, will fox many English speakers into voting for him.

Charming

The NP candidate, an equally nice man, had his chance in Parliament and blew it. He was elected as MP for Umbilo in 1987, and it's a truism in politics that a Member who looks after his voters won't lose his seat.

Well, Piet Matthee lost his in September. And now, as the DP's ace organiser Neil Ross puts it: Having flopped in Umbilo he has flipped into Umlazi.

There is no question that the best candidate for Umlazi is the DP's Trevor Coppen. He is a man of achievement, a lawyer, a business man and a known environmentalist. Aside from vigorously promoting the interests of Umlazi, he will be an asset to Parliament and, as a DP representative, a part of the future political system.

As a DP co-leader, my message to Umlazi voters is a simple one: "Vote your beliefs, your convictions, not your fears. And put yourself on the future winning side."

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

A SERIES of defeats in recent municipal elections may hold the seed of an electoral humiliation for the Conservative Party in Wednesday's parliamentary by-election in Umlazi.

Despite vociferous protest and large rallies against the Government's reforms this year, the CP has fared surprisingly badly in local authority elections around the country.

In the latest of these this week, the National

CP's light may dim at Umlazi

Party nearly trebled its majority in a win over the CP in a Boksburg municipal poll.

And in Hopetown this week, an NP candidate narrowly unseated his CP rival.

3/6/90

The CP suffered a further blow in its Boksburg

stronghold on Friday when two town councillors, Mr Beyers de Klerk and Mr T J Ferreira, criticised the CP caucus and announced that they would sit as independents.

Analysts have been paying particular attention to these and other similar results because the Umlazi by-election is not so much about who is

going to win as about how the parties fare.

This is because it is the first major test of white voters' response to President F W de Klerk's audacious reforms in unban-ning the ANC and the SA Communist Party, freeing Mr Nelson Mandela and beginning negotiations.

There have been fears in government circles that these actions have bled support from the NP to the CP.

3041

However, the municipal polls so far suggest this is not necessarily so. The NP won Umlazi in September's general elec-

tion with a 6 149 majority. While the CP garnered only 2 429 votes, it more than doubled its support from the 1987 election — from 9% of the poll to 20%.

An indication of the effect of reforms will be seen in the extent of CP growth at the cost of NP votes.

Close attention is also

focused on the Democratic Party.

The DP is fighting for its life as a reformist NP takes away its political promise. Fears in DP circles are that voters who support change will now vote for the Government.

In September, the DP got 3 314 votes — 28% of the poll.

A substantial fall in that support, particularly if it goes to the NP, would have uncomfortable implications for the party's future.

● See Page 18

Beating a path of peace to Maputo

5 Times 3/1/90.

(304A)



De Klerk with Mozambique's Joaquim Chissano

IN THE surge towards a new age of political dignity and freedom that has been making itself felt all over the world, a new front is about to open on South Africa's borders.

With Frelimo and Renamo — the warring parties in Mozambique's life-sapping war — on the verge of beginning their own progress to peace, the last of southern Africa's wars is close to being put on the path to resolution.

In Angola, on the region's western seaboard, reconciliation is already the stated aim of the MPLA government and the Unita rebels.

Reward

International attention, and the focus of SA's diplomatic energy has been moving in recent months to the region's eastern seaboard, where Mozambique has been gripped in a war of near-silent agony for a decade and a half.

Behind the scenes diplomatic activity has reached a peak in recent weeks — with a battery of secret meetings in several African capitals — and the only obstacle now to negotiations between Frelimo and Renamo is agreement on a venue.

Two weeks ago, top representatives of the two groups met directly for the first time in Lisbon.

The rewards of peace in Mozambique will be bountiful — not only for its citizens, but for the region as a whole.

In terms of international standing and respect, the good it would do SA is beyond measure.

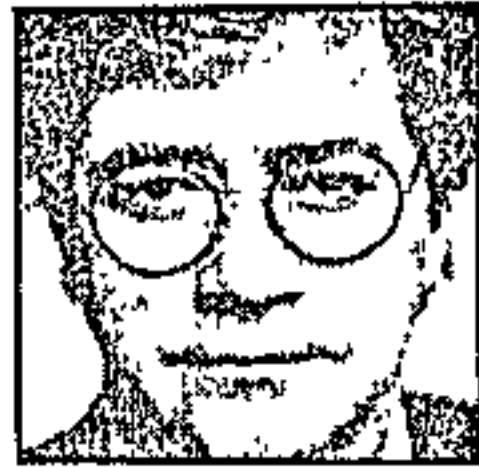
Credit

This is because SA has been an active facilitator (to use the word favoured by the manipulators of these delicate matters) in bringing the Mozambique parties towards reconciliation.

It is also something that President F.W. de Klerk carefully pointed out on his recent European visit to those few leaders who had not already been made aware of it by their intelligence services.

SA bought for itself fistfuls of international credit points by withdrawing from Angola's fighting — changing it from a war of invasion to a domestic conflict — and the integrity it displayed in the final diplomatic rounds of bringing

Lester Venter explains how SA's role as peace broker in strife-torn Mozambique will gain President De Klerk even greater international stature



A young child is weighed at a clinic set up to aid refugees who flee the war

intimidation and the abduction of children who were dragged into the bush fighting.

Frelimo controls what is left in the shell cities of the broken nation. Renamo controls the countryside, at least in the sense that it roams unhindered but for the occasional skirmish with Frelimo troops.

Renamo has kept the powerful Cahora Bassa hydro-electric installation dormant simply by repeated sabotage of the pylons carrying electricity from the giant generators. There seems nothing anyone in Mozambique can do to stop this.

Seen from the eyes of its citizens, Mozambique has become a manifestation of Dante's hell.

In 1988 the US State Department estimated that 100 000 civilians had been slaughtered in the war. Uncountable thousands had fled their homes, lost their families and staggered across the borders of Zimbabwe, Malawi and SA.

Evil

Refugees would rather face wild animals in the Kruger National Park than the savagery of their fellow men in Mozambique.

Two years ago the World Bank officially listed Mozambique as the world's poorest country.

Although Renamo was established by Rhodesia's Smith government soon after Mozambique's independence in 1975, the movement's sponsorship was soon taken over by SA.

It fitted snugly into SA's view at the time of a total onslaught that was to be met with a total strategy. This never meant anything more than that there was supposedly a conspiracy of communist evil within and surrounding South Africa that aimed to hand it over to the forces of darkness.

It justified the implementation of any means to combat it. Unfortunately, such means could be even more evil than those it was accused of using.

This had to change in

1984 when SA managed a significant diplomatic advance with the drawing up and signing of the Nkomati Accord — which, among other things, banned military interference.

Support for Renamo went underground and even began to tail off officially.

At this time, however, there arose hard-core elements in the SA defence establishment that disagreed with the Government on pulling out of Angola, "handing over" Namibia to Swapo and abandoning Renamo's battle against communist Frelimo.

Landmark

As late as last year, President De Klerk said he "could not guarantee" there was no support for Renamo coming from private elements in SA.

The way to reconciliation in Mozambique was opened last year when, in a landmark conference, President Joaquim Chissano distanced himself from marxism and abandoned the principle of a single-party state.

The way for SA's involvement as a broker was opened when both Frelimo and Renamo later lost confidence in the two "official" mediators in the conflict, President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

Pressure

President Moi was seen as too sympathetic to Renamo — many of the meetings between Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and SA intermediaries have been in Kenya — and President Mugabe was seen as too ideologically married to the communism of Frelimo.

The irascible Mr Dhlakama has proved to be anything but in SA's pocket.

He has reportedly been resisting an SA venue for the first peace talks specifically because he wants to get away from his image as a puppet of Pretoria. He is



VICTIM OF A BRUTAL WAR... a young Mozambican in one of the many refugee camps. Picture: JAMES SOULIER

also irritating SA diplomats by taking advice from German and American hardliners who are telling him he should stay longer in the bush and hold out for a stronger hand, matched against a weakening Frelimo, before going to the talks table.

But the pressure from Washington and European capitals for sub-Saharan Africa's last warfarers to start their own peace process is so great it is a reasonable bet a venue for the talks will be found and agreed within weeks.

At hospital briefing he slams FW's reforms as irrelevant

NELSON MANDELA has launched a blistering attack on President F W de Klerk's reform moves.

At a Press conference on his discharge from Johannesburg's Park Lane Clinic yesterday, Mr Mandela dismissed President De Klerk's recent diplomatic mission to Europe as "irrelevant to the country" and this week's announced scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act as "Government rhetoric".

Mr Mandela said his own, forthcoming visit to Europe would determine whether or not President De Klerk's visit had been successful.

Mr Mandela said the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act this week was "typical of the Government's rhetoric".

The repeal was "secondary" and the "real issue" was that "blacks must be given the right to self determination".

Mr Mandela said the motive of his European trip was to thank the international community for being instrumental in securing his release from prison.

"Their contribution made it possible for the Govern-

By FELICITY LEVINE

ment and the ANC to sit down and talk," he said.

He denied specific credit should be attributed to President De Klerk.

"Talks to find a solution have been in progress since 1986 and President De Klerk merely accepted our final invitation."

"President De Klerk's actions till now have been merely notional and all the pillars of apartheid still exist," he added.

His overseas tour was also aimed at renewing contact with international supporters of the anti-apartheid struggle.

"The struggle is not confined to South Africa, and we have supporters everywhere," he said.

Violence

He said he would call on the international community to reinforce sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Mandela also slated police inefficiency in curbing violence.

"The Government has well-equipped police which should be put to better use to curb violence instead of taking advantage of differences among individuals," he said.

Looking fit and well at the conference, Mr Mandela was flanked by his wife Winnie, their daughter Zinzi, a family friend, Linda, and his specialist, Dr Louis Gecelter.

"I feel on top of the world and am looking forward to the trip with eagerness," said Mr. Mandela, elegantly dressed in a grey silk three-piece suit with paisley tie.

Some of the medical treatment Mr Mandela received in the clinic will not be charged for, said doctors.

HALE AND HEARTY ... Nelson Mandela and wife Winnie at his Press conference yesterday



Mandela fighting

fit!

A noted author says

8/10 am
4/6/90

Don't twist history

304A

LULI CALLINICOS

AM in full agreement with Ken Owen (Business Day, May 28) when he calls for the opening up of political debate in SA — until barely four months ago the majority of South Africans faced vicious persecutions for their political beliefs. I agree too, that the SA Communist Party needs to come out of the closet. It would certainly help to avoid conspiratorial interpretations of its aims and agenda.

But, it must be said, it would be naive for SACP members not to be cautious, given the experience of countries such as Chile. There the brief period of open politics in the early 1970s lasted only long enough for the security police to gather information on the communists to stage their bloody counter-revolution. To facilitate the process of converting underground organisations into open political parties, we need to get our history into perspective.

Some response is required, however, on Owen's comments on the history of the SACP. To describe Sydney Bunting as a Trotskyist is simply wrong. To label Baruch Hirson an agent provocateur is not only wrong, it could be libellous. To label the Freedom Charter as a (white) communist plot is crude.

The idea of the Freedom Charter was first mooted in August 1953 by Z K Matthews, professor at Fort Hare and ANC president in the Cape Province but not an SACP member. The call to reach out to the people received an enthusiastic response from thousands of Congress supporters, including members of the by-then banned SACP.

In the following 22 months, "volunteers" canvassed among ordinary people countrywide, in both rural and urban areas, to ascertain "the

people's demands". The idea was that the process of grass-roots participation was as important as the finished product itself.

The committee which finally drafted a charter out of the thousands of little scraps of paper sent in from all over the country certainly included communists, both black and white; but that fact should not obscure the ANC leadership's democratic impulse, a turning point in its strategy for mass mobilisation.

As for the Congress of Democrats, this tiny, vocal group of white activists certainly seems to have had a large proportion of communists among its ranks, but they were among the few whites in the 1960s who were prepared to risk persecution and banning in the struggle against apartheid.

Of course they were not the only whites to speak out in those years. Individuals within the church, the Black Sash and the Liberal Party took personal risks to alert SA and the world to the evils of the SA system. But the Liberal Party's qualified franchise had the effect of turning away the more militant black and white activists. A large number of those who were prepared to practise full racial equality and to risk their privileges were socialists and communists.

Much of our past has been suppressed, distorted and maimed. But we now have an unprecedented opportunity to cast off prejudices and examine more clearly and honestly our difficult and complicated past. For Owen to twist the historic role of his political opponents will not help build the trust which he commended Govan Mbeki for seeking, and which is so necessary for working towards democratic solutions.

□ Callinicos is Senior Research Officer at Wits University's History Workshop.

A columnist replies

B/day 4/6/90



Let's try to untwist it

KEN OWEN

I AM surprised and delighted that Ms Callinicos demands history to be objectively recorded, even by penny-a-line scribblers like me, but on this occasion, I regret to say, she has not done her homework.

Baruch Hirson writes (Yours for the Union, Page xii): "I ... visited many of the trade union offices as an organiser of the Workers International League." He adds that the local Workers International League (WIL) was formed during the war by Heaton Lee who had previously been "an organiser in the British Trotskyist movement" (Page 169).

Peter Walshe (The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa) and Edward Roux (Time Longer than Rope) refer to the WIL as "Trotskyite", or "Trotskyist". Roux says it came under fierce attack from communist Senator Hyman Basner.

Hirson himself is described by Tom Lodge (Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945, Page 240) as one of the "main personalities" in the ARM conspiracy that ended in murder. Hirson was linked, through the Socialist League (whose members were "nearly all inside the Congress Alliance"), to the Congress of Democrats. To speculate about his role as one of the main personalities in ARM, a Trotskyist among liberals, is not only permissible but, until the historical record becomes clear, necessary.

As Ms Callinicos says, the COD included many communists, but she understates the true position. Ian Bernhardt, the man who "discovered" Miriam Makeba, told me a few years ago, rather hyperbolically, that he thought he might have been "the only liberal" in the COD. He recalled that no single member of the COD would pass judgment on the

Soviet invasion of Budapest until "the line" came from Moscow; then they all cheered.

It is true that S P Bunting was not a Trotskyist. I did not say he was a Trotskyist, merely that he was among those purged from the SACP as "rightists" during the Stalinists' struggle for supremacy over the Trotskyists. The point is that the bloodletting, as usual among communists, was indiscriminate.

Hirson suggests the extent of that battle (Page 41) when he says, "The story of African trade unions in the 1930s is also that of the Trotskyist groups whose members had been expelled from the CPSA." Other references abound in the works of Roux, Lodge, and Walshe.

All of this is, however, mere nit-picking. On the main question of how the Charter was drafted and adopted, Ms Callinicos does not even attempt to refute Edward Feit's account (South Africa — The Dynamics of the African National Congress) that the adoption of the Charter was rigged.

She resorts to assertion ("argument weak, speak loudly") to sustain the romantic nonsense about "little scraps of paper" which, for the Left, passes for the history of the Charter.

Lodge, whose sympathy for the Freedom Charter is not in question, does not talk of "little scraps of paper". He at least attempts to record history, noting among other things that the final stage of the campaign to test opinion through local committees "never really got off the ground", and that hostility to the Charter sprang in large measure from "the prominent role which members of the Congress of Democrats seemed to have in the arrangements leading up to the Congress of the People".

To this I would add that an emi-

nent writer told me recently that she was simply informed by Albie Sachs, when she was a student at UCT, that she was to be a delegate to the Congress of the People. There was, in fact, no semblance of "democracy", not even of the left-wing kind.

Lodge, though he leans over backwards to rescue the Charter from its sleazy origins, is forced to record: "As far as the critics were concerned the Charter and the process which produced it were the results of manipulation and conspiracy. Peter Hjul ... contends that his function, along with other committee members, was merely to endorse pre-arranged decisions. ... To Liberals, the dominant influence in the campaign was the Congress of Democrats, in their view no more than a front for the communists." (Page 72)

Interestingly, Lodge does not level at Hjul or other liberals the accusations which Ms Callinicos levels at me. To sustain her charge that I twist history, she must refute not what I say but what the best available histories say — and that would require her to penetrate the mendacious myths which the propagandists of the Left, historians among them, have woven around the origins of the Freedom Charter. Ms Callinicos, if she will cleave to historical objectivity, is equipped for the task.

Finally, I must break a lance for the liberals who were left to carry on the fight when, in the Sixties, the communist leaders, with the notable exception of Bram Fischer, were running for exile. The communists, on orders from the Comintern, abandoned their earlier devotion to the "white workers" in 1928; the Liberal Party in 1960 abandoned the qualified franchise.

We all have skeletons in our cupboards.

LETTERS

Soviet Pressman struck by SA wealth gap

THE problems of poverty in SA are more complicated than the political problems and will be far more difficult to resolve, according to Soviet newspaper Izvestia deputy editor Igor Golombiovsky, whose 10-day trip to SA ends today.

He warned Soviet and East European experience had shown that SA should not attempt to resolve its socio-economic problems by "totalitarian" means.

The number two man in one of the two best-known Soviet newspapers was accompanied by Izvestia's Maputo correspondent, Boris Peliatskin, on the trip arranged by Business Day.

ALAN FINE

Golombiovsky, conceding he was a "newcomer" to SA, said a tension-creating wealth gap was to him one of the most striking features of SA.

"Also, in the USSR and Eastern Europe the nature of the economic problems are different. For example, educational, health care and housing problems have largely been solved despite some shortcomings."

He spoke to all sides in SA except the right wing. "I gained the impression that both the NP and the ANC want to build a

new society but each side has different methods and goals.

"The experience of the USSR tells me nothing can be done quickly, and to try to bring about changes unrealistically quickly will be counter-productive."

He added ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had said he believed in President F W de Klerk's honesty.

"But Mandela is also right to say the ANC cannot base its strategy on one man's honesty only. The honesty of one man must be transformed into political and judicial guarantees for the whole society."

● Picture: Page 3

6/10/91 4/6/90

304A

Schwarz calls for debate

GERALD REILLY

(304A)

PRETORIA — There was an urgent need for debate involving all South Africans on a possible federal system of government, the DP's Harry Schwarz said at the weekend. *81 Day 4/6/90*

He said the system had been analysed in detail in the SA context by the PFP over more than a decade and subsequently by the DP.

The basic framework for a federal system was already in place. The four provinces were a sound background against which a federal constitution could be developed.

They could be converted simply to non-racial legislative bodies.

A redefinition of provincial boundaries was needed. A non racial commission should be appointed to come up with recommendations that had a reasonable chance of acceptance, he said.

There were two negative factors, however, in the needed debate — the ANC seemed to lean heavily towards a unitary system and the NP, drifting towards a unitary state, seemed incapable of appreciating that in such a system minority rights and an economic system could not be adequately protected.

FW's moves could put Mandela in tight spot

Sowetan 4/6/90

30417

MOST state of emergency measures will be scrapped within the next few days.

The state of emergency comes up for review on June 11 and speculation is that it is likely that many of the provisions will lapse.

Parts of the emergency are likely to remain in force, however, particularly in troubled areas such as Natal.

According to reliable sources, President FW de Klerk will use the opportunity to put Nelson Mandela in a tight spot.

Most Government supporters argue that while De Klerk has gone a long way towards meeting the conditions for negotiations set down by the ANC, the organisations has done nothing in return.

By lifting the state of emergency the Government would be pulling the rug under Mandela's feet when he is in Europe next week.

Sowetan Correspondents

Mandela leaves from Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, on a 13-nation six-week trip at 8.30am today, ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said last night.

Mandela, who will be accompanied by his wife, Winnie, will be part of a four-member ANC delegation from inside

South Africa, he said.

They will be joined later by Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international affairs, ANC treasurer general Mr Thomas Nkobi "and some others", Kathrada said.

The ANC delegation, which will tour 13 countries in Africa, Europe and the Americas, will eventually total 13, he added.

* De Klerk and Mandela held discussions in the President's office in the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on Saturday, his office in Cape Town announced last night.

Discussions centred on the progress which had been made on their implementation of the Groote Schuur Minute and the need to effectively reduce the level of violence," the statement said.

'ANC victory' if emergency ends

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Nelson Mandela left South Africa today on his 13-nation tour, declaring that the lifting of the state of emergency would be a triumph for the African National Congress.

At a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport the ANC deputy president was asked if he thought the state of emergency would be lifted while he was away in order "to embarrass him".

He said the lifting of the emergency would be welcomed by the ANC.

"We have been demanding the lifting of the state of emergency which has been identified by us as an obstacle to negotiations. The lifting was part of the agreement reached during our talks with the Government at Groote Schuur. If the state of emergency is lifted, that will be a victory for us."

Mr Mandela said his tour was intended to inform leaders abroad of "the particular situation in South Africa" and a number of other issues.

Sanctions would also be raised during his tour. He had previously made it known that during his tour he would seek to undo what President de Klerk had achieved during his recent European tour.

Mr Mandela did not comment on his surprise meeting with President de Klerk in Pretoria on Saturday.

He has, however, declared himself to be "on top of the world" health wise, and looking forward to his gruelling six-week world trip which could have a major impact on Pretoria's international relations.

Mr Mandela was discharged from hospital at the weekend after a week of much-needed rest, a medical check-up, and surgery to remove a non-malignant cyst on his bladder.

Tough test

Addressing a press conference outside the clinic on Saturday, he said he would urge Western nations to maintain sanctions.

He faces a particularly tough test in Europe after leaders of several countries in the region had indicated during President de Klerk's recent nine-nation tour that the time was right to reward the NP leader for his bold reform moves.

Mr Mandela flies to Botswana this morning and is scheduled to arrive in France on Wednesday.

From there the ANC delegation will proceed to Switzerland, West Germany and Italy, where Mr Mandela has been granted an audience with the Pope.

The group is due in Canada on June 19 and will then embark on a 10-day tour of the US, where "Mandelamania" is at fever pitch.

The final leg of the tour includes Uganda, Kenya and Mozambique.

Leaving for Botswana with Mr Mandela were his wife Winnie, ANC member IC Meer, and two other assistants. They will be joined in Lusaka by ANC international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki and other national executive committee members.



Jockey Club crackdown on prohibited substances

By Dan Side

A swoop by Jockey Club investigators on racing stables throughout the country last week was part of a vigorous campaign to ensure racehorses are completely free of prohibited substances.

Recently, fines as high as R20 000 were levied on trainers whose horses were found in post-race analyses to have traces of potent steroids in their blood.

Now Jockey Club chairman Ronnie Napier has told The Star that the emphasis would be placed on pre-race testing.

"Horses should not have any prohibited substances whatsoever in their system when they race," he said.

Trainers had to be discouraged

from administering prohibited substances 12 to 24 hours before their horses were due to start.

Mr Napier said some trainers were still taking chances that the substances would be completely metabolised before race time.

"If the pre-race test is positive, then the horse will not race," he said, adding that the recent heavy fines levied by the Jockey Club for transgressions would become the norm.

"There is no sanction if the penalty is so low that the fines can easily be paid. If people do not play by the rules, we will have to take much stiffer measures."

"Trainers coming back for a second or third time will run the risk of losing their licences."

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Cold wet weather expected this week

Govt reform to be put to the vote in Umlazi

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government's reform moves will be put to the vote for the first time this week.

The National Party has admitted it does not know what to expect in Durban's Umlazi by-election on Wednesday.

It is making no predictions about the seat, which it held comfortably last year.

Since then, the Government has allowed peaceful protests, unbanned the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan-Africanist Congress, and freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The by-election will also be crucial for other white parties.

The Democratic Party fears its supporters might desert to

the NP in droves to keep the Conservative Party at bay.

The by-election is also vital for the Conservative Party, as a test of its claims that the NP has lost majority white support by betraying its election mandate of last September.

Umlazi is a largely English-speaking, blue-collar constituency, and many of its voters, though possibly alarmed at the pace of the reforms, might balk at supporting the CP.

In spite of NP fears, most observers would be surprised if the NP did not hold the seat. The real interest will be the size of the majority.

The seat is being contested by Trevor Coppen for the DP, Piet Matthee for the NP and Francis Hitchcock for the CP.

Top-level talks

FW and Mandela meet on how to reduce the level of violence

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela met in Pretoria on Saturday to discuss how to effectively reduce the level of violence, it was disclosed last night.

They also discussed the implementation of the Groote Schuur Minute. Mr De Klerk's visit to Europe and Mr Mandela's trip to Europe and North America. Apart from the main topics, no other details of their discussions were given in a brief statement issued by the President's Office at midnight. The statement said: "The State President, Mr F W de

Klerk has announced that he and Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy-president of the ANC, held discussions in his office in the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on Saturday June 2, 1990.

"Discussions centred on the progress which had been made on their implementation of the Groote Schuur Minute and the need to effectively reduce the level of violence."

"The State President's recent visit to Europe as well as Mr Mandela's forthcoming visit, were also discussed."

It is understood, however, that the discussions took place on Saturday evening — after Mr Mandela's press conference in which he stated he would ask the international community to keep its sanctions in place because "whatever De Klerk has said, it is up till now merely

rhetoric".

Mr Mandela also said at the press conference he would be correcting certain impressions Mr De Klerk had made while in Europe and that the success of Mr De Klerk's tour could be gauged only after Mr Mandela had completed his visit.

"I don't know if his trip has been successful — he has brought absolutely nothing back to South Africa."

However, the fact that both Mr De Klerk's and Mr Mandela's visits were discussed later in their discussions in Pretoria could well mean that despite their differences on sanctions and the armed struggle, both leaders felt the need not to convey conflicting versions of the progress towards negotiations and the implementation of the Groote Schuur Minute. The joint government-ANC working group, which

From page 1

When the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, hinted recently that the state of emergency could be lifted except in certain areas, such as Natal, he praised the ANC's commitment to ending violence.

Mr Mandela's public endorsement of that commitment, to the point of criticising some of his own supporters, and strong indications that the emergency will be partly lifted, suggest that the emergency was raised when the level of violence was discussed in Saturday evening's meeting.

Mr De Klerk may well have outlined the government's intentions on the emergency, though these still have to be ratified by the cabinet on Wednesday.

If Mr Mandela confirmed ANC commitment to restraining supporters, the way may have been cleared for the lifting of the four-year emergency next week.

Mr Mandela leaves on his six-week trip today. It is probable that the next round of substantive discussions between the government and the ANC will only take place towards the end of July.

ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada last night confirmed that the meeting had taken place.

agreed on various issues, including the definition of political prisoners, reported back to the government and ANC while Mr De Klerk was in Europe and this was the first opportunity he and Mr Mandela have had to discuss the working group's report and the next stages in the negotiation process.

At Saturday's press conference, Mr Mandela also dismissed the scrapping of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act as insignificant when viewed against larger problems such as the lack of black self-determination, right-wing violence and the violence in Natal. He also said the ANC was committed to peace but there was "no doubt that we have a certain amount of discipline lacking, admits Mandela — Page 2

To page 2

had been armed only with No 5 birdshot and teargas, fire teargas. The crowd dispersed with no injuries. — Sapa.

Second PFP man 'spied' on

AT LEAST two PFP Johannesburg city councillors were the subject of secret investigations by the council's "spy network", it emerged yesterday. (304A) (245)

The Hienstra Commission investigating alleged spying activities in the council yesterday heard of plans secretly to investigate a second PFP councillor, Geoff Stark. Earlier it had heard how the network drew up a profile on PFP councillor Pat Rogers, on the orders of then management committee chairman Danie van Zyl, of the NP. Former spy network member and new witness before the commission John Egan yesterday admitted receiving orders from council "spy master" Frik Barnard to investigate and obtain "political-type documents" concerning Stark. But he refused to tell the commission how he was to obtain the documents for fear of incriminating himself. 8/24/90 5/6/90

Egan also admitted giving information to his superiors on End Conscription Campaign member Ian McKenzie. He said he had had to "handle" trade union informants connected to the council and had been in charge of seven paid spies. — Sapa.

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989:	668
February 1989 — June 3 1990:	1 029
Past 24 hours' official toll:	1
TOTAL:	1 698

AST week — fittingly enough on Republic Day — the CIA held a conference on SA in Rosslyn, just across the Potomac River from Washington. Participants included analysts from the intelligence community, leading academics and officials from the State and Defence Departments and the National Security Council. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen spoke after lunch.

He asserted that the US must now "tilt" towards the ANC as "the most significant black majority party". To be sure, he was careful to add that the "tilt" should not be so extreme as to concede the ANC "exclusivity" at the negotiating table. Nonetheless, his remarks were an extraordinary departure from the "even-handedness" that he himself had hitherto espoused.

More remarkable still was the logic by which he reached this conclusion. It was necessary, he said, to avoid "undermining constituencies". Which, apparently, would be the effect of a balanced approach as it might weaken the authority of Nelson Mandela and others within their own movement. American bias, in other words, was necessary in order to demonstrate to the ANC rank and file that the supposedly moderate and constructive steps taken by their leaders were not without reward.

There are a number of problems with this. First off, it puts Washington in the game of adopting a highly factionalised movement about whose ultimate objectives it knows little, and whose tactics and structure up to this point it would evidently rather ignore. Indeed, since it is far from clear — even to the ANC itself — whether the movement commands the support of voluntary majority, such a policy is tantamount to playing god, a habit that has yielded horrifying results everywhere from Vietnam to Iran to Nicaragua. Also, if the US objective is not to

FW must act to loosen the ANC's grip on US policy

8/24/90 3041

SIMON BARBER in Washington

undermine constituencies, what then about the white side of the equation? What does a "tilt" towards the ANC do for President F W de Klerk when his moves, all of them significantly bolder than any undertaken by Mandela, continue to go unrequited? Unlike Mandela, who can expect an orgy of adulation here, De Klerk cannot even be assured of a polite welcome in Washington. Much less can he hope for any easing in US sanctions. To the contrary, efforts are under way in Congress to tighten the existing ones as a gift for Mandela during his visit.

Cohen made it clear at the conference he takes the point. He also indicated the administration does not propose to act on it. Not even a symbolic gesture like the restoration of direct flights between the US and SA is on the cards, he said, until after November's congressional elections — whatever De Klerk does between now and then to fulfil the conditions laid out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA).

Cohen has repeatedly pleaded that Congress should not move the CAAA's goalposts, yet he now appears to be moving them himself by acceding to the tight definitions demanded by the sanctions lobby. He

evidently does not regard the Groote Schuur Minute as having resolved the political prisoner issue, even though such prisoners are now effectively to be held by the mutual consent of the ANC and government. Furthermore, he will not accept a lifting of the state of emergency that excludes Natal — even if Mandela himself specifically accepts the exclusion.

His is more than a mere "tilt" towards the ANC and its demands for the maintenance of sanctions, it is an abdication. It also goes deeper than mere ambivalence on the sanctions issue. Cohen told his audience that he did not propose to fall into an "ideological trap" by having the administration endorse any particular economic or political outcome in SA. To the contrary, he argued, the US should not even take sides in the nationalisation debate, but should rather limit itself to suggesting possible "models".

As it happens, Cohen's superiors have already fallen into the trap. At a media conference shortly after

Mandela's release, President George Bush declared himself opposed to nationalisation in SA. Secretary of State James Baker announced before he met Mandela in Windhoek last April that he meant to voice disapproval of the ANC's socialist inclinations. It seems we are now supposed to forget those statements. It is as though, on the question of SA, the Bush administration had been cleanly filleted of spine, principle, vision, even solid intelligence and analysis. In fact, if Cohen is to be believed, it may not ultimately even be committed to what has thus far been the one solid cornerstone of its policy: the principle that every effort should be focused on encouraging the parties to negotiate. If negotiations were to break down, he argued, the US should be prepared to "back away" from the process.

And then what? As far as SA's future is concerned, negotiation is the coin of the realm. Even to hint that it might be valueless is to devalue it instantly and admit to possible validity of other means. And that can only encourage more horror than anything currently in store. Cohen might just as well have said: "We support the unilateral seizure of power by the ANC."

As things now stand, the ANC already controls, through Randall Robinson, Jesse Jackson and others, that fraction of American public opinion which, on all matters relating to SA, controls Congress, and through Congress, an administration that lives in terror of the appellation "racist". Mandela's triumphal progress through the country can only strengthen this chain of command, giving the ANC all but absolute authority over US policy towards SA.

Cohen's "tilt" is evidence enough of the ANC's existing power here. By even allowing that negotiations might falter, he has given the movement every incentive to take positions that ensure they do. The ANC will then be able to say it was Pretoria's fault, and the American body politic will believe it and react accordingly.

Regrettably, in this instance, the US is still a superpower. Indeed, it is the only one. Its backsliding on SA will ripple back across the Atlantic and to the Far East. As it happens, one nervous European country that had thought of easing sanctions after De Klerk's recent tour contacted the State Department last week to make sure of US intentions before it acted. SA hopes that Europe may offset American folly should therefore be tempered.

The ANC's stranglehold on the US policymaking apparatus must somehow be loosened. De Klerk himself is perhaps the only person who can do that. While he was wise to delay his visit here later this month — to let himself be overshadowed and last-worded by Mandela would have been folly — he should think again about accepting Bush's invitation once Mandela is gone.

Bush must be given a reason to take charge of his administration's policy and undo the craven surrender presently in train. An hour or so with De Klerk would give him that reason, and focus his attention enough to demand better work from his subordinates.

Why FW postponed US trip

President de Klerk had sound reasons for postponing his trip to the United States.

He does not at this stage need the controversy which was being engendered there about his visit, especially about the fact that he would be there before Nelson Mandela.

The ANC itself was not unduly concerned about Mr de Klerk being there first, but some self-appointed saviours of South Africa in the US decided to start a campaign.

Mr de Klerk is not a self-important person and his reason for postponing the visit was not a dislike of demonstrations or the feeling that he would not receive the welcome he felt he was entitled to.

Behind the decision to postpone the trip was the concern that US congressmen would be pressurised into staying away from functions which would have been arranged for them to meet Mr de Klerk.

It was important for Mr de Klerk to meet these congressmen, especially as the Bush administration is pledged to co-operate closely with Congress in the field of foreign relations. It was therefore thought unwise to expose Mr de Klerk to boycott actions, especially after his successful European trip.

It was felt that it was unnecessary for him to visit countries where controversies could arise.

As Mr de Klerk said last week, he believed that it was in South Africa's interest that his visit to the US should take place in circumstances in which he could have a broad range of discussions across the political spectrum.

The decision not to go to Washington this month was not taken lightly and the US ambassador, Bill Swing, was called in for consultations. The message from the White House was that it was an open invitation and that Mr de Klerk was welcome to come at any time.

There may well have been a sense of relief because Mr de Klerk had decided not to come under these circumstances.

There was also some contact with

President de Klerk does not need any controversy, especially relating to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, that would be engendered by a visit to the United States at this stage, reports **TOS WENTZEL**, of The Star's Political Staff

the ANC which gave the assurance that it was not involved in the controversy that had started in the US and that it had no strong feelings about Mr de Klerk getting there before Mr Mandela.

Now it seems as if Mr de Klerk may go next year and that the visit may be combined with visits to other countries.

The Netherlands and Israel are being mentioned as countries that would like Mr de Klerk to visit. At some stage, there is also the possibility of visits to African countries, but for the present Mr de Klerk has decided to stay home to give attention to what he has described as certain important matters which require his personal attention in the next few weeks.

This was the second reason for his putting off the trip to the US.

He has had to attend to a lot soon after his return from his European trip.

One of his priorities will be to step up reform moves and to get negotiations on a new constitutional system going.

He chose first of all to confront the right wing, running rampant with its defiant statements that it will mobilise the Afrikaner to resist Mr de Klerk's reform moves.

On his arrival back from Europe, he made it clear that the Government would not be intimidated by large gatherings, a reference to the huge rally the Conservative Party had organised at the Voortrekker Monument. He maintained that the new South Africa was being born and that no one could stop this.

He followed this up with a sharp attack on the CP, accusing it of a total campaign of incitement based on the "blatant lie" that the National Party had now suddenly surrendered the whites to domination and suppression.

He also maintained that unless radical elements in the CP were stopped, the party would be on a slippery slide to a morass of violent broedertwis.

Dr Andries Treurnicht remained defiant, expressing the CP's determination to mobilise white resistance to Mr de Klerk's "surrender steps" and his undemocratic action.

The Conservative Party claims that the Government did not obtain a mandate for the far-reaching steps it is now introducing, a point hotly disputed by NP leaders.

The National Party kept its plans rather fuzzy in last year's election campaign and its propagandists exploited contacts Democratic Party figures had had with the ANC, especially with Communist Party leader Joe Slovo. Not so many months afterwards, Mr Slovo was at Groote Schuur talking to Government leaders.

Whatever happened at that election, the Government has now acknowledged that there will never be a whites-only election again. Plans for the redelimitation of constituencies for separate houses of parliament have been abandoned for all practical purposes.

There will not again be an election in which the CP can make much of a constitutional impact. Its last chance may be in a referendum on constitutional changes, but in this it is likely to face the joint forces of the National Party and the Democratic Party.

There will be an interesting test of electoral opinion in the Umlazi by-election tomorrow.

Indications are that the National Party will lose some support to the CP, but that there will at the same time be a drift of DP supporters to the NP. Among voters to the left of the NP there appears to be the feeling that Mr de Klerk must be sup-

ported against the right wing.

In addition to his squabbles with the CP, Mr de Klerk will also be giving attention to consolidating his position after the good reception he had in Europe. He would like to ensure the impetus towards the easing of sanctions. This, in turn, may lead to investor confidence from abroad.

While giving him a warm reception, some European statesmen suggested to Mr de Klerk that more could be done, especially about political prisoners and the state of emergency.

These matters are now among Mr de Klerk's top priorities.

Both the Government and the ANC sides have spoken positively about an agreement which has been reached by the working group appointed after the Groote Schuur talks on the definition of political prisoners.

The agreement deals with norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of political offences to those inside and outside South Africa.

In the process, the Government appears to have made a concession on the question of people who have been involved in violence.

On the other hand, the agreement can also affect others, including people involved in clandestine South African destabilisation efforts. There has been the suggestion that Mr Mandela's recent sudden stop-over in Zimbabwe may have had to do with a South African agent held in jail there.

In Government circles, much has been made of the success of Mr de Klerk's European visit, but there is the realisation that more needs to be done before the crucial meeting of European Community heads of state on June 25.

Mr de Klerk must be hoping for at least a symbolic gesture from the EC meeting — perhaps the lifting or easing of sanctions affecting scientific and cultural relations.

This could start influencing foreign investment attitudes.

Cabinet set to decide on security law

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Cabinet will decide tomorrow on the State of Emergency amid signs that it may lift the security blanket after four years.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok met his top generals in Pretoria on Friday to formulate the police view on how to deal with South Africa's recurrent troublespots.

A new line of thought is that Section 50 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for detention without trial for 14 days to combat unrest, could be used instead to suppress violence at specific flashpoints.

The Government will be seeking tomorrow to fulfil its pledge to end the State of Emergency as soon as possible.



ADRIAAN VLOK

European tour

President FW de Klerk said repeatedly during his recent European tour that the decision would be dictated by conditions on the ground. The emergency was a response to unrest and not a political pawn.

De Klerk, urged strongly by Mandela and the international community to scrap the emergency, will be going as far as he feels he can when it comes up for renewal again on Friday.

Senior Government sources said considerations on the State of Emergency were very different this year than they were last June when renewal was almost a foregone conclusion.

According to the ANC, it is one of the major obstacles to negotiations on the future of South Africa.



Treurnicht rejects 'selective' church criticism

5/6/96 Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has rejected criticism by Dutch Reformed Church leaders, accusing them of quoting his Voortrekker Monument speech selectively.

He said of his critics — among them NG Church Moderator Professor Johan Heyns — that they had reacted merely to the sound of the word "freedom struggle",

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but had ignored what he had said about the commitment of the CP to the constitutional path.

Professor Heyns last week described Dr Treurnicht's talk of a "Third Freedom Struggle" as nothing other than incitement to violence.

But in a statement yesterday, the CP leader emphasised he had committed his party to the constitutional path, so long as one existed. Its strategy was to seek vic-

tory at the ballot box.

He said the CP had repeatedly rejected violence as a political method, and also specifically condemned attacks made on the police.

He acknowledged, however, that he had warned that anyone who subjected the volk to majority rule in a non-racial unitary state was "looking for trouble". Such a system, he had said, would inevitably lead to confrontation.

CP: Vote will influence world

A VOTE for the National Party or the Democratic Party in tomorrow's Umlazi by-election would be a vote for the African National Congress, the deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, told an enthusiastic audience of about 350 people in Durban last night.

Speaking in support of CP candidate, Mr Francis Hitchcock, Dr Hartzenberg said a CP victory would force an early election.

This election would influence the whole world because if the whites

"liberated their nation" this would be an invitation to the nations of the world to reject communism.

Dr Hartzenberg said the press had speculated that there was a contingency plan to evacuate British people from South Africa if there was a crisis.

Only a few British people would leave South Africa, he said.

The vast majority were going to "fight side by side for the liberation of the white nation in our own fatherland".

(Report by P Leeman, 34 Osborne Street, Greyville).

Treurnicht slams NGK for criticism

CAN-11mP
5/6/90

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Political Correspondent
CONSERVATIVE
PARTY leader Dr An-
dries Treurnicht said
yesterday that the type
of criticism levelled by
theologians at his "Third
Freedom Struggle"
speech at the Voortrek-
ker Monument did not
do them credit.

Critics of the speech,
which warned of white
resistance to govern-
ment reform, included
the moderator of the Ne-
derduitse Gerefor-
meerde Kerk, Professor
Johan Heyns.

Dr Treurnicht said
yesterday that while the
full speech had been
available to theologians,
some of them chose to
comment only on his ref-
erence to "struggle" and
ignore what he had said
about the CP's commit-
ment to constitutional
politics.

He said he had indi-
cated that as long as the
constitutional route re-
mained open as a way of
restoring political con-
trol, the CP would strive
to attain victory via the
ballot box.

Emergency 'to lapse'

APR - 11th 5/6/90

Political Staff

THE state of emergency will be allowed to lapse when it expires at midnight on Friday — and the Public Safety Act will be used to deal with areas such as Natal, where unrest continues, a government source said yesterday.

The emergency has been in force for four years.

The source stressed a final decision would only be taken when the cabinet meets tomorrow, but said: "We don't really need it any more."

Coupled with legislation tabled on Friday — to repeal the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act — the end of the emergency should give a huge boost to President F W de Klerk's bid to defuse attempts by Mr Nelson Mandela to undo what he achieved on his European tour.

Under Section 5(a) of the Public

Move likely to offset

Mandela campaign

Safety Act the Minister of Law and Order may declare an area an "unrest area" if he believes public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence is occurring or threatening there and additional measures are needed to ensure the public safety.

The declaration remains in force for three months, unless withdrawn by the minister, who may also extend the period with the consent of the State President.

The minister, by notice in the Government Gazette, may make any regulations he deems necessary to en-

sure order in an unrest area.

The added pressure the lifting of the emergency could put on the police is likely to result in demands for more pay and renewed calls for the force to be enlarged.

From the government's perspective there is much to be gained from lifting the state of emergency.

In particular, it will go a long way to undercutting Mr Mandela at the start of his six-week European and American tour.

Mr De Klerk has been at pains recently to point out that the most seri-

ous violence in the country at present is "black on black" and that strong measures are needed to control it. It is unlikely that his message would have gone unnoticed during his European tour.

From a United States perspective, one of the remaining requirements of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which can lead to the end of sanctions is the lifting of the emergency. Domestically, the lifting of the emergency will also fulfil a further pre-condition to real talks laid down by the ANC and, if, as is understood, some agreement has been reached on the position of exiles and the release of other political prisoners, then the government will be in a position to put pressure on the ANC to get real negotiations started.

In a nutshell, Mr De Klerk has nothing to lose from ending the state of emergency — and everything to gain.

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Experts predict NP majority will be slashed in Umlazi poll

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Pundits believe the NP will retain the Umlazi constituency in today's by-election.

However, its majority is likely to be slashed from nearly 3 000 to possibly below 1 000, making this formerly safe NP seat a marginal one.

Observers expect the CP to do well and to take second place. This result would reverse the outcome of the September General Election when the NP polled 6 149 votes, the DP 3 314 and the CP 2 429.

And GERALD REILLY reports political analyst Willem Kleynhans as saying in Pretoria that today's Umlazi result would be critical to the DP's survival.

The NP's loss of support to the CP, and a DP drift to the NP put the DP's relevance at risk, he said.

He emphasised the significance of the result: "Never in the history of SA politics have so many dramatic and drastic changes taken place in so short time."

The by-election is the first to be held in a white constituency since the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and SACP in February.

The CP has made great play of government's change of heart in this regard and its speakers have claimed gov-

ernment has no mandate from the white electorate to negotiate with the ANC.

CP meetings have been larger and more enthusiastic than those held by the other parties. Party spokesmen have focused on law and order as well as on security issues.

The NP campaign has balanced on two planks: the high public profile of President F W de Klerk and the necessity for previous DP supporters to vote NP to keep the CP out.

● Reports by P Leeman, 34 Osborne Street, Durban, and G Reilly, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.



CP candidate Francis Hitchcock. Picture: Reuter

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**Spymaster
'feared NP
would lose'**

JOHANNESBURG City Council spymaster Frik Barnard's clandestine investigation into PFP councillors arose from his fear the NP would lose power.

Testifying before the Hiemstra Commission yesterday, former spy network member John Egan agreed Barnard had instructed him to investigate then PFP councillor Geoff Stark — because the spymaster was concerned the "delicate balance" in the council would be upset.

The political motivation in the running of the council's spy network has also been apparent in the secret observation of, and reports on, PFP councillors including a profile on Pat Rogers.

The NP lost its council majority after the spy network was exposed. Egan said a meeting of spy network members was called after the exposure, and Barnard ordered a list be compiled of "top secret" missing documents, already in the hands of the Press. — Sapa.

THE BIG PUSH FOR PEACE

Cl Press 6/5/90

3044

Sick
your
out of
the
wards

ATTENDANTS are leaving
travelling in pyjamas
the hospital crisis
urges into its seventh
day today.
Even a six-member
with union meeting with
Health Minister Rina
entire in Cape Town on
Friday morning failed to



**Govt and ANC
call on all to
help work on
constitution**
By CHARLES MOGALE

THE ANC and government will start a
drive to involve other political parties in
talks about a new South Africa follow-
ing this week's discussions, which left
the country in a buoyant mood.
It is believed efforts will be made to
involve parties like the A.A.P., Z.A.K.,
homeland leaders and parliamentary
parties in the talks.
Although no timetable has been set it
is said the drive to involve others will
start soon.



W R U S N FACE!

C/Press

6/5/90

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Govt and ANC call on all to help work on constitution

By CHARLES MOGALE

THE ANC and government will start a drive to involve other political parties in talks about a new South Africa following this week's discussions, which left the country in a buoyant mood.

It is believed efforts will be made to involve parties like the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO), homeland leaders and parliamentary parties in the talks.

Although no timetable has been set it is said the drive to involve others will start soon.

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng told a Press conference yesterday the PAC was not interested in joining talks with the Government but wanted a constituent assembly based on one-man one-vote - also mentioned this week by ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC is believed to be eager to involve other parties, because as the only party involved in the talks so far, it could be seen as "selling out" to the government.

State President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela emerged from a three-day talks session in Cape Town on Friday with a joint communique declaring their willingness to work for a new dispensation for the country.

The move left the Democratic Party baffled as to whether to join the government, the ANC, or disband.

The government-ANC communique indicated plans to form a working committee made up of members from both sides. The committee will look into the question of amnesty, release of political prisoners and other obstacles in the way of real negotiations.

The government reiterated its commitment toward lifting the state of emergency.

It also undertook to review security

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Govt and ANC join in peace talks

■ From Page 1

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legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activity".

However, the ANC emerged non-committal on the two cornerstones of its policy - the armed struggle and sanctions.

Observers predicted the suspension of the two strategies at the next ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting in Lusaka.

Mandela went into the talks a strong supporter of the armed struggle. When he came out, he told a persis-

tent questioner: "We are going to take a hard and earnest look at the question of the armed struggle. Please be satisfied with that."

The matter would be referred to the NEC in Lusaka.

The ANC has adopted a similar stance on sanctions, saying there would be no new calls for their intensification.

De Klerk said whether sanctions were ever justified or not, it was time to remove them.

He said negotiations had to be undertaken to ensure universal suffrage with protection of "minorities".

Mandela claimed victory for South Africa in the talks.

Dec 6/1990

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Talks to start on open schools

By Janet Heard,
Education Reporter

The Federation of Parents' Associations of SA will meet the Minister of Education and Culture (House of Assembly) tomorrow to discuss and obtain clarity on the two models which have been proposed on open schools.

Transvaal English Medium Parents' Association spokesman, Glen Stuart, said yesterday that meetings had been held to gauge parents' opinion on the two models proposed.

The first model is that schools open to all races and become private schools; the second is that parents vote to open with schools remaining government-controlled.

Mr Stuart said the majority of parents felt that the privatisation option was too expensive and most are looking at the second option.

Star 6/6/90 304A

SPECTRUM

The Star Wednesday June 6 1990

11c



A language 'appropriated' by SA's whites

CAPE TOWN — In the shadow of a mosque in Cape Town's Malay Quarter, a man opens a book of flowing Arabic script and reads aloud in a language unknown beyond South Africa.

The reader, Achmat Davids, is speaking Afrikaans, the language the world associates with the creators of apartheid.

But the Afrikaans words were written in the Arabic alphabet in 1877 for the Muslim Malays of the Cape, a community descended from Asians brought here as slaves 350 years ago.

The language beloved of the ruling Afrikaner minority is the child of a multicultural past, according to a growing body of research by local linguists.

It is a conclusion that has political overtones as the country emerges from 40 years of formal race segregation.

"Very few academics now

claim Afrikaans had a lily-white birth. The Muslim Malays played a significant role," said Helm Willemsse, an Afrikaans lecturer at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Davids, a University of Natal linguist and historian of South Africa's Muslim community, resents what he sees as the appropriation of Afrikaans as a white language.

Oppression

White Afrikaners consider Afrikaans central to their identity and want its use legally protected by any future black government.

Blacks, who are taught Afrikaans at school, often see it as an instrument of white oppression. They and the small ethnic Indian minority in South Africa prefer English as their lingua franca.

But Afrikaans is a language of

Afrikaans, often seen as an instrument of white oppression, is a child of a multicultural past. The coloured community in the Western Cape played a significant role in its development, writes **WILLIAM MACLEAN**.

the coloured community, including 300 000 Malays descended from Asian slaves and political exiles of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Forced to speak Dutch by whites, Malays and blacks created their own form of the language, incorporating non-European words and a simplified grammar drawing on Asia's Malay, Javanese, Buganese and Sundanese languages.

"They never fully mastered the complexities of high Dutch and introduced into their oral communications expressions which are easily recognised as of eastern origin," said Mr Davids.

The "Boere", cut off from Eu-

ropean formal education, absorbed the changes along with French elements from Huguenot settlers.

Everyday Afrikaans words of Asian origin include sjambok (whip), baadjie (jacket), baie (many) and tjommel (chatter).

"Afrikaans is still close to Dutch, but it has never been a purely white language," said Roy Pfeiffer, professor of Afrikaans at the University of Cape Town.

"More and more of these (Arabic-Afrikaans) books are coming to light."

Mr Davids, interviewed in his whitewashed home in the war-torn Cape Town's Malay Quarter, is

more emphatic. "We (Malays and Africans) are the formulators and the carriers of the language in the Western Cape where it first emerged," he said.

Mr Davids has about 70 Arabic-written Afrikaans books, many lodged in the South African Public Library. More than 60 others are held in West Germany.

Earliest

He says it was Arabic that gave Afrikaans its first formal spelling system.

He possesses one of the earliest examples, "Bayanuddin" or Explanation of Religion, printed in 1877.

Parts of the work were in circulation in manuscript form in 1863, a year after the first publication of Afrikaans in Roman script.

For at least 150 years Arabic script was used by Cape Malays for letters, commercial pamphlets and religious literature in Afrikaans.

An Afrikaans ballad on a religious theme was published in Arabic script in the 1920s.

In 1925, the Government recognised Afrikaans as an official language alongside English.

Mr Davids maintains the standardisation of Afrikaans that followed obliterated many Malay words from the language to give it a Dutch flavour.

Use of Arabic lettering died out in 1957.

He said South Africa's non-white peoples could draw on his and his colleagues' research to tell Afrikaners: "You must recognise that what belongs to you belongs also to me."

He added: "For the survival of Afrikaans, whites must look to the non-white communities that contributed so much to it."

Reuter.

Linguist Achmat Davids displays a 19th century text written in Afrikaans using the Arabic alphabet. 

'Positive attitude' to Afrikaans found in black schools

By McKeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

Work by the Human Sciences Research Council has revealed that the attitude of black secondary school pupils towards Afrikaans is "positive", despite lack of stimulation in the learning environment.

The research was aimed at analysing the present position of Afrikaans at secondary schools under the Department of Education and Training (DET).

Although pupils' language preference was clearly English, it was found the attitude of pupils towards Afrikaans was neutral to positive. Its position, place and role in secondary schools' broad curriculum and the attitude of the black community towards the subject in general was received with "mainly positive recognition".

Mrs Sabrina Cahill, one of the researchers, said: "As far as the role of Afrikaans is concerned in terms of the broad black community's expectations, the findings reveal that Afrikaans is regarded as having considerable functional value for studying and job opportunities."

It was also found that the attitude of matric pupils towards the subject at those schools was more positive than that of the Std 8 pupils.

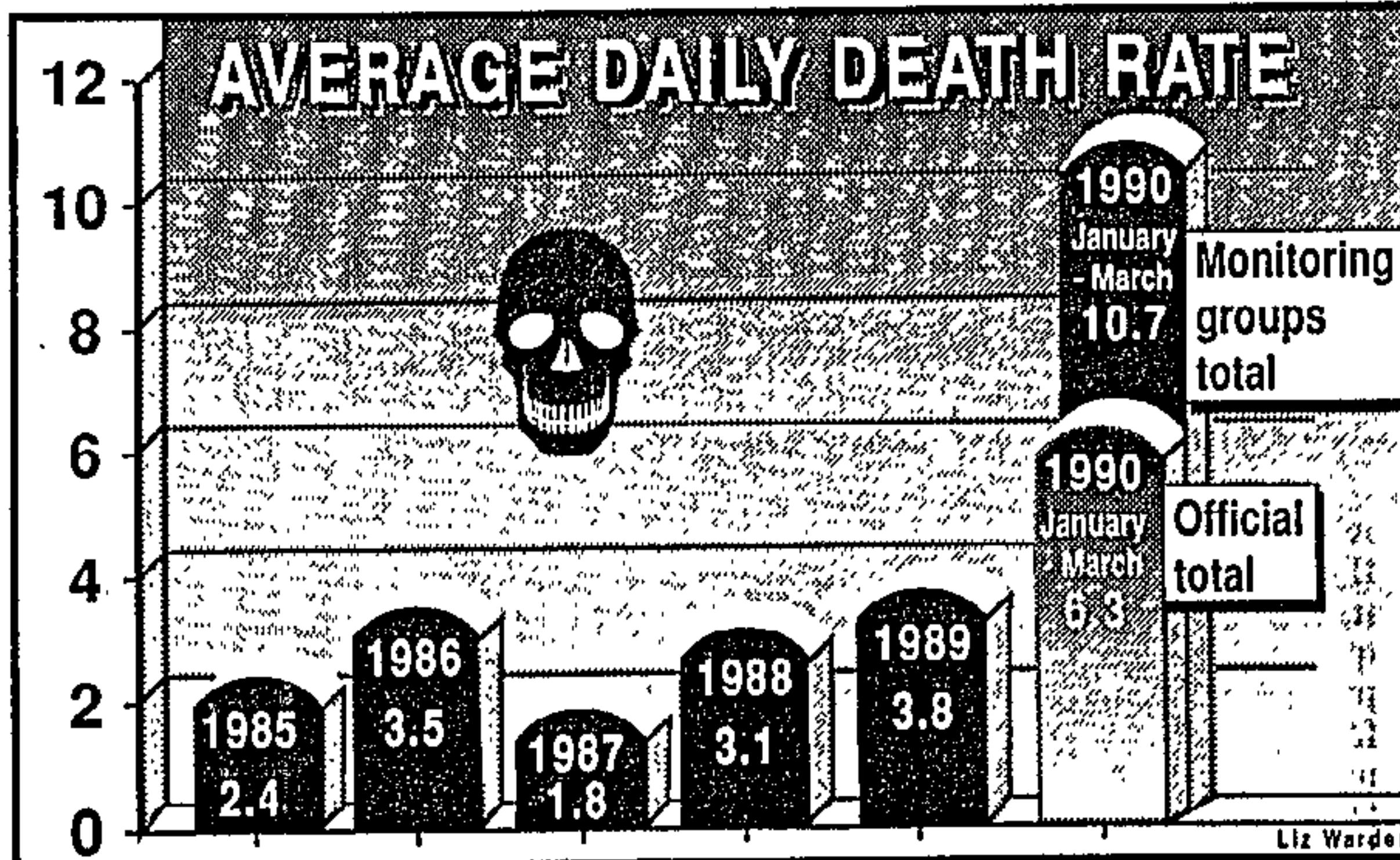
A shortage of textbooks and teaching aids, inadequate inter-action between pupils and teacher as well as the use of stereotyped and unstimulating teaching techniques were responsible for the "largely non-stimulating learning environment" in the Afrikaans class.

The researchers also found the "occupational proficiency of the Afrikaans teachers to be inadequate, with gaps in subject knowledge and language proficiency skills having a negative effect on the teachers' capability".

However, the general attitude of the Afrikaans teacher towards the subject, its teaching and training courses offered was found to be substantial.

Researchers also discovered indications of discrepancies between examination results and actual communicative competence in Afrikaans.

The study concluded that most of the problems experienced with Afrikaans teaching could be overcome and "a change in educational policy with regard to the status of Afrikaans was therefore unnecessary".



4 emergency years, and still the violence rages

With the Cabinet expected to debate today the lifting of the state of emergency, the four years of curbs have been criticised for not only failing to alleviate political violence, but actually exacerbating the situation.

In the first three months of 1990, 574 people died in unrest, according to official figures. Independent monitoring groups put the figure as high as 966.

If the emergency is lifted in the next few days, it will be against a background of the worst political violence South Africa has experienced since the clampdown in June 1986.

Kragdadigheid

Democratic Party national chairman Tian van der Merwe said yesterday he had no doubt political pressure was a factor in the Government's decision to end the curbs.

"But they must also have learnt by now that it has not helped. In fact, the application of the emergency regulations has aggravated the situation in many areas."

The expected move away from the emergency also represented the end of P W Botha's *kragdadigheid* politics, characterised by the prominence afforded State securocrats, Mr van der Merwe said.

The emergency was "used infinitely more against the ordinary democratic processes than against violence. These grossly repressive measures were ineffective against violence but brutally effective in the suppression of the normal manifestations of democracy."

Violence flared at the start of this year, prompting Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane Berman's to predict, in April, a carnage of 4 000 political deaths this year if the violence continued at the same rate.

From January to March, 10 people were killed in unrest each day, according to independent monitoring groups, and six

If the state of emergency is lifted, it would be against a background of the bloodiest and most widespread political upheaval the country has experienced since the June 1986 crackdown. Many believe the curbs have in fact fanned the flames of unrest, reports **CLAIRE ROBERTSON** of The Star's Pretoria Bureau.

a day according to official figures.

This was more than double the average daily death rate of 2.7 for the preceding five years, according to Bureau for Information statistics.

In the first eight days of March, there were more than 400 serious incidents of unrest — a rate equal to the worst days of the 1985/86 riots.

Last week 27 people died in Natal in the space of two days, but the deaths are not confined to that province — said by some sources to be targeted for special curbs should restrictions in the rest of the country be lifted this week.

In the first three months of this year, more than 10 times the number of people died in political violence outside of Natal than in the same period in 1989.

Pattern

Last year saw a record number of deaths in South Africa as a whole — 1 403 — since the imposition of the state of emergency.

A survey of political deaths, and the reasons given for the continuation of the curbs over the past four years of the emergency, shows a distinct pattern — until this year:

● In 1985, 879 died. The following June, the emergency was imposed because "the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the Government to ensure the safety of the public and maintain public order", according to then State President Botha.

● In 1986, 1 298 died. The following June, the emergency

was reimposed because the background against which the original declaration had been made still prevailed, Mr Botha said.

Threat

● In 1987, 661 died. The following June, the emergency was reimposed because the "revolutionary and terrorist threat against our society remains a reality".

● In 1988, 1 149 died. The following June, the emergency was reimposed — again because public safety could not be ensured by ordinary laws, according to Mr Botha.

● In 1989, 1 403 died. This week, as the date for renewal approaches, Government sources have been quoted as saying "the emergency will fall away and security will revert to measures contained in the 'ordinary law of the land'".

President de Klerk has stressed that the emergency is not a "pawn in the negotiations" and cannot be lifted until unrest has calmed. Since his European tour, however, Government sources have been quoted as saying "we don't really need the emergency any more".

They have reportedly said security could be left to measures under the "ordinary laws of the land" — those mentioned specifically as being inadequate to cope when the emergency was imposed and renewed.

The legislation referred to as now being sufficient for the country's security needs — the Public Safety and Internal Security Acts — have, respectively, been available to the State for 37 and 40 years.

304A star
6/6/90

Narrow Nat win expected in Umlazi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Political pundits believe the National Party will retain the Umlazi seat in today's vital by-election.

However, the majority is expected to be slashed from nearly 3 000 to possibly below 1 000, making this formerly safe NP seat a marginal one.

Observers expect the Conservative Party to do well and to take second place, with the Democratic Party ending up third.

In the general election in September last year the NP polled 6 149 votes, the DP 3 314 and the CP 2 429.

The by-election is the first to be held in a white constituency since the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party in February.

The CP has made great play of the government's change of heart over these issues and speakers have claimed it has no mandate from the white electorate to negotiate now with the ANC.

CP meetings have been far more en-

thusiastic than those held by the other parties and have drawn much larger crowds.

Party spokesmen have focused on law and order as well as security issues.

The NP campaign has been based on two planks: The high public profile of President F W de Klerk and the necessity for previous DP supporters to vote for the party to keep the CP out.

The DP candidate, Mr Trevor Coppen, concedes that if anything will change the voting pattern in the constituency it will be this type of appeal.

But he says: "It seems as if we are holding our vote."

"We have been going back at least twice to our voters to counter the disinformation strategy of the Nationalists."

The polling stations — at Montclair Senior Primary School, the Yellow Wood Park Civic Centre, the Sea View Primary School, and the Bellair Primary School — will open at 7am today and close at 9pm.

The result is expected to be announced after 11pm.

Mandela: Expect something big from FW ^{Mr. J. M. S.} ^{6/6/90}

GABORONE. — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he expected President F W de Klerk to make an "important" announcement while he (Mr Mandela) was on his six-week international tour.

Mr Mandela said he has long hoped that the state of emergency would be lifted. He added that he expected "a very important

statement from Mr De Klerk in my absence"

Mandela addressed a news conference at the end of his two-day visit to Botswana before flying to Paris via London. — Sapa-AP

● ANC criticises police — Page 3

● PAC's Mothopeng off too — Page 3

(V...-snur guraungur dur teatg an nre
(esjies) AS jo uoitaraped sari

'Hurt' law will not be repealed yet

CAPE TOWN — The Population Registration Act could not be scrapped now as it could not be separated from the constitution, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

Speaking during an interpellation by Jac Rabie (UDP Reigerpark), Louw said the Act would have to be taken to the negotiation table.

"My department has struggled for decades with this Act. We did not enjoy tearing families apart, but we stuck to the Act only because we were forced to do so by the law," said Louw.

"If we ignore the Population Registration Act now, then we must ignore the constitution."

Rabie said the Act was one of the "hurt" laws on the SA statute book and he was disappointed its repeal had to wait for negotiations to begin.

"Whites don't understand the hurt this Act has caused. During the 50s an uncle of mine was incorrectly classified and he was sold to a farm-

er. I was incorrectly classified when I went to college, and had to appeal. My family is classified in four different categories."

"The sooner we can be recognised as citizens of SA and not on the basis of the colour of our skins, the better."

Sam Louw (LP Rust Ter Vaal) said the Act had kept government in power for decades.

Not only had many families been torn apart by the Act, but the method of classification was humiliating and degrading.

Desmond Lockey (LP Northern Cape) referred to letters in the Press criticising him for publicising the fact that folk singer Randall Wickam was coloured.

"These people have no conception of what coloureds feel. Can you imagine how Mr Wickam's coloured family felt when he recently held a concert in Oudshoorn and they could not attend?" — Sapa.

SAIRR study sees signs of a compromise

THERE are signs of a compromise between the NP, the ANC and Inkatha on the question of minority rights, according to a new South African Institute of Race Relations publication, Countdown to Negotiations.

Countdown, which reports the views of a wide spectrum of political organisations on the negotiation process, says "the definition of groups is likely to be of pivotal importance to the outcome of the talks".

The PAC and Azapo risked "missing the bus" if they stayed out of constitutional negotiations.

The PAC and Azapo could become peripheral if they stayed out of constitutional talks which produced a system acceptable to most blacks.

Countdown, compiled by Shaun Mackay, a research officer at the institute, reports that some PAC and Azapo sympathisers

Business Day Reporter

believed the organisation was in a dilemma over refusing to negotiate when others were doing so.

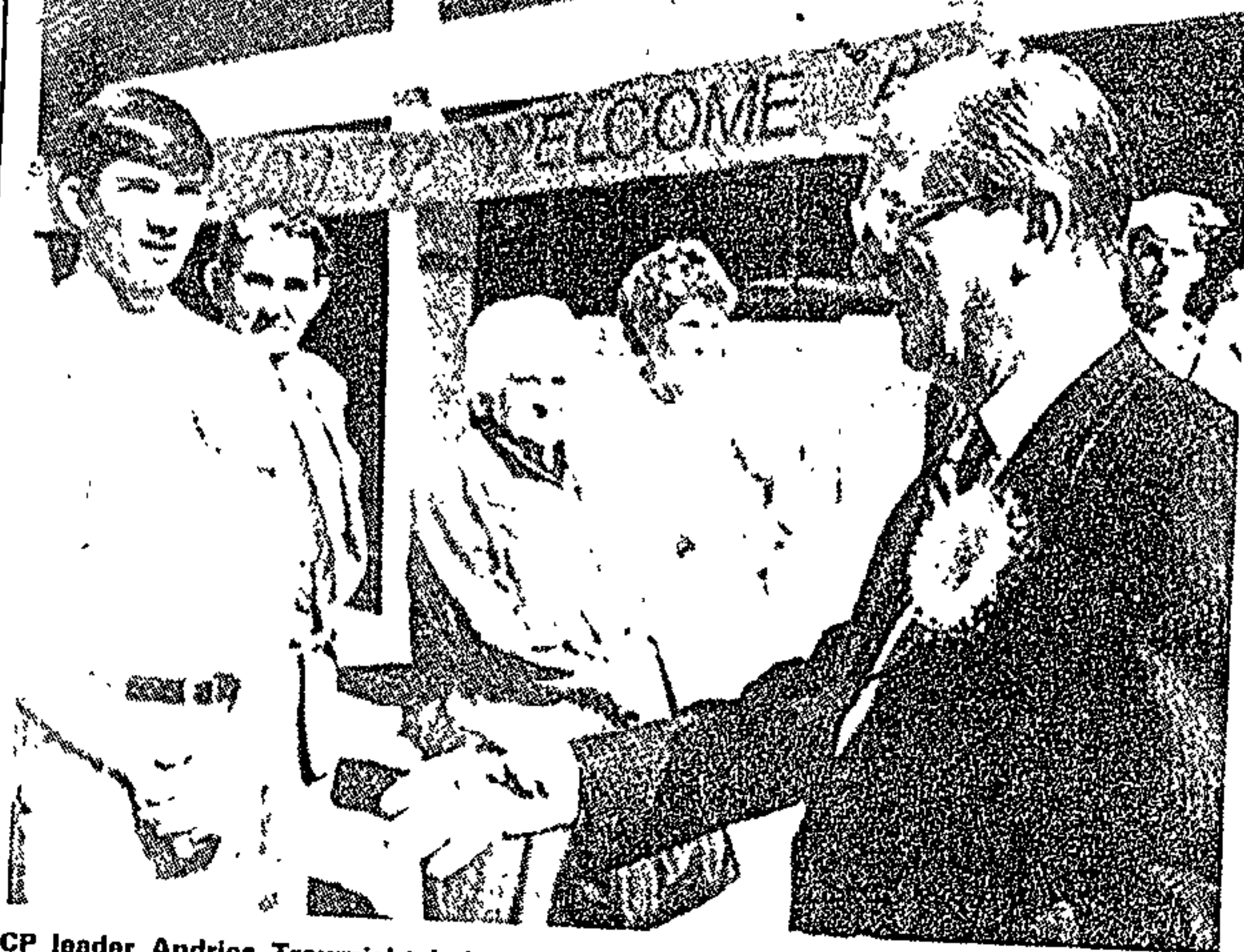
Azapo felt a negotiated settlement would be possible only when "the enemy's morale is too low", the economy collapsing, and "the enemy's war machinery" exhausted, among other things.

Government constitutional thinking had been "much influenced" by the KwaZulu Natal Indaba, the publication reports.

Government had taken over one vital aspect of the Indaba's proposals — the concept of an open group for people who did not want to organise themselves on a racial basis.

Countdown says the question of minority rights will be a key issue when obstacles to negotiation have been cleared away.

304A



CP leader Andries Treurnicht being welcomed at a polling booth during yesterday's parliamentary by-election in Umlazi, Durban, which was contested by the NP, CP and DP.

Sec 7/6/90

30447

Anxious wait for everyone at ERP

By Juliette du Toit

ERP will never close, say white Boksburg miners, knocking back beers in the pub behind the mine's recreation club.

On the other side of the road, nervous shopkeepers who sell exclusively to the migrant workers in the compounds are not renewing their stock.

ERP is one of the marginal mines which face possible closure as a dropping gold price causes crippling losses.

Many shopkeepers have spent their lives in this business. They pay no rent for the old corrugated-iron shops near Central

Compound.

Contents of the shops include laxatives, women's underwear, watches, blankets, raw peanuts, huge bags of sugar, expensive watches and knives.

"I've spent all my life here," said one shopkeeper. A sign at the entrance of his store reads: "Native Shop".

Awkward

"I don't know another trade, it would be awkward to change. And where would I go? We are just waiting."

None of the shopkeepers

would give their names, as they are not white and own shops in white areas.

They would also not allow photographs.

At the white miners' bar, possible closure is the main topic of conversation.

"Everyone's depressed. There is no discipline, no interest among the workers, black or white," said one of the miners, mulling over a brandy and Coke. "The white miners should strike," said another.

The older miners refuse to believe ERP could close. ERP chairman Clive

Knobbs was tight-lipped about a rescue plan for the troubled mine, which last made a profit a decade ago.

The mine recently sold its dumps for reprocessing.

A decision from Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais' working committee on marginal mines is due any day now, and ERP's 10 000 employees are gloomily awaiting the outcome.

Gold analyst Rob Gillan said the mine's hopes were pinned on a Government subsidy, good grades from the newly sunk Far East Vertical Shaft and a substantial rise in the gold price.

Hammer 'n sickles in Umlazi

W/Mail 1/6 - 716/90

THE hammer and sickle stamped defiantly on election posters in Umlazi are not signs of an African National Congress contested election.

With the accompanying slogan "Say No to Slovo", they are part of the Conservative Party campaign to win its first seat in Natal in the June 6 by-election.

Umlazi, the white electoral district which shares the name of the huge black township nearby, is being contested by the CP, the National Party and the Democratic Party.

Last September the NP's Con Botha took the seat with 6 149 votes; the DP drew 3 314, while the CP trailed with 2 429.

Now Botha has been appointed

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

administrator of Natal and the election to fill his vacant seat has become, in the view of all three candidates, "one of the most important by-elections in the history of the country" as it will provide an indication of public feeling about the government's programme of change.

The DP has been criticised by some members of the party for putting up a candidate. It is argued that this will split the vote and could allow the CP to take the seat.

NP candidate Piet Matthee described the DP as "spoilers" in the election, and predicted they would finish a "poor third".

perse the strikers.

Catholic bishops yesterday

Emergency may be lifted today

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has called a special joint session of Parliament today to make a major announcement. He is expected to announce the lifting of all or part of the four-year-old state of emergency.

Mr de Klerk's speech comes after strong indications that the Cabinet decided yesterday to end the emergency.

The full Cabinet met for nearly six hours. Mr de Klerk apparently then had special meetings with Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and possibly other Ministers concerned with security.

The present state of emergency expires at midnight on Monday if it is not renewed.

It seems certain it will be lifted at least partially. It is known Mr

de Klerk would like to lift it to influence a European Community decision on sanctions on June 25, and to remove obstacles to negotiations with political groups.

It is not clear whether the emergency will be retained in troubled areas. The experience of partial emergency in 1985/1986 was that unrest spilt over into non-emergency areas.

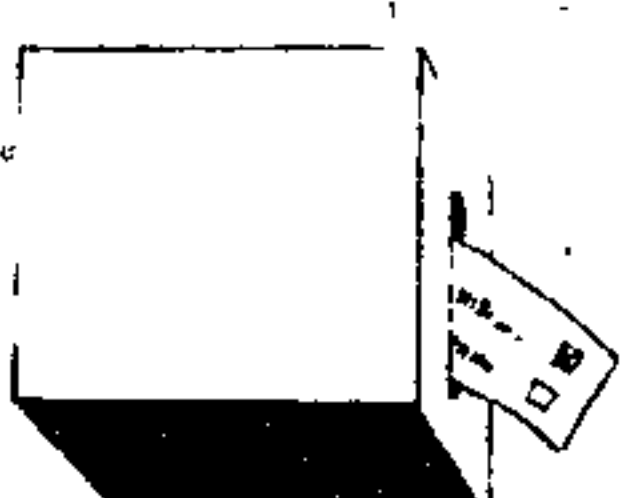
Mandela-Bush meeting

WASHINGTON — The White House has announced that Nelson Mandela will meet President George Bush on June 25.

"The purpose of this private visit is to hear Mr Mandela's views on the emerging process of negotiations to end apartheid", a White House spokesman said. — The Star Bureau. ● See Page 2.



THE WINNER: Mr Pat Matthee of the National Party, right, is raised on the shoulders of jubilant supporters after narrowly winning the Umlazi by-election.



UNBOWED: Pro-apartheid Conservative Party candidate Francis Hitchcock, left, is given a lift by spirited supporters. The CP more than doubled its number of votes.



Rigntwin'g boacklash

ARLUS 7/6/90

3048

Whites reluctant to change, says ANC

From ESMARE v d MERWE
Political Staff

PARIS. — The African National Congress said today that the Conservative Party's growth in Umlazi, the National Party's 20th safest seat in last year's general election, was indicative of white South Africa's uncertainty about political reform and reluctance to change.

Commenting on the NP's marginal victory, the ANC's director of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said the CP's major advance was not surprising, but regrettable.

Mr Mbeki was speaking as ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela met French President Francois Mitterrand for discussions today.

ROAD TO CONFLICT

Mr Mbeki said CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht would take South Africa further down the road of conflict.

He urged white South Africans to "change direction".

"We need to talk to white South Africa because it is crucial that they hear and understand what we stand for. We should get them engaged in the debate on a non-racial democratic dispensation.

"We have to get the ANC's message across to white people. That message is that they should not be afraid of change because change holds no threat in terms of houses, education and so on."

"The absence of change is more threatening than no change," Mr Mbeki said.

Bottle-throwing, brawls, —snarls and tears . . .

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The wives of two National Party MPs were roughed up in scuffles as bottle-throwing, brawls and snarls greeted the NP's Mr Piet Matthee's victory by 547 votes in the Umlazi by-election.

Mr Matthee polled 5 762 votes yesterday to the 5 215 of Conservative Party candidate Mr Francis Hitchcock. The Democratic Party's Mr Trevor Coppen trailed with 982 votes and lost his deposit.

CP workers were devastated by the result after they had claimed theirs was a "near perfect" campaign bolstered by workers from all over the country.

Some of their women workers were in tears. Others joined the men in front of the NP offices to shout "traitors", "ANC" and "Mandela" and try to prevent a victory address by Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett. Mr Matthee was booed.

The mood was ugly and security men moved closer to Mr Bartlett.

Four women, including the wives of two NP MPs, were roughed up in scuffles.

CP barkers had kept up a barrage of insults at NP workers during the day and, when polling closed, CP workers were happily confident of a victory. However, after the NP victory was announced, a large contingent of CP supporters gathered at the Montclair school polling booth used by the NP as offices.

Some CP supporters held aloft a "Say no to Slovo" poster to taunt the NP.

Miss Alet du Plessis, fiancée of Mr Cliff Matthee, the NP MP for Durban Point, held up a "CP = Conflict Party" poster.

A CP supporter pushed her off a step to the ground.

A vocal CP supporter then grabbed Mrs Gerda Bekker by the neck from behind. She

is the wife of Mr Hennie Bekker, the NP MP for Jeppe. Mr Bekker went to help his wife and was hit over the head with a poster by a CP supporter. Mr Bekker's glasses flew off as he hit the ground.

Mrs Vida Schoeman, wife of the indirectly elected MP Mr Renier Schoeman went to help Mrs Bekker and was also knocked to the ground by a CP man.

Mr Schoeman appealed to Mr Pikkie Coetzee, CP MP for Middelburg, and Mr Jurie Mentz, NP MP for Vryheid, appealed to CP secretary Mr Andries Beyers, to calm supporters down.

It took 15 minutes of hard talking before calm was restored.

Mr Schoeman said later: "It was disgraceful behaviour."

DP workers straggled sadly back to their campaign office after the result was announced.

Treurnicht likely to demand general election

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent and MARTIN CHALLENOR, Political Staff

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is expected to step up calls on the government to hold a general election in the wake of a narrow National Party victory in Umlazi.

The CP leader wasted no time in saying that the result of yesterday's by-election showed President De Klerk no longer had the support of most whites.

Mr De Klerk was not expected to comment on the result until later today, but he is bound to face a growing CP campaign to hold a general election.

Dr Treurnicht made it clear he believed his party could win a general election.

The Umlazi result, he said, indicated an enormous swing away from reform.

The Natal leader of the NP, Mr George Bartlett, said the government would not turn back on reform in spite of its drastically reduced Umlazi majority.

Mr Bartlett, Minister of Transport, said the government was committed to change. All who wanted a new South Africa had to rally.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer put a brave face on the result, saying there was "no comfort" in the situation "except perhaps that even in Umlazi the total pro-reform vote still holds a clear majority".

He did not believe it was fair to assume that the DP was finished, as some observers had said.

Voter performance in other seats would differ.

"In a seat like Umlazi where you have white people of a socio-economic level which tends to feel a high level of insecurity, there is a sense of fear and apprehension about reforms."

"Arithmetic"

Dr De Beer rejected the CP's assertion that it could win a general election. This was the "sort of arithmetical exercise politicians engage in when it suits them".

Dr Denis Worrall, co-leader of the DP, said the NP had lost its traditional support base. If it were not for the 2 000 DP supporters who voted NP to keep the CP out, there would have been a tremendous defeat of the NP. The result was therefore not a defeat for the DP.

It was essential that the NP spelt out the implications of its policies. The party had failed to get its message across.

Most poll-watchers seem to agree that the results represent a disaster for the DP and a setback, though not unexpected, for the government.

While recognising constituency variables, they said the result indicated that the CP would do well in a general election.

Potchefstroom University lecturer and acclaimed pollster Mr Dirk Laurie said the CP could win 60 percent of the national vote in a general election, doubling its previous performance, though he cautioned against extrapolating from a single result to the national picture.

UMLAZI RESULT

Piet Matthee (NP).....5 762
Francis Hitchcock (CP).....5 215
Trevor Coppen (DP).....982

NP majority: 547

Spoilt papers: 22

Percentage poll: 59,1

DP lost deposit.

Previous election won by Con Botha (NP) with 6 149 votes, CP 2 429 and DP 3 314 in a 61,2 percentage poll. — Sapa.

The weather

Cloudy and cool

(Details — page 2)

ANC told: Beware of wasteland legacy

7/6/90

Political Correspondent

304A

ORGANISATIONS like the ANC, UDF and Cosatu, which believe they have majority support, should behave like governments-in-waiting rather than "irresponsible opportunists", Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said yesterday.

If the estimated four million black people participating in rent and services boycotts continued to break their "social contracts", organisations with majority support could inherit "a wasteland".

Speaking on the Usury Amendment Bill, Mr Carlisle said "when large numbers of citizens deny their social obligations anarchy is around the corner".

He said that in the past the National Party had seriously undermined the social contract by governing on the premise that they had diminished obligations — or none at all — to black citizens.

"Now it is ever increasing numbers of blacks that are breaking the social contract, with frightening consequences for the future."

Citizens might dispute the amount of their social obligations, but these remained the essence of a democratic society. To walk away from them "creates a mind-set that will destroy our economy more certainly than sanctions or disinvestment".

'Interim power-sharing on the cards'

8/10am 7/16/90 (304A)

PETER DELMAR

INTERIM power-sharing at local government level could become a reality soon, despite government's rejection of the concept at national level, Wits University researcher Mark Swilling said yesterday.

Swilling, who is attached to the university's Centre for Policy Studies, told a conference in Johannesburg that recent government initiatives could be exploited by opposition groups to put forward the idea of local constituent assemblies to negotiate a new local government system.

The concept of constituent assemblies is one of the ANC's three demands for the lifting of economic sanctions as contained in its Harare Declaration. To date, government has rejected the concept.

Recently the technical committee of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs released a report containing a number of possible constitutional options for local government. These included a simple majoritarian model with or without the protection of minorities.

Swilling said the government's willingness to negotiate over municipal structures meant civic associations were entering a constitutional level.

De facto interim sharing of government had already been initiated by negotiations between the TPA, Soweto City Council and the Soweto People's Delegation.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Umlazi: a jolt FW can use as a stick

B10 Dec 8/6/90

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — The Umlazi by-election result has jolted the NP. But, while the swing to the right was far worse than anyone in the party expected, the result will not dissuade President F W de Klerk from continuing on the path of reform.

For the CP the near breakthrough in a predominantly English-speaking Natal constituency has provided dramatic evidence that it commands increasing support among blue-collar and lower-middle class voters, irrespective of language. For the DP, the result was nothing short of a disaster.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht claimed the result proved De Klerk could no longer speak on behalf of the white electorate. His more rabid colleagues are talking about forcing the NP into a general election by 1991.

The reality, however, is that De Klerk need not and will not do anything of the kind.

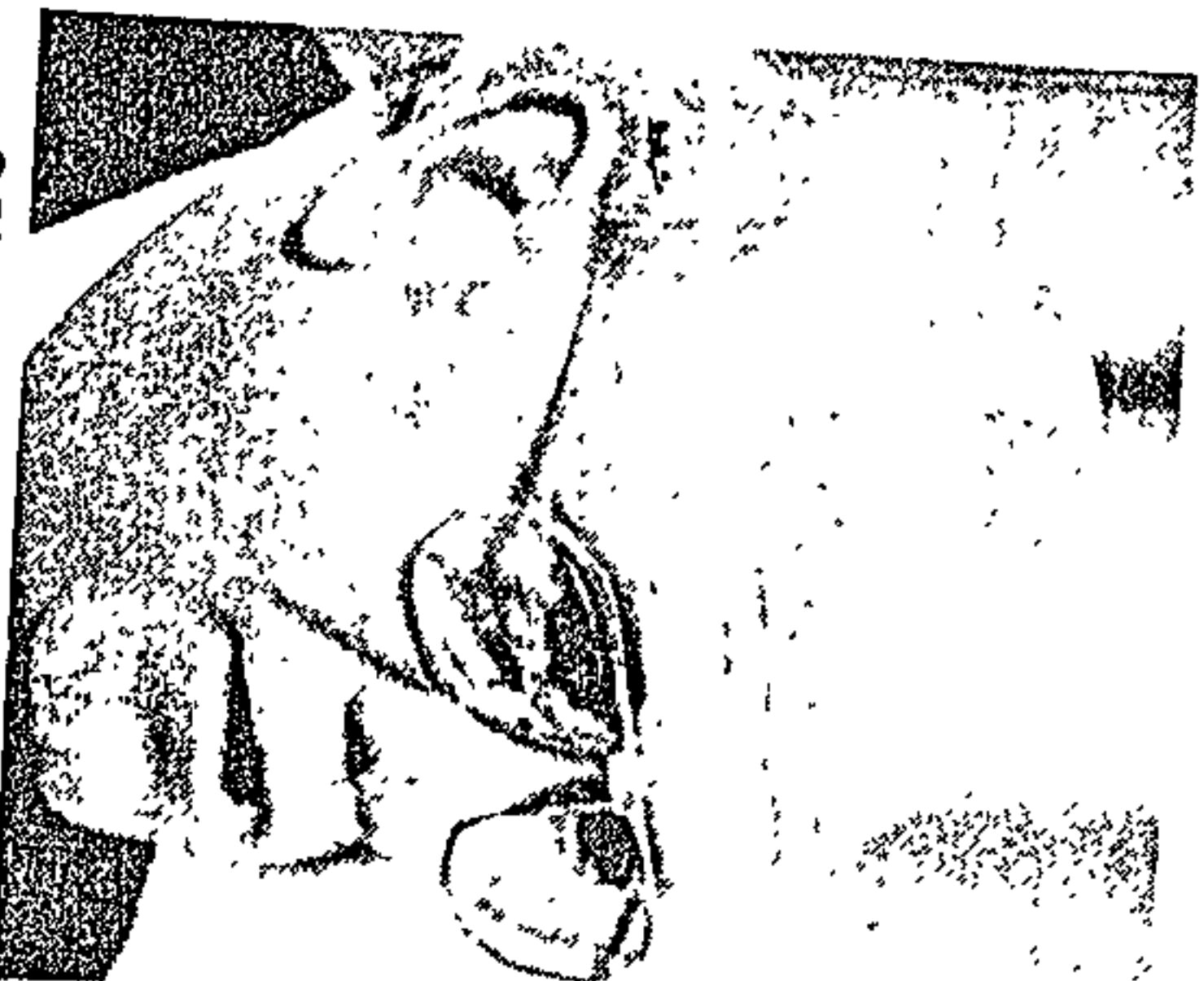
What Umlazi has shown is that the NP has failed to prepare the white electorate for the kind of change being undertaken and envisaged by De Klerk. The NP needs to take very serious note of this.

Drawing any further conclusions from the result is hazardous — given the fact that the next white general election, if indeed another is ever held, is more than four years off.

Umlazi is predominantly a lower-middle class constituency but has a substantial number of blue collar voters.

In class terms it is the sort of seat in which the CP has made substantial gains, or has even won in recent years in the Transvaal and the OFS.

The difference is that it is a constituency with about 80% English-speaking voters. From 1966 to 1977 Umlazi was a UP seat. Former MP Con Botha, now Natal Administrator, won the seat narrowly in 1977 and



● DE KLERK... not dissuaded

went on to make it the NP's safest seat in Natal with a 2 835 majority in last year's general election.

What happened on Wednesday is that those English speakers who left the UP in 1977 and in subsequent general elections for the NP, have transferred their loyalties to the CP.

For the CP this is a substantial breakthrough. It has broken through the language barrier and proved it can attract support from English as well as Afrikaans-speaking blue-collar and lower-middle class voters.

The question confronting the party, however, is what to do with this support. Treurnicht can claim he will win a majority if an election were held now, but can do nothing to force one — the CP needs 49 seats to get an overall majority in Parliament and the chances of that many by-elections taking place in the next four years is next to impossible.

De Klerk has repeatedly stressed he has no intention of turning back and he repeat-



● TREURNICHT... near breakthrough

ed it yesterday: "We cannot stop the world and get off as some people in SA would like us to do. Nor can we turn the clock back and take refuge in the past."

Given his commitment to bringing about a new SA, the Umlazi result, although certainly disappointing for him, could have some beneficial spin-offs.

In Europe, both he and Foreign Minister Pik Botha made the point that the changes introduced since February 2 were hurting the NP among its own supporters.

Backlash

While they had expected this and had no intention of slowing down the process of change, it was time the international community began to recognise that SA had been transformed and undertook to fundamentally reassess its relations with the country, they said.

The by-election result demonstrates to the international community that the

rightwing backlash in SA is real and that De Klerk needs to start delivering results. The result sends much the same message to the ANC. Without real progress in negotiations and a concerted effort to end violence in five years, and instead of dealing with a president who wants to negotiate a new SA, the ANC could well end up dealing with a President Treurnicht prepared to sink SA into a bloody conflagration.

De Klerk, however, has some time on his side. An end to SA's pariah status internationally and progress in negotiations will provide him with the ammunition to fight the white right.

For the DP, however, the mauling it took in the by-election was a strategic mistake that backfired badly.

Many in the party believed it would have been better to stay out of the election and urge supporters to vote against the CP. Instead it was decided to participate and almost 2 000 people who voted for the DP last year did exactly this in any case.

It is clear from Umlazi that the DP has failed to establish itself as an independent third force with a clear political ideology.

This will enable the NP, with a reforming De Klerk at the helm, to rapidly erode what was obviously a tentative DP support base established in last year's general election.

Whether what happened in Umlazi would be repeated in seats held by the DP is not clear. What is clear is that in any election where the NP is under threat from the CP, the DP will be a non-starter.

In the 1989 election the DP performed well because it was a loose coalition that offered a home to many former NP supporters frustrated by the lack of progress achieved by P W Botha.

Now it is losing these very voters because it is a loose coalition lacking a coherent ideology that clearly distinguishes it from the NP of De Klerk.

Talks 'will be representative'

3044

CAPE TOWN — There were various reasons why no members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates were cabinet members at present, President F W de Klerk said yesterday. He also said the real negotiation process would be far more representative than the Groote Schuur talks with the ANC last month. He was asked in the House of Delegates yesterday by Desmond Padiachey (NFP Central Rand) whether he intended appointing any members of the two Houses to the cabinet. De Klerk replied: "It is not the convention for the state to discuss or motivate publicly appointment of members of the cabinet. There is in principle no objection to appointment of members from either house, as was proved during the period when the chairmen of both Ministers' Councils served in the cabinet. "There are various reasons why this is not the case at present.

"This does not, however, mean that the leaders concerned are excluded from negotiations and discussions. "In fact, I created a forum for discussion of matters of common interest among the three Ministers' Councils, the President and members of the cabinet, and regular discussions take place in this forum."

De Klerk said discussions with the ANC in May were merely one in a series of discussions in the pre-negotiation process, which government was conducting with a variety of parties and organisations.

"The main purpose of this meeting was the removal of obstacles which might be standing in the way of the real negotiating process, with special reference to the ANC. "This series of discussions has to be distinguished from the real negotiating process, which will be far more representative," De Klerk said.

DP hits public department audit role

CAPE TOWN — It was ludicrous that public corporations were subject to audit but any subsidiary companies were out of reach of the Auditor-General, chief DP spokesman on finance Harry Schwarz said yesterday. 81024 8/6/90

Speaking during second reading debate on the Auditor-General Amendment Bill, he referred to the Special Defence Account audit. "There was only a partial audit. This is the responsibility not only of those who hid the documents, but of those who provided inadequate staff."

The problems with reporting secret acts were obvious, but irregularities and unlawful actions were never exposed and this could not be agreed to. Audit reports could be delayed and there was now an emergence of unsigned reports which could be delayed as long as possible but which contained necessary information.

Arulsvanathan Naidoo (Solidarity Durban Bay) said of the 948 posts available in the Auditor-General's department, only 648 were filled. 3044

He said every appointment and condition of service was subject to consultation with the Committee for Administration. "If he is to be the watchdog, he should have some

autonomy in choosing his staff. I would like to recommend appointments for positions from the Chief Auditor and below be delegated to the Auditor-General."

Jaco Maree (NP, Klip River) appealed for simpler book-keeping systems for use by smaller towns and municipalities.

"The present book-keeping system is extremely complicated and many of these smaller places have great difficulty in coping. They should have a simple income-expenditure accounting system and this will enable all the residents to know what is going on with the public accounts," he said. — Sapa.

IN BRIEF

ions to pensioners on

16 Simmons Street, Johannesburg

ARLUS 8/6/90 (3047) —

FW blames CP 'propaganda tricks'

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has blamed "disinformation" by the Conservative Party for the National Party's setback in the Umlazi by-election.

He was reacting to the Nationalist majority being slashed after a huge swing to the right. The NP was only saved by many Democratic Party supporters voting for it.

Mr De Klerk said the CP's onslaught on the National Party was based on two untruths. These were that the NP was willing to surrender the whites and other minorities to domination and repression and that the NP was suddenly having a cosy relationship with communism and terrorism.

Nothing was further from the truth than these two propaganda tricks of the far-right. The National Party would have to give attention to this through a stepped-up information campaign.

Mr De Klerk said it was not possible to set a firm tendency through only one by-election, especially not where it had taken place on the heels

of so many far-reaching developments.

Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the CP, said the result had shown that the movement of conservative voters to the CP had had accelerated dramatically in Umlazi.

English-speaking voters were turning against the government's liberalism and its initiatives of integration and white surrender.

23 PERCENT SWING

There had been a swing of 23 percent to the CP since September last year.

Democratic Party parliamentary leader Dr Zac de Beer said the pro-reform vote in Umlazi clearly exceeded the anti-reform one and there was no reason, therefore, why negotiations for a new South Africa should not proceed.

The NP had captured about half to two-thirds of what tended to be the DP vote.

"When one considers that the NP has taken over nearly all of the DP policy one should not be too surprised at this either," Dr De Beer said.

DP hits public department audit role

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Burning the great whore

304A

FIM 8/6/70

THE MIND OF SOUTH AFRICA by Allister Sparks (Heinemann, 424pp, R69,99).

The title is a deliberate echo of W J Cash's classic *The Mind of the South*. It sets out to "give the same kind of insights into SA that (Cash) gave me into the psyche of the American South. But Cash wrote only about white Southerners. To get at the true human drama of SA, one has to encompass all those involved."

This "awesome task" is attempted through historical narrative, including an account of the turbulence of the present — though stopping short of the advent of President F W de Klerk — interspersed with a running moral commentary similar to a leading article in the *Rand Daily Mail* (RDM), of which Sparks was for a time the editor.

In a work such as this, the qualities one looks for are originality, elegance of expression, fairness and consistency of judgment. You will find none of them here.

In history, one must do one's research:

there is a great deal to cover. Sparks has certainly done his. Among the texts he has consulted is Donald R Morris's *The Washing of the Spears* (1965). It is interesting to compare Morris with Sparks on, say, Shaka's military innovations.

Morris: "He regarded the light throwing assegai as a ridiculous toy, and fretted at its flimsiness. He soon devised a new assegai, with a heavy broad blade and a stout shortened haft . . . It was called the *iKlwa*, an onomatopoeic term imitating the sucking sound it made as it was withdrawn."

Sparks: "He regarded the throwing spear as a hopelessly inefficient weapon and devised a new stabbing assegai with a shortened haft and broadened blade which he called the *iKlwa* in onomatopoeic imitation of the sucking sound it made when withdrawn from the body of a slain victim."

After killing an opponent, Morris writes, "Shaka would shout, 'Ngadla! (I have eaten!)" Sparks gives this version: "'Ngadla!' he would shout. 'I have eaten!'" Obviously writers of this kind of book must do research and Sparks does cite Morris elsewhere in this chapter; but I am not sure

that his account of events advances our understanding of "the mind of SA" more than Morris or Thomas Pringle or Leonard Thompson or Monica Wilson et seq.

Eyewitness reports do not need similar research. Sparks is present at a necklacing: "By the time I reached the scene the branch of a dead tree had been thrown on the soldier's body to add to the blaze . . . One of the youngsters who had done this deed came up to us. 'Kentucky Fried Chicken!' he shrieked,

dancing a little jig before us, his eyes wild and his arms akimbo. 'We must kill them all!' But he showed no sign of wanting to harm us. Whatever it was that had driven him to do this, it was not lust for revenge against whites."

The writer, having set the scene, gives us a comment designed perhaps to enable us to enter "the mind" of the youth: "As I stood there watching the blazing body it put me in mind of the burning of the great whore in Revelation who corrupted the earth with her fornication." Sparks goes on to lament how "a generation grown up in the

institutionalised violence of apartheid and the endemic violence of the ghetto" has in turn become violent.

Such "youngsters," presumably, no longer have the civilising ability to make resonant biblical comparisons when they murder someone. It is society's fault.

The dignity of black rallies and funerals is stressed: "Inside the stadium you would enter the other SA, black SA, the one which whites never see but only dread in their dreams — warm, spontaneous, and very different from the uptight, self-indulgent SA you had just left . . . The crowd would sing with the lilt almost of a lullaby:

"Go well, Umkhonto,
Umkhonto, Umkhonto we Sizwe.
We, the people of Umkhonto
Are ready to kill the Boers."

And, fortunately, the leaders of the resistance are Christians. "Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned (sic) Nelson Mandela, presumptive head of the ANC and the man who founded Umkhonto we Sizwe, is a devout Anglican . . . And then of course there are Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Bocsak, and the Rev Frank Chikane, major

theologians and major spokesmen for the cause of black liberation, the ultimate symbols of the way faith and rebellion are intertwined in SA, each influencing the other."

Of necklacings and other excesses: "The ANC does not approve, but what can it do?" This hand-wringing excuse perhaps explains why those blacks who act violently against other blacks in the name of the ANC are given so little space.

Azapo is mentioned once, thus: "As the repression intensified and black leaders disappeared into detention, discipline deteriorated and directionless groups vented their frustrations on one another. Bloody conflicts broke out between the UDF and Azapo in Soweto and the eastern Cape, and between the UDF and Inkatha in Natal, again with the security forces often standing by to observe the spectacle of black self-immolation."

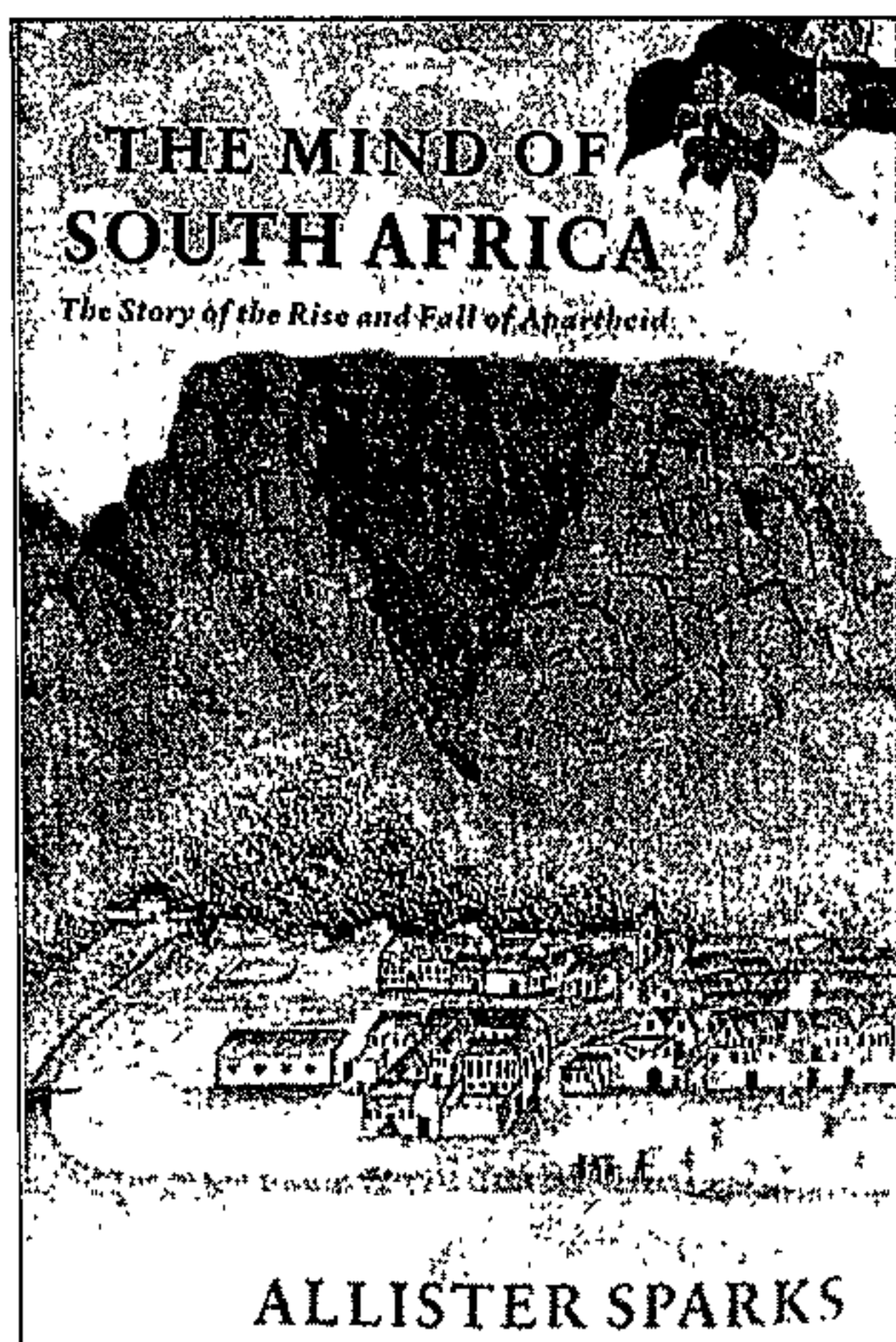
Against the awfulness of apartheid and repression — including brutal security forces who simply stand aside at terrible scenes, perhaps pondering the Bible — something must be offered. For Sparks it is the "inclusionist spirit of *ubuntu*, nonracialism, collectivism, and humanism on which the future of SA must be built."

Ubuntu is "the quality of being human." It has its own mystique as a kind of hippie ethic rooted in a golden African "past" which few actually document — did Shaka have it in mind when he invented his *iKlwa*? Is it like Holism? At any rate, its rationale leads on to an economic programme. Sparks notes that "the socialist world is in economic crisis everywhere," but says "it is clear that the free marketeers do not have the answer either." A synthesis is necessary, one which contains "substantial elements of socialism and (which) will have to be presented with a socialist label."

This probably means nationalising only some of the commanding heights; perhaps only people with really big houses will have to share them. This will be acceptable once the values of *ubuntu* have been assimilated — "And when it is," Sparks writes with the authority of an RDM leader, "SA will cease to be a world symbol of racism and division and become a symbol instead of national reconciliation and racial harmony, of coexistence between black and white, a bridge between the haves of the first world and the have-nots of the second. That is my dream for the second millenium." A thousand years of *ubuntu* lie ahead.

André Brink, quoted on the cover, says: "Anyone who tries to understand what is happening in SA today without first digesting Allister Sparks's lucid, sensitive and comprehensive exploration of the country's multifaceted mind, does so at his own peril."

What can this "peril" be? Peter Wilhelm



Umlazi: No need to grab the Valiums

THE results of this week's by-election in Durban's Umlazi constituency should not be interpreted as "too depressing", according to Natal political analysts.

Contesting the view of several Transvaal-based analysts who predicted yesterday that the Conservative Party would win if a whites-only election were held now, Natal analysts say there are a number of special circumstances which need to be taken into account, partly explaining results which saw the National Party retaining the seat, but with a majority slashed from over 2 800 to 547.

Conservative Party support soared in the by-election, with the 2 429 votes obtained in the last election jumping to 5 215, while the Democratic Party polled 982 votes, compared with its previous total of 3 314.

The soaring CP support in Umlazi is no cause for great depression. CARMEL RICKARD reports

Both the head of the Department of Politics at Natal University, Pietermaritzburg, Douglas Irvine, and Ian Phillips, lecturer in politics on the Durban campus, said voters had been influenced by the violence in Natal. They were reacting to the continuing political conflict, as well as to a spate of murders on farms and other crimes said by police to be a spin-off from the political violence.

Phillips said CP house meetings concentrated on the violence; the CP was able to capitalise on the very regional problem in Natal.

These factors were not present in

the same way in other parts of the country, and both he and Irvine disputed whether the CP would win a white general election.

Phillips said there had been municipal elections in other parts of the country after February 2 in which the NP regained seats previously lost to the CP.

He also pointed to a shortcoming in NP strategy nationally: although there have been many public statements from the top about the need for negotiations, the party has not been holding local meetings to educate voters on this view. The party has neglected to popularise negotiation — and has paid for it in Umlazi.

Irvine said it was significant that despite these drawbacks, the NP was still able to retain Umlazi, acknowledged to be a very conservative area.

As far as the DP is concerned, there have been criticisms that the party made a tactical error in contesting the election, rather than getting its political house in order following the government's February 2 bombshells.

"The government is now implementing many of the things the DP has been urging for years," Phillips said. "The DP should have put themselves into a position where they got credit for this, rather than exposing themselves to the humiliation of the Umlazi result."

However, analysts believe even if the DP had kept out of the contest, NP results would not have been significantly improved.

"The CP is definitely to be taken seriously because it is an expression of whites' fear," Irvine said.

Choking smog

304A Nov 8/6/92
Road, greeted the 70 delegates. They learnt there were

Govt's decision to lift emergency welcomed at home and abroad

Generally favourable reaction at home and abroad has greeted the Government's intention to lift, at midnight tonight, the state of emergency throughout the country except in Natal and KwaZulu.

Mr de Klerk told a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday that the Government had decided to combat violence through an expansion of the security forces enforcing ordinary laws instead of the emergency.

The security forces are to receive a massive R814 million injection in pay and logistical support.

The police force is to be expanded by 10 000 men and women, and the pay packets of members of the Permanent Force, especial-

ly the lower ranks, is to be increased from July 1. More troops are to be deployed in trouble spots.

Mr de Klerk told yesterday's sitting that a state of emergency in Natal would be gazetted today.

Official sources said about 80 detainees would be released, all of them outside Natal, when the emergency lapsed tonight.

Mr de Klerk also announced the release of 48 political prisoners as a "gesture" and said the Government was ready to go further, but the ANC had asked for more time to consider a joint Government/ANC report on the release of political prisoners.

Mr de Klerk said the Government was rapidly implementing

the Groote Schuur Minute, the accord with the ANC aimed at removing obstacles to negotiations.

He challenged the ANC to do the same and said it should stop "vacillating" over violence.

A spokesman for President Bush said the move was a sign of "the remarkable progress" made recently by Pretoria.

He said President de Klerk's action removed a major obstacle to talks with the ANC aimed at ending apartheid.

In London, a Foreign Office spokesman hailed "this further positive step to help clear the way to negotiations".

"We regret that violence in Natal prevented the lifting of the emergency there at this stage," the spokesman said. A heavy responsibility now rested with political leaders in all areas of South Africa to help prevent violence.

United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar issued a statement in New York calling the announcement "a positive development".

Canada's External Affairs Minister Joe Clark said that while he regretted that the emergency would remain in force in Natal, "this is an important and constructive step and a welcome signal of the SA Government's commitment to dialogue and negotiations". — Political Correspondent-Sapa-Reuter-AP.

● See Page 6.

Investment confidence may get boost

By Michael Chester

Business leaders and economists were jubilant last night over the potential boost to investment confidence after the partial lifting of the state of emergency.

Greater foreign and local investment is considered crucial for the economic growth needed to tackle unemployment and redistribution of wealth.

The South African Chamber of Business said signs of stability were vital for business and investor confidence.

Azar Jammine, director of the Econometrix think tank, said: "Moves to enhance the process of political negotiation are essential

for the longer-term economic outlook.

"While some people might be extremely apprehensive about the lifting of the state of emergency, from an economic viewpoint the blunt reality is that President de Klerk needs to do all he can in the short term to ease the country's foreign debt problems."

First National Bank senior general manager Jimmy McKenzie said: "The banking sector will give universal applause to the new moves."

"They will lend further support to the President's initiatives to reinforce his credibility and sincerity about reform."

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FW hints at mixed Cabinet

CAPE TOWN — It would be desirable for the Cabinet to again include majority leaders from the Houses of Representatives and Delegates if there could be full co-operation and general agreement on major policy directions, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Replying to a question from D K Padiahey (NFP Central Rand) on whether he intended appointing any members of the two houses to the Cabinet, he said it was not convention for the State President to discuss or motivate in public the appointment of members of the Cabinet.

In principle there were no objections

to appointment of members of the Delegates or Representatives, as was illustrated by members who had served in the Cabinet under his predecessor.

There were various reasons why this was not the case at present, but this did not mean they were excluded from discussions and interaction.

Regular discussions took place in a forum he had created for leaders of these houses, the House of Assembly and the Cabinet.

"We are meeting the need for proper interaction and communication as best we can." — Sapa.

Analysts ² divided on ^{304A} continuing ^{Star} Natal curbs ^{8/6/73}

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

Political analysts around the country yesterday predicted international kudos for the partial lifting of the emergency curbs and were sharply divided on the need for them in Natal.

The announcement itself was also an attempt to normalise politics in South Africa before the Government went into its next general election which would have to be fought with a far broader voters roll, according to Professor Alf Stadler, head of the Political Studies Department at Wits University.

He said the lifting of the curbs did not necessarily mean political repression would cease against the ANC and organisations to the left of it.

"I wouldn't be surprised if we saw an increase in the dirty tricks type of operation against these groups," he said.

Concessions

Dr Philip Frankel, senior lecturer in the Political Studies Department at Wits, described the partial lifting as a "very significant move which will certainly put pressure on the ANC to start coming across with more meaningful concessions such as a formal cessation of the armed struggle".

The announcement would also serve to maintain the public relations wave the Government was riding in international circles and might dampen Nelson Mandela's pro-sanctions message, he said.

Professor Douglas Irvine, head of the Political Studies Department at the University of Natal, said he was extremely disappointed the curbs were not lifted in Natal.

"The state of emergency must be lifted in its entirety; this is a first step to rehabilitating the rule of law and establishing law itself and the forces of law as the proper way to secure order."

Professor Pieter Coetzer, deputy director and head of research at the University of the Orange Free State's Institute of Contemporary History, said it was not "justifiable to lift the emergency at this stage in certain districts of Natal where violence still rules. The police alone are not capable of handling the situation".

These are the curbs that will be lifted from midnight

8/4/80 Political Staff 344A

CAPE TOWN — Sweeping restrictions in most of South Africa will be lifted at midnight.

The widely denounced measures were introduced on June 12 1986 and have been renewed every year since. Some additional measures were added in the intervening years.

The media regulations, with the exception of measures restricting visual coverage, were lifted in February.

The following measures — lifted tonight in all areas except Natal — have been in force for four years:

● Any officer or NCO of the various law enforcement agencies

could warn any person to move, and warn that force could be used, if life, property or public order were threatened.

● Any member of the security forces could, without a warrant, arrest any person for the maintenance of order. Such a person could be detained for up to 14 days, or longer if the Minister of Justice decreed.

● A member of the force could interrogate a detained person.

● The Minister could impose any conditions he deemed necessary on people released from detention.

● No person was allowed access to detained people without the consent of the Minister or Com-

missioner of Police.

● No person was entitled to any information about detainees.

● It was an offence to threaten anyone with harm, hurt or loss.

● Any member of the force could at any time search or order the search of any person, premises, place, vehicle, vessel or aircraft.

● Members of the public were obliged to rearrest people who escaped from detention.

● Nobody could photograph, film or record any unrest or security action or import, publish or broadcast such material.

● Nobody could encourage or incite people to join or arrange any boycott, stayaway, strike or

restricted gathering.

● Nobody could incite or encourage people to exert power through alternative local structures such as street committees or people's courts.

● The commissioner could issue orders to demarcate areas and control all movement in them, close any public or private place, business or industry, re-

move any person from or to an area, control essential services and the security of any installation, impose curfews, completely control the gathering and distribution of news about these regulations, or make any order deemed necessary.

● It was an offence to disclose, without authorisation, the identity of arrested people or to deface any notice issued under the emergency regulations.

● The maximum penalty for offences under the emergency regulations was a R20 000 fine or 10 years' imprisonment without the option of a fine.

● The courts could not set aside any order or rule issued under the regulations.

● Complete indemnity against criminal or civil proceedings was granted to the State, the State President, his Cabinet, any member of a law enforcement force, any public servant or anyone acting under instructions.

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CP leader says FW is creating 'risky situation'

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's forswearing of violence and abandonment of the so-called armed struggle should be the minimum conditions for the lifting of the state of emergency, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in a statement yesterday.

Although it was ideal for all in South Africa that the state of emergency be lifted, it was unwise to do so under the present grave circumstances, he said.

"As happened in the period before the emergency, the violence will probably merely move to the areas outside the state of emergency."

President de Klerk was creating a risky situation in his attempts to placate the ANC by scrapping the emergency now, Dr Treurnicht added.

Outside Natal there were 10 times more incidents of unrest and violence in the first three months of this year than in the corresponding period in 1989.

Plans to expand the security forces confirmed the serious level of violence. — Sapa.

CP's secret — 'it saw voters' fears'

CAH 7-15 8/6/90 Own Correspondent 306A

DURBAN — The Conservative Party did well in Wednesday's Umlazi by-election because it had paid a great deal of attention to the fears of the ordinary voter, Professor Mervyn Frost, professor of political science at the University of Natal, said.

The CP had concentrated successfully on issues such as property, law and order and violence.

Mr Donald Simpson, a political analyst at the University of Potchefstroom, said the result, used as a yardstick, would give the CP 51% of the white vote in a general election, the NP 43% and the DP 6%.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, said President F W de Klerk should not be deterred in his reform initiative by the CP inroads.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the result had confirmed that the shift of conservative voters to the CP was continuing.

In Paris, Mr Nelson Mandela welcomed the NP's Umlazi election victory but said its narrow majority made it clear the CP was exploiting racial prejudice among whites.

"We are negotiating with the NP and we would like to see them receiving the backing of the whites," he said.

FW hopes speech becomes a sanctions-buster

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has said he hoped his speech in parliament would have an impact on the sanctions situation.

He was speaking yesterday after his address to a joint session of the three Houses in which he emphasised that South Africa could not live in isolation from the rest of the world.

He said the country needed foreign trade and investment as well as technological, cultural and sporting interaction with other countries.

DIFFICULT PROCESS

"We cannot stop the world and get off as some people in South Africa would like us to do."

Mr De Klerk said dramatic progress had been made towards the normalisation of the political process in South Africa.

For many people this had been difficult.

"Many South Africans preferred the situation when unpleasant political realities could be swept under the carpet."

Many organisations, including the ANC, had been stripped of the mythological status which they had previously enjoyed. They now had to defend their policies in the open market place of ideas.

Mr De Klerk disclosed that the government was ready to implement an agreement on exiles and political prisoners which had been reached in a working group with the ANC but that the ANC had asked for time until July 11 to give its reaction.

In the meantime 48 people would be released as a gesture.

Mr De Klerk said the ANC had to stop vacillating and state clearly where it stood on key issues.

It was difficult to reconcile the ANC's positive efforts to resolve the climate of violence with its continuing support for the "armed struggle".

In the same way the ANC should explain its contradictory positions on the economy.

Mr Mandela had said that the ANC wished to bring about a non-racial democracy with a powerful economy in South Africa.

Mr De Klerk said he wondered how the ANC reconciled this with its continued calls for sanctions. It must realise that sanctions were harming the economic prospects of all South Africans.

He also wondered how the ANC reconciled its continuing calls for nationalisation of important sectors of the economy with its professed wish to build a powerful economy.

Such statements had potentially disastrous implications for future foreign investment.



President De Klerk

FW presses on regard

THE Umlazi by-election result showed President De Klerk what he knows by now — that there are uncertainties and fears among many white voters about his reform moves and that these are easily exploited by the Conservative Party.

There is no turning back for Mr De Klerk, of course, as he indicated in his speech in Parliament yesterday.

Many traditional Nationalist voters have now left their old party to go to the right wing, but Mr De Klerk has the consolation that moderates, some from the Democratic Party, are rallying to his cause.

Judging by the Umlazi result he could therefore still get a majority of white voters in a referendum on drastic constitutional changes.

The CP is not likely to get an opportunity to demonstrate its growing strength in a general election for an all-white House of Assembly, as there is not likely to be such an election again.

Difficult

Mr De Klerk did not immediately react to the Umlazi result but in his speech yesterday he had a passing reference to the reform moves being a difficult process for many.

He said that many South Africans preferred the situation when unpleasant political realities could be swept under the carpet.

It was much less troubling to pretend that these realities did not exist and to continue to live in comfort and complacency.

□□□□

Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela had a lot to talk about when they met in the Union Buildings in Pretoria last Saturday.

First of all the talks were about the progress which had been made on the implementation of the Groote Schuur Minute and the need to effectively reduce the level of violence.

Definition

The two men had before them the report of the working group of the government and the ANC which was appointed after the Groote Schuur meeting.

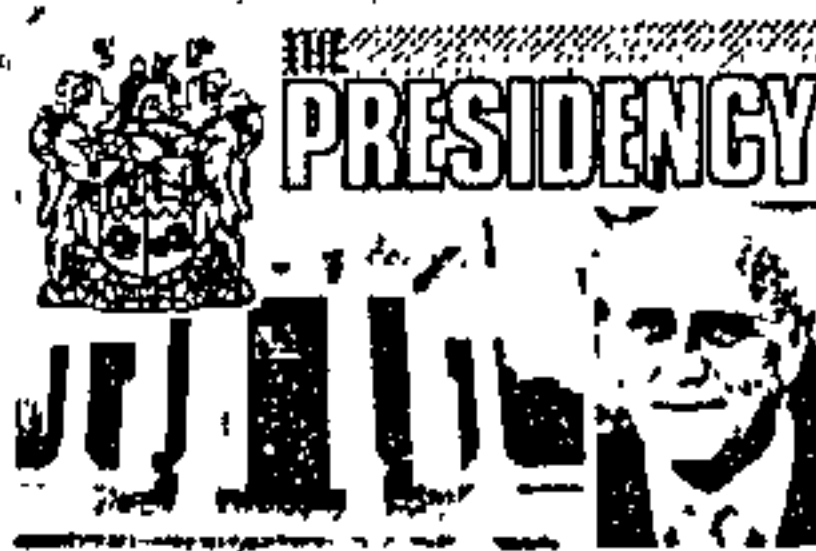
Both sides have spoken very positively about an agreement reached on a definition of political offences, and the time scales, norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity from prosecution in respect of political offences to those inside and outside South Africa.

Such a plan dealing with political prisoners and exiles is likely to be implemented in stages.

It seems as if there will not be a mass release of political prisoners but that the first priority will be the question of granting immunity to exiles and preparing the way for the return of what could be more than 20 000 people.

One of the problems to be dealt with is that many of these people are not technically South African citizens anymore as they have acquired the citizenship or the travelling documents of the countries where they have been living.

Therefore, they will have to be identified as being entitled to South African citizenship in preparation for their return.



COMMENTARY BY
TOB WENTZEL

According to top Nationalist sources one of the formulas which Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela may have considered was to have South African officials in centres such as Lusaka to deal with this matter.

The return of the exiles has economic as well as political implications. This matter was touched on at the Groote Schuur talks where, among others, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis spoke about it.

Provision for housing and jobs for the exiles will have to be made and some European countries, such as West Germany, have indicated that they will be willing to help with this. The two men may well have considered this.

On the question of political prisoners the government has moved away from its initial stance that only people who were imprisoned merely for having belonged to banned organisations which are now unbanned could be released.

On this issue the two sides are moving to a general amnesty of political prisoners, including those who were involved in violence.

Such an agreement will not only cover members of formerly banned organisations but also those involved in government undercover operations and right wingers.

Reaction

A lot of give and take has obviously been involved in the putting together of the agreement. The ANC had now asked for time until July 11 to inform the government of its reaction. In the meantime 48 people are to be released as a gesture of goodwill.

Mr De Klerk has frequently referred to the need to effectively reduce the level of violence.

In the Groote Schuur Minute the ANC promised to help resolve the existing climate of violence and intimidation "from whatever quarter" as the document put it.

On this hinged to some extent the decision on the state of emergency this week.

Before he left on his present visit abroad, Mr Mandela conceded in effect that there were ANC elements that were out of control.

He referred to "a certain amount of lack of discipline on the part of activists."

Leadership

Mr De Klerk had the opportunity to address him on this matter. Mr Mandela's reply is likely to have been, as he stated beforehand, that the ANC leadership itself is united in condemning all forms of violence among the people themselves. The ANC clearly has a problem here.

At a Press conference Mr Mandela also referred to another question on which there is sharp difference of opinion between him and Mr De Klerk — the "armed struggle".

According to Mr Mandela the ANC only accepted organised violence in the form of armed action which was properly controlled and where the targets had been carefully selected.

Mr De Klerk may soon make an announcement on the review of existing security legislation "to bring it into line with the dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities" as the government undertook to do in the Groote Schuur Minute.

With the unbanning of many organisations much of

the existing security movements is

In government sides may be able to start of real negotiations.

There is the prospect of a far broader basis for negotiation table and groups as

The two leaders visit to Europe

Mr De Klerk is he would face tough visit — the armed

Mr De Klerk's speech in Parliament

Political observers gained the impression that the armed struggle

On the question Mandela that European investors are extra prospects in Africa continent has an Africa perhaps a

Talk about would scare off

Mr Mandela left for the maintenance

Mr De Klerk's cap in hand ask country could live ed the development

While awaiting Community leaders expect any dramatic in a cumbersome to put together a

They are hoping which might help South Africa.

Meanwhile Mr trouble with his sanctions.

In France the made to President

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The Discriminatory Amenities Report Mr De Klerk's Council on

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FW passes 'emergency' test

Star 8/6/90

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South Africa's political hot potato is now destined for the history books.

It is a history of a State of Emergency which over four years saw thousands killed in "unrest related" incidents, hundreds arrested, beach demonstrations, student unrest and the African National Congress making it part of the negotiation process even though the Government refuses to accept it as such.

The emergency became one of the biggest tests of State President FW de Klerk's reform policies and had international opinion united against it.

Prime Ministers and Presidents everywhere appealed to the President, as well as to his predecessor, P W Botha, to end the emergency regulations put in place on June 9 1986 during a period of considerable unrest.

The decision taken yesterday by President de Klerk is now expected to play a crucial role in attitudes towards the new South Africa.

Angry world

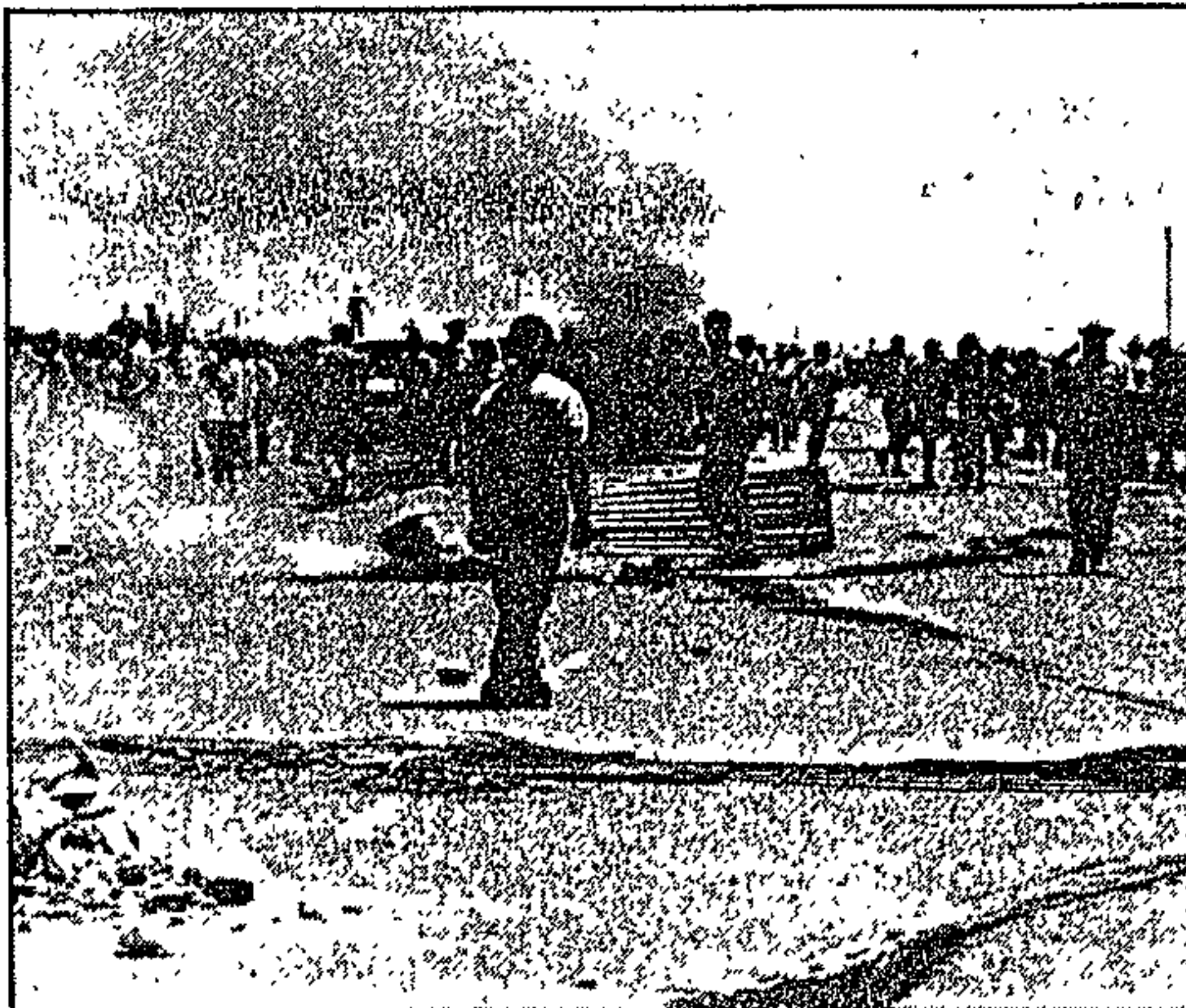
There were two scenarios facing the President's Men when they sat down in the Cabinet Room in Cape Town to debate the decision:

- No change — and an angry world and ANC baying at the door once more, wrecking peace overtures made by the President in recent weeks and decisively affecting the negotiation process.

- A lifting of the regulations in every province except perhaps crisis-torn areas such as Natal — a move which would bring increased support from Britain, the United States and France, although the ANC has said it wants a total lifting of the emergency.

There had earlier been a partial lifting of the regulations, particularly relating to the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the

The State of Emergency has been partially lifted. **NORMAN CHANDLER** reports on a situation once described by legal experts as "giving the police a licence to do unlawful things".



The State of Emergency unleashed brutality on the community as a whole, said a human rights lawyer.

South African Communist Party and other groups and individuals, but regulations affecting the media, particularly television and film coverage of unrest, stayed in place.

The government's decision is more important than ever because on June 18 the European Community discusses its attitude to South Africa. The lifting of the emergency may well have far-reaching effects on sanctions.

It was for this reason that President de Klerk went to Europe last month and told the British, French, German, Spanish, Greek, Swiss, Belgian and Portuguese governments what he intended with his reform policies and what was to follow in terms of legislation being scrapped.

But it was a long and painful road.

The ANC made the emergen-

cy one of its key bargaining points towards the negotiation process. It said the emergency had been hampering its task and that nothing short of a total lifting would suffice.

The Government went on record as saying it did not view the emergency as a "pawn" in the negotiation process. It said stability had to be maintained and that this was the "test" which had to be applied.

The first hint of a likely change came from a most unexpected quarter — Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order and the man who manages the police who had to administer the regulations.

In a magazine interview last month, he said the emergency would possibly only continue in areas where there was unrest. At present, the Natal region remains the key unrest area although there is also vio-

lence in certain areas of the Free State (particularly Welkom), the Eastern Cape and Transvaal.

Mr Vlok's conciliatory magazine interview was followed, on May 11, by a statement by President de Klerk at a media conference in Paris that a partial lifting was being considered.

A State of Emergency was partially imposed in 1985 and then lifted, before a nationwide emergency came into effect on June 9 1986 following widespread violence.

Police officers were given awesome powers and did not have to consider the alternatives in implementing the regulations — such as arrest or a less violent means of breaking up protests.

There was also no recourse to the courts if someone were hurt when police broke up meetings.

Brutalised

This resulted in former police lieutenant Gregory Rockman accusing his colleagues of "brutality" during riot squad operations in the Western Cape.

The situation was summed up by human rights lawyer Dullah Omar, of Cape Town, last year, when he said: "The State of Emergency gave police a licence for the unleashing of violence ... it is brutalising people, including the riot police. It unleashes brutality on the community as a whole."

The last four years saw hundreds of people arrested. Lawyers for Human Rights estimated last month that there were least 200 in detention.

Emergency powers were brought into effect to control violence in many areas — and the unrest since the emergency was declared claimed at least 5 400 lives up to March 31 this year, according to statistics by independent monitoring groups.

Presses on regardless

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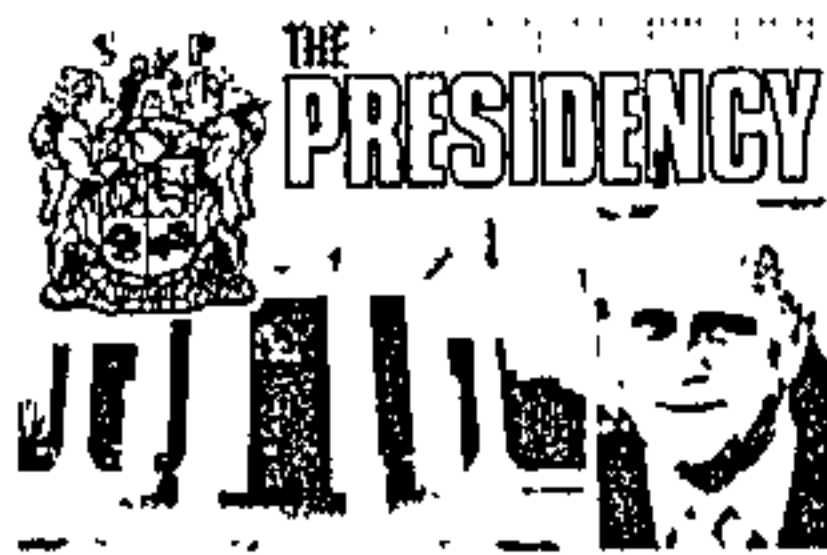
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COMMENTARY BY
TOB WENTZEL

According to top Nationalist sources one of the formulas which Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela may have considered was to have South African officials in centres such as Lusaka to deal with this matter.

The return of the exiles has economic as well as political implications. This matter was touched on at the Groote Schuur talks where, among others, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis spoke about it.

Provision for housing and jobs for the exiles will have to be made and some European countries, such as West Germany, have indicated that they will be willing to help with this. The two men may well have considered this.

On the question of political prisoners the government has moved away from its initial stance that only people who were imprisoned merely for having belonged to banned organisations which are now unbanned could be released.

On this issue the two sides are moving to a general amnesty of political prisoners, including those who were involved in violence.

Such an agreement will not only cover members of formerly banned organisations but also those involved in government undercover operations and right wingers.

Reaction

A lot of give and take has obviously been involved in the putting together of the agreement. The ANC had now asked for time until July 11 to inform the government of its reaction. In the meantime 48 people are to be released as a gesture of goodwill.

Mr De Klerk has frequently referred to the need to effectively reduce the level of violence.

In the Groote Schuur Minute the ANC promised to help resolve the existing climate of violence and intimidation "from whatever quarter" as the document put it.

On this hinged to some extent the decision on the state of emergency this week.

Before he left on his present visit abroad, Mr Mandela conceded in effect that there were ANC elements that were out of control.

He referred to "a certain amount of lack of discipline on the part of activists."

Leadership

Mr De Klerk had the opportunity to address him on this matter. Mr Mandela's reply is likely to have been, as he stated beforehand, that the ANC leadership itself is united in condemning all forms of violence among the people themselves. The ANC clearly has a problem here.

At a Press conference Mr Mandela also referred to another question on which there is sharp difference of opinion between him and Mr De Klerk — the "armed struggle".

According to Mr Mandela the ANC only accepted organised violence in the form of armed action which was properly controlled and where the targets had been carefully selected.

Mr De Klerk may soon make an announcement on the review of existing security legislation "to bring it into line with the dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities" as the government undertook to do in the Groote Schuur Minute.

With the unbanning of many organisations much of

the existing security legislation and its references to such movements is now obsolete.

In government circles there is the hope that the two sides may be able to clear up all the obstacles to the start of real negotiations soon.

There is the prospect of another round of talks, on a far broader basis and aimed at the composition of the negotiation table and the drawing in of as many parties and groups as possible, starting in about six weeks.

The two leaders also discussed Mr De Klerk's recent visit to Europe and the one Mr Mandela is now on.

Mr De Klerk is bound to have told Mr Mandela that he would face tough questioning on two issues during his visit — the armed struggle and nationalisation.

Mr De Klerk tackled him on both these issue in his speech in Parliament yesterday.

Political observers on Mr De Klerk's European trip gained the impression that many European leaders thought that the deeds perpetrated in the name of the armed struggle were indefensible.

On the question of nationalisation he could tell Mr Mandela that European businessmen and potential investors are extremely sceptical about development prospects in Africa, that in fact they regard most of the continent as an economic "basket case" with Southern Africa perhaps a hopeful exception.

Talk about nationalisation, however vaguely stated, would scare off potential investors.

Mr Mandela left on his trip still committed to calling for the maintenance of sanctions.

Mr De Klerk has stated that he was in not in Europe cap in hand asking for the lifting of sanctions as the country could live with them although sanctions retarded the development potential for the lesser privileged.

Confidence

While awaiting the June 25 meeting of the European Community leaders, top government leaders now do not expect any dramatic gestures as the community works in a cumbersome way with it sometimes taking months to put together a compromise.

They are hoping for at least some symbolic gestures which might help restore foreign investor confidence in South Africa.

Meanwhile Mr Mandela appears to be running into trouble with his efforts for the retention of blanket sanctions.

In France the feeling was that some gesture had to be made to President de Klerk.

There are now indications of some French EC bureaucrats supporting a Dutch plan to make minor concessions on sanctions linked to the introduction of irreversible reforms.

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The formal announcement that the Separate Amenities Act and a few other apartheid measures affecting race segregation in public amenities are being scrapped, led to a new wave of political hysteria from the right wing.

As could have been expected, the Conservative Party described the move as another step toward integration and said it would oppose the new moves with all its might.

Breaches

The Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Repeal Bill was the fulfilment of a promise Mr De Klerk made in a memorable speech to the President's Council on November 17 last year.

It was then that he announced that all beaches would in the meantime be opened to all races.

It was then also that he said that the government was not playing games, and was not interested in playing games with regard to the road it had embarked on.

Since then Mr De Klerk has gone a long way to proving that he meant what he said.

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- Lifting the emergency — except in Natal, where violence among blacks had assumed what he called "shocking proportions"
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The government still had a long

1. The first part of the document is a title page. It contains the title "THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" and the author "BY JAMES M. SMITH".

A black and white photograph of a large, multi-story building with a prominent central tower, surrounded by trees and a fence. The building has a complex roofline with multiple gables and a central spire. It is situated behind a line of trees and a fence. The foreground is dark and appears to be a field or a road. The overall style is that of a historical or archival photograph.

This is a high-contrast, black and white photograph of a dense, textured surface, possibly a wall or a large rock face. The image is oriented vertically. The texture is highly irregular, with many small, dark, and light patches creating a complex, almost abstract pattern. There are some larger, more distinct shapes that could be interpreted as architectural details or natural formations, but they are mostly lost in the overall grain and noise of the image. The lighting is very harsh, creating deep shadows and bright highlights that emphasize the roughness of the surface.

Picture: STEWART COLLMAN



From page 1

lence and abandonment of the so-called armed struggle should be minimum conditions for the lifting of the emergency, he said.

Dr Zach de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said he was pleased with Mr De Klerk's announcement, but that "it would have been even better had he been able to lift the emergency in Natal as well".

Mr De Klerk, while acknowledging that recent changes had been a "bewildering and sometimes frightening experience" for many, vowed to continue with the government's reform programme despite the Umlazi by-election setback.

He told Parliament: "We cannot stop the world and get off as some people in South Africa would like us to do."

Asked after his speech whether his latest reform package would help counter international sanctions, Mr De Klerk responded: "I hope my announcements today will have an impact."

Sapa reports that security forces in three of SA's four provinces have lost the special powers they had under emergency rule, but that they retain an arsenal of tough security laws designed to suppress opposition.

But more than 100 laws limit the freedom of the media to report on government, the courts, the police, prisons, the military, energy matters and other issues.

An as yet unused 1986 amendment to the Public Safety Act allows the minister of law and order to declare an "unrest area" where police and soldiers have all the powers of the emergency, but without the indemnity it offered.

Permanent laws remain in place that still allow the government to outlaw any organisation, ban any publication or place any person under house arrest.

The Internal Security Act allows police to detain people indefinitely without charge for interrogation, to serve as witnesses or to prevent them from threatening the security of the state.

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US POLICY

FIM 8/6/90

Suffering from neglect~~245~~ 304A

Changing attitudes to SA have been profound and salutary among most of our main trading partners since President FW de Klerk set us firmly on the road to a negotiated broadening of democracy. In particular, this has seen the erosion of trade sanctions and greater availability of trade credits.

It has shown the National Party that there are countries deeply opposed to apartheid, yet sensible enough to realise that the reform process can be given substantial momentum if it is actively encouraged. The all-or-nothing attitude so fearfully expected by previous governments would patently, in present circumstances, have the opposite effect.

The exception among Western nations is the US. It appears to have no firm policy towards SA. In some important respects, in giving succour to the ANC, it seems to lend at least tacit support to the very principles it abhors elsewhere in totalitarian countries, especially in eastern Europe.

In the dying years of the Reagan Administration, as constructive engagement was increasingly swamped by PW Botha's political waywardness, there is no doubt the influence of US diplomats in Pretoria — and, consequently, on reform — began to wane. US capital and investment was hastily withdrawn, there was a mindless aversion among Americans to anything that could be remotely attributed to SA. The US media — TV in particular — displayed daily, in graphic detail but in questionable context, the violence of the SA police.

The outcome is that black US ambassador Ed Perkins — and more recently his successor Bill Swing — have nowhere near the influence or stature here of UK ambassador Sir Robin Renwick, of whom it is increasingly said that he is the closest to a proconsul that we have ever had. Indeed, some Cabinet ministers have taken to calling in on him in his small but elegant Cape Town embassy across the road from parliament. That hasn't happened often during the past 40 years.

The British have, in general, been kept well informed on developments here, not only through the Foreign Office, but in press and TV reports. The utterances of the ANC and its newly freed leaders have not been greeted with unqualified acclaim. More often than not in the influential British press, ANC statements have been treated with circumspection.

Across the Atlantic, since the De Klerk reform initiative began, the US media have dropped SA like a hot potato. There was virtually no coverage of De Klerk's visit to Europe and limited reports on Nelson Mandela's foreign travels (with the

exception of his calls in Nigeria for more sanctions) in major newspapers and networks.

The result is that on the eve of Mandela's visit to the US, there is little knowledge there of what has occurred here since February; of the circumstances of his release; the impatience of the De Klerk Administration for negotiations; the ANC's hesitancy to comply; and its adherence to discredited collectivist ideas and support for Arab terrorist leaders like Muammar Gaddafi. They are ideals (if that is what they can be called) in sharp contrast with those for which America stands.

Even if the US media's attitude towards this country is no more than benign neglect, it is not doing the cause of Western democracy any good by failing to report and reflect on issues that will determine the future alliance of an important supplier of raw materials and the economy that has the most potential to remove poverty from Africa.

There is no doubt that ordinary people in SA suffered from the policies and attitudes of mind that grew out of intense US media attention during the Eighties; when government was doing a great deal that was wrong. Now there is a danger that this time we may suffer from US media neglect.

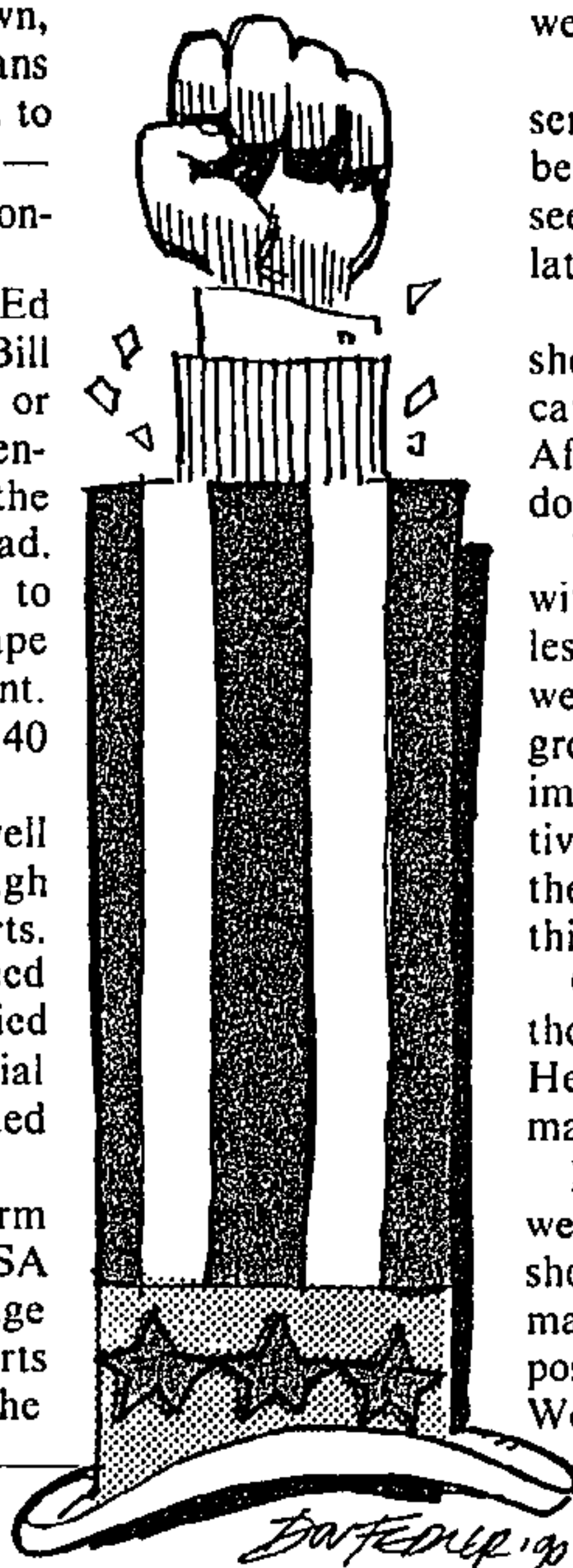
In Washington, they say that the absence of sensible State Department policy towards SA is because there is no influential lobby there that sees any domestic political advantage in formulating one.

No doubt, there is much truth in that. But it should not deter government from advancing the cause of democratic capitalism for southern Africa with any less enthusiasm in those corridors of power.

While events have shown that we can survive without access to US markets, they are, nonetheless, the largest and most affluent in the world. If we are to see the vigour we need in economic growth, renewed access to them becomes an important consideration. Our diplomatic initiative in Washington should be honed to achieve the maximum impact. And we are not convinced this is the case.

Our ambassador, Piet Koornhof, nice chap though he is, isn't a skilled professional diplomat. He is an out-of-favour politician given a diplomatic payoff.

Knowing the character of the man (bless him), we have no doubt he has his nose to the wheel and shoulder to the ground. But he is not the best man to have in our most important diplomatic post right now. It cries out for another Denis Worrall.



FIM 8/6/90

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including bus services, to all.

The Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Repeal Bill will remove, if it becomes law, the umbrella measures which sanction segregated facilities. By repealing them government is removing the statutory base that enables local authorities to pass discriminatory by-laws. All such by-laws will become invalid after October 15.

The Bill provides for the repeal or amendment of:

- ☐ The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act;
- ☐ A section of the Group Areas Act that requires a permit to have "multiracial" gatherings at certain public places where refreshments are served;
- ☐ A section of the Road Transport Act that stipulates the race of passengers who may be transported in terms of an operator's permit; and
- ☐ Certain provincial ordinances that allow apartheid to be enforced in public facilities.

The Bill does not affect the "own affairs" public resorts falling under the control of the white "own affairs" administration in the Free State. However, a Bill is to be introduced in the House of Assembly to provide for the repeal of apartheid measures in that province.

The measures have long been regarded by blacks as the most offensive and visible aspects of apartheid. The effect is that in many

areas better facilities are reserved for whites while inferior facilities (or none at all) are available to blacks. The injustice is compounded by the fact that in many areas coloured and Asian ratepayers contribute to the cost of the facilities from which they are excluded.

Some councils, including Johannesburg and Durban, that have vacillated on the issue of opening all public facilities, while at the same time claiming to be opposed to apartheid, will now be tested. They will have to ensure that adequate provision is made to expand facilities if necessary to accommodate all people, or exercise usage control on an equitable and nonracial basis.

Other councils, particularly those controlled by the CP, are expected to fight the repeal and its consequences as far as possible. CP MPs have already announced a "total onslaught" against integrated facilities.

It seems that some CP councils will test government by continuing to enforce apartheid in terms of their right to reserve admission to public facilities. Government, groups or individuals could then test the CP action in court. Another possibility is that government, through the provincial administrations, could withhold subsidies paid for the provision of certain community services at local level.

The only city where the repeal of the measures will have little effect is Cape Town

SEPARATE AMENITIES FIM 8/6/90

Testing time (304A) (28)

The repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and related discriminatory measures will finally test the commitment of white-controlled town and city councils to an apartheid-free SA.

For years many councils have claimed that the laws have effectively compelled them to segregate facilities but, when the measures are scrapped from October 15, local authorities will have to open all public facilities,

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where public facilities, including beaches and bus services, have been open to all for years. ■

We'll long wait for midnight

WITH the lifting of the state of emergency in all areas of South Africa except Natal at midnight last night, one of the darkest chapters in the long history of repression in South Africa comes to an end.

It is not the last chapter, for that has still to be written, but its end signals a victory for anti-apartheid forces everywhere.

A victory for the people of South Africa whose spirit of resistance has carried them through five years of the total strategy of total repression. A victory for those peoples and governments within the international community who have lent their unwavering support of the struggle against apartheid repression.

The cost in human suffering during these five years cannot be measured. Several thousand lives have been lost in the conflict.

More than 50 000 people have been detained without trial, more than 10 000 of them children, more than 5 000 of them women.

Twelve did not emerge alive from the detention cells and countless numbers have reported torture and assault at the hands of the security forces. Hundreds suffered detention within their homes through restriction orders. More than 50 000 people have been dragged through the courts in political trials designed to criminalise them, their actions and their organisations.

Many of them have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and some have even died on the gallows. The destruction of community life at every level has been appalling, with few sectors of society escaping from this onslaught.

An army of occupation descended upon all black townships, disrupting lives in every way, even down to determining how the dead should be buried. Political and civic organisations were smashed or driven underground by removing their leadership, banning their activities, and even cutting off their funding.

Demonstrations or gatherings of even the most innocuous kind were quickly and brutally nipped in the bud, making freedom of assembly totally impossible. A curtain of secrecy was drawn across all manifestations of resistance and all security force responses. Shadowy vigilante groups and hit squads operated at will, and the new phenomenon of internal refugees became common place.

This then, was the character of the State of Emergency. But for all that, it did not succeed in its purpose. It did not succeed in crushing resistance to apartheid or even in destroying or- ganisation at grass-roots level.

Resistance and resourcefulness prevailed, and produced the responses of street committees, work stayaways, consumer boycotts, rent boycotts and



IN THEIR HANDS: The imposition of the State of Emergency on June 12 1986 gave the security forces widespread powers. From midnight last night, all areas except Natal return to rule of law, bringing to an end one of the darkest chapters in the long history of repression in South Africa.

End of emergency a victory for anti-apartheid forces

other forms of people's resistance.

Since early 1989, the State of Emergency has ceased to function as intended. Resistance led to the great detainee hunger strike which effectively threw open the doors of the detention cells and triggered off the highly successful defiance campaign which swept the entire country.

In other respects the State of Emergency has been an abysmal failure for the State. It has resulted in isolation from the international community, and in particular from the international financial system.

Net foreign capital outflow in the past five years has amounted to R30 billion with another R20 to R25 billion due in the next four years. Foreign reserves have been exhausted. This severe and potentially termi-

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HUMAN RIGHTS

FOCUS

An article by the

Human Rights Commission

nal capital haemorrhage is a direct result of the State of Emergency and is undoubtedly the most compelling reason for lifting it.

In retrospect, the State of Emergency never had any chance of succeeding. If, in Government terms, it was designed to curb unrest, then it never addressed the root causes of the unrest and had no hope of deflecting the will of the majority.

What lies ahead? Unfortunately the lifting of the State of Emergency by no means signals the end of repression.

It is still in operation in Natal, and in the whole of the country the Internal Security Act is still on the statute book with all of its sweeping powers intact — its powers of detention without trial, banning of people and organisations, banning of political gath-

erings, control of publications, criminalising of numerous political activities.

Many of these provisions are in full current operation, with an as yet unused clause, section 50A, allowing for 180 days "preventive" detention without trial, capable of being invoked at any time.

Also waiting in the wings is an amendment to the Public Safety Act, not yet used, which empowers the Minister of Law and Order to declare "unrest areas" in which mini-states of emergency would operate with all of the powers of a declared State of Emergency.

The so-called independent homelands also have and use repressive legislation virtually identical to the Internal Security Act. Other forms of

political repression which are rampant and ongoing, include those emanating from vigilante and warlord structures and from hit squads.

The responsibility for the elimination of all these powers of repression lies squarely at the door of the South African Government. It alone can deal with the problem. The final removal of repression is essential if South Africa and all its people are to emerge from the nightmare of the past five years and move into the phase of building a new society.

The people of South Africa and the international community are watching and waiting to see if the Government has the political will to remove these serious impediments to free political expression and so make meaningful negotiation a real possibility.

Political Staff

COCK-A-HOOP after its Umlazi by-election gains, the Conservative Party has challenged the National Party to a mini-election in the Free State.

All 14 seats in the province are held by predominantly Afrikaner parties and the CP says its six MPs are prepared to resign if the NP's eight MPs are prepared to do so as well.

But the NP Free State leader, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, dismissed the challenge as a piece of "political bravado" in an attempt to become relevant.

"The NP is not interested in political tricks which will waste taxpayers' money," he said.

CP Free State leader Mr Cehill Pienaar, MP

CP challenges govt to OES mini-election

CAPT TIPS 9/6/80 304A

for Heilbron, issued the challenge late yesterday, saying that the voters of Umlazi had just passed a "deadly" vote of no confidence in President F W de Klerk's reform programme, and that the voters of the Free State felt the same way.

His challenge of a mini-election in the Free State goes only part of the way towards meeting the call by the AWB and other right-wing or-

ganisations, such as the Herstigte Nasionale Party, for all CP public representatives to resign in an attempt to force the government to call a general election.

Mr Pienaar said the CP claimed that the white voters of the Free State were vehemently opposed to Mr De Klerk's "undemocratic reforms, which are in violation of his mandate".

Mr Coetsee said he noted that Mr Pienaar

had not said the voters of Umlazi had supported the CP's policy and he had no doubt that any "reasonable person" would not vote for the CP's policy.

"Indeed, the significance of the Umlazi result is that the majority of white voters, in spite of a massive onslaught by the CP and misleading propaganda, still gave the State President a majority vote," he said.

It was true that the CP had made advances, but it was also true that it had not won the seat, in spite of sweeping policy changes by the NP.

"No policy change has been applied yet which has not been tested with the electorate," said Mr Coetsee.

UN team plans report in July

PRETORIA — The UN fact-finding team that concluded its 10-day visit to SA last night and flew to New York expects to issue a report early next month. 10/10/61 10

Yesterday the UN delegation met Foreign Minister Pik Botha at Guest House in Pretoria. Afterwards, delegation head Abdulrahim Farah said changes had begun to take place in SA and the UN team saw a need for "a series of confidence-building measures" to reduce violence and increase trust.

Farah said although the UN supported the view that apartheid should be dismantled through negotiations, "the mechanisms for and the substance of the new constitutional dispensation are matters to be decided by the people of SA." (304A)

The mission was, however, "greatly concerned about the alarming degree of violence occurring in many parts of SA, in particular the Natal province".

Botha said he had made it clear earlier what SA's attitude had been to the UN visit.

"But Mr Farah is not a politician and the UN is not a politician. We reject the General Assembly's resolution, but it is in the interests of SA to ensure our view of events must be transmitted to the world," he said.

He said, however, he was "glad we had these discussions" and that at last SA's case would not be reported "by default". — Sapa.

EVERYBODY is talking about a "new South Africa" — a post-apartheid South Africa that will be free of racial hostility and domination of one group over another.

A wave of optimism has swept the country and the international arena. At home it can be felt in factories, schools, boardrooms, churches and at social gatherings.

Political leaders are effectively using this "new South Africa" syndrome to score political points. An example was President FW de Klerk's recent tour of Europe.

Because of this "new" image, the doors of most European countries were wide open for him.

But this "new South Africa" image has hardened the attitudes of certain white people and they are looking for a new political home in the Conservative Party, as the Umlazi parliamentary by-election in Durban showed.

While gaining support from moderate blacks, De Klerk is alienating certain white people.

It is clear that many whites would rather live in the "old" South Africa and Umlazi gave a clear indication that De Klerk is not taking along all his people to the new South Africa.

He has not addressed

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Hard work for 'new' SA



one meeting in the rural areas, where most of the people still live in the past. These are the ones he should be converting, even if it means dragging them screaming and kicking into the new world.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will find on his present overseas tour that the countries De Klerk visited were impressed by his drive for a new South Africa. Mandela will have difficulty convincing the Western world to think otherwise.

When Mandela met President Francois Mitterrand of France this week it was reported that Mitterrand ignored the focal issues of Mandela's tour of 13 countries — sanctions and the armed struggle.

De Klerk made an impact by telling the world to judge him for what he

has done and intends doing, and not on the past.

In last week's column, I mentioned obstacles we are likely to face as we move to a new South Africa.

I have since received numerous requests to spell out in detail what I meant by a "Patriotic Front-type alliance" of black political groups.

What I mean is that all liberation forces should get together and work out what kind of new South Africa they envisage.

This could be done without any party compromising its principles. We all agreed that apartheid should be dismantled in its entirety. That was one step. The next is to work towards a political settlement with the government so we can have national elections. These goals cannot be achieved while we are

divided.

Another request was for me to explain the problems I said an ANC government would encounter should it be elected.

This may be premature, but it is important to focus on what would be likely to happen.

Firstly, every citizen would like to see a stable government. A sound economy for any country depends on political stability.

The ANC would have to face the problems of providing housing and employment for all its citizens. The rate at which shelter houses are mushrooming in the townships these days is a clear indication that far too long our people have not been taken care of. The flood of black

people from rural areas to cities is likely to snowball in future.

After five years in power an ANC government would realise the impossibility of meeting all the demands of all its citizens. Even if the Land Act of 1913 and 1936 were scrapped tomorrow, blacks would not be able to buy enough land from whites.

Implementation of ANC policy on redistribution of land would not be as easy as it appears on paper. President Robert Mugabe, after 10 years in power, is still grappling with this problem in Zimbabwe.

As one political observer pointed out recently: "There is no doubt that the ANC would sweep the first free elections, but when they fail to meet the expectations of the masses, they will run into problems."

Many believe the PAC, or the National Party for that matter, would then win the support of most black and white people.

The road to a new South Africa will not be an easy one. All of us, black and white, need to work hard towards it. We certainly don't need another Zimbabwe, Angola or Mozambique-type situation where dissidents take advantage of differences of opinion.

INVESTMENT

5 Times • 10/6/90

Lessons of Umlazi

THE portentous message from Umlazi has reverberated through every white constituency in South Africa.

To the middle-class burghers of this south Durban seat fell the responsibility of becoming the first white South Africans to pass judgment on the process whereby President F W de Klerk began knocking bricks out of the wall of institutionalised racism.

Only 11 959 actually went to the polls but — in many respects — they spoke for all five million of us. Whatever their message, it was pre-ordained to be taken as a dipstick reading of the mood of white SA.

In that respect, Umlazi ranked with Standerton and other by-elections in the past as one of those benchmark political events.

The result was a great shock for everyone except the Conservative Party (but even the CP itself must have been more than a little surprised by the scale of support it garnered).

It is worth trying to be clear about precisely what Umlazi's voters said about white politics.

First, it depends on who's



Lester Venter looks at the future of South Africa's ethnic politics in the aftermath of this week's Umlazi poll

(304A)

listening.

The CP is exultant over what it was told. The message was short and awesome — as politics are currently conducted, the prospect of the CP assuming the reigns of government is well within reach.

For the CP to come within an ace of toppling the National Party in a mainly English-speaking seat — in Natal, of all places! — where the NP majority was the biggest in the province, is political news with implications that are staggering.

No one is more aware of that than the CP itself. It will now do everything in its power to force an election.

Darkness

This year, SA joined those countries in the world which are beginning to make the painful transition from oppressive rule to democracy and liberty. If the CP was to succeed in forcing an election — which, one suspects, it won't — SA could become the first of those countries to stop dead in its tracks, turn around and march back into the darkness.

If Umlazi spells the beginning of real hope of power for the CP, then it surely also spells the end of hope for the Democratic Party.

Aside from the DP's noble and not wholly invalid arguments about the need for its own existence, the voters of

Umlazi, en masse, decided otherwise.

The DP will now have to decide whether the political values held dear by moderates — never mind just the party — will survive a divided and squabbling centre.

It is, however, the NP, led by President De Klerk, that received the most disturbing message from Umlazi.

His reforms have frightened many white voters. And they are reacting by voting in a manner calculated to keep things just the way they are.

Consequently, President De Klerk now knows that the task ahead — leading whites into, and through, a process of reconciliation — is even more awesome than he first imagined.

Henceforth he may be severely handicapped in his task by the knowledge that a faction of whites, powerful enough to depose him, will do everything in their power to prevent him from carrying through his plans.

Nevertheless, talk of a general election is academic. Umlazi vividly illustrated something that has become a latter-day truism of SA politics: There is not going to be another all-white election.

Even before Umlazi, this was taken quietly for granted in inner NP circles.

But Umlazi does push the issue further: If SA is heading, in the next five years, for its first genuinely gen-

eral election, what is the NP going to be doing in that election as a party that is, still, purely for whites?

If the Umlazi result suggests the NP may not even be the main party for whites, then the NP is on the road to becoming representative of a minority of a minority.

And that's not very clever politics.

Unless the NP does something about this, it may end up after that first general election — along with Inkatha, the Labour Party, the CP and Solidarity — as an ethnic also-ran.

The NP has, of course, edged towards the issue. But it toyed only briefly with the idea before dropping it.

It was decreed that for the party to open its doors to members of other ethnic groups would alienate the leadership of potential allies like the Labour Party and Inkatha.

But there are members in the NP who believe that by doing this the NP is courting the wrong political mistresses.

Exploring

If, indeed, future negotiations (and elections that follow) will be about contending value systems — and if the NP hopes to lead the side championing free enterprise and multiparty democracy — it had better find allies beyond the limits of white support.

To this end the NP has been exploring the idea of alliances with other groups, thereby stopping short of being a party with membership of all races.

Once again, though, these alliances would probably be with other ethnic parties.

As the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (a conglomerate of parties representing Namibia's 11 ethnic groups) showed, strict ethnicity in politics has built-in obsolescence.

Still, there is one useful aspect about the outcome of the Umlazi poll.

Reward

It will illustrate to the outside world — and hopefully also to the ANC — the tenacity and courage with which President De Klerk is conducting his reform politics. And also the price he is paying for it.

If that doesn't make the European Community, for example, see that he deserves some kind of reward, then it's hard to see what will.

If the EC decides that by maintaining sanctions and adding to President De Klerk's burden it will help the slow march to peace in SA, it will be making a grave mistake.

What the man needs now is a lifeline from Europe — not a continued rap on knuckles that are clinging to the gunwales of political survival.

Meanwhile, back at home, President De Klerk and the NP will have to embark on an unprecedented campaign to inform people on the need and purpose of reform.

Because, as Mr Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, said after the Umlazi result: "The dice have been thrown."

Between the sharks and the black wave

By LOUWRENS PRETORIUS,
Dept of Sociology, Unisa

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NEARLY half of the whites in the Umlazi constituency who voted in Wednesday's election told both State President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela: "We don't trust you with our future."

The other half could have told them "You are doing OK", or they might simply have been more scared of the CP than of the ANC.

If the Umlazi result is applied to a white general election, the Conservative Party could win by between 15 and 25 seats.

The problem is that the results of by-elections cannot simply be applied to a countrywide election because they are not a good basis on which to predict national voting outcomes.

By-elections are strongly influenced by local conditions. Parties can also concentrate all their resources in one or a few constituencies.

In a general election the resources of the CP and DP will be stretched. So will the NP's, although it has more money and controls TV propaganda. Thus, the NP and the DP could jointly hold back the CP in a general election or referendum.

The Umlazi constituency is unlike any other in the country. Sixty percent of the white population are English-speaking, 30 percent Afrikaans-speaking and the rest speak other languages. In these terms, Umlazi looks a bit like Walmer in Port Elizabeth.

But unlike Walmer, Umlazi is populated mainly by lower-middle to lower-class whites.

Viewed in terms of the language and occupation mix, there are not too many Umlazis in the country.

Umlazi is both different and similar to many other constituencies.

The name of the constituency indicates the difference. Close to the whites lies the working class Indian area Chatsworth and a bit further away the black township Umlazi. To the south-east is the volatile Lamontville township.

Consider the class and racial fears and

prejudices of the whites. Add the violence in Natal, high inflation and fears of losing their jobs to blacks, and the result is fertile ground for rightwing politics.

There are many other white constituencies near black areas. Next to them there are usually easily policed "no-man's lands", but this is not the case with Umlazi.

It is likely the whites of Umlazi have visions of black people toyl-toying through their yards tonight - not to mention when the "new South Africa" arrives.

In this sense, many white constituencies are potential Umlazis. As apartheid falls away, whites will see more black Umlazis getting closer to them.

The CP's strength was that it identified the "demons" which plague Umlazi and promised to drive them away with the "benevolent ghost" of apartheid.

The CP's problem is that apartheid cannot be resurrected.

Is Umlazi all bad news for De Klerk or good news for CP leader Andries Treurnicht? Probably not.

Treurnicht and his MPs are touring the country, playing directly to the material and security fears of the whites. De Klerk and his ministers are playing high politics on TV and in Europe - broadcasting views very few political pundits and least of all white voters expected this century.

The government's failure to communicate at grassroots level cost them a lot of support.

But the government can contain the flood. To do so, De Klerk will have to stop conducting politics like Jan Smuts and start working on his constituency.

Ironically, the same could be said about Mandela.

Since the creation of the CP, large parts of the NP's organisation has been withering away. The NP is now little more than a quasi-government which conducts its campaigns via the SABC and Afrikaans newspapers.

We need another sort of election soon to give the parties on the black and white extremes a place in the transition process and to force the parties of the broad centre into their constituencies. That might keep the demons away from us all.

Mixed reaction to lifting of emergency

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's partial lifting of the state of emergency received a mixed reaction from political quarters this week.

The state of emergency was lifted in all parts of the country except in strife-torn Natal and KwaZulu.

The ANC and Inkatha, whose differing ideologies are the cause of strife in KwaZulu, were half-hearted in their praise.

The ANC "welcomed" the move, but added that the government knew very well that a state of emergency was not the solution to the problems in Natal.

Internal chairman Walter Sisulu called on

the government to prosecute the perpetrators of violence in the area and blamed the police for most of it.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said that to resolve the violence there, the KwaZulu police should be disbanded and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi dismissed as KwaZulu Minister of Police.

Free political activity should be guaranteed and a commission of inquiry should be appointed to investigate the situation, especially the role of police.

On the other hand, Buthelezi said although he welcomed the president's move, he found it

"lamentably tragic" that it remained in force in Natal.

On Thursday, Buthelezi said in the current phase of negotiations everybody around the table should have free and open access to all the communities in the country.

"Without this free and open access, mandates taken to the table will be suspect. Now that it has been possible to lift the emergency regulations in other provinces, I believe the total weight of all political forces should now be directed at restoring peace in the Natal-KwaZulu region."

He found it completely unacceptable that he,

who was the first to declare his readiness to negotiate with the State President, now found himself locked into an emergency-ridden region.

A statement from PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo in Dar-es-Salaam described the lifting of the emergency as a "non-event". It said in spite of the move, Africans were still oppressed in the country.

Democratic Party parliamentary co-leader Zach de Beer said the DP had been waiting for some years for the state of emergency to be lifted so that South Africa could return to the rule of law. "Naturally, it would

have been even better had he (De Klerk) been able to lift the emergency in Natal also. However, it is relevant and important to recognise that the conflict in Natal is not between black people fighting for their rights and the minority white government. On the contrary, it is a struggle between two conflicting black organisations.

"To that extent, the inability to lift the emergency in Natal does not spell a failure." — Sapa

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party has begun a painful post-mortem after the trouncing it received in the Umlazi by-election when it was deserted by two-thirds of its supporters.

A series of internal talks have begun to assess the damage of Umlazi, and what the result holds for the party's future.

Although canvassed returns led to falling expectations before polling day, the party was still stunned by the severity of the voter exodus. Its failure to gain even a fifth of the NP's winning vote meant it lost its R500 deposit. The DP caucus in Parliament has held "extended"

DP licks its wounds after Umlazi

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discussions on the issue, and is expected to have more. A party source said the DP management committee may schedule a meeting of the national executive to discuss the fall in support.

■ ■ ■

The party's bad showing has emphasised differences between the party's three co-leaders.

Dr Denis Worrall is facing more pressure than the others over Umlazi. In party circles he is said to have been

the man who pressed hardest for the DP to contest Umlazi.

Dr Worrall has attracted both attention and controversy with his forceful "go for power" political stance.

Mr Wynand Malan has taken a more philosophical view. Before the Umlazi result he said the DP should accept that the NP in its new, reformist guise, has taken over much of the DP's platform in voters' eyes.

Top NP figures regard Dr Zach de Beer as the most

amenable of the three leaders to the need for an alliance between the NP and the DP.

■ ■ ■

"Umlazi has shown what could happen nation-wide," said one. "It would be a disaster for the NP and the DP to fight each other — and destroy each other — when their real political enemy is the Conservative Party."

The three leaders also represent three streams of thought among party follow-

ers.

A more youthful faction, consisting of many Afrikaner students and young professionals, are loosely allied behind Mr Malan and favour an open alliance or merger with the ANC.

This group has much sympathy with President F W de Klerk and his brave clearing of the way to negotiations. Yet, it believes, at the end of the day the old political leopard will prove unable to change his spots. So, long-

term hope lies with the ANC.

A rump of DP centrists believe there will always be a role, however small, for a liberal party that will act as broker between the two power blocs of the NP and the ANC — and will continue to shine a light on democratic values when they become obscured in the fray of negotiation.

A third line of thought holds that white politics can hold only two options: a rea-

soned process of black-white political integration led by President De Klerk, or the CP's old-style apartheid.

Although some party figures argue this tripartite division is "too simplistic", the Umlazi results suggest voters favour very heavily the third option — and will continue to do so.

Party spokesman James Selfe said the Umlazi results were skewed partly because the NP ran a "CP gear" campaign — scaring DP vot-

ers into the NP camp.

He said the party believed that until negotiations produced a new society, it had to carry on as before.

"If the NP actually delivers we will cheer, pack our bags, and go home. Until then we have to stick around and make sure they deliver when they have to deliver."

"If the NP is not willing to spell out the consequences of what it is letting the country in for, then we must spell out the consequences."

Mr Selfe said the final irrelevancy of the Umlazi result would be seen in the fact that there was unlikely ever again to be a purely white general election.

THE concern of a New York-based anti-apartheid activist at a recent forum on South Africa was palpable.

"If we allow F.W. de Klerk to run around distributing goodies from his bag, we are in danger of losing control of the process down there," she said.

The statement — honest, but breathtaking in its presumption — sums up in some small measure the ambiguity of much US response to South Africa in the wake of the De Klerk phenomenon.

The somewhat confused riposte to the latest flow of "good news" from South Africa highlights one of the fundamental aspects of US foreign policy: a high degree of moralism. But there is another quality: a lack of staying power — so the nation's collective concentration span tends to be limited and its memory short.

There are reasons for this. The US is one of the few nations in history who have had global power thrust upon them rather than actively pursuing it. Its political process also puts relentless pressure on its diplomats to come up with quick solutions to intractable problems — the price one pays for living in a "can-do" society.

Theatrical

The result is that Americans do not have a taste for what could be called the politics of the long haul. They have none of the patience, pragmatism or guile of the Europeans.

All this is important when we try to understand the future course of relations between South Africa and the US.

The visit by Nelson Mandela to the US in 10 days' time is likely to be for the Americans both cathartic and theatrical. The Americans, above all, know how to throw a party and welcome a hero.

The physical presence of the courtly ANC deputy president symbolises to many Americans the fruits of what they see as their contribution to the struggle for liberty in South Africa.

There is a pervasive, if erroneous, belief among many Americans (at least those that think about it at all) that it was US sanctions which forced the National Party to compromise.

Important

They will thus not only be hailing the world's most famous prisoner-statesman, but also patting themselves on the back.

But all parties come to an end and a most compelling question remains: What will the US do after Mr Mandela's triumphal tour?

The NP and the ANC, ironically, have probably come up with the same answer — nothing. It is this which the ANC most fears and for which the De Klerk administration should, again ironically, pray.

Namibia, for example, has to all intents and purposes disappeared off the Americans' radar screen

Why the US will do nothing when the party's over

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BUSH: Hopes to stay out of Africa



MANDELA: Sanctions must stay



DE KLERK: Prays US won't interfere

Recently returned from a year at the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, Brian Pottinger reports confusion in the US approach to SA



and will probably only reappear in the future as one of those places school children are unable to point out on a map of the world during general knowledge tests.

The Namibian issue, to most Americans, is "solved" and therefore not worthy of attention. The indications are that most Americans are already beginning to regard the South African issue as solved or, even worse, "confused", by which they mean the old moral certitudes have become blurred.

Attention thus meanders to other areas: Israel, Latin America, the Baltic states and the Soviet Union.

This is the worst possible news for the ANC. Correctly, they see foreign pressure as an important adjunct to their attempts to obtain a rough equivalence of power with the De Klerk administration in

the pre-negotiating phase.

It is critical to them then that the US holds out the credible threat of heightened economic or other pressures in the event of backsliding by the whites.

There is little evidence of this. The administration regards the De Klerk initiatives as on track, and sanctions themselves have become a bit of a fired torpedo. They would prefer, like Brer Rabbit, to lie low and say nothing.

Rapid

The US anti-apartheid lobby will not wither away immediately. The deep repugnance of the system and its legacy, particularly by the US African-American community, should not be underestimated.

Piggy-backing on this genuine abhorrence of racist policies has come a group of activists who have made South Africa their

niche issue in domestic US politics — often with scant knowledge or interest in the dynamics of the country.

The Bush administration might, for appearances' sake, appear to tilt towards the ANC, and it certainly is not about to propose the immediate lifting of sanctions. But, beyond that, Mr Mandela is likely to get few concrete promises of support in the negotiations ahead.

That is as much, or as little, as the De Klerk administration can wish for. With a consummate understanding of nuance which is rapidly becoming the hallmark of his administration, Mr De Klerk is not publicly pressing for an immediate lifting of sanctions by the US.

Such a move, if adopted by US conservative lobbies, would merely precipitate a bruising and uninformed

fight in Congress over how far, exactly, South Africa has moved along the road to reform. The debate would inflame passions and further divide South Africans — best left well alone. There is time to get around to that later.

Of more importance to Africanists in Washington, it appears, is the long-term role of a non-racial South Africa on the continent.

Pressed by domestic economic issues, challenged to redefine its superpower role in a rapid-

ly changing world, confronted by insistent clamours for aid from the "newly underdeveloped" east and central Europe, the US would much prefer to leave Africa to be run by the Africans — among them South Africans.

And in that may lie South Africa's real future role — as regenerator of a dying sub-continent, international spokesman for a region and catalyst for a continental renaissance.

The Americans, certainly, are counting on it.



Fact finders Abdulrahim Farah and Sotirios Mousouris arrive in Cape Town

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

A UNITED NATIONS team arrived in South Africa yesterday on an apartheid fact-finding mission.

They jetted in to Cape Town's DF Malan airport just hours after a stern warning by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that their presence could be seen as unwarranted interference in SA's affairs.

The six-member UN team, accompanied by a four-member support group, is led by Somalia's Abdulrahim Farah, under secretary-general for special political questions.

Second-in-command is Mr Sotirios Mousouris of Greece, the assistant secretary-general for the UN Centre Against Apartheid.

Mr Farah side-stepped questions about Mr Botha's letter to UN chief Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar calling for a hands-off approach.

He claimed he was "unaware" of Mr Botha's statement.

Mr Farah said the team would meet government officials and also hoped to have talks with President F W de

UN team flies in to Pik warning

Klerk and Mr Botha.

They also plan to meet representatives of political parties and movements as well as other organisations.

The purpose of the mission, Mr Farah said, was to gather information on action already taken to end apartheid and future Government moves.

He said this would help the UN Secretary-General prepare a report to the General Assembly on progress made to implement the UN Declaration on Apartheid.

The declaration, adopted by consensus during a special session of the General Assembly on December 14 last year, calls for an end to apartheid through negotiation.

The team, which plans to remain in South Africa until June 20, will start its meetings in Cape Town tomorrow.

These will be followed by meetings in Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria.

The UN officials did not disclose the identities of personalities or organisations they planned to consult.

Other members of the team are:

- Canadian James Simpson, legal consultant and former deputy director of the UN General Legal Division;

- Dr Herschelle Channelor of the US, UN director and co-ordinator for the World Decade for Cultural Development;

- Mr Leonard T Kapungu of Zimbabwe, assistant director of the Office for Research and the Collection of Information;

- Thomas McCarthy of the US who is chief of the UN Centre for Human Rights.

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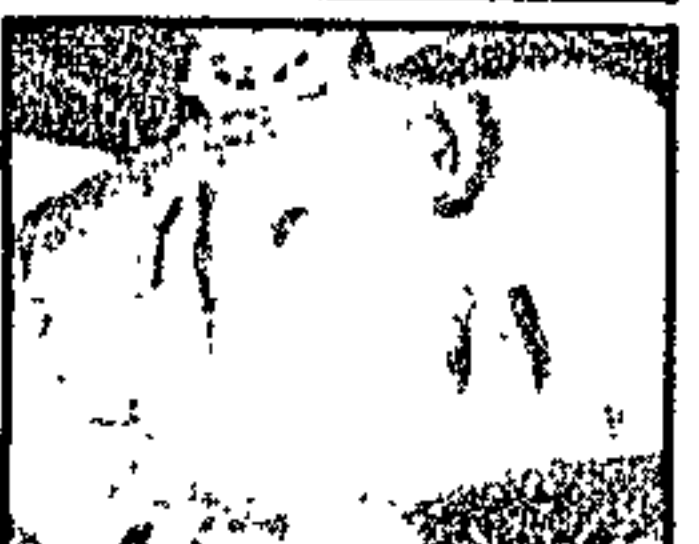
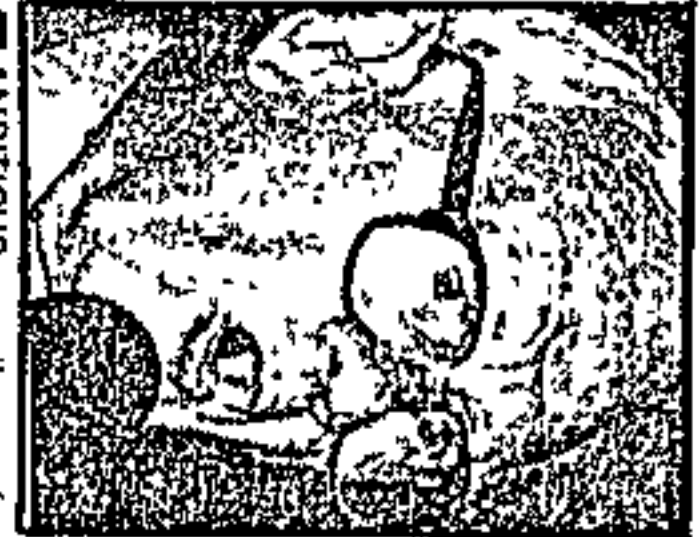


In the wake of the Umlazi by-election, DRIES VAN HEERDEN examines the power and the prejudice of the right wing

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Anatomy of the RABID RIGHT



EUGENE TERRE BLANCHE... he's described either as 'weak' or 'the rock of Afrikanerdom', even by the same people

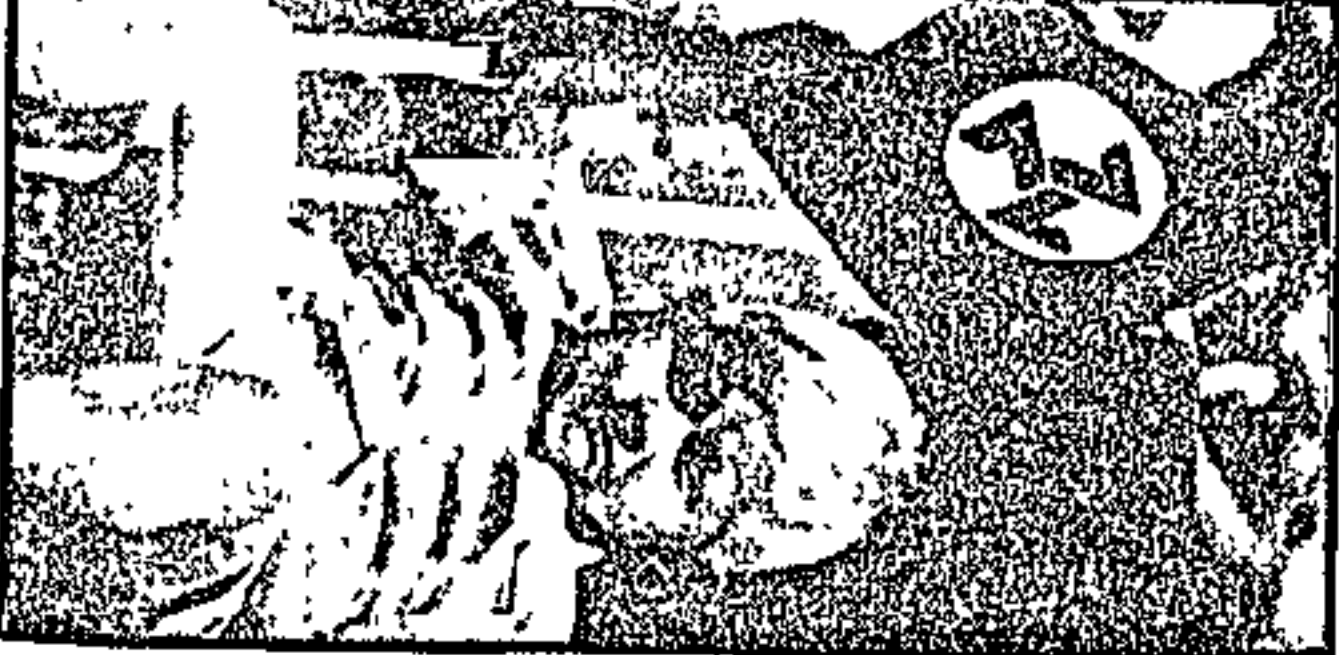
QUARREL

The Anglo-Jewish parliamentary system is the way AWP leader Eugene Terre Blanche refers to it. Its fractious nature provides the right wing with both its strength and its weakness. Weakness because infighting, petty bickering and rampant personal ambitions have thus far prevented the formation of a united front.

They quarrel about:
● Leadership. CP leader Dr Andreus Treurnicht is generally regarded as the party political front-man, but below him, on the more charismatic level, dangers are often drawn in pitched battles about political turf and followers. Mr Eugene Terre Blanche against Marie Maritz, Robert van Tonder versus Jaap Marais, Chris Beyers against everybody else.
● Nomenclature. Some talk of Afrikaners others detect the term and prefer Boere. Some call themselves white, others orange. For each preference there is a smorgas-board of organisations to belong to.

MILITANT

● Policy. Should there be a white homeland or should whites rule over an undivided South Africa? Where will the homeland be? The Kala-hari? The old Boer republics? Including Natal? Excluding the Cape? With English-speaking South Africans or without? How many AWP's can march on the head of a pig?
● Strategy. Armed resistance or the democratic route? Should CP members in Parliament resign and force a state of by-elections or should the constitutional road be abandoned altogether in favour of militant action?



YOUNG BLOOD the right's future

who thinks he is Parcho Villa" and "the rock of Afrikanerdom who will lead us into the struggle".

In a topsy-turvy way the fractiousness is also the strength of the right wing. Its unity does not lie in a set of principles jointly agreed upon, or in a shared philosophy. The glue that binds the right wing is a common aversion towards government

In a topsy-turvy way, their fractiousness is also their strength

policy and an inherent racism which is just manifested differently in different organisations.

So when ET brings his silver-tongued oratory to town everybody on the right wing will cheer him wildly. And when Don Marie Maritz shouts "Opsaal", those who can will. And when a by-election is called, differences will be set aside temporarily and all will vote for the CP man.

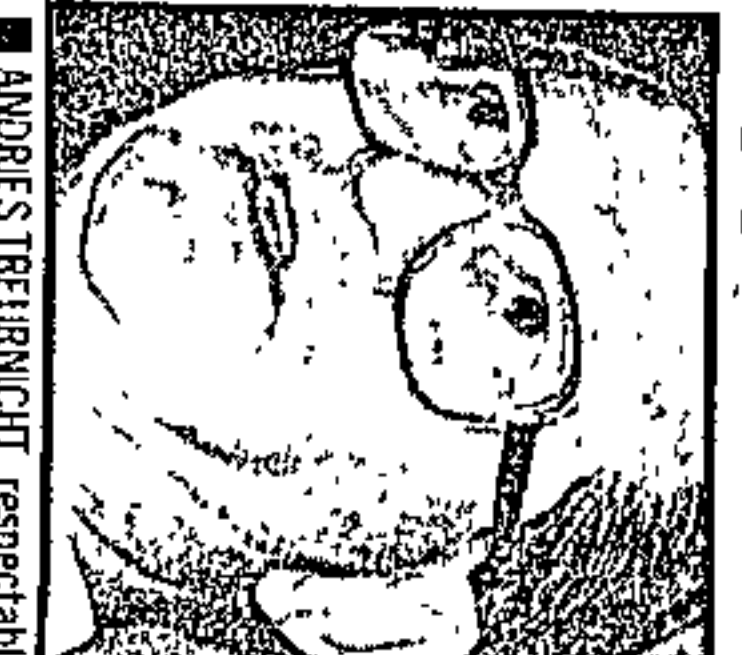
That is what makes it so difficult to estimate the strength of the extreme right wing. Obviously most Afrikaner Volkswag farmers won't wear khaki and swastika outfits. And the majority of CP voters won't entertain the thought of blowing up Metcote House.

FALLACY

But how strong is the right wing's latent support and how deeply do you have to scratch a Conservative to see the emergence of an AWP?

Another fallacy is that all those on the right wing are Afrikaners. Umlazi with its 75 percent of English-speakers showed that the CP can come within the thickness of a banana peel of victory in the heart-land of the Last Outpost of emmergency rule.

For identification purposes the right wing can be divided into a number of different but not watertight groups. However, allegiances cross these divisions.



ANDRIES TREURNICHT, respectable

the party itself is an uneasy alliance of former HNP's, close AWP's, hankering white homelander and even some who are thinking the Conservative unthinkable: how to negotiate a place for the Afrikaner in a new South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht is caught in no man's land. After all, he is a parliamentary politician — in fact, leader of the "loyal opposition". This precludes him from making the blood-and-guns speeches some of his supporters expect of him.

The most he can muster are brief allusions with the violence option — references to the "third freedom struggle" or endless rhetorical questions. "If Mr De Klerk continues on this road, will we not be forced to stop him?"

The HNP and its once-respected leader Jaap Marais are all but a spent force. In recent months he was forced to seek an alliance with his erstwhile chief enemy, the AWP.

RIVALS

The CP itself has not made up its mind. It has accepted the principle of a white state. It has even conceded that it will have to be smaller than the present South Africa. But it cannot bring itself to the point of drawing a map for fear of alienating potential political support.

● The cultural arms. The Afrikaner Volkswag, led by Professor Boschoff, is a sort of respectable umbrella organisation — the Boerevelders of the right wing.

Last year's break-up of the AWP in the wake of revelations about Mr Eugene Terre Blanche's private life led to the founding of two rival organisations.



JAP MARAIS a spent force

formed by former AWP head committee members Jan Groenewald, Dr Chris Jooste and Professor Alkmarr Swart. Their stated objective was to initiate the studying of right-wing options. Little has been heard of it since.

Two of Mr Terre Blanche's strongest erstwhile colleagues, Chris Beyers and Willem Olivier, formed the Afrikaner Front in an effort to unite various factions — thus far without apparent success.

Pretoria is the haven for a number of oddball organisations such as the World Apartheid Organisation and the Afrikaner National Socialists, both led by Kees Vermeulen, as well as remnants of the Democratic National Party — formed in the early sixties in opposition to Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's "liberal policies".

Also in limbo is the familiar sight of Marie van Zyl and her Kaaple-kommunie who used to grace right-wing rallies with their appearances

in full Voortrekker regalia

● The Militants. The AWP seems to have regained some of the support it lost in the wake of the much publicised revelations about Mr Eugene Terre Blanche's private indiscretions. Although its numbers are far less than the leadership claims, the level of militancy and inflammatory rhetoric is rising rapidly.

The New AWP, led by Free State farmer Eddie von Maritz, is a fringe group trying to piggy-back on AWP symbols and sentiments. Mr Von Maritz recently said he didn't want to be regarded as "a decent politician".

THREAT

Former professional wrestler and Brahman stud farmer Marie Maritz left the AWP last year, disgusted by what he called Mr Terre Blanche's "weak leadership".

Mr Maritz also claims to lead the Brandwag Volksleer — not to be confused with the AWP's Boerekommandos, the Boereleer or the SA Volksleer.

The Boerekommandos led by former police officer Col Servaas de Wet, are the latest in a long list of failed attempts by the AWP to get a militant wing off the ground. Their predecessors were the Stormvake and Aquila.

HNP executive member Oscar Hartung recently formed Marie Maritz's National (NMA) but should not only be laughed at or scorned. It should be taken very seriously indeed.



PAC president Zephania Mothopeng... "We do not recognise the government, so the question of negotiations does not arise."

Negotiation not the answer, says PAC president

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The leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, Zephania Lekane Mothopeng, 76, and in ill health, was released unconditionally from prison in November 1988 after serving 12 years of a 15-year sentence following his conviction in the Bethal terrorism trial.

The PAC was formed in 1959 after Robert Sobukwe led a breakaway from the ANC. After years of hibernation, it seems to be experiencing a resurgence. It is believed to be attracting support particularly from people who are disaffected by the rapprochement between government and the ANC.

The PAC claims that since it was unbanned in February, its registered membership has grown to more than 100 000. AMEEN AKHALWAZA questioned Mothopeng on the movement's growth and beliefs for *Leadership* magazine.

City Press will publish more of this interview next week.

WHEN you were released from prison in 1988 you said you weren't aware of a PAC revival, but were pleased to hear about it. Do you now have a sense of a PAC revival within the country?

I am now a witness to this phenomenon – an increase in the number of people who are joining the organisation, not just expressing their sympathy with it, but becoming card-carrying members.

There have been conflicting signals about PAC policy regarding negotiations between representatives of oppressed communities and government. In terms of the PAC negotiating with government, what is the bottom line?

Firstly, we said from the time we were established that we do not recognise the government, so the question of negotiations does not arise. The question is one of the repossession of our land from foreign colonial oppressors. It has nothing to do with negotiations.

Insofar as the bottom line is concerned, it is a question of the people of Azania deciding.

I'll explain again what I mean by "people of Azania", because people always pretend they don't understand.

From the 17th Century we had inter-marriage between the indigenous African people and those people who were brought in as slaves by the colonialists,

pect it to hand the country back to you and say: "Okay, we recognise this belongs to the indigenous people of the country?"

If people ask this, they have misunderstood our point of take-off. Our liberation will be brought about by the Africans themselves, by having to struggle for it. They will not achieve it at the negotiating tables.

We know it is our duty to free ourselves and our freedom shall come, not by negotiation but by achievement. And by the time people have to go to the negotiating table, that will just be a formality of the result which I have already explained – the whole set-up must be reverted to the indigenous people.

Is that really practical? How do you expect to reach that situation?

I don't know why people think the colonialists in Azania cannot be ejected from their positions. What is "practical"? Does it mean, "can it be done"? I say yes, it can be done. If it can be done elsewhere, it can be done here.

This question comes from the people of the West. But take Vietnam – there they can be shown how a big power was humiliated. Recently, it was Afghanistan.

Surely you are looking at a different situation when you talk about Vietnam and Afghanistan – about occupying armies...

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The leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, Zephania Lekoane Mothopeng, 76 and in ill health, was released unconditionally from prison in November 1988 after serving 12 years of a 15-year sentence following his conviction in the Bethal terrorism trial.

The PAC was formed in 1959 after Robert Sobukwe led a breakaway from the ANC. After years of hibernation, it seems to be experiencing a resurgence. It is believed to be attracting support particularly from people who are disaffected by the rapprochement between government and the ANC.

The PAC claims that since it was unbanned in February, its registered membership has grown to more than 100 000. AMEEN AKHALWAYA questioned Mothopeng on the movement's growth and beliefs for *Leadership* magazine.

City Press will publish more of this interview next week.

WHEN you were released from prison in 1988 you said you weren't aware of a PAC revival, but were pleased to hear about it. Do you now have a sense of a PAC revival within the country?

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Insofar as the bottom line is concerned, it is a question of the people of Azania deciding.

I'll explain again what I mean by "people of Azania", because people always pretend they don't understand.

From the 17th Century we had inter-marriage between the indigenous African people and those people who were brought in as slaves by the colonialists, and later as indentured labourers. Those people have now formed one large indigenous group. I can't think of asking somebody if he is a Malaysian or Indian in Azania. They will feel insulted. They are the new Africans.

We are asked if it isn't wishful thinking for us to talk of them as Africans and others of the same age as colonialists. We say these (latter) people's forefathers are the ones who conquered the country, they remain perpetually the conquerors, and yet they tell us they came here at the same time.

Today they can't even understand when we tell them they are not Azanian and they belong elsewhere, even though they have been here for such a long time.

If you refuse to communicate or negotiate with government, how can you ex-

pect it to hand the country back to you and say: "Okay, we recognise this belongs to the indigenous people of the country"?

If people ask this, they have misunderstood our point of take-off. Our liberation will be brought about by the Africans themselves, by having to struggle for it. They will not achieve it at the negotiating tables.

We know it is our duty to free ourselves and our freedom shall come, not by negotiation but by achievement. And by the time people have to go to the negotiating table, that will just be a formality of the result which I have already explained – the whole set-up must be reverted to the indigenous people.

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This question comes from the people of the West. But take Vietnam – there they can be shown how a big power was humiliated. Recently, it was Afghanistan.

Surely you are looking at a different situation when you talk about Vietnam and Afghanistan – about occupying armies rather than settled populations? In this country we are talking about some four, five million people who are classified white.

This is a question of terminology. Those people are settled here because they've been given what was not due to them. They are here as colonialists. A large proportion of them hold dual citizenship. Their hearts are in Europe, their financial interests in Africa.

The PAC has been talking about a constituent assembly. How do you see such a constituent assembly being established?

After attaining our freedom on the battlefield, or any field, we will still need to know what the people want. We will have to have elections.

A constituent assembly is the most democratic way of bringing about a new constitution.

PAC economic policy not finalised

By PATRICK MAFARO

THE PAC favours a mixed economy, promoting private sector development as well as co-operatives, says PAC general secretary Benny Alexander.

"The PAC does not wish to promote the illusion that the State alone can develop the economy of the country or start new economic organisations."

However, he says, the PAC has not yet produced a comprehensive economic policy document.

The PAC stands for a political order and economy that will represent the economic and political interests of all Africans in the country, he says.

The South African economy might have grown, but it has not developed. He cites examples such as skills and wage disparities.

"The bulk of the African people are either unemployed, under-employed or poorly remunerated, thus reducing the size of the domestic market."

UN 'encouraged' by steps to end apartheid

CAPE TOWN — Developments in SA had been followed closely by the UN and Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar was "encouraged by recent steps aimed at dismantling the apartheid system".

This was said by the UN under-secretary-general for special political questions, Abdulrahim Farah, at a Press conference on the arrival of a six-man UN team in Cape Town at the weekend.

Ostensibly in SA on a fact-finding mission "to obtain first-hand information on latest developments in the country", the larger implication of the team's presence is being seen as a tentative first step towards possible readmittance of SA to the UN.

On the eve of the team's arrival, SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha issued a strong warning in a letter to Perez for the UN to stay out of SA's affairs.

Farah, repeatedly asked for com-

ment on this point at the Press conference, refused to be drawn, saying merely that he was unaware of Botha's statements. (332)

The team's mission was to collect factual information on progress, proposals and measures taken in an anti-apartheid context. (304A)

Due to meet members of government, representatives of political parties and concerned organisations in a spate of about 40 appointments spread over a 10-day period, the team's mission is the result of meetings between President F W de Klerk and Perez at the Namibia independence celebrations in March this year. B1024 11/6/90

The information it gathers will go back to Perez where it will form part of a report to the UN General Assembly on progress made in the UN Declaration on Apartheid.

The declaration, adopted by con-

sensus during a special session of the General Assembly on December 14 1988, calls for negotiations as the means of ending apartheid.

Farah stressed that the team was a senior one. It includes assistant secretary-general Sotirios Mousouris of Greece, legal consultant James Simpson of Canada, Herschelle Challenor of the US, Leonard Kapungu of Zimbabwe and Thomas McCarthy of the Centre for Human Rights.

They will meet Botha tomorrow and Farah has expressed the hope they will also meet De Klerk.

A spokesman for the group said the team intended keeping a "low profile" throughout the tour, which takes them from Cape Town on Wednesday to Durban (for a day and a half) and on to Johannesburg for the remainder of their visit, with a visit to Pretoria on the final day. They are scheduled to return to New York on June 20. — Sapa.

Mandela could hit snags in Kohl meeting

GENEVA — Nelson Mandela's campaign for sanctions is likely to hit problems in Bonn today when he has a three-hour meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and senior West German cabinet ministers.

While the ANC deputy president will again be feted like royalty, he will find the Germans are into tearing walls down, not putting up new ones.

Bonn officials say Kohl has been deeply impressed by President FW de Klerk's steady delivery of his promises.

High-level West German political sources talk of the need for a "gesture" to be made to De Klerk when the 12 EC heads of state meet in Dublin on June 25-26.

IAN HOBBS

Mandela is due to address the European Parliament in Strasbourg this week.

In every speech he makes, Mandela says there is no reason why South Africans should not enjoy the same one-man-one-vote democratic values as Europeans.

Mandela has warned it would be a "tragic mistake" if European governments identified themselves with De Klerk because both were white.

He said the De Klerk five-year plan was as unacceptable as the Group Areas Act, and the ANC rejected outright any consti-

tution that would protect the interests of any specific minority group.

In a speech to Swiss anti-apartheid groups on Saturday, Mandela said he was upset by reports in SA saying he was ill and his tour was in danger.

But his own senior officials have admitted privately he cannot possibly maintain the pace of the five weeks of travelling and commitments he faces.

The Mandela tour moves to Rome on Friday, where he meets the Pope and the Italian government before returning to London for two days of business with ANC President Oliver Tambo.

Electoral test of reforms may backfire

Business Day Reporter

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is committed to some form of white electoral test of the outcome of negotiation and high levels of fear and uncertainty among whites could place the result in jeopardy, says Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University.

Writing in the latest edition of Barometer, Schlemmer says if violence is not curbed, government, faced with mounting white disaffection and anxiety, may be tempted to delay reforms or critical moves in the negotiation process.

On the other hand, if the ANC considers it strategic to stall the negotiation process it could use inevitable police or army action against violence as a pretext for stalling or suspending negotiations.

"If the government, Inkatha, the ANC and the PAC can combine efforts to combat violence... they will be setting a valuable precedent for similar multi-party co-operation in tackling urgent development problems," he says.

In a separate article on current negotiations Barometer says the

ANC is coming under increasing pressure for its dualistic approach.

"On the one hand it is willing to negotiate but on the other hand still calls for the continuation of the armed struggle."

8/10/90 11/6/90 Control (304A)

While the ANC's membership in certain parts of SA is on the increase, so, however, are its problems:

□ Like the NP, the ANC is facing increasing dissent from within its own ranks;

□ Anti-negotiation sympathies within the ANC's military wing are not new. The organisation seems to have lost control over the youth; and

□ Acts of terror against so-called collaborators are on the increase.

The news letter, published by the Regional Research & Reporting Corporation, says reforms by government are being increasingly acknowledged by the international community as being representative

of the attitude of most whites.

There are some thorny issues that could hamper government:

□ The growing threat that whites will arm themselves and take the law into their own hands;

□ The right-wing backlash and increasingly anti-negotiation stance; and

□ The risk of alienation from its support base as the effects of political developments hit close to home.

Those organisations or parties claiming to represent the aspirations of the people of SA, should take responsibility for the well-being of their followers and come together to negotiate an end to the violence.

The following scenario could be considered:

□ A geographically neutral venue could be found and a meeting between all parties involved in the violence could be held under the auspices of a skilled, neutral mediator; and

□ For a start, only the issue of ending the violence could be put on the table, without involving other preconditions or constitutional matters.

Pik to meet UN³⁰⁴⁸ mission tomorrow^{St. 11/1/90}

CAPE TOWN — The United Nations fact-finding mission which arrived in Cape Town on Saturday met the Black Sash, the Cape PAC and two members of the ANC's constitutional committee yesterday.

It is not clear whether the mission, in South Africa to monitor the Government's progress in dismantling apartheid, will meet President de Klerk.

However, the mission is due to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha tomorrow as well as a wide spectrum of politicians. — Political Correspondent.

Long line-up for UN party

304A Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A number of political parties including the ANC, the DP and the NP welcomed the UN fact-finding mission's visit to SA yesterday.

However, the CP, which has refused to meet the six-member UN team, blasted the visit as blatant interference in SA's domestic affairs. 8 104 1216/90

The group has already met a number of non-government parties since arriving in Cape Town at the weekend, including the PAC, the ANC, the UDF, Solidarity and academics.

The UN delegation will meet a number of government ministers and senior government officials today and tomorrow. They will also meet Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, who was originally stated to meet the UN group today, will now be seeing them in Pretoria on June 19.

Sapa reports that a Foreign Affairs spokesman said a meeting with President F W de Klerk would not be possible.

It also reports that Idasa executive director Alex Boraine issued a statement to the UN delegation saying sanctions ought to be maintained until De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela could make a joint appeal for them to be lifted.

● Comment: Page 6

'Historic turning point' for SA

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Just as 1989 was a watershed year for Eastern Europe, which had to shed its past ideologies and economic policies, 1990 would be "a historic turning point" for South Africa, American southern African political analyst Pauline Baker has said.

Writing in the latest issue of Current History — an influential United States monthly political journal — Ms Baker, a senior associate at the Washington-based Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said President de Klerk's bold reform initiatives since February 2 this year had propelled South Africa in a new direction full of optimism for the future.

"From revolutionary upheaval and

economic decline in the 1980s, South Africa seems poised — albeit delicately — on a threshold of change that will result in a totally different political dynamic in the 1990s," wrote Ms Baker, who was in South Africa last month.

By releasing ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela from jail on February 11, President de Klerk "began to release whites from their self-inflicted international isolation".

Negotiations between the Government on the one hand and the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups, power brokers and anti-apartheid allies on the other hand would lead to a situation where the National Party (NP) would move out of power and the anti-apartheid groups would move in.

"The negotiations, if and when they

take place, will be burdened by a deep legacy of distrust, divided constituencies and a complex political tapestry that includes dedicated ideologues and militant rivals standing in the wings who claim to be the true torchbearers of African and Afrikaner nationalisms.

Pretoria's changes, Ms Baker said, had been encouraged by recent political developments in Eastern Europe.

She said US foreign policy towards South Africa now appeared to have been based on a bipartisan consensus in the US Congress, thus enabling the Bush administration "to maintain some influence on the situation, including credibility with blacks and a working relationship with whites in South Africa".

The Govt still has to tackle the land issue in rural areas

MARITZBURG — The land issue, which is at the centre of reform in South Africa, has yet to be tackled by President de Klerk's government.

In Natal this week, six rural communities still under threat of removal challenged the government to grant a reprieve and return the land they once owned.

"We are very proud of the land ... It holds the tombs of our forefathers. We demand the restoration of our title deeds," said Mr Anthony Mnyoni of Matiwane's Kop, a small black freehold area about 25 km north of Ladysmith.

Surrounded by white farms, Matiwane is one of a large number of black rural communities in Natal that have been under threat of forced removal for the past 30 years.

Compensation

Taking heed of President de Klerk's reformist statements, Mr Mnyoni and representatives from five other communities under threat of removal, yesterday delivered a memorandum to the Government, asking for an official reprieve.

The memorandum also called for written withdrawal of land expropriation notices and restoration of title deeds and mineral rights to their owners or appropriate compensation where this cannot be done.

The communities' campaign for their land to be restored and developed is supported by the Association for Rural Advancement, civil rights lawyers, the Black Sash and church leaders.

The history of the six communities dates back to the early 19th and 20th centuries when numbers of black Christian syndicates bought up farms under freehold tenure.

They represented a flourish-

After decades of colonial rule and apartheid development, land has been carved and re-carved and entire communities forcibly relocated in accordance with separate development. Most areas scheduled for black occupation have been left underdeveloped.

ing peasantry, using modern agricultural technology to produce for the market. However, through a programme of underdevelopment by successive colonial governments, post-union segregation and the apartheid governments, the communities have been deprived of credit, extension services, clean water, roads, schools and other social services.

In official government terminology, they became known as "black spots", black freehold land that was acquired before the 1913 Land Act and which fell within areas designated as white.

The 1913 and 1936 Land Acts scheduled areas for black settlement, a mere 13 percent of South Africa, and ended black purchase of land outside the homelands.

When the National Party came to power in 1948, it began removing these freehold areas to give effect to its racial segregation of land. By 1982 it was estimated that 103 freehold areas representing 105 000 people had been forcibly relocated.

After increasing resistance from the communities and national and international pressure, the Government announced a suspension of its policy of forced removals, leaving

an estimated 183 areas in Natal (about 160 000 people) uncertain of Government plans for their future and whether they would still be moved.

Among these were the communities of Matiwane's Kop, Steincoalspruit, Stoffelton, Stepmore, Rosboom and Cornfields, representatives of which are now demanding that the government "put its money where its mouth is".

They state that since 1985, the Government has adopted more subtle strategies in trying to force people off land scheduled for white development.

Attrition

"As a means to underdevelop the area, public transport has ceased to operate and shops have closed. Expropriation notices have been served on us and promises of other land have been made," said Mr Mwazi Zuma, a spokesman for Rosboom, a former freehold community situated south of Ladysmith on the Durban to Johannesburg main road.

Afra fieldworker Richard Clacey said this week the forced removals of the past had not stopped, but had merely become "forced voluntary removals". Communities have had to face a debilitating war of attrition by the government, he added.

He welcomed President de Klerk's moves to dismantle apartheid and the recent Government statements that the forced incorporation of communities into self-governing territories and the development of independent homelands would no longer be pursued as policy.

— Sapa.

Soviets host 6 SA researchers

30419

CAPE TOWN - Six young South African political researchers started a 10-day visit to the Soviet Union this week, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) said in Cape Town yesterday. *Sowetan 12/6/90*

They include University of Witwatersrand researchers Mark Swilling and Khehla Shubane, Idasa organisers Nic Borain, Hermien Kotze and Ian Liebenberg, and Zorah Ebrahim of the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

The visit, organised by Idasa and the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, is a sequel to the December visit to South Africa by top Soviet historians Prof Appolon Davidson and Prof Irina Filatova, who were the first Soviet academics to visit the country in 30 years.

The group will be hosted by the Committee of Soviet Youth Organisations and their programme include visits to two Soviet cities. - Sapa

A battle is raging on the frontiers of apartheid and people on the platteland know that life can never be the same again, writes FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent.

FOCUS
2

The silent war on the Platteland

AS the apartheid order continues to crumble, people in platteland areas are increasingly facing the reality that life can never be the same again.

The writing is on the wall for white privilege and domination in local affairs. This is clearly an underlying key issue in the political battles now raging between local communities and white municipalities in many country towns.

The action is rapidly taking the shape of a silent political war as activists co-ordinate and extend their strategies and campaigns, while claiming they are up against fierce resistance from die-hard conservative elements in white municipalities.

One of the main demands is for an equal say for people of all races in civic affairs — and this call is going out from hitherto deprived coloured and black residents in a growing number of towns.

AT the same time protest actions — including consumer boycotts — have been launched to focus attention on a multitude of grievances ranging from high rentals and water tariffs to inadequate housing, health services, racism and other issues.

Some white local authorities find themselves in a dilemma as demands are being made which, they say, are impossible to meet. In some cases the demands are for changes which municipalities are not empowered to bring about; in others the money needed for the improvements demanded is simply not available, it is claimed.

Western Cape towns affected by simmering conflict include Montagu, Ashton, Robertson, Worcester, Barrydale and Swellendam.

At Worcester, about 600 residents decided at a meeting this week to stay away from work next Tuesday, to march to the municipal offices, to "force a meeting with councillors" and to hand over a petition.

Grievances voiced at the meeting include "over-inflated" rentals for municipal housing, and a lack of community facilities such as shops, halls and playgrounds.

AT Robertson, scene of clashes which marred the Easter weekend for many residents, controversy is still raging about police action taken after a civic meeting in April. The gathering ended in mayhem when teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot were fired — an incident which resulted in a top-level police investigation.

Community leader and spokesman for the Robertson interim committee, Mr Fred Booysen, said the community would not accept the police investigation and was still awaiting an impartial inquiry into the police action against local people.

Mr Booysen said further protest actions were planned. Virtually no headway had been made in negotiations with the municipality and many problems of the community remained unresolved.

A basic demand which the town council had so far failed to meet was that it should say where it stood on the issue of an "open" town council. There had been no clear response from the council to this demand, which was a pre-condition for any negotiations with the council, Mr Booysen said.

ONE of the most persistent of the community battles is raging in the small town of Ashton where a mass meeting is to be held on Tuesday to discuss further protest action.

Among those in the forefront of the battle is interim committee chairman Mr Bernard Matthys whose committee fills the gap left by the disbanded local management committee. He says the community's consumer boycott against certain businesses continues, and further protest action is being planned as a result of the town council's failure to do anything about the people's grievances.

All-day church services are to be held tomorrow and from Monday people of colour are to start using all hitherto whites-only municipal



amenities, including the local swimming pool, tennis courts and library.

Mr Matthys said this move, coming hard on the heels of this week's official scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act by Parliament, was intended as part of the community's protest action against the local system.

The main grievances include the lack of adequate housing, unaffordable rentals and water tariffs, and the denial of equal civil rights to a large part of the community.

Like many other platteland communities, Ashton's coloured community sees its battle as a first step in a campaign for an equal voice for all in the town's affairs.

Supermarket owner/manager Mr Hannes Spreeth confirmed this week that the effects of the boycott were still being felt by businesses, but trading conditions had improved steadily since the initial week of the boycott.

Ironically, the boycotters are said to have nothing against local businesses but are using them as a "punch bag" to air grievances against the local government system, apartheid, and the white government.

MR SPREETH said the people involved in the protests had some valid grievances, but were unrealistic in expecting overnight action to solve all problems.

"We have heard threats that will continue for a long time if something is not done urgently about the grievances."

The Mayor of Ashton, Mr Paul Roux, this week declined to comment on the situation in his town, saying the matter was to be discussed at a council meeting.

Asked about the consumer boycott, he said as far as he was concerned no such boycott existed. He was also tight-lipped about any negotiations by the municipality with protesting groups.

At Montagu, where a list of grievances was delivered to the mayor during a protest march on June 2, a consumer boycott against some businesses continued this week.

However, shopkeepers said the boycott was not effective and was hardly noticeable in some cases and people continued to buy goods from shops chosen for the boycott.

A supermarket manager, Mr J Brighton, estimated that the boycott, at its worst, was no more than 30 percent effective.

One of the initiators of the boycott, the Rev Jan Swartz, vice-chairman of the Montagu Civic Association and acting minister of the local Ned

Geref Sendingkerk, said it would continue indefinitely.

Demands conveyed to the municipality included the scrapping of the management committee system and of apartheid structures, and the creation of an "open" town council in which all the people would participate.

IN Oudtshoorn, community leaders say a deadlock situation has been reached in relations between the town's authorities and local black and coloured communities. Consumer boycotts are continuing.

New protests are being planned after demands made last year to seek improvements in local conditions are claimed to have come to nothing so far.

But the town's mayor, Mr S Greeff, made it clear this week that he regarded the demands, especially those for housing, as virtually impossible to meet.

"The town council is powerless. I would be prepared to build all the houses in the world if we had the money," he said.

Then there were complaints about the management committee system and about rentals that were said to be too high — and yet rentals were not determined by the municipality but by the House of Representatives.

"We are not the only municipality with such problems. It is a national problem. At this stage the situation in Oudtshoorn is calm and normal, but if there are to be more protests, we would have to talk again. I don't know when all this will end."

The chairman of the Oudtshoorn Civic Association, Mr Reggie Oliphant, said "massive demonstrations" were planned to focus attention once more on the community's grievances. The demonstrations would take the form of a march from Bridgetown and Bongoletu township to the town offices and possibly also to the police station.

"We have given the municipality and the police enough time to implement certain demands handed to them on September 22 last year. The problems, which have remained unchanged, concern living conditions, health conditions, housing and other matters. A central demand is that we must get rid of puppet systems like management committees and let all the people share in the management of the town."

A strong conservative element in the Oudtshoorn town council seemed to be holding back change. "I say the tide is flowing towards an open, non-racial democratic society and government at all levels."

1707	MONDAY, 11 JUNE 1990	1708
<i>Hansard</i>		
(iii) Assault	—	0
(b) (i) Murder	—	3
11/6/90 (ii) Robbery	—	143
(iii) Assault	—	5
Durban/Westville: charges under group areas legislation		
23. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Law and Order: <i>Hansard</i> 11/6/90		
Whether any persons in the (a) Durban and		

(b) Westville municipal areas were charged under group areas legislation during the latest specified period of five years for which information is available; if so, (i) how many, (ii) under what statutory provisions, and (iii) when, in each case?

Hansard 11/6/90 D131E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) and (b) No, not as far as could be ascertained.

(i) to (iii) Fall away.

1709

TUESDAY, 12 JUNE 1990

1710

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

304A

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Mandate: election/referendum

1. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the State President:

Whether it is his intention to ask the White electorate by way of a referendum or general election for a mandate sanctioning (a) negotiations with the ANC and the South African Communist Party on a new constitution for the Republic of South Africa without their renouncing violence unconditionally and (b) the acceptance of the principle that a Black man may become president of the Republic of South Africa; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

B1278E.INT

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, Government action in the recent past has been fully supported by the mandate the NP received on 6 September 1990. [Interjections.] As I shall indicate, it is therefore unnecessary to hold a referendum or a general election to ratify anything we are doing at present. Up to now no negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa have taken place with either the ANC or the SA Communist Party. The talks that were held were aimed at the ANC committing itself to peaceful solutions.

*Mr W L VAN DER MERWE: Which they never did!

*The STATE PRESIDENT: The origin of these talks goes back a great deal further than 6 September 1989, and so too does the approach that a commitment to peaceful solutions must be the criterion instead of a formal renunciation of violence. [Interjections.] My predecessor laid down this criterion here in Parliament long before the election. [Interjections.] Subsequently the NP has consistently stated the stand-

point that all who are committed to peaceful solutions are welcome at the negotiating table.

In the NP's *Plan of Action*, the basis of our mandate, it is stated unequivocally that the process of negotiation, and I quote:

... must be preceded by intensive talks with the leaders of all the different groups willing to participate peacefully in a search for fair and practical solutions.

[Interjections.] On 22 July of last year I said at the Cape Party Congress that the party would move forward, and I quote:

... langs hierdie weg van vernuwing en gesprek met almal wat saam met ons wil werk aan vreedsame oplossings.

I also said:

A new dispensation must have the support of the people who will be affected by it. That support will have to be cultivated through a process of intensive dialogue.

On that occasion I also said:

The National Party will, within this framework, continue its efforts to broaden the base of participants in the peaceful pursuit of negotiated solutions.

Our talks with the ANC are therefore aimed at getting them to make that commitment unconditionally. The NP therefore has a mandate and we are carrying it out. [Interjections.]

In fact, we have made progress, and the talks we are holding at present are to get a commitment to the peaceful process from the ANC. To a large extent we did get this during the Groote Schuur conference. We must now, through dialogue, also create the right climate in which the ANC will dissociate itself from all violence, including the "armed struggle", so the political process can be normalised. [Interjections.]

It is in the best interests of everyone that we succeed in this. The question the CP must answer is whether they want people who formally advocated violence, to cease doing so—yes or no. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: As we have come to know him, the hon the State President has now circumvented and sidestepped this interpel-

lation. [Interjections.] He performed an egg dance and the facts contradict him.

I want to tell the hon the State President that he regularly makes the promise that he will first subject a new South Africa to a referendum or a general election. However, I want to make the allegation today that there has never been a greater political farce than that. [Interjections.] It is nothing but deliberate hoodwinking of the Whites and a cold-blooded abuse of the trust that credulous Whites have placed in the NP.

I want to mention two items of proof. Firstly, there is no doubt whatsoever today that the hon the State President is governing in conflict with the mandate he received. [Interjections.] Their key points of last year's general election were summarised by the NP in this pamphlet *Key Issues*, and there can be no doubt that this is the final mandate of the NP.

In regard to a Black State President, a subject on which the hon the State President has not breathed a word now, he stated according to question 3 in this pamphlet containing the mandate that "this is not on the agenda now". According to the *Citizen* of 23 March, however, the hon the State President told an overseas journalist that he had a mandate for working towards a Black person becoming State President. This is completely at variance with the mandate of the hon the State President.

Secondly, according to *Key Issues* the mandate states specifically that until the ANC renounces violence, the NP will not talk to the ANC. This one finds in question 12. Today the ANC is intensifying its campaign of violence, and the Government is nevertheless talking to the ANC, in conflict with the express mandate it received from the voters.

Besides acting in conflict with its mandate, the hon the State President is now boasting that his reforms have become irreversible. On what does he then wish to hold a referendum? By making his reforms irreversible at this early stage, the hon the State President is today in advance making the role of a referendum irrelevant. I say it is a political deception.

The fact that the hon the State President is acting in conflict with his mandate and that he is deceiving the White voters with his promise of a farcical referendum, compels me to issue a warning to him with all the earnestness I am able to muster. He must think again. The Umlazi result made it very clear that the hon the State President must think again. He must return to the provisions of his mandate and cease his attempts to

change this country irreversibly, because by so doing he is acting undemocratically, by so doing he is displaying contempt for democracy. I want to warn the hon the State President that he must think again in good time . . .

*THE STATE PRESIDENT: Or else you will do what?

*MR J H VAN DER MERWE: . . . otherwise he will be creating real problems in this country, and he knows what that means. [Time expired.]

Dr Z J DE BEER: Mr Speaker, the question of the hon member for Overvaal has two parts. Regarding the first part, namely the question of negotiations with the ANC and the SA Communist Party, I can understand and sympathise with the hon member if he pulled the hon the State President's leg a bit. It was quite clear that there was no intention to unban these organisations before the election.

However, that is not the point that is made here. The point that is made is that the hon the State President is negotiating without an unequivocal, eternal undertaking from them to forswear violence under all circumstances. Not only is the hon the State President absolutely correct to say that his predecessor had already changed the terms of that undertaking—that is so—but this business of not talking until they forswear violence forever was also in any case always nonsense. Who forswore violence in Rhodesia before they talked at Lancaster House? Who forswore violence in Angola before our people talked to our opponents there? One has to talk to people in order to get peace, and I am glad it is being done.

I now come to the second part which is the question of the acceptance of a Black President. Let me in passing say this about *Kerryfeire*.

*During the election I myself went from platform to platform with that booklet in my hand to prove that the NP was not willing to say whether it would permit a Black president or not.

*MR J H VAN DER MERWE: He is saying that it is not on the agenda!

*Dr Z J DE BEER: In that booklet the question is completely avoided. Therefore there is no complaint there, but in any case I want to repeat that we must not, for goodness' sake, talk racist nonsense. If we are going to allege that there is a South African citizen who will be prevented from becoming the State President of our country on racial grounds only, then we are destroying our country's future in advance, before we even enter it.

*With regard to the alleged mandate or non-mandate that the hon the State President may possess, it is . . . [Time expired.]

*THE STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, let me in the first place reply to the second part of the question of the CP's obsession with a Black State President. In terms of the present Constitution it is not possible for a Black person to become State President. The Constitution will first have to be changed before that can happen, and the NP is committed to submitting any material constitutional amendments to the voters.

In addition we undertook in our *Five Year Plan of Action*, and received a mandate, to reflect anew on the function and the powers of the head of state in a new dispensation—his role or otherwise as head of government and the way in which he is going to be elected.

Ultimately the voters will have to give a new mandate on this matter, together with the mandate on a new constitutional dispensation, before any change can be made to the office of State President as it exists at present.

The NP stands by its undertaking in regard to a referendum or an election. I also informed every head of government abroad about this.

The hon member referred to *Key Issues*. The word "talk" does not occur in reply to question 12.

*MR J H VAN DER MERWE: It is in the question! All you have to do is read it!

*THE STATE PRESIDENT: Secondly, I want to ask the hon members this question: If it is such an important principle for them not to talk to anyone who has not renounced violence, are they talking to Mr Eugène Terre'Blanche? Are they talking to Robert van Tonder? [Interjections.] Are they talking to the people who almost openly proclaim violence.

Thirdly, what about their own double-talk about violence? The hon member for Overvaal was guilty of this a moment ago. [Interjections.] What is he threatening me with? What is he threatening this country with? If I do not give in to the so-called pressure they are now exerting on us, what will happen then? Will the CP lead violent action in South Africa? The hon the Leader of the CP must rise and tell us, because they are talking ambiguously about this matter. In front of their audiences the Third Freedom

Struggle is a struggle, and when they explain in the newspapers, it is suddenly no longer a struggle, it is then a spiritual struggle. [Time expired.]

*Dr C P MULDER: Mr Chairman, I want to say with all due respect that this is unbelievable. [Interjections.] The hon the State President is trying to make the point that the word "talk" does not appear in the reply. It is in the question in respect of the answer which the hon the State President asked on behalf of the party. "Why is the Government not talking to the ANC?" It is a factual statement. The reply was that as long as the organisation remained committed to violence, it had no place in a South Africa governed by the NP.

*THE STATE PRESIDENT: We are trying to get them away from violence! [Interjections.]

*Dr C P MULDER: In the interpellation the specific question asked is what is the standpoint of the hon the State President in respect of the renunciation of violence.

He did not answer the question, but he said, and is today emphasising, that he is moving away from the issue of the renunciation of violence and is moving instead to a commitment to a peaceful solution. [Interjections.] No, it was not. The hon the State President's own standpoint during the discussion of his Vote was the following (Hansard, 17 April 1990, col 6527):

Armed struggle and peaceful negotiation are conflicting concepts.

This the hon the State President said himself. I quote further from the same column:

The ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle . . . therefore constitutes a further obstacle . . . We insist on an unequivocal commitment to peaceful solutions.

The hon the State President himself went on to say that this included the cessation of violence and of preaching the armed struggle.

*THE STATE PRESIDENT: I said it again last Thursday.

*Dr C P MULDER: That is why I asked the hon the State President whether it was his standpoint that the ANC should first renounce violence? The hon the State President did not see fit to reply to this question. Consequently I am asking the hon the State President specifically today whether it is the standpoint of the Government

that the ANC should first renounce violence before they become involved in the formal negotiation process, yes or no?

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, one day the history books will testify that this hon State President was pre-eminently one who yielded to political pressure. [Interjections.] His guarantees of the past are worthless.

*Dr F J VAN HEERDEN: You are a traitor!

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: He yields to pressure. Today the hon the State President is sitting with his arm around the shoulders of communists and bloody terrorists. [Interjections.] Today he is surrendering his people—and all minority groups as well—to domination without protection. Today he is governing in conflict with a mandate and is hoodwinking his own people with the promise of a farcical referendum.

There is only one message for him: A general election must be held. [Interjections.] This is the demand of the people of Umlazi. In Umlazi the Whites said that they had had enough of this hon State President. Umlazi and the White citizens of South Africa reject this hon State President! A general election will prove it. He will not even be able to hold his own seat in Vereeniging! [Time expired.]

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, we have just heard from the hon member for Overvaal how the voters of Umlazi were misled. It is this untruth, that the NP has its arm around the shoulders of the SA Communist Party and the ANC, that misled the voters in Umlazi. I am also talking to the CP, but surely I am not sitting with my arm around their shoulders! [Interjections.]

I am talking to the DP, but I do not have my arm around their shoulders! [Interjections.] I am talking to every political leader in this country, because it is my task as head of state to do that.

My object is—in this regard I shall speak courteously to the CP—to get everyone who thinks with their blood, to think with their brain cells. My object is to get everyone so far as essentially to relinquish violence, not by a form of signing anything, not by signing a document drawn up by a notary which reads "Renunciation of Violence", but to get them to renounce violence in their hearts.

I am not certain that the majority of the hon members sitting on the opposite side have renounced violence in their hearts. [Interjections.] When I listen to their statements and their double talk on violence, I am, on this point, just as concerned about them as I still am about the

ambiguity of the ANC on this matter. [Interjections.]

I shall continue to speak to everyone—including the ANC—to get them so far as to make an unambiguous commitment to peaceful solutions. We are making progress with this. We are making material progress with this, and it is in the best interests of South Africa and all its people.

*Mr J H HOON: And if you do not get that commitment? Yield?

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Yield? There is no question of yielding.

That party is still painted into a corner in its own mind, into a corner which will definitely lead to the downfall of everything which is precious to us in this House. [Interjections.]

Our path is the path of finding the solution to the problem in a peaceful manner. [Time expired.]

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: While the hon member for Bloemfontein speaking, the hon member for Bloemfontein North shouted out that the hon member for Overvaal was a traitor. I suggest that that was not parliamentary. [Interjections.]

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! [Interjections.] The hon member for Lichtenburg! The hon member for Bloemfontein North must withdraw that remark.

*Dr F J VAN HEERDEN: Mr Speaker, I withdraw it.

Debate concluded.

Negotiations: obstacles

304A

2. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

Whether the Government has removed the obstacles which have been preventing negotiations on a new constitution from commencing; if so, when is it going to take steps to involve leaders of all sections of our nation in such negotiations; if not, (a) what obstacles still have to be removed and (b) what steps does the Government propose taking to remove them?

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The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, the answer can be divided into two parts, the first dealing with the question of obstacles.

Obstacles in the way of the commencement of real and democratic negotiations for a constitution are basically two-fold.

On the one hand there are those official measures which are seen to inhibit the normalisation of the political process. On the other hand there is also the occurrence—in the pursuit of political objectives—of violence, intimidation and destabilisation which by their very nature are in conflict with the true essence of free and democratic negotiations.

The Government's removal of these obstacles has caught the imagination of all, especially since the hon the State President's speech at the opening of Parliament. From each side the Government's fundamental precondition has been and remains a firm commitment by every participant to the road of peaceful negotiation. This matter was thoroughly addressed at the Groote Schuur meeting where the ANC committed itself to the resolution of violence and also of intimidation and to the creation of stability and to a peaceful process of negotiation. The Government is now insisting that all prospective participants to negotiations first bring their deeds and their words into line with these fundamental touchstones. It is bringing to bear on this matter all its capabilities—including additional resources placed at the disposal of the agencies of law enforcement.

Other perceived obstacles revolving around the definition of political offences have been investigated by the Joint Working Committee set up at the Groote Schuur meeting. Their report has already been accepted by the Government, but the ANC requested an extension of time until 10 July to decide. The Government is also reconsidering aspects of existing security legislation in order to bring it into line with the goal of normal and free political activities. These initiatives of the Government justify a thorough revision and a re-evaluation of the whole situation by those parties still dragging their feet on the way to commencing real negotiations. The leaders of all democratic political organisations have in fact expressed their impatience at this delay and they desire negotiations to begin.

As for the second part of the question, on involving leaders of all sections of our nation in negotiations, the Government seeks a comprehensive and inclusive negotiating forum. All political organisations with a proven, substantial

support base, whether operating inside or outside present constitutional structures, should qualify to participate. This will ensure a truly representative, acceptable and legitimate negotiating process.

In fact, the Government, including the hon the State President personally, has over many months been conducting preliminary discussions with leaders of political organisations right across the political spectrum. [Time expired]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Speaker, I appreciate the hon the Minister's partial reply, as I would call it, to the question before him.

I must make two points very clear from the outset. First of all I believe we reflect a view which is widely held, and that is a very deep concern at the delays that are taking place in the real commencement of the negotiation process. Why are the delays taking place? We see the ongoing violence, sanctions and the armed struggle. At the same time we see an increase in emotional pressures, social tensions and political and economic uncertainties.

Secondly, like it or not, an impression is being created by the activities of the Government that negotiations on a new constitution are primarily a NP/ANC affair. [Interjections.] We do not deny the importance of the NP as the governing party, nor that of the ANC as a major factor in the liberation struggle against apartheid. Nevertheless, the ANC, the NP and the SA Communist Party combined do not reflect the totality of South African loyalties or commitments. There are other political constituencies that have been sidelined for far too long.

Yes, the Government has addressed the obstacles as defined by the ANC. They have reached agreement on a number of issues with the ANC. The Groote Schuur Minute is an ANC/SA Communist Party/NP agreement. The sooner the other leaders, who have been sidelined for too long, are brought into the total process of discussions, of talks about talks, the more it will be to the benefit of South Africa. It will give all South Africans a sense of involvement and not just the two main actors—all South Africans who want to have that sense of involvement. I believe that when the other leaders are also locked into negotiations we will have the start of the reduction of violence in this country. [Interjections.]

The Government has gone a long way to remove specific obstacles as defined by the ANC. There is also a unique and frustrating political mating dance taking place between the hon the State President and the Vice President of the ANC.

However, is the Government in other ways, with all the enthusiasm it should, tackling the removal of obstacles to the successful conclusion of negotiation? Have the hon the State President and his Government taken the message of negotiation and the implications of a new South Africa to the people of South Africa? Have there been the meetings? Have there been the rallies? Have they been to the Black townships of South Africa to demonstrate this? I ask him whether the Government has done all it should to dispel the mistrust of the past. Getting rid of the last trappings of apartheid is like drawing teeth. We have to wait for the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. We have heard that the opening of schools is subject to a racist 10% veto. [Time expired.]

*Mr J H HOON: Mr Chairman, the most important target of the Government in its search for a new constitutional dispensation for the new South Africa is to bring the ANC and the SA Communist Party to the negotiating table. The obstacles which the ANC placed in the path of the Government, have been removed one by one, such as the eventual lifting of the state of emergency. The Government is gradually succumbing to the pressure; succumbing in the face of the clenched fist of the ANC.

The hon member asked what obstacles still had to be removed. The greatest obstacle in the way of the hon the Minister's new South Africa was not placed in his way by the ANC. The greatest obstacle in the Government's path of political power-sharing in a new South Africa is the will of the definite majority of Whites who support the CP today. [Interjections.] It is the majority of the White nation who say that they want to be free to govern themselves in their own fatherland. [Interjections.] The majority of Whites constitute the Government's greatest obstacle along this path. [Interjections.]

The logical action of the Government to remove this obstacle, would be to hold a general election for members of the House of Assembly. The Government must decide what is more important—the will of the White majority in South Africa or the will of the ANC?

THE MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, it would appear that the hon member for Sea Point prepared both his submission of the interpellation as submitted and his speech before listening to the hon the State President's address last week at a joint sitting of Parliament. [Interjections.] It is a bit ridiculous to suggest here that there is any question as to what the Government is doing to remove obstacles.

If a South African observer sitting inside Parliament should ask what the Government is doing to remove the obstacles, then it would really be time for him to go on an overseas trip in order that people abroad can inform him about what is going on in South Africa. [Interjections.] It is really quite ridiculous. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Sea Point has expressed his deep concern about delays. I can tell him that the Government is also concerned about delays. It was very much concerned about the delays on the part of the ANC after the Government had declared its willingness to meet with the leadership of the ANC in relation to certain perceived obstacles, and also the delay which repeatedly occurred over a period of more than a month before the ANC agreed to a meeting date.

The Government is also concerned that whilst the working group set up in accordance with the Groote Schuur meeting has already completed its report, the ANC, which has been insisting on an early treatment of that report, is now dragging its feet and asking for time until 10 July.

It is quite true that in the progress which we have made towards the commencement of negotiations we have busied ourselves mainly, if not exclusively, with the ANC. This is because the Government, after a long period of discussions with political organisations right across the spectrum, has met with their agreement to begin with actual negotiations. They are no longer seeing obstacles in the way of the commencement of negotiations. Therefore, the concentration during the past weeks has been particularly on problems and obstacles which have not been dealt with to the satisfaction of those organisations. [Time expired.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Speaker, the motivation behind this interpellation is to get the Government's balance correct. It has been concentrating, for its own reasons, on dealing with the

obstacles raised by the ANC. We say there is a wider set of obstacles and that things are getting worse in many other respects. We want the Government to say what practical steps it has taken over the past four months to promote the concept of a single nationhood. Has it dealt with right-wing militants with a firmness that will give confidence that it is serious about stamping out violence? What are its specific plans and why are they not drawing the other leaders of the other sectors of the South African community into this whole process?

However, I must be very frank about the question of delay. I do not direct this issue solely at the Government. I believe that the concept of peaceful negotiation cannot prosper amongst the people as long as leadership proclaims its commitment to the violence of the armed struggle. This is a fundamentally important point.

I accept the origins of the armed struggle and I acknowledge the part it has played in the total strategy of the past. However, given the Government's declaration on 2 February, the release of Mr Mandela on 11 February, the Groote Schuur Minute, the statements made by the hon the State President only last week and the fact that the ANC leadership says that it accepts the integrity of the hon the State President, I want to ask the leadership of the ANC in all seriousness whether the armed struggle is any longer compatible with its solemn commitment "to stability and the peaceful progress of negotiation".

I hold that that armed struggle in the present circumstances is no longer a viable liberation strategy. If it had a purpose it has served that purpose, but now it is reinforcing the psychosis of violence that grips this country. It gives licence to extremists to commit acts of violence against the Government and its agents. It encourages the right-wing militants to mobilise for their own future armed struggle.

Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon member's time has expired.

Mr C W EGLIN: In political terms it undermines the credibility of the hon the State President and plays into the hands of the CP.

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! If hon members continue to waste time unnecessarily during interpellations, that time will simply be withdrawn from that party's allocated time by the Chair. Hon members will be penalised in this way by their own actions. I am requesting the co-operation of hon members in this regard.

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Sea Point has dealt with the broader

spectrum and the hon the Minister took exception with regard to the problem of obstacles. However, I want to address the question of informal obstacles to the process and come back to the question of hearts and minds by asking the NP what they are doing to win the hearts and minds of South Africans, White and Black, for this process in South Africa.

I want to say to hon members that there were at least a thousand votes which the NP threw to the CP because they did not win the hearts and minds of the voters of Umhlatzi. [Interjections.]

I want to ask further what the hon the Minister and his party are doing to win the hearts and minds of the hon members of the CP. I do however accept that some members of the CP have neither hearts nor minds. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, I would like to thank the hon member for Sea Point for his positive standpoint and reasoning regarding the total unacceptability of the ANC's continued rhetoric regarding the armed struggle. That is a definite standpoint with which those of us on this side of the House fully agree. I am grateful for that.

I also want to emphasise that the Government is not only eager to involve leaders from the entire political spectrum in the discussions, but that it has in fact done so during the past weeks and months. The Government has had extremely productive talks with political organisations within the tricameral Parliament, both among the opposition as well as the Government, as well as with political organisations in the rest of the country, including those outside the existing political structures. The result of these talks is that with the exception of the ANC and its affiliated organisations, all the others are eager for the process of negotiation to begin so that they will be able to state their grievances . . . [Interjections.]

*Mr J H HOON: What does the PAC say?

*The MINISTER: Yes, of course the PAC is also dissatisfied. We did not negotiate with them. [Interjections.] We therefore have a definite standpoint that the vast majority of political parties are eager for the process of negotiation to get under way.

†That is the best evidence of the success that this Government has achieved in winning the minds and the hearts of people.

I would like to make a prediction, although and I know that it is a dangerous thing for a politician to do. [Interjections.] In the political develop-

ment ahead, we are entering a new phase in which, from these benches, a new spirit of leadership will be reaching out beyond the confines within which we are operating at present, which will include support from all sections of the population for certain basic political principles that South Africans of all persuasions have in common with each other. [Time expired.] *Hansard 12/6/90*

Debate concluded: *(304A)*

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 29 May 1990:

Strand: private resort

*10. Adv C H PIENAR asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:†

- (1) Whether a private resort being developed at the Strand extends from private land on the coast into the sea in the form of a pier; if so, *Hansard 12/6/90*
- (2) whether the State-owned land falling within this development was obtained in terms of an agreement with the State; if so, what are the terms and conditions of the agreement; if not, what is the official policy in regard to developments by private persons on State-owned land on the coast? *B1117E*

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PLANNING (for the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs):

- (1) Yes.
- (2) Yes; the State-owned land affected by the development has been leased to a development company in terms of the Sea-Shore Act (Act 21 of 1935). The lease agreement between the Cape Provincial Administration and the developer is a standard agreement that is normally used in such cases and the rental is determined by the Treasury. As it is such a volum-

nous document it is not practicable to read the whole document to the House. The document can be placed at the disposal of the hon member if he so wishes.

†Mr C H PIENAR: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply I should like to know from him, if someone looks at the contents of the agreement which is now available, whether he may publish it so that one can get access to it and whether it is a secret document.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it stands to reason that it is not a secret document. It is a contract entered into by the Cape Provincial Administration, and the public has the right to see it. It is however not necessary to throw it around in the House or to distribute it outside. The hon member can come and look at it, and if he would like to make the contents known, he is welcome to do so. *Hansard 12/6/90*

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 5 June 1990:

Certain person: charges pending

*3. Mr M A TARR asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether there are any charges pending against a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what is the nature of these charges and (b) when is it anticipated that they will be brought to court;
- (2) whether this person is out on bail at present; if so,
- (3) whether he has become implicated in any other cases whilst out on bail; if so, what are the relevant details,
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? *B1127E*

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) to (4) On 7 August 1989 Jerome Mncwabe was arrested on various charges of murder, attempted murder and public violence. On 8 August 1989 he was released on bail by the court.

On 9 December 1989 he was once again arrested on various charges of murder. On his appearance before the court, his application for bail was refused. During February 1990 he appealed against the refusal of the court to

grant him bail. His appeal was upheld and he was thereafter released on bail.

During April 1990 further charges of murder and attempted murder were lodged against him. However, on 16 May 1990, before he could be arrested on these charges, he was murdered.

New questions:

Voters' roll: removal of name of certain person

*1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

Whether application has been made for the name of a certain person, particulars of whom have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, to be removed from the voters' roll; if so, (a) at whose request, (b) on what date and (c) what is the name of the person concerned? *B1186E*

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

No.

(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I should like to know on what grounds the particular person's name was removed.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, my Department removed his name from the voters' roll.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply I should like to ask the hon the Minister on whose application the Department removed this name?

†An HON MEMBER: And why?

†The MINISTER: In 1989 the hon member's voter Mr Strydom died. [Interjections.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply I should like to ask the hon the Minister if the name of the voter who died was removed after or before he died.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, he died on 28 September 1989 and his name was removed on 14 November 1989.

Unrest in Natal: persons killed/injured

*2. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:† *Hansard 12/6/90*

- (a) How many persons have been (i) killed and (ii) injured since the beginning of the present

unrest in Natal and (b) in respect of what period is this information furnished? *B1189E*

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Mr Speaker, if the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe has finished seeing the ghost, I may perhaps continue replying to the question. [Interjections.]

(a) (i) 612

(ii) 513

(b) 1 January 1990 until 31 May 1990.

Military government of Venda: recognition

*3. Adv C D DE JAGER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

Whether the Government recognises the military government of Venda; if so, with effect from what date; if not, why not? *B1190E*

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Yes. I set out the Government's position as follows in a statement of 6 June 1990:

"Kolonel G M Ramushwana het die bewind in Venda op 5 April 1990 oorgeneem, pas nadat President Ravele bedank het.

Kolonel Ramushwana het 'n Raad van Nasionale Eenheid saamgestel bestaande uit private persone, beamptes asook veiligheidspersoneel. Sedert die bewindsoorname het die RSA *de facto* erkenning aan die Regering van Venda gegee deur samewerking op verskeie terreine.

Kolonel Ramushwana en sy Regering het sedert sy bewindsoorname suksesvolle stappe gedoen om die onrusituasie in Venda onder beheer te kry. Ook het sy Regering bewys gelewer van sy bereidwilligheid om goeie verhoudings met die RSA te handhaaf. Die Regering van Venda het daarin geslaag om effektiewe beheer oor die land te handhaaf en geniet wye ondersteuning. Gevolglik het die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering vandag besluit om die Regering van Venda formeel te erken."

†Dr W J SNEYMAN: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply I should like to ask him whether the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs at any time shortly before the change of government advised the former head

Tongaai: expropriation of pieces of land

*13. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:†

- (1) What steps are being envisaged by his Department at present in respect of the expropriation of pieces of land in the vicinity of Tongaat;
- (2) whether he recently received any representations in this connection; if so, (a) from whom and (b) what was the (i) nature of and (ii) response to the representations;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1214E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

- (1) None. The expropriation of land is not the function of my Department.
- (2) No. The rest of the question falls away.
- (3) The Department is well aware of the necessity of identifying land north of Durban for development and urbanisation and investigations in this regard are in progress and a meeting will in time be held with the parties concerned.

Voters' roll/census

*14. Mr J H MOMBORG asked the Minister of Home Affairs: (304A)

- (1) Whether it is the intention of the Government to compile a voters' roll of all South Africans over the age of 18 years; if not, why not; if so;
- (2) whether this is to be done concurrently with the 1991 census; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be done?

Hansard 12/6/90

B1216E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2) In terms of existing legislation a joint voters' roll is not possible. In this regard the hon member is specifically referred to section 52 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act 110 of 1983), and section 3 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act 45 of 1979). The manner in which voters' rolls are to be compiled in future, is an aspect which obviously will depend on the outcome of the

negotiations for a new constitutional dispensation that will ultimately be submitted to Parliament for consideration. (304A)

Debonair Park: free settlement area

*15. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:†

Whether consideration is being given to declaring the Debonair Park residential area a free settlement area; if so, (a) why and (b) when is it expected that a decision will be given in this regard? (304A)

Hansard 12/6/90

B1224E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

Yes, the area now generally known as Ironsyde, is being considered.

- (a) Due to the fact that the Free Settlement Board received a request to investigate the area as a free settlement area.
- (b) The investigation has reached an advanced stage and the Board's report shall be forwarded to the Ministers' Council concerned and the State President for consideration in the near future.

Orange Farm: fencing of railway line

*16. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises:† Hansard 12/6/90

- (1) Whether the railway line on the eastern side of the Orange Farm Black residential area has been fenced off; if not, (a) why not and (b) what steps are envisaged in this regard; if so, (i) what is the condition of the fence concerned and (ii) what steps are to be taken regarding this fence;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1225E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

- (1) Yes.
- (a), (b) (i) and (ii) The railway line was fenced off to ensure the safety of people and cattle but the fence was damaged by vandals. Although it was repaired during 1989, it was immediately damaged again. The situation will again be addressed once

the town development has been completed. Hansard 12/6/90

(2) No.

Loftus Versfeld: aircraft ZS FSV

*17. Mr P H DE LA REY asked the Minister of Transport:†

- (1) Whether his Department keeps a register of aircraft registered in the Republic; if not, why not; if so, (a) who or what body is the owner of aircraft ZS FSV which flew over Loftus Versfeld with a banner on 26 May 1990 and (b) who (i) authorised and (ii) bore the cost involved in the flight;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1227E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) Yes;
 - (a) Mr J E Popham
 - (b) (i) no application for authority was received
 - (ii) unknown;
- (2) no.

La Mercy Airport

*18. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Transport:† Hansard 12/6/90

- (1) What is the latest planning of his Department in respect of the La Mercy Airport;
- (2) whether he has received any representations regarding the alternative utilisation of the land for this airport; if so, (a) from whom and (b) what was the (i) nature of and (ii) response to the representations;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1228E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) The Department of Transport is currently appointing a multi-disciplinary planning team which will investigate the airport system in the Durban area and make proposals regarding the possible upgrading of Louis Botha Airport and/or the bringing into use of an airport at La Mercy.

(2) Yes; Hansard 12/6/90

(a) The North Coast Regional Development Association (NCRDA) and Members of the House of Delegates, including the hon Minister of Local Government and Agriculture in the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates, made representations about the alternative utilisation of the terrain at La Mercy.

(b) (i) The NCRDA submitted a report to me, recommending among others, that the State should appoint consultants to investigate the La Mercy area, taking into account both the possible future airport as well as possible alternative usage of the area. Members of the House of Delegates made verbal representations to my predecessor to the same effect as the Minister concerned of the House of Delegates who requested that a portion of the land be made available to Indian farmers for growing vegetables.

(ii) In accordance with my speech during the discussion of the Department of Transport's budget vote on 11 May 1990, it was indicated that the terrain at La Mercy be retained for an airport. To the Minister mentioned, I indicated that the lease of certain parts of the terrain for other purposes such as farming will be continued with. In view of the uncertainty in regard to the time at which the development of the airport will commence, the land can only be let on a temporary basis and it would therefore be to the best advantage of the farmers if alternative land could be identified and acquired for settlement on a more permanent basis.

(3) No, since I already made a statement on this matter on 11 May 1990.

Tongaat: expropriation of pieces of land

*13. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:†

- (1) What steps are being envisaged by his Department at present in respect of the expropriation of pieces of land in the vicinity of Tongaat;
- (2) whether he recently received any representations in this connection; if so, (a) from whom and (b) what was the (i) nature of and (ii) response to the representations;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:
B1214E

- (1) None. The expropriation of land is not the function of my Department.
- (2) No. The rest of the question falls away.
- (3) The Department is well aware of the necessity of identifying land north of Durban for development and urbanisation and investigations in this regard are in progress and a meeting will in time be held with the parties concerned.

Voters' roll/census

*14. Mr J H MOMBORG asked the Minister of Home Affairs: (304A)

- (1) Whether it is the intention of the Government to compile a voters' roll of all South Africans over the age of 18 years; if not, why not; if so;
- (2) whether this is to be done concurrently with the 1991 census; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be done?

~~Heussel~~ 12/6/90 B1216E
The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) and (2) In terms of existing legislation a joint voters' roll is not possible. In this regard the hon member is specifically referred to section 52 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act 110 of 1983), and section 3 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act 45 of 1979). The manner in which voters' rolls are to be compiled in future, is an aspect which obviously will depend on the outcome of the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

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The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

- Yes, the area now generally known as Ironsyde, is being considered.
- (a) Due to the fact that the Free Settlement Board received a request to investigate the area as a free settlement area.
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- (1) Whether the railway line on the eastern side of the Orange Farm Black residential area has been fenced off; if not, (a) why not and (b) what steps are envisaged in this regard; if so, (i) what is the condition of the fence concerned and (ii) what steps are to be taken regarding this fence;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

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The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

- (1) Yes.
- (a), (b) (i) and (ii) The railway line was fenced off to ensure the safety of people and cattle but the fence was damaged by vandals. Although it was repaired during 1989, it was immediately damaged again. The situation will again be addressed once

the town development has been completed. ~~Heussel~~ 12/6/90

(2) No. (304A)

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- (1) Whether his Department keeps a register of aircraft registered in the Republic; if not, why not; if so, (a) who or what body is the owner of aircraft Z5 FSV which flew over Loftus Versfeld with a banner on 26 May 1990 and (b) who (i) authorised and (ii) bore the cost involved in the flight;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1227E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) Yes;
 - (a) Mr J E Popham
 - (b) (i) no application for authority was received
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- (1) What is the latest planning of his Department in respect of the La Mercy Airport;
- (2) whether he has received any representations regarding the alternative utilisation of the land for this airport; if so, (a) from whom and (b) what was the (i) nature of and (ii) response to the representations;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

~~Heussel~~ 12/6/90 B1228E
The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) The Department of Transport is currently appointing a multi-disciplinary planning team which will investigate the airport system in the Durban area and make proposals regarding the possible upgrading of Louis Botha Airport and/or the bringing into use of an airport at La Mercy.

(2) Yes; ~~Heussel~~ 12/6/90

- (a) The North Coast Regional Development Association (NCRDA) and Members of the House of Delegates, including the hon Minister of Local Government and Agriculture in the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates, made representations about the alternative utilisation of the terrain at La Mercy.
- (b) (i) The NCRDA submitted a report to me, recommending among others, that the State should appoint consultants to investigate the La Mercy area, taking into account both the possible future airport as well as possible alternative usage of the area. Members of the House of Delegates made verbal representations to my predecessor to the same effect as the Minister concerned of the House of Delegates who requested that a portion of the land be made available to Indian farmers for growing vegetables.
- (ii) In accordance with my speech during the discussion of the Department of Transport's budget vote on 11 May 1990, it was indicated that the terrain at La Mercy be retained for an airport. To the Minister mentioned, I indicated that the lease of certain parts of the terrain for other purposes such as farming will be continued with. In view of the uncertainty in regard to the time at which the development of the airport will commence, the land can only be let on a temporary basis and it would therefore be to the best advantage of the farmers if alternative land could be identified and acquired for settlement on a more permanent basis.

- (3) No, since I already made a statement on this matter on 11 May 1990.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

of state of Venda with regard to the ANC and Black trade unions. *Hansard 12/6/90*

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I respectfully suggest that the hon member have the question put on the Question Paper.

Foreign companies: re-establishment after withdrawal

*4. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism:†

- (1) Whether any foreign companies who withdrew from South Africa for political reasons during the past five years have re-established themselves in South Africa since 2 February 1990; if so, how many;
- (2) whether he will furnish the names of the companies concerned; if not, why not; if so, what are their names?

Hansard 12/6/90

B1191E

†The MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY AND TOURISM:

- (1) and (2) It is not possible to furnish the desired information as no specific register is kept of the investments, disinvestments or re-investments of foreign companies in South Africa. If a foreign company itself establishes a place of business in South Africa, it is required in terms of section 322 of the Companies Act, 1973 to register as a foreign company. However, the practice generally followed is that a company which intends doing business in South Africa, forms a South African company as an own subsidiary company or in co-operation with others. In those cases it is virtually impossible to determine the relationship between the South African company and the foreign company as no distinction is made between incorporated companies which are locally or foreign owned. Disclosure of the beneficial shareholders of such companies is also not a requirement in terms of the Act.

Foreign companies registered in South Africa and locally incorporated companies which are under foreign control, are also not necessarily deregistered when they cease their business activities. The relevant company is normally used for other purposes, such as a share transfer office, or the shell which remains after the sale of the business assets is sold for conducting another type of business.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that not all foreign economic activities are conducted in corporate form and that use is also made of, amongst others, syndicates, partnerships, franchises and agencies, which are not subject to registration. *Hansard 12/6/90*

Prisons of neighbouring states: SA citizens detained

*5. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether any South African citizens are at present (a) lawfully and (b) unlawfully detained in prisons of neighbouring states of the Republic of South Africa; if so, (i) how many and (ii) in which neighbouring states; *Hansard 12/6/90*
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 12/6/90

B1192E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

It will for understandable reasons not be in the interest of the persons concerned to publish this information, but the Department of Foreign Affairs will be pleased to furnish available information to the hon member on a confidential basis. I can, however, assure the hon member that the South African Government at all times takes all conceivable steps to look after the interests of those concerned.

ANC representatives: expenses paid from State funds

*6. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:†

Whether State funds were applied to pay for the (a) hotel expenses and (b) protection of the ANC representatives who stayed at Somerset West before and during the Groote Schuur talks between the ANC and the Government; if so, (i) what amount was spent in each case and (ii) from the funds of which State Departments? *Hansard 12/6/90*

B1195E

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

(a) (i) and (ii): R116 159,78 was paid from the funds of the Constitutional Development Service for accommodation and meals for ANC representatives and staff.

(b) (i) and (ii): The Constitutional Development Service was not responsible for protection. I wish to refer the hon member to Question No 455 for written reply.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, were these funds originally budgeted for?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the mandate of the Constitutional Development Service is to arrange and organise conferences. There is a general point under that vote which makes provision for accommodating subsistence expenses of persons attending specific conferences and discussions.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is it correct — if I heard correctly — that he said that the South African Government did not take responsibility for the protection of the ANC members? [Interjections.] If I heard correctly, who was responsible for protection at their place of residence and elsewhere?

†The MINISTER: The hon member did not hear correctly, Mr Speaker, but I should like to be of assistance to him. The written question, Question 455 to which I referred, is a question put to the hon the Minister of Law and Order. The SA Police, which falls under him, was responsible for protection.

†Adv C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, how many members comprised this delegation, and for how many people was this amount paid? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: I do not have exact numbers here, but the delegation consisted of 11 members. [Interjections.]

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he give us an indication as to whether in the course of these negotiations which the Government envisages, it is his Department's intention to pay the hotel accommodation of everyone who is invited by them to hold discussions with them on a new constitution? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the matter of the payment of accommodation expenses of persons attending conferences, depends on each case. In general, persons attending discussions or conferences must pay their own expenses. In this case, as was already the reply to a previous question, the security organisation concerned and the

Constitutional Development Service held the conviction that the task of protection, which was an extremely sensitive issue in this particular case, would be best served if the Government, through the Constitutional Development Service, took responsibility for the accommodation of these people. [Interjections.]

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, he has now indicated that this accommodation was paid for out of moneys budgeted for conferences. I would now like to inquire of the hon the Minister what percentage of the funds budgeted for conferences the cost of this accommodation comprises.

†The MINISTER: I thank the hon member for the compliment that he thinks that I carry so many figures in my head, but I do not carry them in my head. [Interjections.]

West German Embassy: prisons service officers

*7. Adv C D DE JAGER asked the Minister of Justice:† *Hansard 12/6/90*

- (1) Whether the Government recently, after consultations with five suspended Non-White prisons service officers who were occupying a portion of the West German Embassy in Cape Town, indicated that these five, as well as approximately 400 other suspended and/or dismissed Non-White prisons service officers, would be reinstated in service; if so,
- (2) whether the officers concerned have been reinstated in service; if so, (a) on what grounds and (b) when?

Hansard 12/6/90

B1196E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) and (2)

The Government did not negotiate with the five suspended members of the Prisons Service who occupied a portion of the West German Embassy.

On 17 May 1990 I visited the Johannesburg Prison. This visit was arranged and planned during the previous week and had as an object a conversation with the warders. Amongst this large group of warders whom I met was also a large number of warders who had previously been suspended but had since then resumed their duties unconditionally. After the visit I released a statement to the effect that all other suspended members in the remainder of the country could apply for the lifting of their

'Rent-a-crowd cost R200 000'

13/6/90 Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has accused the Government of arrogantly wasting more than R200 000 on what it called rent-a-crowd tactics to boost the crowd that welcomed President de Klerk at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Europe.

CP President's Councillor Servaas Latsky said a Cabinet decision to increase the crowds that turned out to welcome the President included provision of free air tickets to President's

Councillors to fly to Johannesburg for the event.

Dr Latsky's request for a special President's Council debate on the matter was rejected.

Dr Latsky said the CP also noted that Mr de Klerk had been given a full opportunity to make a political speech at the airport under NP banners. When the CP leader had returned home from overseas, CP officials had been instructed by airport officials to ensure that no political speeches were made, that Dr Treurnicht spoke for only five minutes and that no banners were displayed.

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FW says no to CP calls to hold elections

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has rejected Conservative Party demands that the Government should call a general election, but has promised that future constitutional changes would be submitted to a referendum or election.

He was reacting to a question from Koos van der Merwe (CP, Overvaal) whether Mr de Klerk intended asking the white electorate for a mandate sanctioning negotiations with the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party on a new constitution without their renouncing violence unconditionally.

Expressed concern

Mr de Klerk expressed equal concern over the CP's ambiguous stand on violence as he did over the ANC's position on the matter.

Mr van der Merwe also asked if a mandate would be sought for the acceptance of the principle that a black man might become President of South Africa.

Mr de Klerk said recent Government actions were fully sup-

ported by the mandate of the September election.

So far, no negotiations on a new constitution had taken place. The talks had been aimed at getting the ANC to commit itself to peaceful solutions.

Now a climate had to be created through talks to get the ANC to distance itself from all violence, including the armed struggle, so that the political process could be normalised.

The CP had to confirm whether it wanted people who were in favour of violence to abandon this idea.

Referring to the CP's "preoccupation" with a black president, Mr de Klerk said that, in terms of the constitution, it was not possible for a black person to become President.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the Government was insisting that all those wanting to come to the negotiating table should match their actions with a commitment to stability and a peaceful process of negotiation.

The talks with the ANC had been held because the movement maintained there were obstacles.

No need for election now, says De Klerk

CAPT TMS
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Mr De Klerk

Political Staff

THE government's recent actions were completely supported by the mandate it had received on September 6 and there was therefore no need to confirm this by holding a referendum or election, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking during a heated interpellation debate, he said, however, that voters would eventually be asked to give a new mandate on a revised constitution or a change in the status of the office of the State President.

He said he was also just as worried about the Conservative Party's attitude to violence as he was about the ANC's double talk on the matter.

He was responding to Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP Overvaal), who asked if Mr De Klerk intended to ask the white electorate by way of a referendum or election for a mandate sanctioning negotiations with the ANC and SACP on a new constitution without their unconditionally renouncing violence.

No 'rent-a-crowd' debate

A CP request for a snap debate in the President's Council on the 'rent-a-crowd' tactics employed by the National Party for President FW de Klerk's return from Europe was rejected yesterday.

CP president's councillor Dr Servaas Latsky said the arrangements for the president had included the provision of free air tickets to president's councillors to Johannesburg. Costs had amounted to more than R200 000, he said.

"Up to now no discussions about a new constitution have taken place with the ANC or the SACP," Mr De Klerk said.

"The discussions which have been held were aimed at getting the ANC to commit itself to peaceful solutions."

The NP's plan of action said explicitly that everyone who was committed to peace would be welcome at the negotiation table.

"Our negotiations with the ANC are

aimed precisely at getting them to commit themselves unconditionally to that," he said.

Progress had been made and it was in everybody's interests that this approach should succeed.

"The question the CP must answer is whether it wants people who stand for violence to continue with it — yes or no."

Mr Van der Merwe said there was only one message for the government out of the Umlazi by-election and that was that a general election should be held.

Mr De Klerk rejected this saying the CP had misled the voters of Umlazi by untrue claims that the NP was embracing communists and the ANC.

"I talk to the CP as well but I do not embrace them," he said. "I talk to the DP too, but I do not embrace them."

"My aim is get everyone who thinks with his blood, to think with his head. My aim is to get everyone to renounce violence in their hearts."

"I am not sure that the majority of members on the CP benches have renounced violence in their hearts."

Outlaw racism slurs, says MP 'No guarantee' for ending petty apartheid

Political Staff

DISCRIMINATION against people on the basis of colour should be made a crime, says the Labour Party MP for Northern Cape, Mr Desmond Lockey.

Such a law should also make it a crime for anyone to refer another person in racist terms or words, he said during the debate on the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act.

"The time has now arrived to remove words such as 'kaffir', 'hotnot', 'koelie', 'baas' and 'miessies' once and for all from our vocabulary by a legal measure."

Examples of such laws already existed in Britain and the US.

Mr Lockey said he wanted to appeal to the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, to appoint a parliamentary committee to investigate the matter and make proposals which could be introduced during the next session of Parliament.

● It was time that the government looked at ways in which the victims of apartheid could be compensated for the "crimes of apartheid", Addo MP Mr Peter Hendrickse said.

THE government should have introduced legislation outlawing racial discrimination in amenities, as without it there was no guarantee that amenities' apartheid would end, the MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon said yesterday.

Speaking in the second reading debate on the Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Repeal Bill, Mr Leon said every "recalcitrant" local authority which continued to segregate facilities would have to be the subject of a court action. Municipalities could simply privatise facilities and so avoid the intervention of courts.



Robert van Tonder ... 'we want nothing different from what the Jews were given in Israel'

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

FATE may be playing a cruel trick on Robert van Tonder, but the grizzled right wing campaigner has no intention of giving up his fight for the restoration of the old boer republics in South Africa.

Even as plans proceed for the establishment of a multi-racial suburb surrounding his farm in Sandspruit, Van Tonder and his followers are fashioning strategies to oust President FW De Klerk by means of a "boer rebellion" if necessary.

Ever since he wrote *Boerestaat* in 1977 — a book which soon became the ideological blueprint for the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging — Van Tonder has championed the seemingly hopeless cause of having the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Vryheid republics of the 19th century "returned to the boers". South Africa's myriad of "other" ethnic nations would be accommodated on agreed portions of the remaining land.

The boers' "third freedom struggle" has begun, he said in an interview at his farmhouse this week, and the volk (nation) will rise up to put a stop to the "madness" which has gripped South Africa.

Van Tonder is distinctive among right wing leaders because of his urbanity and articulateness, his insistence that racism knows no place in his political thinking and his fearlessly subversive challenges to the "traitorous" government.

Sitting in his neatly appointed lounge, decorated with the "Vierkleur" flag of the Transvaal Republic and memorabilia of Boer War leaders, Van Tonder looked an

The Boerestaat Party's Robert van Tonder believes he's on the threshold of a dream. He speaks to SHAUN JOHNSON

unlikely firebrand. Sporting a blazer plus tie and ready laugh, he spoke quietly and earnestly about the plight of his volk, and declared his willingness to go to any lengths to save his own people.

"You must understand the seriousness of our situation," he said. "We lost the wars (against the British) and we lost when we rebelled against participating in the Second World War. We could afford to lose then, but this is the last battle. If De Klerk persists, he's heading for a civil war. We can't lose this time; it will be the end of our nation."

With a flagrant militancy that was previously the exclusive preserve of exiled black nationalists, Van Tonder speaks unfalteringly of the possibility of a coup d'etat, a boer rebellion or a national strike by white workers. The white workers' capacity for resistance is being gravely underestimated, he says.

"I always say that providence made us poor in order to help us to keep our country. You must realise that for railway workers, postal workers, coal miners — all boere boys — this

is a matter of their very lives being threatened as never before."

Van Tonder believes the government's strategy of "robbing us of our country" is to hold a referendum rather than face a white general election.

"They'd get a sound whacking in an election now," he says, "because the drift away from the National Party has become an avalanche."

In a referendum, however, all votes would be of equal weight and rural constituencies would not have their current electoral clout. "If they win that referendum," says Van Tonder, "then there will be a new constitution and we've had it."

One of his party's key aims is to stop such a referendum from taking place, and the task is urgent — Van Tonder believes the government plans to hold the poll within less than two years.

He predicts defections from the ruling party *en masse* if negotiations with the African National Congress continue, saying his party has already received several discreet inquiries from disaffected and frightened MPs in the ruling party.

"The government is in for a few shocks. The signs are already there with PW Botha leaving the party. I hope a rebellion might not even be necessary. De Klerk's own party might stop him."

Just give me your old cell, Meneer Mandela

Van Tonder is insistent that his party's position is historically and morally unassailable. "We are in exactly the same position as Lithuania, Estonia and those countries," he says, "and we want nothing different from what the Jews were given in Israel. We are not the racists — the other parties are. The boers were not anti-black when they trekked in the 1800s."

In Van Tonder's vision, every ethnic group in South Africa would rule its own territory. "I think the western Cape should be run by the Coloureds" — and blacks would be allowed in the boer state only as guest workers, much like the Turks in West Germany.

There would be a southern African economic community, he says, with political and cultural independence, but economic co-operation, as in Europe.

He says the Soviet Union and the Republic of South Africa are the last remnants of the outdated notion of an empire, and that South Africa's different "nationalities" will assert their independence in the same way as the Baltic republics did.

Van Tonder, who convened a "head committee" meeting of his party on his farm on Thursday, says the right wing is mobilising furiously, despite President De Klerk's apparently strong hold on power.

But what if his cherished dream is not realised, and the ANC does indeed accede to power? "Well, then all I ask of Mr Mandela is that when he puts me in prison, he gives me the cell he had. You know, the one with the swimming pool and garden."

EMERGENCY:

*By moving far —
but not as far as
expected — FW
lands the ANC with a hard choice*



FW De Klerk:
His initiative
'placed an
onus on the
ANC' to
respond in
kind, he said

FW sets a tough poser for the ANC

304A
w/m and
8/6-14/6/90

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk grabbed the initiative in the pre-negotiation process last night when he lifted the State of Emergency outside war-torn Natal and accepted a joint African National Congress/government report on the question of exiles and political prisoners.

The state president's rapid action to remove obstacles to peace talks has left the ANC indecisive on a set of key policy issues and allowed the government to edge ahead in the contest to control the political pace in the country.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday hailed the end of South Africa's four-year-old State of Emergency as "a victory for the people, black and white" after talks with French Prime Minister Francois Mitterrand in Paris.

But his colleagues inside the country immediately distanced themselves from his statement, saying there was not yet cause to celebrate.

Ahmed Kathrada, head of the ANC Information Department, told re-

porters at a press conference in Johannesburg late yesterday that De Klerk had not gone far enough.

"Our deputy president has already been over-generous with praise. When Mandela went into prison 27 years ago, he had no vote. Today he still has no vote," Kathrada said.

De Klerk appears to have created these differences of emphasis in the liberation movement by posing a set of difficult policy issues for the ANC and putting its leadership under heavy pressure to resolve them.

In his speech to a joint sitting of the three houses of parliament, De Klerk said the government was ready to implement recommendations in the report of the joint ANC/government committee regarding an amnesty for exiles and political prisoners — and that the ANC would have to account for any delay in this regard.

In the meantime the government was prepared to release 48 unnamed political prisoners "as a gesture" to give impetus to full-scale peace

● To PAGE 2

**SCARS THAT
WILL OUTLIVE
FIVE GRIM
EMERGENCY
YEARS**

Broken homes,
psychological scars,
an anger that
continues...

PAGE 1

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Terreblanche 'should resign'

Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said last night that Professor Sampie Terreblanche should resign from the DP if statements attributed to him in a British Sunday newspaper report supporting sanctions were true.

The report in the Observer quoted Prof Terreblanche, an economic adviser to the DP, as saying that sanctions and the return to power of the Labour Party in Britain were necessary if negotiations were going to succeed in SA.

Mr Schwarz, the DP senior spokesman on finance, said: "If he made those statements I do not understand how Sampie Terreblanche can remain a member of the DP."

Prof Terreblanche was not available for comment at the time of going to press.

AWB and HNP plan Pretoria patrols

RIGHTWING commandoes are considering patrolling the city to combat crime.

The Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) are jointly forming 14 commandos in Pretoria.

The co-ordinator and HNP candidate in Hercules in the last general election, Mr Oscar Hartung, said yesterday the aim of the commandos would be to protect women, children and property.

He emphasised that the commandos would not challenge the authority of the police and the Defence Force but would help citizens "at all cost" should the crime rate increase.

Hartung said the patrols would take place within the framework of the law.

At least two commandos have already been launched in Pretoria and another 12

Sowetan Correspondent

would be launched by the end of the month.

Those field cornettes who have not yet received military training would be trained by the end of the month.

The patrols would be undertaken after midnight.

Suburbs

Hartung said commando members would travel, unidentified, through the suburbs.

Hartung said the patrols would also be aimed at vagrants, who would be taken off the streets "like in the past".

"They would not be shot but would be asked in a friendly manner to leave."

The city has been divided into the following regions:

* the area between the old Johannesburg Road and the road to

Mmbatho;

* the area to the right from the old Johannesburg Road to Cullinan;

* the area to the left of the road to the Morula Sun;

* the Moot;

* the area between Paul Kruger Street and Voortrekker Street;

* the area between Voortrekker Street and Soutpansberg Road;

* the area from Soutpansberg Road to the plots;

* the area from Paul Kruger Street to Danville;

* the area from Paul Kruger Street to Atterbury Road;

* the area from Erasmus to the Johannesburg road;

* Verwoerdburg and Lytleton, and

* Brits.

Hartung said the areas were divided in such a manner that highways would not divide a region into two areas.

Sowetan 14/6/90

Vote-for-all is likely, says FW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ONE-PERSON, one-vote on a regional basis was "one obvious possibility" in a new South Africa, President F W de Klerk has told the Washington Times.

He said it was possible that SA had seen its last all-white election and that he hoped a new power-sharing constitution could be tested in a referendum before the end of his current five-year term.

In an interview published in the newspaper today, Mr De Klerk also acknowledged that the independence option for SA's homelands had "obviously folded".

He told the editor of the Washington Times, Mr Arnaud de Borchgrave, that he was "not unduly concerned" about the loyalty of the police and that he did not "worry" about the possibility of a coup.

AWB denies vigilante patrols

Cyl-7475 14/6/90 3044

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has denied reports it is planning to stage vigilante patrols in the city.

Reacting to media reports that right-wing patrols would take to the streets after midnight the AWB's chief secretary, Mr Kays Smit, dismissed the reports as "nonsense".

"We will be dividing the area (Pretoria and its surroundings) into 12 regions where we will form commandos that will undertake community projects," he said.

Based on the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's "Burgerrade" and commandos, the project is jointly run by the AWB and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Smit said yesterday.

Right-wingers, he said, felt the government "was giving everything away, everything is in decline".

No longer assured of police protection, the right-wing public was taking steps to be prepared for violence when it struck.

An SAP spokeswoman said the police were not in favour of any vigilantes, but as long as no crime was committed the police would not take action against them.

Should citizens wish to start vigilante groups they were requested to join the SAP reservists, she said yesterday.

Meanwhile an AWB breakaway movement has decided to call itself the Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) and has entered into a co-operation pact with the Boerestaat Party.

BWB leader Mr Andrew Ford said the movement was fighting for the reinstatement of the Boer Republics. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

DP probes report on Sampie

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said last night that Stel-
lenbosch academic Sampie Terre-
blanche should resign from the DP if
statements attributed to him in an Ob-
server report supporting sanctions
were true.

The report, by journalist Anthony
Sampson in the British Sunday newspa-
per, quoted Terreblanche, an economic
adviser to the DP, as saying sanctions
and the return to power of the Labour
Party in Britain were necessary if nego-
tiations were to succeed in SA.

The report quoted Terreblanche as
saying: "The best hope of successful
negotiations in SA lies in the return of
the Labour Party in Britain."

Later, the report adds: "Professor
Terreblanche insists that De Klerk
hasn't accepted a fully democratic solu-
tion for SA; that any real settlement
will involve a major transfer of power
from whites to blacks; that negotiations
will only succeed if the two sides have a
closer balance of power; and that only
sanctions — and the support of the Brit-
ish Labour Party — can achieve that."

DP MPs will raise the matter at to-
day's caucus meeting and will insist on
an immediate repudiation by party par-
liamentary leader Zach de Beer.

De Beer, however, said yesterday
that while he rejected sanctions he

could not comment until he had had an
opportunity to speak to Terreblanche.

He would raise the matter with
Terreblanche at a meeting scheduled
for Friday.

He reiterated that support for sanc-
tions had never been part of DP policy.

He was not aware of any public
representative having ever indicated
otherwise.

Terreblanche was not available for
comment at the time of going to press.

Schwarz said: "If he made those
statements I do not understand how
Sampie Terreblanche can remain a
member of the DP."

The DP and its predecessors had con-
sistently opposed sanctions, he said. "If
Sampie Terreblanche differs on such a
fundamental issue as this, then he is
obliged to resign."

"If the report is accurate I am
amazed that, as an economist, he should
take that approach."

"Even Nelson Mandela has admitted
that sanctions cause great hardship and
suffering. It is one thing for a person
who is suffering to say they want to
suffer."

"A person who is not suffering is not
entitled to tell other people to suffer."

Offices and houses for Venda officials

Construction of offices and houses for Venda officials

R306 000

R306 000

Additional court and office accommodation

Construction of an additional court building and 26 government offices

R2,805 million

R2,244 million

The RSA contribution is reflected in the year when the agreement was signed, while expenditure is spread over a number of years.

Ciskei: financing of projects

494. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether his Department approved any projects in Ciskei to be financed in part or in whole with moneys appropriated by

Parliament in the 1989-90 financial year; if so,

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Heussel 14/6/90

B1148E

(1) Yes.

(2) (a) (i) (ii)

(b)

(c)

(d)

1989/90 FINANCIAL YEAR

Name of project	Nature of project	Where situated	Estimated total capital cost	RSA contribution
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Ciskei Prisons Development	Upgrading and provision of prison facilities	Sada/Whitesea, Mdantsane and Middledrift	R25,133 million	R15,080 million
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The RSA contribution is reflected in the year when the agreement was signed, while expenditure is spread over a number of years.

House of Assembly electoral divisions: TV/OFS

508. Mr A A BRUWER asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (a) What is the total area of the electoral divisions of the House of Assembly in the (i) Transvaal and (ii) Orange Free State and (b) what percentage of the area of the above-mentioned provinces is represented by the electoral divisions won by candidates of each specified political party in the general election of 6 September 1989?

304A

Heussel 14/6/90

B1179E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Heussel 14/6/90

Orange Free State

Transvaal

- | | | |
|--|-------|-------|
| (a) (i) 263 524 km ² | 19,9% | 46,6% |
| (ii) 128 162 km ² | 79,7% | 40,3% |
| (b) The percentage of area represented by the electoral divisions won by the parties | 0,4% | 13,1% |

Ciskei: amount paid by SA

510. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: Heussel 14/6/90

(1) (a) What total amount was paid by South Africa to Ciskei in the 1989-90 financial year in terms of agreements between the two countries and (b) how was this amount made up;

(2) whether any additional amounts have been paid to Ciskei in the form of (a) loans or (b) grants; if so, (i) how many, and (ii) what was the amount of the loan or grant, in each case;

(3) whether any further (a) loans or (b) grants are envisaged in the 1990-91 financial year; if so, what loans or grants?

B1200E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) An estimated amount of R743 320 660.

(b) The amount mentioned in (a) is made up as follows:

A. Direct assistance

(i) Budgetary assistance: R437 199 926.

(ii) Technical assistance: R802 000.

(iii) Loan fund: R20 359 114.

(iv) Incentive scheme for industries: R16 098 888.

B. Transfers in terms of bilateral agreements

(i) Tax compensation: R40 523 332.

(ii) Share in Customs Union Revenue Pool: R221 776 000.

(iii) Common Monetary Area: R6 561 400.

(2) (a) No. Loan in terms of project aid agreements are included in the amount mentioned under (1) (a).

(i) and (ii) fall away.

(b) Yes.

(i) One.

(ii) Transfers in respect of the action programme: Creation of job opportunities are estimated at R4 995 317.

(3) (a) Yes. Loans are granted on a continuous basis within the framework of the Economic Co-operation Promotion Loan Fund.

(b) Yes. The same type of grant which was made during the 1989/90 financial year.

Venda: entrepreneurs/companies subsidised by SA

Heussel 14/6/90

514. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether any entrepreneurs/companies received subsidies from the South African Government to encourage them to establish industries in Venda in 1989; if so,

(2) what was the total value of the subsidies so received in the 1988-89 financial year?

B1204E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

(2) R3 148 392.

Ciskei: entrepreneurs/companies subsidised by SA

515. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: Heussel 14/6/90

(1) Whether any entrepreneurs/companies received subsidies from the South African Government to encourage them to establish industries in Ciskei in 1989; if so,

(2) what was the total value of the subsidies so received in the 1988-89 financial year?

B1205E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

(2) R31 310 570.

DP acts to patch up sanctions dispute

CAPE TOWN — The simmering dispute in the DP over Prof Sampie Terreblanche's stand on sanctions appears to have been patched up. 8/10/90 15/6/90

The controversy was sparked by comments attributed to the Maties economics professor in a report in the London Observer, which quoted him as saying sanctions and the return to power of the Labour Party in Britain were necessary if negotiations in SA were to succeed.

DP MPs were upset by the remarks attributed to Terreblanche, and DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz called on him to resign from the party if the

Political Staff

statements attributed to him were true.

DP parliamentary leader Zach De Beer spoke to Terreblanche before yesterday's caucus meeting, and MPs appeared satisfied there had been a misunderstanding on the issue. (250) (304A)

Schwarz told Parliament yesterday he had been informed Terreblanche had not called for sanctions against SA "and that is apparently what his attitude is".

Schwarz said he did not want to go into the matter in any more detail.

● Comment: Page 10

chose to announce the improvements the day after Umlazi where the CP drastically cut the NP majority.

At a cost of nearly R1bn, the SAP is to be increased by 10 000 men and women within a year and pay increased significantly. The move is clearly aimed at bolstering public faith in the ability of the police to maintain law and order during the pre-negotiation phase and of the courts to deal quickly and effectively with criminals.

The decision not to reimpose the State of Emergency — except Natal — is aimed partly at winning international approval but it is also a move to reassure whites that the situation is getting back to normal.

De Klerk's next step may well be to try to unite white political groups opposed to the CP, now a major obstacle to peaceful change. By doing so he would consolidate the broader reform wishes of whites and reduce the perception that the NP is merely clinging to power.

He is likely to find many takers in the DP which was crushed at Umlazi. There is now little doubt that in three-cornered contests for House of Assembly seats most DP supporters will vote NP, not only to reduce the risk of a CP victory but to increase the majority to respectable levels.

The DP caucus is probably even more stunned by the Umlazi result. The CP is rampant. Its leaders believe De Klerk has lost the support of most whites and is demanding a general election — a demand



De Klerk

to which he is most unlikely to bow. Their latest CP ploy is to threaten to resign their seats to force by-elections but this could backfire if De Klerk delays them and, in the meantime, pushes on with major reforms. ■

UMLAZI RESULT F/M 15/6/90

Reform and reaction

Restoring white confidence in the future has become the Cabinet's priority in the wake of last week's Umlazi by-election, according to a senior government source. (304A)

The extent of the swing away from the NP towards the CP stunned most members of the Nat caucus. Though the by-election is not regarded as a reliable barometer of national trends, caucus members say it indicates that many more white voters have deserted the NP since last year's general election than was previously acknowledged. There is now a possibility that, in the unlikely event of another general election in the next few months, the CP would win an overall majority in the House of Assembly.

Leading Nats believe the party's problems stem mainly from the perception that the white community is under increasing threat from black radicals in the wake of President F W de Klerk's reforms this year. The perception is based on the increase in unrest and public protest since the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations in February; the apparently uncompromising attitude of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on issues such as the lifting of sanctions, minority protection, the armed struggle and nationalisation; and the increasing crime wave — which is seen as part of a general breakdown of law and order.

Some members of the Nat caucus are concerned that De Klerk's gains during last month's tour of Europe will be overshadowed by major losses at home. Progress towards a peaceful settlement with the ANC is painfully slow and the accompanying social, economic and political upheavals are taking their toll of his support base.

Government's immediate response has been to address the law-and-order issue along the lines announced by De Klerk last week. Restructuring of the police and courts has been under investigation for months but observers see it as significant that De Klerk

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meer is as—	maar nie meer is nie as—	Primêre gelde	Sekondêre gelde: Bereken op die totale koste van die werke teen die volgende persentasies	exceeds—	but does not exceed—	Primary fees	Secondary fees: Calculated on the total cost of the works at the following percentages
(kolom 1)	(kolom 2)	(kolom 3)	(kolom 4)	(column 1)	(column 2)	(column 3)	(column 4)
R	R	R	%	R	R	R	%
0	255 000	0	3,000	0	255 000	0	3,000
255 000	1 265 000	650	2,750	255 000	1 265 000	650	2,750
1 265 000	3 360 000	3 813	2,500	1 265 000	3 360 000	3 813	2,500
3 360 000	6 715 000	8 013	2,375	3 360 000	6 715 000	8 013	2,375
6 715 000	10 120 000	16 406	2,250	6 715 000	10 120 000	16 406	2,250
10 120 000	15 155 000	29 056	2,125	10 120 000	15 155 000	29 056	2,125
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(15 Junie 1990)

(15 June 1990)

KENNISGEWING 483 VAN 1990

UITSLAG VAN TUSSENVERKIESING VIR DIE VOLKSRAAD. — KIESAFDELING UMLAZI

Ooreenkomstig artikels 108 en 109 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), word die volgende besonderhede betreffende die verkiesing van 'n lid van die Volksraad vir die kiesafdeling Umlazi gehou op 6 Junie 1990 hiermee vir algemene inligting gepubliseer:

NOTICE 483 OF 1990

RESULT OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY BY-ELECTION. — ELECTORAL DIVISION OF UMLAZI

In accordance with sections 108 and 109 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), the following particulars relating to the election of a member of the House of Assembly for the Electoral Division of Umlazi held on 6 June 1990 are hereby published for general information:

Kiesafdeling Electoral Division	(a) Naam van verkose persoon (b) Meerderheidstemme van verkose persoon (c) Datum met ingang waarvan verkies verklaar (a) Name of person elected (b) Majority of votes of person elected (c) Date with effect from which declared elected	Stemme uitgebring en politieke party verteenwoordig Votes polled for, and political party represented		Getal verworpe-stembriewe Number of ballot papers rejected	(a) Totale getal stemme uitgebring (b) Stempersentasie (a) Total number of votes polled (b) Polling percentage	Totale getal kiesers op kieserslys Number of voters on voters' list
		Kandidaat Candidate	Politieke Party Political Party			
Umlazi	(a) P. A. Matthee. (b) 547 (c) 1990-06-06	T. S. Coppen 982 F. S. Hitchcock 5 215 P. A. Matthee 5 762	Demokratiese Party/ Democratic Party Konservatiewe Party/ Conservative Party Nasionale Party/ National Party	27	(a) 11 986 (b) 59,2%	20 226

(15 Junie 1990)/(15 June 1990)

KENNISGEWING 484 VAN 1990

DEPARTEMENT VAN MANNEKRAG

WET OP ARBEIDSVERHOUDINGE, 1956

VERWYSING VIR VASSTELLING INGEVOLGE ARTIKEL 76

Hierby word ingevolge artikel 76 (5) van die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956, bekendgemaak dat die Landdroshof, Durban, na aanleiding van verrigtinge in gemelde hof teen die werkgewer mnr. Logan Govender handeldrywende as The Kitchen Queen, verteenwoor-

NOTICE 484 OF 1990

DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER

LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

REFERRAL FOR DETERMINATION IN TERMS OF SECTION 76

It is hereby, in terms of section 76 (5) of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, notified that the Magistrate's Court, Durban, with reference to proceedings in the said court against the employer Mr Logan Govender t/a The Kitchen Queen, represented by Mr Loga

THE DP is set to ditch the idea of having three leaders as it attempts to define a role for the party in the aftermath of the drubbing it took in the Umlazi by-election.

Until Umlazi, the troika seemed firmly entrenched as all factions were keen to avoid a bitter leadership battle.

Now, says one senior MP, "the troika is dead" — a victim of the party's inability to establish a presence and clearly define its role in a fast changing political environment.

As yet no date has been set for a congress, but it is likely one will be held towards the end of the year. MPs expect two of the leaders to resign before then. However it is by no means certain that any of the three leaders will be elected as a single leader at such a congress.

Denis Worrall, who would have been favourite, has suffered most as a result of Umlazi. He, more than anyone else, was responsible for the decision to take part in the by-election and MPs believe there now exists a large question mark over his

DP set to ditch idea of troika leadership

B1024 13/6/90

3044

political judgement.

Parliamentary leader Zach de Beer, who has majority support in the caucus, has been solid, but uninspiring in debates this year.

Wynand Malan has always had limited support in the party caucus and has often stated his real interest lies in developing extra-parliamentary contacts.

"It is a major problem. There is no one capturing the imagination of the caucus. There is no attractive unifying personality," one MP said.

De Beer, as can be expected, denies there are factions pulling the party in different directions.

Umlazi, he said in an interview this week, was a disastrous result. It showed that white electoral politics had become fickle and unreliable in an atmosphere where negotiations and constitutional reform were the only games in town.

MIKE ROBERTSON in Cape Town

De Beer accepts that the NP has captured at least 25% of voters who supported the DP in 1989, but with no general election in the offing for at least four years, he is not unduly perturbed.

Reflecting what is a dominant position, at least in the party caucus, the DP had to concentrate on: expediting the dismantling of apartheid; exerting all possible influence on the negotiation process; and promoting free enterprise, he said.

There could be no question of developing alliances now.

"To go in with the NP now is to buy a pig in a poke. The NP has not yet

published a constitutional model, we are not sure what they mean by minority protection and it would also look like a white gangling up," De Beer said.

On the other hand he said: "There can be no question of joining the ANC while it is still a socialist party and a question mark exists on its commitment to 'democracy'."

De Beer insists the DP has to concentrate on the three areas he identified. "I will not allow party political considerations to interfere with that contribution to the negotiation process," he said.

However, De Beer's statements reflect a "centrist independent" line in the DP. There are members of the DP — many of them ex-Nats who, now the party has changed, seem inclined to bend over backwards to put distance between themselves and the NP and favour developing

much closer links with the ANC.

On the other side of the party there are those who believe that the threat from the CP is such that there should now be a link up with the NP.

To these, party strategist and Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle responds that promoting liberal values "is currently the only justification with the electorate for our continued existence". He recalls that in 1984 the PFP suffered similar electoral setbacks when it seemed to the electorate that former President P W Botha was serious about reform.

Botha was serious about reform. Carlisle said the role the DP could now play was "cerebral" — providing liberal input to debates.

But the DP remains a diverse party whose members are by no means unanimous in their support for liberal ideals.

Strong leadership could hold such a hand together, but that does not appear forthcoming. It is not surprising therefore that there are again murmurs in the corridors of Parliament about the need for a scaled down, but solidly liberal party.

LETTERS

THE INDABA FIM 15/6/90

Not without honour

Four years after its controversial launch, the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba quietly folded, overtaken by national events — and a cash crisis caused by dwindling support from business.

The resignation of the Indaba's two key figures — chairman Oscar Dhlomo and director Peter Mansfield — signalled the end of the region's ambitious exercise in power-sharing. (304A)

For most of 1986, some 37 organisations representing business, cultural and political groups met in Durban to debate the regional initiative. At the end of the marathon session, the Indaba published its proposals: a two-chamber system of regional government, with one house elected by proportional representation and the second based on equal representation of four main groups — with a fifth "South African" group for those who did not want to be classified racially.

Die-hard old communist Rowley Arenstein, a strong Indaba supporter, later pointed out that it had produced a constitutional model remarkably similar to Lenin's blueprint for the Soviet Union before it was hijacked and abused by Stalin.

Important concepts like the protection of group rights and the importance of a Bill of Rights to protect individuals are now the stuff of debate about national negotiations.

FIM 15/6/90 (304A)

The Indaba didn't invent them, but showed they could be agreed upon by a diverse collection of people representing widely differing interests.

While Dhlomo and Mansfield say the Indaba's time had come because national political developments had overtaken regional solutions, former members confirm the Indaba had run into a serious cash crunch.

Commerce and industry in Natal, the financial mainstay of the Indaba, began switching support to national initiatives as the government and ANC began to make contact, say former members. As a non-profit organisation it could not continue without this support. Several employees were retrenched at the beginning of the year.

Further, some in the business community were never quite comfortable with what they felt were over-strong Inkatha and sugar industry lobbies within the Indaba.

One of the setbacks which plagued the Indaba from the start was that it was not able to get all the region's key players around the table. Both the UDF and Cosatu refused to take part and the National Party only attended as observers.

Mansfield, writing for the latest SA Foundation *Review*, says: "With hindsight, I believe it is clear that the Indaba organisers should have gone to greater lengths to try and persuade all significant political organisations to participate . . . (this was) later to haunt the Indaba."

A second failure, says Dhlomo, was that the Indaba was not able to convince government to implement its proposals three years ago. "But considering what the Indaba was doing then, when the political climate was far more difficult, I believe the true legacy the Indaba leaves is that political negotiation is possible as an alternative to revolution."

Two Indaba projects — the Education Foundation and Independent Projects Trust — will continue independently and take on a national character. ■

**Provocative march
through Welkom
for 'Soweto Day'**

AWB plans

June 16 showdo-

By CHARLES LEONARD

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will hold a protest march in the strife-torn town of Welkom tomorrow, Soweto Day.

The AWB is not concerned about possible violence which may result from the march, AWB chief secretary Kays Smit said yesterday. "That would just make it nicer for us. More s---t will fly."

"We would prefer it if trouble erupted because we thrive on that and we are prepared for any eventuality."

The march — to protest against the continued detention of a suspect in Pretoria's Melrose House bomb blast and the government's recent release of political prisoners — will be held in Welkom because it is a "national focal point and a good place for our purposes", Smit said.

The AWB yesterday received permission from local magistrate JP Seaman to hold the march. Marchers may not carry weapons or batons, mount horses or be accompanied by dogs, police representative Lieutenant Ina Barkhuizen said.

The movement plans to march from North Park in Welkom to the police station to present the station commander with a petition demanding the release of AWB head-office worker JP Meyer.

Meyer was detained on the weekend of June 3 and 4, with Jan de Bruyn and Arthur Guderian, in connection with the May 26 explosives attack on Melrose House, where the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed in 1901.

The men are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and, according to Smit, Meyer's family and lawyers have not been informed where he is being held.

The day after his detention he was held in Potchefstroom and the following day he was taken to Klerksdorp, said Smit. "After that we did not know of his whereabouts. It seems they are afraid that we might come

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AWB plans trouble on June 16

W/Mail 15/6-21/6/90

The day after his detention he was held in Potchefstroom and the following day he was taken to Klerksdorp, said Smit. "After that we did not know of his whereabouts. It seems they are afraid that we might come and succour him. (3041) (Smit)"

"We even approached (the Minister of Law and Order) Adriaan Vlok with no success. All we want is for the man to see his lawyer, minister and family. They better charge him or else release him," Smit warned.

Smit distanced his organisation from the explosion that caused damage estimated at R250 000 to the National Union of Mineworkers' Welkom headquarters this weekend.

Mine captain Hendrik Steyn (30) was detained late on Sunday evening in connection with the blast and is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

●From PAGE 1

A second man, Richard Haswell of Welkom, was detained on Wednesday night and is being held under the Criminal Procedures Act.

NUM publicity officer Jerry Majatla-di said it was clear that the blast had been perpetrated by people with expert knowledge of explosives.

He appealed to mineworkers to conduct themselves in a disciplined manner, even under conditions of extreme provocation.

"It is imperative that we forge unity across the colour line and isolate the incorrigible elements which are determined to frustrate all efforts aimed at bringing stability and peace," he said.

●A new ultra right-wing group which split off from the AWB plans to become the military wing of the Boerestaatparty.

SAHWCO FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE

1 JULY 1990



A dilemma facing the left: To DP or not to DP?

304A

W/M and 15/6-21/6/90

Dr ZACHARIAS Johannes de Beer is a man of great gravitas and charm. Now, as never before, he needs to exercise both qualities.

As one of — perhaps the — most extraordinary sessions in the history of South Africa's white parliament draws to a close, De Beer's Democratic Party must reshape its identity, or prepare to perish.

Readying himself to return to Johannesburg next week, De Beer is philosophical, and disarmingly frank, about the effect of the De Klerk phenomenon on the standard-bearers of liberalism.

"Yes," he told *The Weekly Mail*, "our world has been turned topsy turvy ... We came to Cape Town in February anticipating more or less what we'd had in the past. We would attack the government for its continued commitment to race-based government. We would simply be standing up for liberal values."

Things, to put it mildly, didn't quite turn out that way, and ever since De Klerk's mould-breaking speech on February 2, DP support has gushed across to the Nationalists. The Umlazi by-election was no more than formal confirmation of an undeniable trend.

Instead of playing their usual role in parliament, says De Beer, "the DP found progressively that the NP was taking over our positions. We found ourselves giving them help as they faced the onslaught from the Conservative Party. Umlazi made the point again — the government is in trouble, and the CP is growing.

"For the last 30 years it has been easy. If you believed in liberal values you backed the Progressives or the DP. That's no longer the case."

All of which begged an obvious question: does this not reduce the role of the DP to that of a mere political *aide-de-camp* and if so, why not pack it in entirely? Part of De Beer's thoughtful answer came from TS Eliot. "The last temptation is the greatest treason," he said, by way of arguing that the DP's role was to make sure that the NP not only reformed quickly, but did so for the right reasons.

"In introducing the Bill for the scrapping of Separate Amenities this week,"

In the topsy turvy world that South African politics has become since February 2, many issues are still undecided — and one of them is the future role of the Democratic Party. **SHAUN JOHNSON** spoke to Zach de Beer about the party's options

said De Beer, "Minister (Gerrit) Viljoen said its origins lay in the opening of the Nico Malan theatre to all races 10 years ago. The government found it couldn't build four Nico Malans, and therefore realised that Separate Amenities had to go."



Gravitas and charm ... Zach de Beer

I replied that that was a *teersinning*, a reluctant attitude ... We have to make sure that negotiations work, and that they are undertaken because people *believe* in them. That, for the moment, is our contribution."

There are at least two clear options open to the DP, as a party or as individual MPs. These are to join the African National Congress, NP or other organisations, or to fashion an identity as a "third force". There are certainly those in the party who favour throwing in their lot with the ANC, and some who could work under De Klerk. But the position is fluid, and that favours Option Two.

De Beer concedes that there are different tendencies within the caucus, but none have solidified sufficiently to pre-empt a disintegration. "They're milling around, positions are changing. My own feeling is that the majority believe the DP can have a healthy influence in the process (of negotiations), and we should avoid being too close to either side. The overwhelming view in the DP is to go straight down the middle."

But, he adds quickly, if the NP and ANC converge — "find each other" — and hammer out a new constitution, "then it's an entirely new ballgame" and parties like the DP might well cease to exist in their current forms.

There could be new opportunities for the DP — "one researcher believes we could attract 30% of white votes, 15% of black, and the majority of coloureds and Indians" — but disappearance must surely be the most likely outcome.

The young party's precise future is, to say the least, uncertain, and it is therefore mildly surprising that an air of thick gloom has not descended on the DP's parliamentary offices. Part of the explanation could be that they're stoical; another that the Sword of Damocles is not about to fall — yet.

"I've no doubt that we'll be back here for the next session, with everything in pretty much the same form as it is now," says De Beer. "We have a lot to think about, but we were all perfectly validly elected last September, and there is no prospect of an early election."

Nevertheless the mood in DP corridors is one of "anxiety", says De Beer. "It's all right for an old josser like me who has options, but some of the chaps gave up attractive careers to come here, won good majorities and could have expected long parliamentary careers." The DP's backers, too, are anxious, and have to adopt a "wait and see" attitude.

Ironically, a great deal hinges on a distinctly unparliamentary matter: politicians' eyes, many of them from the DP, will be focused on the ANC's December 16 gathering. Policies flowing from that congress will make it clear whether a comfortable alternative home beckons.

US constitution will guide us, says FW

WASHINGTON — President de Klerk has said he wants to use the United States constitution as a model for South Africa.

The black majority would take part in South Africa's next election, on a new constitution, he said in an interview published yesterday.

"Time is of the essence," Mr de Klerk told the Washington Times. "White privilege ... (and) white domination must go. We mean it."

"We will be looking for a solution in the direction of a bill of rights like yours, checks and balances to avoid too much power in one institution, a non-racial society," he said.

The next election would be in the form of a referendum, open to all races, to vote on a new constitution, the paper said.

"The ball is now in the ANC's court," Mr de Klerk said. He praised African National Congress deputy president Nelson

Mandela as a "man of integrity, honest and interesting, a worthy interlocutor."

Mr de Klerk said he hoped negotiations would move fast enough to hold a referendum before his five-year mandate ended.

He also said the Group Areas and Land Acts would be scrapped next year and replaced with protective legislation.

His government had done more in the past six months than any objective observer would have cared to predict.

"We should get credit for this and you should stop shifting the goalposts on us," he said.

Mr de Klerk was asked whether it was conceivable that a black might become president one day.

"Full participation of all South Africans at all levels means what it says," Mr de Klerk replied.

"What is inconceivable is that

we can have a continuing situation of an executive president with so much power concentrated in the man that — whether he's white or whether he's black — with so much power there won't be a power struggle about it. Therefore, in the election our attitude about this was that the powers of the presidency and the whole composition of the executive should be revised."

Neither he nor Mr Mandela could dictate to Europe what its policies should be, he said.

"Europe, individually and collectively, must re-evaluate attitudes and policies towards South Africa because of the new reality. That was my plea."

The problem of rising black expectations was a very real one.

"Some people are told that when they get the vote all their financial problems will be over. Very unrealistic promises are being made by people not in authority." — Reuter.

2 Cape Times, Friday, June 15, 1990

Right-wing denies ANC talks

Staff Reporter

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday reacted with scorn to reports that right-wing groups had met with senior ANC officials, saying the ANC was its "natural enemy".

Said AWB spokesman Mr Kays Smit from the AWB's headquarters at Ventersdorp: "You fight the ANC, you don't speak to them."

The cat was set among the right-wing pigeons by Mr Nelson Mandela when he told a Strassburg news conference this week that the ANC had been talking to right-wing organisations in South Africa — and had asked them to soften their hostility towards President F W de Klerk.

An ANC source identified the right-wing

figures as Afrikaner Volkswag leader Professor Carel Boshoff and Mr Chris Jooste, formerly of the South African Bureau for Race Relations (Sabra).

The meeting took place in Johannesburg two weeks ago and representatives from the ANC included Mr Keg September and Mr Thabo Mbeki, the source said.

The ANC's Western Cape media spokesman, Mr Trevor Manuel, said yesterday he was unable to put a reporter in touch with Mr September, the ANC's Western Cape coordinator.

Mr Jooste, contacted in Pretoria yesterday, said he was retired and no longer involved in politics. He denied all knowledge of such a meeting.

A woman who answered the telephone at

the Pretoria home of Prof Boshoff, who recently retired as a lecturer at the University of Pretoria, said the professor was out of town and could not be reached.

Mr Smit said: "We won't speak to the ANC because we won't negotiate about the things which are ours."

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was also quoted yesterday as saying the CP had not and would not meet with the ANC.

The Boere Bevydingsbeweging (BBB) said in a statement in Pretoria yesterday it had no intention now or in the future of holding discussions with the ANC.

"We also want to say that the Boer people will not accept an ANC-ruled government over us and, least of all, an ANC president."

DEMOCRATIC PARTY FIM 15/6/90

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Whither now? Or wither now?

Whatever the other lessons of the Umlazi by-election may be (see *Current Affairs*). It was undeniably an unmitigated disaster for the Democratic Party. While it's not surprising that voters rejected a party that seemed uncertain at the outset of the campaign whether it still had a policy worth propagating, this shows to what a sorry pass has a party been reduced which, before last year's general election, had hopes of regaining the status of official opposition.

Suggestions from within its own ranks that the DP should stand back — in a seat where it came comfortably second last year — “to avoid splitting the pro-reform vote” were tantamount to harakiri.

It's nothing new for a centrist minority party to find its sensible policies appropriated by others. It's something Britain's Liberal Party has seen happen time and again. But less than a year after the election, should the DP really give the impression of throwing in the towel because what used to be its policies have suddenly become those of the NP?

Is this why Helen Suzman fought a lone battle all those years to keep civilised values alive in the Assembly?

Of course, it suits the NP very well, in its effort to create the impression that the only players worth considering are itself and the ANC. But should Democrats be taken in so easily? Should they swallow, hook line and sinker, the view that their interests are now safe in F W de Klerk's hands?

Are the Nats the best people to argue for the continued existence of the free enterprise system in a post-apartheid SA, given their dilatory record on deregulation and — even

more — privatisation? Is their continuing obsession with group rights and foot-dragging over a Bill of (individual) Rights compatible with the DP's Western-liberal principles?

It is no criticism of De Klerk's sincerity, or denigration of the remarkable steps he has already taken, to point out that there are still huge gaps between any view of the future he has expressed and what those of us dismissed by Harry Schwarz as 18-century reactionaries would like to see. We should be so lucky as to get back to the social mobility and economic growth rates of the 18-century Industrial Revolution!

The Umlazi disaster is being used as a stick to beat Denis Worrall, who insisted that the seat be fought. We do not always agree with Worrall, but if the DP is indeed to withdraw from fighting seats in which it came second to the NP for fear of splitting the “pro-reform” vote, it's not just the DP that's in trouble — it's the whole reform cause.

We believe the DP still has an important role as a vehicle for the views of many progressives (we use the word with intent) who have no other political home. But, to fulfil this, it needs strong and committed leadership.

It may be significant that Umlazi came at the same time as the collapse of another political group that tried to function with a three-person leadership — Britain's Social Democratic Party. If any of the DP triumvirate no longer has the stomach for the fight, let him stand back for someone who can give the party strong, focused leadership. Otherwise it may indeed be a case of wither, not whither. ■

See 16/6/92

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NEWS

FW feels time for games is over but ANC says the ball is still in

his court

PRESIDENT de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela disagree on two issues in the run-up to negotiations — sanctions and the armed struggle. Mr de Klerk has toured Europe, and Mr Mandela is in the process of doing so, trying to enlist European support for their respective views.

The leaders of the European Community are expected to give their verdict at the important EC Heads of State summit in Dublin on June 25. But how far has Mr de Klerk gone in fulfilling the prerequisites set by the African National Congress for negotiations?

Mr de Klerk, arguing from the premise that South Africa is "irrevocably on the road to far-reaching constitutional change", contends that the time for sanctions is past and that continued armed struggle is inimical to a negotiated settlement.

Mr Mandela disagrees, arguing that the process of change is not yet irreversible and that sanctions and the armed struggle must be maintained until it is. On the

armed struggle Mr Mandela adds a corollary: its final cessation cannot be brought about by the ANC unilaterally but only through a mutually binding ceasefire.

Whatever their differences, however, the two men agree on the need to establish a "climate for negotiations".

The ANC-initiated Harare Declaration permeates the thinking of Mr Mandela and his fellow ANC leaders. It proclaims: "It is essential before any negotiations take place that the necessary climate for negotiations be created."

Five conditions

Mr de Klerk, perhaps influenced by the declaration's terminology, speaks of "endeavouring to create a climate for negotiations" and declares that "the time for political games is past".

The Harare Declaration lists five conditions it considers essential for creating the right climate for negotiations.

They are: the unbanning of all prohibited organisations; release

forces has assumed the proportions of the Lebanese conflict.

A moratorium has been declared on all executions and "terrorism" has been taken off the list of capital offences, except in times of war.

A general amnesty is thought to be in the pipeline following the establishment of a joint Government-ANC working committee to advise on two critical issues: a definition of political offences and mechanisms for the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity for political offences "inside and outside South Africa".

Mr de Klerk has signalled his readiness to implement its proposals. The ANC, however, has delayed its response until July 10.

Its decision to do so is seen in Government circles as a tactical manoeuvre to delay implementation until after Mr Mandela has completed his current tour of Europe and the United States. Its fear is reckoned to be that implementation will complicate Mr Mandela's task of persuading Eu-

ropean and American leaders to keep sanctions in place.

Except in Natal, troops have been largely removed from the townships.

Measured by the criteria of the Harare Declaration, Mr de Klerk has thus gone a long way towards creating a "climate for negotiations". The ANC, however, thinks he has not gone far enough.

Precondition

There are indications that it will press for the lifting of the emergency in Natal as a condition for negotiations, on the grounds that it inhibits "free political activity" there, a precondition set by the Harare Declaration.

As a pro-ANC man in the thick of the Natal struggle observes: "Our perspective is that the emergency is not contributing at all to peace but is providing a cover for the security forces, warlords and vigilantes to crush us."

The ANC's position is inimical to Mr de Klerk's standing with the white electorate. It projects

him as a man who is buckling under pressure from the ANC, as an appeaser rather than a statesman trying to avoid — in his words — "an Armageddon".

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht strikes a chord in an increasing number of whites when he accuses Mr de Klerk of making concessions in a bid to satisfy the ANC.

Mr Treurnicht, who talks unabashedly of white *lebensraum*, asserts of the ANC: "They are going to tell him (De Klerk) to give, give, and they are going to take."

The Umlazi by-election on June 6, where there was a 27 percent swing to the CP, sounded a warning bell: defeat at the polls for President de Klerk in a white election or referendum — to which he is committed — can no longer be dismissed as absurd.

The CP and its allies on the ultra-right may not be able to halt the tide of history, but they may well ensure that it will be red with blood when it swirls forward.

No action by Parliament on labour law

By CONNIE MOLUSI

FAILURE by Parliament to enact joint proposals by Cosatu, Nactu and Saccola to amend the Labour Relations Act during the current parliamentary session has led to panic as the labour movement gears itself for industrial action.

The failure to translate the proposals into law was partly due to pressure from four major corporations - Sasol, Eskom, Gold Fields and UK multinational BTR-Dunlop - and the Mine Workers' Union.

The four companies made submissions to the

National Manpower Commission (NMC) opposing or expressing reservations about the agreement between the unions and employers.

However, the Cabinet gave Manpower Minister Eli Louw the go-ahead to continue consultations with Cosatu, Nactu and Saccola.

The minister held a meeting with their representatives, who emerged tight-lipped.

Louw said in a statement there had been a wide response to the Saccola-union proposals, which were published for comment.

The response indicated there had been insufficient time to study the proposals, which had economic implications and drastically altered the rights of employers and workers," said Louw.

He suggested that more time be allowed for comment, but as an alternative offered to enact proposals on which adequate consultations had taken place.

Louw also offered to include a provision in the Act under which an agreement could be given statutory powers.

He said he hoped the process of consultation, co-operation and consen-

sus-seeking between all interested parties would continue so as to achieve labour peace.

Cosatu has condemned the Cabinet's decision as "pandering to the minority employers and unions which enjoy little support".

Nactu said the decision showed the minister was more concerned about his constituency than the interests of workers.

Saccola said in a statement on Friday it regretted the delay in legislating the proposed changes.

"Saccola has today written to the Minister of Manpower with proposals to reconcile the parties'

desire to see legislation this year and the Cabinet's desire to allow for further consultation," it said.

"Saccola continues to commit itself to working constructively with Cosatu, Nactu, the Department of Manpower and the National Manpower Commission to this end."

Breaking down the apartheid psyche

S/Times 17/6/90

304A

THE questioner was dead earnest.

What are we in South Africa doing to make sure we won't end up with a large residue of racism after apartheid is dead and gone?

The occasion was a United States panel on South Africa. The questioner's concern about race relations in a future South Africa stemmed from the fact that Americans, reputedly the freest people on earth, are still grappling with the issues of bigotry and racial intolerance.

Forged

Nearly three decades after the Civil Rights Act, which conferred long-denied rights on black Americans, the US is still some way from enjoying racial harmony.

In fact, President

George Bush recently had occasion to speak about the preponderance of prejudice in a nation that is otherwise enviable for having forged a common nationalism among groups of ethnic diversity.

The problem should be of acute concern to South Africans. With the current pace of things, it is becoming increasingly evident that President De Klerk is going to leave some of the average supporters of his government standing, a situation which does not augur well for post-apartheid race relations.

As the American experience shows, scrapping apartheid policies without eradicating them from the nation's psyche is hardly a recipe for enduring peace.

The solution lies, ironically, in some of the National Party's discredited strategies. We need a high-intensity campaign to deprogramme those whites who are still trapped in the ideology of the past.

It's time to retrieve and redirect some of the strategies that helped apartheid survive 40 years of concerted opposition. These can help turn the tide.



Mandla Tyala, back from a year on a Harvard-South Africa Fellowship, calls for an intense new political information campaign — this time aimed at whites

Loyalties

Some pundits seem to believe that an upturn in economic fortunes, flowing from the thaw in international relations, will eventually win the FW initiative popular support.

That may well be so, but plain old naivety and simple fear of change are some of the major factors that politicians still have to contend with.

And, given the stirrings on the extreme right, the loyalties of centre-right white South Africans are going to be crucial in the run-up to real democracy.

By the look of things, the thrust of President De Klerk's reform drive took many of his supporters by surprise. But the president should have expected this.

You do not subject minds to relentless programming in one direction for four decades and expect them to suddenly make a 180-degree turn just because the leadership says it's all right.

Tactics

The apartheid mindset was not sustained merely by statutory provisions. A great amount of energy was expended in selling the racist doctrine — from *swart gevaar* tactics, to the role of the NG Kerk in moulding young minds.

Turned around and applied positively, the same tactics could pay handsome dividends for the president, who now has the precarious task of informing the hard-core

apartheid converts that — to put it in the mildest terms — *'we were wrong the whole time'*.

But the Nats should know how to do these things. Propaganda is a game they have always played.

Take for instance former minister Louis Nel's sadly misdirected multi-million-rand peace campaign — huge, well-lit billboards in townships where electricity is not taken for

granted proclaiming "Together we'll build a better future".

Good message, but the billboards, depicting a merrily multiracial bunch of musicians, should have been at the Skilpad Saal not Soweto.

Most Africans never had a problem with building a better future with whites. They only had a problem with racial discrimination.

They were saying that in 1912, even before the

National Party was established — if only someone had cared to listen. A reaffirmation was made in Kliptown in 1955 and, according to Mr Nelson Mandela, the position is still the same.

Opportunity

If there ever was a time for structures like the Bureau for Information to be put to gainful use, it is now — not in Thabong but in Welkom, not in Mamelodi but in Brixton.

This is also a marvelous opportunity for what-can-I-do-it's-the-law whites to come out from behind the apartheid shield and stand up and be counted for democracy.

The tragedy of apartheid has been, not so much the violence of the bad guys, but the silence and indifference of those in whose name the atrocities are perpetrated.

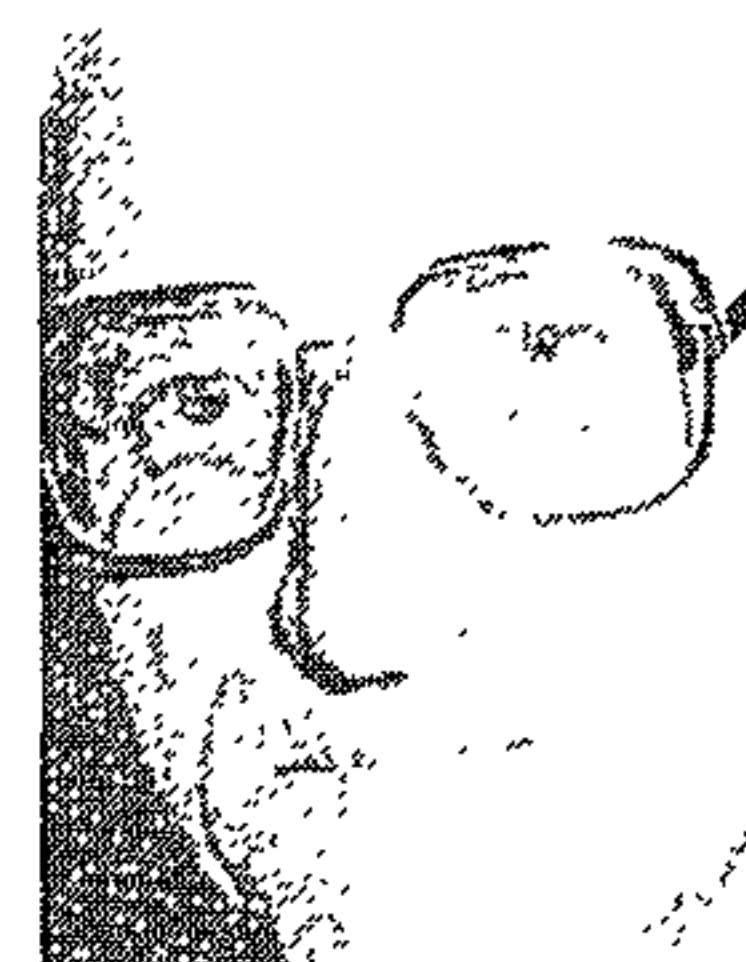
Afrikaners trek to the future



■ Hennie Maree, educationist
Leading confrontation



■ Pieter De Lange, Broederbond
Tried to prepare members



■ Johan Heyns, NGK
Accused of being too liberal



■ Colin Cameron, civil servant
Wants higher salaries

THE PILLARS of the establishment that propped up successive National Party governments are fast crumbling.

New alliances, which will eventually lead to the formation of a completely new establishment, are in the process of being formed.

Until a decade ago the NP's electoral success was based almost exclusively on its ability to inspan the sub-structures of society to best serve its political needs.

The NP was the "political arm" of Afrikanerdom — a sort of first among equals, together with its spiritual arm (the three "sister churches"), its cultural arm

(the Broederbond and its front organisations) and its economic leverage through the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the various white trade unions

One of the biggest successes scored by the CP since it broke away in 1982 was its usurpation of the symbols of Afrikanerdom — flags, language, emotions. It created alternative cultural structures which rendered the establishment organisations almost impotent. The Broederbond, under

the leadership of former RAU rector Professor Pieter de Lange, tried gamely to prepare its membership elite for the new South Africa.

Documents circulated among branches tried to pave the way for radical changes, but even the Bond seems to have been caught napping by the speed and the extent of the F W revolution.

Its long-time front, the Rapportryers, diminished in influence as the rifts in

Afrikanerdom grew bigger. Led by a Northern Cape farmer and former dominee, Mr Louis Swanepoel, it is now trying to bridge the chasms and unite Afrikaner cultural activities in spite of political differences — an exercise that is doomed to fail. *SITimes 17/6/90*

The Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge, which long served as the umbrella body for Afrikaner movements, has similarly lost its clout. Nowhere was it

better illustrated than in its lack-lustre attempts to recreate the Great Trek in 1988, in sharp contrast to the spirited efforts of its conservative counterpart, the Afrikaner Volkswag.

SELECT

In the BCP-days (Before Conservative Party), the election of local school committees in Afrikaner towns and suburbs was a cut-and-dried affair. Dominees of the three

Afrikaans churches usually met beforehand to select a committee "that would best serve the needs of the community".

The names were often read from the pulpits on the Sunday before the meetings and, with few exceptions, the chosen few were dutifully elected.

In recent times, school committees have become one of the most important battlegrounds between the NP and the CP.

Elections resemble national polling days and the parties circulate the names of their candidates well in advance. Results are scrutinised by Afrikaans newspapers to determine which party took control of which school and what the implications may be on the next election result in that particular constituency.

The estrangement between the Government and the organised teaching profession, as represented by the Federal Teachers' Council, has its roots in Dr Piet Koornhof's term of office as Minister of Education and the many "promises" of new salary deals that were never delivered.

However, the conservative sentiments of the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging, led by Pretoria Teachers' Training College head Professor Hennie Maree, are well known.

BATTLE

It came as little surprise that he led this week's confrontation with Education Minister Gene Louw.

A recent development is the formation of Afrikaner Ouerverenigings — in most cases blatant CP fronts — which will lead the conservative rearguard battle against any moves to desegregate education.

The three mainstream Afrikaans churches have also not escaped the cleavages that threaten to rip their congregations apart. The biggest, the NG Kerk, has already experienced the breakaway of the right-wing Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk and a kernel of further resistance remains with the formation of the Reformatoriese Bond to prevent a leftward drift in church thinking.

Much attention will be focused on the meeting of the General Synod in Bloemfontein in September and especially in the choice of the new moderator to succeed Professor Johan Heyns, accused by many conservatives of being too liberal.

The civil service is another former mainstay of Afrikaner establishment which is becoming a source of potential right-wing trouble. In the days of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and Mr John Vorster, powerful figures like Dr Werner Eiselen and Dr Piet Rautenbach not only executed government policy but often formulated it.

SENSITIVE

Low-level officials determined the pace and direction of decisions taken by the Cabinet and often thwarted Government attempts to solve sensitive issues — prompting Dr Piet Koornhof to refer publicly to officials in the Department of Bantu Administration as "tortoises".

A feature of recent Government strategy was to put in place a number of key confidants to head departments, even to the extent of promoting relatively junior officials to senior positions, or bringing in outsiders from the academic world or the business community to handle sensitive departments.

For example, Dr Piet van der Merwe at the Commission for Administration; advocate Joël Fourie, Manpower; Dr Stef Naudé, Trade and Industries; Dr Johan Garbers, Education.

But on lower levels a revolt seems to be brewing. Again, salaries are being used as the ostensible issue by the powerful Civil Servants' Association, led by Onderstepoort researcher Dr Colin Cameron.

But underlying it seems to be a rearguard revolt against Government reform moves and the impact these

may have on a future civil service.

Rumours about grave discontent in the armed services have been circulating for months in spite of strong denials from Ministers and generals.

This week's salary increases may lead to a temporary lull, but dissatisfaction with the Government's talks with the former "enemy" and alarm over the extent to which their guts are being spilt in front of the Harms Commission, may lead to future confrontations between senior officers and politicians.

The demise of the old establishment has radically altered the face of power in the country.

Mr De Klerk has reverted to Cabinet rule rather than party rule, in the process reducing the role of the caucus and the local party congresses.

The CP can already justly lay claims to representing the majority of Afrikaner voters — especially in the Transvaal and the Free State. And the NP will, in future, have to lean heavily on the young Yuppies in the commercial and professional world as well as English-speaking support, which has over decades proven to be very fickle.

ADVICE

The new Afrikaner establishment will be found among businessmen and professional people whom the Government will increasingly turn to for advice.

The computer generation has caught up with the establishment. The old troika of culture, church and civil service is making way for a "user friendly" power structure that will have a huge say in determining Afrikaner thinking as it enters the era of the new South Africa.

Plea to FW to close House of Delegates

304A

Sowetan
17/6/90

Sowetan Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - A powerful group of Solidarity Party MPs are to ask President de Klerk to close down the House of Delegates because they feel it now has no credibility in the eyes of the public and is a millstone for the reform process.

The final nail for them was when Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the Opposition in the HoD, confidently declared at the weekend he would keep his seat in the House although he was convicted of two counts of fraud and fined R10 000.

The nominated Solidarity MP Mr Farouk Cassim has emerged as spokesman for the Group which comprises two ministers in the Minister's Council and six other members of the HoD.

Cassim's address to a joint meeting of Parliament on Friday set the scene for their desire to bring about the end of the tricameral system.

COMPARISONS between presidents Gorbachev and De Klerk abound. Both are taking great risks to lead their countries out of a discredited past.

Even physical similarities, like the lack of cranial thack, are remarked upon.

Unfortunately, there has lately emerged a further similitude — one that gives comfort to neither. It is that their deeds are much more serene abroad than they are at home.

Put another way, President De Klerk's New South Africa needs to be sold much more energetically to the people who will have to live in it.

The mass defection in Umlazi of NP voters was but the first public manifestation of something more deep-seated.

And that is that vast numbers of white South Africans are confused and anxious about the stunning changes taking place.

None of which is to say Mr De Klerk should not be doing what he is doing. His audacious decision to write a new book of South African history has been courageous and praiseworthy. He radiates confidence in the strength of his ideas. What's more, his *Witwatersrand* approach is correct. The Bicycle Prin-

Why FW must show more of his petticoat

ciple of Reform — which prescribes that you have to keep pedalling to stay upright — is the only way.

Clangingly absent, however, is a proper marketing campaign. Consequently, even people who wholeheartedly support the idea of change are confused and worried.

If they're going to live in a New South Africa, they want to be reassured it will be habitable. Their uncertainty is reflected in newspaper correspondence columns and in countless conversations around family dinner tables and elsewhere. Their fear and bewilderment arise from a rich cocktail of deeply held concerns — about personal safety, endemic criminality, standards in

public life, the security of property and savings, prospects for their children.

When the era of De Klerk-led change began, many whites — while welcoming with relief the abandonment of patently obsolete doctrines — probably secretly hoped that, by some act of constitutional sleight-of-hand, whites would still retain a determining hand on the levers of power.

But, as the process evolved, there slowly began to dawn upon people in general what members of the chatting classes had recognised all along — that the process begun on February 2 would, ultimately, result in a government that was largely

black. The extent of white influence on, and participation in, such a government would depend wholly on what they could carve out for themselves at the negotiating table.

And as people awakened to this truth, they have become fearful. They are suspicious of those who promise that the country can emerge into the kind of utopia they so ardently seek — but which has been so comprehensively unrealised in the rest of our pitiful continent.

Hence the craving for reassurance. What guarantees there that an ANC-led South Africa will be any different from the benighted states to the north? Can safeguards be built

into a new constitution? Is there a bottom line beyond which President De Klerk's negotiators will not go? When all that has been said, spare a thought for Mr De Klerk himself. In the initial stages of his reform campaign he was obliged to give priority to two target markets: his putative black negotiating partners and the international community.

In the latter field, it was important to outbid the ANC, which virtually had a lock on international opinion. While the bidding is by no means over, Mr De Klerk has made remarkable progress and continues to command the moral high ground — the first Nationalist leader to do so since 1948. He has compelled foreign statesmen to be more even-handed in their judgment of the players on the South African field.

It is a campaign he dare not abandon. Indeed, the early triumphs must be consolidated and built upon in order to achieve re-entry into the international community and to regain investor confidence. At home, Mr De Klerk's focus on the ANC and other extra-parliamentary bodies was also understandable. It requires careful footwork to steer the disparate parties towards the negotiating chamber.

ity to pull their followers along with them.

Together, they are coming to form a political centre — and the centre may not hold.

Nice — and important — as it may be to make a splash abroad, and adrenalin-raising as close contact with erstwhile adversaries may be, political survival, like charity, begins at home.



by Tertius Myburgh

Trouble is, though, that in directing his attention — and many of his words — at these two audiences, he has perforce tended to neglect his own power base.

This has left the field to the Conservatives. Now they — rather than the NP itself — are providing doom-laden interpretations of government policy.

The effect has been insidious and Umlazi was merely the tip of an iceberg of fear-driven discontent.

Anxiety, resistance and resentment will always be present in a society caught in the flux of reform. But it is vital that it should be minimised: that the reformer should

mobilise as much public opinion behind him as he can. There is no sign that Mr De Klerk lacks confidence, but his back is becoming uncovered.

Is it not, therefore, time to show a little more of his petticoat: to reveal the fundamental principles that will inform his negotiating strategy?

Of course, there is danger in preempting the negotiating process. In this sensitive phase, even the term "non-negotiable" has become non-negotiable.

Nevertheless, there must be ways of disclosing — without imperilling the peace process — broad principles in respect of safeguards for minorities, protection against confiscatory economic policies and the preservation of law and order.

If Mr De Klerk fails to do this, the whole peace venture may come to nothing because its architect lacks the power base to negotiate from strength. We should remember that a referendum still lies ahead.

Somehow, therefore, Mr De Klerk — whose resources of energy and intellect must already be strained by the sheer scale of his undertaking — must find the means for more effective inwards communication.

He is his own best salesman, a polished and reassuring TV performer and speaker. But the task cannot be left to an individual: the most

committed and experienced members of his Cabinet (the likes of Mr Pik Botha, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Barend du Plessis and Dr Dawie de Villiers) need to be pressed into much more active service.

So do MPs, who will soon be returning to their constituencies. Dramatic change is destabilising and folks on farms and in the suburbs need comforting. Who do MPs expect to undertake this task? The fairies?

Even DP leaders should be enlisted in the cause.

It would be a tragedy if the ball was fumbled in South Africa's greatest — and possibly last — opportunity to enter a new future with hope.

As a commentator wrote in *The Times* of London last week, the Government and the ANC have drawn closer together on one issue after another, but show a diminishing abil-

Zach punted to take the helm of new look party

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

DR Zach de Beer, one of the Democratic Party's leadership "troika", is likely to emerge within months as its sole leader.

This is the expected outcome of the party's crushing, lost-deposit defeat in the Umlazi by-election.

According to senior DP members, majority opinion now favours a national congress in Port Elizabeth later this year.

If it takes place, it is virtually certain there will be a motion to elect a single leader — and Dr De Beer is, on present form, the favourite. Supporters of the congress plan maintain the troika leadership has outlived its time.

The triumvirate — Dr De Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan — helped to forge into one the disparate elements from which the DP was formed.

Now, however, it merely makes the party look indecisive, some people say. Consequently, voters have been left confused about the role and political profile of the DP — and in Umlazi they responded by simply abandoning it.

The party has devoted 10 days to intense political soul-searching in its parliamentary caucus room.

Knock

Significantly, it was Dr De Beer who emerged in the House on Friday to set out the DP's new approach to by-elections.

The party would no longer oppose the National Party in by-elections if it would favour the Conservative Party, he announced.

He also said the DP would change its emphasis from "going for power" to establishing a role in supporting the negotiating process.

This is seen as a knock for Dr Worrall in particular. He was the leading proponent of the DP entering the Umlazi contest, and is regarded as the father of the DP faction that favours a bid for power.

Mr Malan recently made it clear that he saw a much diminished role for the DP.

An official said the main purpose of the national congress later this year would be to define policy options for the start of negotiations.

DP troika set

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Tuynhuys talks with spectrum of leaders

FW in new bid for moderate alliance

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

Talks between President de Klerk and homeland, Indian and coloured leaders began at Tuynhuys shortly after 9 am today. The meeting, not announced until late last night, is an apparent bid to draw the leaders into a broad, moderate alliance against the African National Congress.

The urgency of the meeting is underscored by indications that all of the leaders of the self-governing homelands — except KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — are close to throwing their weight behind the ANC.

The talks follow an aborted meeting with the self-governing territories a few months ago.

Only KwaZulu attended, because ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela persuaded the others not to — much to Mr de Klerk's chagrin.

It is understood the arrangements for today's meeting were kept secret to prevent the ANC getting at the leaders again. Mr Mandela's absence on an overseas tour may also have something to do with the timing.

Mr de Klerk announced last night that, apart from the leaders of the self-governing territories, he would also meet the three chairmen of the Ministers' Councils, and the four provincial administrators.

He would say only that they intended discussing "matters of common concern" and that the meeting was a continuation of his regular meetings with South African leaders.

Free enterprise

Parliamentary sources said Mr de Klerk would probably try to persuade the leaders to unite around a charter of basic democratic and free enterprise values.

The signatories to this charter would enter negotiations as a bloc.

This would also put pressure on the ANC and other socialist-oriented organisations to endorse these values.

The Government has already begun discussions about the charter with other parties inside Parliament.

Although the charter is still in draft form, it is likely to endorse values such as a multiparty democracy, an independent judiciary, a free press, free enterprise, no discrimination and devolution of power.

Government sources last night dismissed any suggestion that the Government might insist that signing the charter was a condition for participation in negotiations. But they said the charter of values was likely to be supported by most Western governments and this would put pressure on the ANC to endorse it.

Parliamentary sources said they believed today's discussions might also deal with draft legislation the Government is apparently drawing up that would give Mr de Klerk power to take over the administration of self-governing territories if their own administrations collapsed.

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said today the organisation would "closely monitor" the outcome of the Tuynhuys meeting.



Tactical retreat ... English soccer fans flee before a baton-charge by Italian policemen. The clash took place during the England-Netherlands game. ● Picture: Associated Press

Soccer clashes: 'Ban must stay'

CAGLIARI — The clash between English fans and Italian police has reinforced the British government's contention that English soccer clubs should be banned indefinitely from European tournaments, a newspaper reported yesterday.

British Sports Minister, Colin Moynihan, told the Corriere dello Sport newspaper that the ban on English clubs competing in European tournaments should not be lifted.

Mr Moynihan commented after an estimated 1 000 English fans clashed with Italian police in Cagliari on Saturday before a World Cup match.

Italian police used teargas and truncheons to disperse the crowd after the English fans began throwing rocks, officials and news reports said.

A group of English soccer fans also beat up a Japanese television reporter and cameraman and smashed their camera in Cagliari

yesterday, police said.

A police patrol rescued the two Japanese and took them to hospital for treatment for cuts and bruises.

It was not known how many fans attacked the crew and there were no reports of any arrests.

"The violence and the devastation perpetrated by bands of hooligans reinforces the conviction of my government. The ban on English teams from European cups must not be revoked, but remain in force for an indefinite time," Mr Moynihan was quoted as saying.

Readmitted

English clubs have been banned from European competitions since May 1985 when 39 people died in Brussels during riots between English and Italian fans before the European Champions Cup final.

In Genoa, European Football Union (UEFA) president Lennart Johansson said the incidents further reduced the chances of Eng-

lish clubs being readmitted to European competition.

UEFA has been considering lifting the ban, but has said its decision would depend on the behaviour of English fans during the World Cup.

● Massive security to guard against World Cup violence in Cagliari has upset prostitutes, who say it is ruining their business.

They claim that the 4 000 police patrolling the town to prevent soccer violence have made it impossible for them to pick up customers in the streets.

● Brazil's lambada road show has upset the sober citizens of Turin and has been told to cool it — except on Brazilian World Cup match days.

A lorry fitted out with 10 000-watt speakers to blast out samba and lambada rhythms has been banned from the city centre after residents complained. — Sapa-AP-Reuters.

● See Page 20.

FW DRAWS UP SECRET CHARTER FOR 'NEW SOCIETY'

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

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A CHARTER containing "bottom-line" principles for a new South African society is being secretly drafted by the Government.

All parties that enter negotiations for a new order may be asked to endorse it before the serious talking begins.

The charter — the work of a few Cabinet members — is aimed at binding all parties in the negotiations to a set of basic values.

It is also hoped the principles will allay white fears about the end result of the negotiating process.

The principles are still in draft form, but will deal with matters such as a multi-party system, an independent judiciary, a free Press, freedom of enterprise and an absence of racial or any other discrimination.

Talks on the principles are already under way between the Government and other parties who are likely to be involved in negotiations — but the African National Congress has not yet been approached.

The programme's authors are, however, confident that no party entering negotiations in good faith could afford to reject values and principles now underwritten by virtually all governments in the Western world.

A top Government source said: "This is not in opposition to the ANC. It is a statement of broad common values which all reasonable people — including those in the ANC — can support."

The parties with which the Government has already discussed the principles are not known, but foreign diplomats speculate that Inkatha may be among them.

An important element in the presentation

WHY FW SHOULD SHOW MORE OF HIS HAND: P2

of the set of principles is its timing.

Government strategists have not yet decided whether the charter of principles should be finalised and presented to all parties for signature before negotiations begin — or whether they should be presented at the talks table as the first subject for negotiation.

The principles — and even the concept of introducing such a charter — have also been canvassed with some foreign governments to test their response. Diplomats say the reaction from major Western powers such as Britain and the United States has been strongly favourable.

It seems, however, that some envoys would rather see the charter placed on the table as the first topic on the negotiations agenda — and that it should be presented by the National Party as its bottom line for the talks.

Diplomats and other strategists are keen to see a pattern of negotiations in which matters where consensus is easiest to achieve are tackled first. This would create a climate of success from the start.

The plan for the charter of common values arose from the Government's rising concern about uncertainty and white public anxiety surrounding the negotiating process — as reflected in the strong conservative backlash in the Umlazi by-election.

ANC sees problems in pre-talks stage

Staff Reporter

THE pre-negotiations phase between the African National Congress and the government has run into problems, says ANC executive member Mr James Stuart.

He warned that the ANC would not enter into discussions with the government until all obstacles preventing negotiations had been removed.

He said "everyone in the ANC was getting annoyed with President De Klerk and his Cabinet" over their failure to remove these obstacles.

"The blame lies with them. We demand that all political prisoners be released, that exiles have the right to return and that the Internal Security Act and other security laws be repealed."

Mr De Klerk knew what the ANC's demands were, said Mr Stuart.

"We want it to be clearly understood that there will be no negotiations until these obstacles have been removed."

He said sanctions remained an important weapon which the ANC could not surrender unconditionally.

"It remains our most important guarantee that the process we have embarked on will become irreversible. I do not want to detract from the character of Mr De Klerk, but the question of sanctions will remain in place until we reach a point where the masses of people in our country can take part in government."

The ANC could not drop its call for continued sanctions when it was still being oppressed, when even the pre-negotiations stage had run into trouble, he said.

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NP considering talks charter to allay fears

CAPE TOWN — Government is considering asking participants in negotiations to agree to a set of common values at the outset, in an attempt to allay white fears about change.

The idea of a list of common values was first raised by President F W de Klerk during the election campaign last year.

The list includes commitment to a multiparty system, an independent judiciary, a free media and a free enterprise system.

The principles form what would be the NP's bottom line in negotiations.

Prior to the Umlazi by-election, government spokesmen were loath to spell out these principles as a bottom line as they did not want to be seen as dictating to other participants.

However the dramatic swing to the right in Umlazi convinced some senior government members that this list of "bottom line" principles was necessary to allay white fears of change.

Proponents of this idea argue that the values expressed in this list should be acceptable to any group entering negotiations in good faith and should not be interpreted as government trying to dictate to others what form an eventual negotiated constitution should take.

While the list has not yet been finalised, the idea of drawing up such a charter has been canvassed with some foreign governments and has reportedly received a favourable response.

Because the list for the most part contains principles to which most parties, with the exception of CP and the PAC, have publically committed themselves, government strategists anticipate little difficulty in getting parties to commit themselves to

MIKE ROBERTSON

such a set of common values at the outset of negotiations.

However a major stumbling block could be government's insistence that the list contains a commitment to a free enterprise system.

ANC and SACP members are likely to interpret this as an attempt to prevent it pursuing socialist goals.

SACP chief Joe Slovo had repeatedly said the ANC/SACP alliance's economic proposals were in many ways similar to those advocated and pursued by the NP when it came to power in 1948.

The NP had employed socialist mechanisms such as nationalisation and general government intervention in the economy to improve the lot of its supporters. To expect the ANC not to use similar mechanisms to improve the lot of blacks in SA would be unreasonable, Slovo argued.

Meanwhile a government spokesman yesterday rejected suggestions that the NP was backing down on its commitment to test support for a negotiated constitution in a referendum for white voters.

It was reported yesterday that as a result of the setback suffered by the NP in the Umlazi by-election, government had decided it would be too risky to hold a whites-only referendum.

The spokesman said that NP had made a commitment to white voters in its 5-year Action Plan to hold a referendum and had no intention of not honouring it.

Other race groups wanting to hold a referendum would have to use separate voters rolls.

WITH THREE DAYS TO THE UMLAZI BY-ELECTION, THE NP'S NATAL LEADER ACCUSES Dr WORRALL OF ...

DP double talk!

AS ONE of the architects of the three-chamber Parliament, Dr Denis Worrall continues to try to defy gravity as he walks his political tightrope.

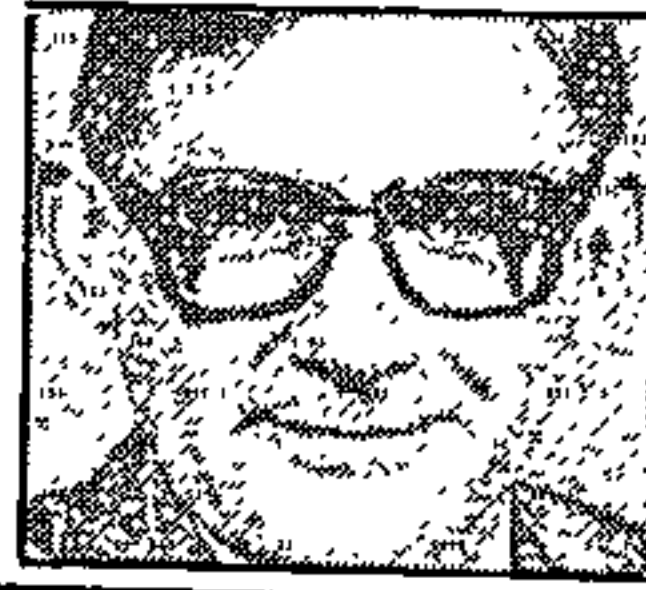
As a member of the National Party, he was the chairman of the constitutional committee of the President's Council which produced the three-chamber Parliament.

The NP adopted the essentials of this plan and embarked on a road of political participation for all. When Dr Worrall resigned from the NP in 1987 he said it was because he disagreed with the leadership of the party rather than with its policies.

As a co-leader of the Democratic Party in the last election, Dr Worrall was severely critical of the three-chamber Parliament and propagated a non-racial democracy where the DP would be "part of the majority".

Under its new leader, Mr FW de Klerk, the NP is committed to the principle of a true democracy. In September 1989 it was given a strong mandate to negotiate a new, just and democratic South Africa with political participation for all — no discrimination, full rights of citizenship for all but with built-in minority protections

George Bartlett argues that the Democratic Party cannot justify its opposition to the NP in the Umlazi by-election



to prevent domination.

After virtually forcing his party to contest the Umlazi by-election, Dr Worrall is now putting forward the incongruous notion that the best way for the voters of Umlazi to support the State President in his drive for a new South Africa is to vote for one of his political opponents — the DP.

In a recent speech, Dr Worrall indicated that he supported the leadership of the NP, but not the party itself!

Logical

This is pure political double talk and ignores the threat posed by the Conservative Party and its reactionary allies to the reform process.

It also ignores the very sensible option for the DP, initiated by Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, in the recent Budget debate in Parliament.

Mr Schwarz, as chief DP spokesman on finance, supported the Budget (not without quite a tough internal fight apparently) on the basis that it made a start on burying economic apartheid

and it was, therefore, logical to back the Budget on the basis of its integrity.

During that debate Mr Schwarz said: "... a choice must be made, not only in this Parliament but also outside this Parliament as to whether apartheid is to die, not only politically but also, equally important, economically ... we, therefore, have to make a choice in this Parliament.

"It is necessary to demonstrate to South Africa and perhaps to the world outside that on this issue in this Parliament the destruction of economic apartheid is a priority and the CP stands alone against it."

The "Harry Schwarz option" was hailed as a sensible course for the DP to take when the NP introduced the reforms for which the DP had been clamouring.

This is the way for the DP to show its support for the NP reforms and yet legitimately maintain an independent position.

In spite of strong urging by the two leading Natal newspapers, often support-

ive of the DP — the Daily News and the Natal Mercury — Dr Worrall, as the DP's de facto Natal leader, has obviously rejected the "Harry Schwarz option" in respect of the Umlazi by-election.

The editor of the Daily News, in a leading article on March 28, stated:

"It will be hard for (the DP) candidate to hammer the Government in Umlazi while his party is supporting it in Cape Town. Perhaps the DP should reconsider participating in this by-election, especially in the face of a threat from the right wing."

Under the headline, Think again DP, the editor of the Natal Mercury wrote on April 25:

Support

"The DP's entry into the Umlazi parliamentary by-election on June 6 is, therefore, lacking in conviction to say the least ... there is a real danger of the seat going to the common enemy, the CP ... we would urge the DP to think again."

You, therefore, get the anomalous situation that

while our President is triumphantly leading South Africa back to international acceptability and has been warmly received by European heads of states, Dr Worrall is calling on reform-minded residents of Umlazi to vote against the State President's candidate in Umlazi as a way of showing their support for what he is doing. Truly, the mind boggles.

Recently, in Parliament, Dr Worrall said the NP could not expect all white voters to support it. Even the most superficial look at the daily newspapers and television will tell the voters of Umlazi that all white voters do not.

Crucial

There is a large and growing reactionary group which wishes to torpedo the President's reforms and turn the clock back to the days of apartheid, with all the potential for conflict, violence and revolution in which such policies would bring.

Surely, if ever there was a time for voters who in the past did not vote for the NP but are committed to a new South Africa to support President De Klerk and his party, it is now.

The Umlazi by-election will be a crucial milepost on the road to a new, safer and more prosperous South Africa and political smoke-screens must not be allowed to obscure the real issues.

Anthems bring tears to F W's eyes

THERE were tears in President F W de Klerk's eyes during a special service at the Gereformeerde Kerk in Cape Town yesterday, where the "racially mixed" Libertas choir sang a medley of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika and My Land Suid Afrika, said parish minister Dr Pieter Bingle.

He said the special service was held in honour of Mr De Klerk, as it would be the last Sunday he and his family attended service at the church before Parliament went into recess.

Mr De Klerk, who had asked to address the congregation, said he found the singing "very touching" and that

"this type of singing should have started long ago".

The Libertas choir, under the baton of Professor Johan De Villiers from Stellenbosch University, received a standing ovation.

"Precisely by our communal faith lies the welfare of our future for all people. Cape Town is a wonderful congregation and we are already looking forward to 1991," said Mr De Klerk.

He thanked the congregation for their support.

The sermon was about "navigation in turbulent times" and seeking stability through God's word, Dr Bingle said. — Staff Reporter and Sapa

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ANC-NP government is possible

Despite its present rejection of a joint government with the ANC during the period leading to the adoption of a new constitution, the Government might later accept such a proposal, according to the findings of a Cape Town-based research organisation, **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.

At the appropriate moment during the negotiations process, the Government will propose a joint administration of the country by the ruling National Party (NP) and the African National Congress (ANC), with the possible inclusion of other black political organisations such as Inkatha.

This was the opinion of the Cape Town-based International Research and Information Services (Iris).

But, Iris said in its recently released findings, which have been researched in depth by eminent political experts under the heading "A 10-year Scenario for South Africa", this did not rule out the possibility of a joint NP-ANC presidency "or some similar arrangement" for South Africa.

This information, the report said, had been given in confidence to Iris researchers by "highly reliable and very senior sources".

In its report Iris said its optimistic outlook for the future was based on the proposition that the NP and the ANC had need of one another "in ways that may become increasingly symbiotic".

This implied that the two life-long foes would soon "recognise their mutual dependence in creating a constitutional framework in which conflicts can be peacefully and politically arbitrated and regulated".

In jeopardy

The report said if Mr de Klerk lost his support from a part of the white population because of his reforms, then his "whole initiative, and indeed the possibility of a relatively peaceful accommodation", would be in jeopardy.

This, however, was not very likely because the NP enjoyed support from Democratic Party (DP) members who would do everything in their power to hold off the Conservative Party (CP).

If the negotiations stayed on course, the violence in the country abated and the international community awarded Mr de Klerk "a few carrots in the form of lifted sanctions", then the chances that the CP backlash would be defeated and the ultra-right marginalised were pretty good.

The Government's main negotiating partner, the ANC, was not without problems of its own, according to the report.

The organisation, which presently enjoyed between 50 percent and 60 percent of the support of the blacks, stood to lose its supporters to the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) on its left.

Support divided

The report put the PAC's support at between 20 percent to 25 percent, and said the remainder of black support was divided among Azapo, Inkatha and other smaller organisations.

The chances of a negotiated settlement, said the report, were "fair".

If the mutually dependent ANC and NP reached an agreement and their combined support base spanned 75 percent to 80 percent of the prospective electorate, then the chance that the new constitution would succeed "as a regulator of political conflict at least for the crucial earlier phase" was high.

The report said it was possible that the good relationship currently being enjoyed between Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela could spread among the members of the NP and the ANC themselves.

If that were to prove the case, then it was not unlikely that a Constitutional Negotiation Forum (CNF) could be established by May 31 1991, with a new constitution finalised and adopted "as early as 1992".

No drama in making of the 'new' De Klerk

CML-7uit 18/6/90

THERE was nothing dramatic and no drastic incident in the making of the "new" President FW de Klerk, his brother Mr Willem de Klerk said yesterday.

He had rather applied the logic of policy and had obtained the logic of insight through the exposure to various processes, he wrote in Rapport yesterday.

The first of these was President De Klerk's correct reading of the vote in the National Party caucus when it elected him leader.

"The message was unequivocal that a new way had to be paved.

"The insight grew — and I put that insight in my own words — that apartheid in whatever camouflaged and toned-down form was not part of the solution but part of the problem; and the ANC not part of the problem, but part of

the solution.

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"From his new position, he looked at South Africa with new eyes."

This enabled him to see the unfulfilled possibilities in South Africa, and his intensive contact with a range of people encouraged him that South Africa could make the turn if it jumped.

He added that an incorrect image was created that President De Klerk was over-verkramp. However, he had loyally promoted NP policies in its different phases.

In the latest Rapport opinion survey, also published yesterday, it was found that there was a sharp increase in the number of people who were very satisfied or satisfied with President De Klerk and 44.9% now said they were satisfied or very satisfied, the highest level ever achieved in its surveys.

DP in legal row with 'lousy' Nats

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party executive member who in a confidential letter urged co-leader Dr Denis Worrall to pull the party out of the Umlazi by-election before it took place is now consulting his lawyers about possible legal action against the National Party for intercepting and publicising his letter.

Mr Rory Riordan, who is also director of the Human Rights Trust, last night accused the NP's caucus organisation of being "obviously lousy and weak".

Publication of his letter has, however, exposed a resurgence of tensions within the DP over its split leadership, with Dr Worrall apparently having insisted, against the better judgment of other senior members of the party, on participation in Umlazi even if it divided the reformist vote and gave the seat to the Conservative Party.

It led Mr Riordan to write that

Umlazi could "precipitate a disaster for the party — and for your prospects as leader".

"There appears to be only two possible outcomes — the good one is that we come last and the NP wins, and the bad one is that we come last and the CP wins. The first outcome confirms our irrelevance and the second one emphasises that our continued existence as an independent party to the left of the NP is a potential danger for South Africa.

"Neither result will do anything but frustrate morale among our workers and supporters, and cause a considerable loss of donor and voter support. Far better a timeous withdrawal."

Meanwhile senior party MPs are now openly admitting that the troika is finished, though there is no consensus on who the single leader should be. The Umlazi episode is seen as harming Dr Worrall's chances — as Mr Riordan predicted it would.

Another co-leader, Dr Zach de

Beer, conceded that the DP would no longer seek electoral power under the present constitution, but said the party would rob itself of usefulness if it surrendered its independence and identity.

There is widespread talk, though, of an election pact with the National Party in terms of which the DP would not put up candidates in NP seats and so split the vote in fights with the CP. In return, the NP will stay out of seats now held by the DP.

In another speech in Stellenbosch at the weekend, Dr De Beer he said when the new constitution had been written and established, there would be a need for new political parties capable of representing large cross-sections of the population.

"At that time, it is very likely that the Democratic Party will enter into new coalitions, alliances, even perhaps mergers," Dr De Beer said.

57

851

142
12

648
608

83
98
74

correct place to enquire about them is during the debates on the budget votes which were held not so long ago. *Hansard 17/6/90*

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I should like to know whether he is aware that in a television interview the hon the Deputy Minister envisaged exactly that to which the hon member for Brits referred, namely that it is the ultimate aim of the Government to establish one education department.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, my reply is exactly the same as my reply to the question of the hon member of Brits.

†Mr J H HOON: Are you aware of it?

†The MINISTER: I am aware of the hon the Deputy Minister's standpoint, but that is not what the question here is about. [Interjections.] I am not prepared to compromise myself on a matter that does not fall within the line functions of my portfolio. [Interjections.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask him whether he is ashamed of his party's policy. [Interjections.]

Cape Peninsula: unrest-related deaths

*4. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many persons died in the Cape Peninsula as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989? *Hansard 17/6/90*

B1251E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

In total 18 unnatural deaths were reported to the South African Police on 6, 7 and 8 September 1989. In 10 of these deaths it could be ascertained beyond doubt that the persons died as result of unrest.

In the remaining 8 instances, inquests and criminal trials must still be held. The causes of these deaths will only then be ascertained beyond doubt.

HSRC: views on reform initiatives

*5. Dr F H PAUW asked the Minister of National Education: *Hansard 17/6/90*

(1) Whether the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) does ongoing research on the public's views on the Government

reform initiatives; if so, at whose cost is this research done; *Hansard 17/6/90*

(2) whether it is the policy of the HSRC to grant all inhabitants of the Republic optimal access to available information; if so,

(3) whether all applicable information pertaining to the above-mentioned research will be made available to political parties represented in Parliament; if not, why not; if so, (a) to which political parties and (b) when? *Hansard 17/6/90*

B1255E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) Yes. The HSRC undertakes ongoing research concerning socio-political trends, including the Government's reform initiatives. Research is funded by the HSRC as well as clients.

(2) Yes, but where applicable with the approval of clients.

(3) Yes, but where applicable with the approval of clients.

(a) All political parties.

(b) As soon as arrangements in this regard can be made.

Lithuania/USSR: diplomatic/trade relations

*6. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: *Hansard 17/6/90*

Whether the Government will consider establishing diplomatic and/or trade relations with (a) Lithuania and (b) the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR); if not, why not; if so, when?

B1258A

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

The hon member's question is definitely of current interest. The subjects raised by the Hon Member are delicate and are receiving attention. As soon as any new developments take place announcements will be made in this regard.

Mamelodi business partners: disappearance

*7. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order: *Hansard 17/6/90*

(1) Whether the South African Police have

conducted an investigation into the disappearance in July 1987 of two Mamelodi business partners, whose names have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) when, (b) with what result and (c) what are the names of these persons;

(2) whether the Police received any reports or evidence to suggest that either of these persons had been kidnapped; if so, (a) what reports or evidence and (b) what action was taken as a result;

(3) whether either of these persons had been arrested or detained by the Police shortly before their disappearance; if so, (a) (i) when, (ii) why and (iii) on whose instructions were they arrested or detained and (b) when were they released? *Hansard 17/6/90*

B1257E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2)

The alleged kidnapping of the two persons concerned on 15 July 1987 was reported at the South African Police, Mamelodi. Since then the investigation of the case has continued unabated.

(3) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Certain advocate: appointment as judge

*8. Adv C D DE JAGER asked the Minister of Justice: *Hansard 17/6/90*

(1) Whether he approached a certain advocate, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, with a view to appointment as a judge in the Republic of South Africa; if so,

(2) whether he will furnish the name of the advocate concerned to the House; if not, why not; if so, what is his name;

(3) whether this advocate requested extension to be granted to him so that he could first consult a certain political leader; if so,

(4) whether he will make known the name of this political leader; if not, why not; if so, what is his name;

(5) whether the advocate concerned has furnished a reply to him; if so, what was the purport of the reply? *Hansard 17/6/90*

B1286E

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The State President may in terms of section 10(1)(a) of the Supreme Court Act, 1959 (Act 59 of 1959), appoint fit and proper persons as judges of the Republic of South Africa.

Negotiations which may take place prior to a possible appointment do not always come to my notice. These as well as negotiations of which I am aware, are regarded as confidential and I will continue to regard it as such. I therefore do not find it proper to comment on the hon member's question. He is his party's chief spokesman on justice, however, and I should be glad to discuss the matter with him privately.

An Hung: vandalism

*9. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether any investigations are in progress or have taken place with regard to alleged incidents of vandalism in connection with and theft from the Taiwanese trawler *An Hung* that was wrecked off the South Cape coast in May 1990; if so, what are the relevant details; if not, why not?

B1291E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes.

Two charges in terms of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1951 (Act 57 of 1951) are being investigated by the South African Police at Napier, namely:

The contravention of section 296 — looting a stranded ship, and

the contravention of section 299 — boarding a ship without the permission of the salvage officer.

Mr R J LORIMER: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell us whether any of the stolen goods have been recovered?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, unfortunately I do not have this information. I promise to investigate and inform the hon member.

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Bureau for Information: staff/services

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the State President:

- (1) Whether the Bureau for Information has undergone or is to undergo any alterations in its staff or structure or the services provided by it; if so, (a) when and (b) in what specified ways;
- (2) whether the Bureau is to provide news services; if so, (a) to whom, (b) what will be the format of such services and (c) why?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) Yes.

(a) Since the end of 1989.

(b) The Bureau for Information is at present directly responsible to the State President as its political head, whereas in the past it had its own Minister or Deputy Minister. In accordance with the government policy of rationalisation in the public service, the Bureau has undertaken a study on the commercialisation of its operations. It will soon make recommendations to the Government in this regard.

(2) The Bureau is currently considering the introduction of a news service. However, no final decision has yet been taken on whether such a news service will be launched or on its format or recipients.

- (a) and (b) fall away.
- (c) The aim of such a news service would be to improve the flow of press releases, speeches and news from the Government to the media, to commercial wire services and to the public. The proposed service would not compete with commercial wire services.

(Annexure submitted in Afrikaans only.)

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, can he indicate to us whether proper provision is being made in this new service for differentiating between when Ministers act in their official capacity as Ministers of State and when they act as representatives of the NP?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, in the first place, the new service has not yet been decided upon. It would thus be speculative to go into detail about what exactly is proposed for the new service, if it is decided upon. In the second place the State has not been guilty in the past of doing something other than distributing government information by means of the bureau. We shall continue on the same basis.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply and regarding the services in the past, what criterion was used to differentiate between when a Minister acted in his official capacity as Minister of State and when he acted as member of the NP?

†Hon MEMBERS: Common sense!

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Common sense, Mr Speaker.

Security forces: covert functions

*2. Mr C W EGLIN asked the State President:

- (1) Whether the full investigation into covert functions carried out by the various branches of the security forces, as announced by him, has been completed; if not, when is it anticipated that the investigation will be completed; if so,
- (2) whether he has received a report on the investigation; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (3) whether this report has been submitted to members of the Cabinet; if not, why not; if so, when; *19/6/90*
- (4) whether, as a result of the report, any action has been taken to ensure (a) financial and (b) Cabinet control over covert projects; if not, why not; if so, what action? *304A*

B1297E

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

- (1) Yes.
- (2) Yes: An interim report has been received.

(3) The report has already been submitted to the Committee for Security Affairs. After deliberation thereof, it will be submitted to the Cabinet for approval. *19/6/90*

(4) (a) and (b) *304A*

Decisions regarding Cabinet accountability with regard to the approval of actions and funds have already been taken. Final steps and decisions will be taken as soon as the report has been approved by the Cabinet.

Ministers:

CCB: persons on lists

*1. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order: *19/6/90*

- (1) Whether he has taken note of the names of persons appearing on lists compiled by the Civil Co-operation Bureau, as revealed in evidence before the Harms Commission; if not, why not; if so,
- (2) whether any steps have been taken to ensure the safety of these persons; if not, why not; if so, what steps? *19/6/90*

B1209E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes. The names of three individuals were mentioned in evidence before the Harms Commission.
- (2) These persons receive the normal Police protection to which every citizen is entitled. Up until now the Police have not yet received a request to make special arrangements regarding the safety of these persons.

†Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he furnish us with the names of the three persons he is referring to? To the best of my knowledge, the names of more than three persons were mentioned before the Harms Commission in this regard.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the names that I have available and of which we have taken note are those of Gavin Mark Evans, Abdul Omar and Quinsa Mhlabo.

Mr Stanza Bopape: disappearance

*2. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order: *19/6/90*

Answer

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 13 on 25 April 1989, any progress has been made in the investigation into the disappearance of Mr Stanza Bopape from police custody on 12 June 1988; if so, what progress; *19/6/90*

(2) whether he will provide to the Harms Commission the names of the members of the South African Police Force who allegedly accompanied Mr Bopape in a police vehicle on the day of his disappearance; if so, when; if not, why not? *19/6/90*

B1211E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) An intensive investigation under the personal supervision of Lieutenant-General Jaap Joubert has since continued and is still continuing unabated.
- (2) Yes, should such a request be received from the Harms Commission.

One education department

*3. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education:† *19/6/90*

What is the policy of his Department in regard to one education department for the Republic of South Africa? *19/6/90*

B1246E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

The provisions of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act provide the framework for the existing structures for the provision of education. The responsibility for making proposals for the amendment of the Constitution is vested in the Government.

It is not the responsibility of my Department of Education and Training to maintain an independent policy relating to the question of a single education department for the Republic of South Africa.

†Mr A GERBER: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell us firstly whether he is aware of a statement that his hon Deputy Minister made, and secondly whether he agrees with the statement that this particular hon Deputy Minister envisages one education department for the Republic of South Africa?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the question was about the policy of the Department and I replied to that question. If the hon member has problems with the standpoints of Ministers, the

NEWS

Chairman rescues Worrall

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party national council chairman David Gant has come to the rescue of embattled DP co-leader Denis Worrall.

Mr Gant issued a statement yesterday denying reports that Dr Worrall was the "decisive factor or the architect" of the DP's decision to enter the disastrous Umlazi by-election.

DP sources said last night that although Mr Gant's statement was factually true, it hid the fact that at several of the meetings to discuss the Umlazi by-election, Dr Worrall had "steam-rolled" the party into fighting.

There were apparently heated exchanges between Dr Worrall and co-leader Zach de Beer at a caucus meeting yesterday to discuss Umlazi.

Discussion will continue at the regular caucus meeting tomorrow.

Mr Gant denied suggestions that the DP was calling a federal congress to review its leadership as a result of Umlazi.

He said the decision to bring forward the federal congress to this year — and discuss the leadership issue — had been taken before Umlazi.

He confirmed that, as a result of Umlazi, the party had agreed to reconsider contesting by-elections where this could help the Conservative Party.

Mr Gant said press reports that Dr Worrall was responsible for the decision to fight Umlazi — against the advice of other leaders and the Natal leadership — were "distorted".

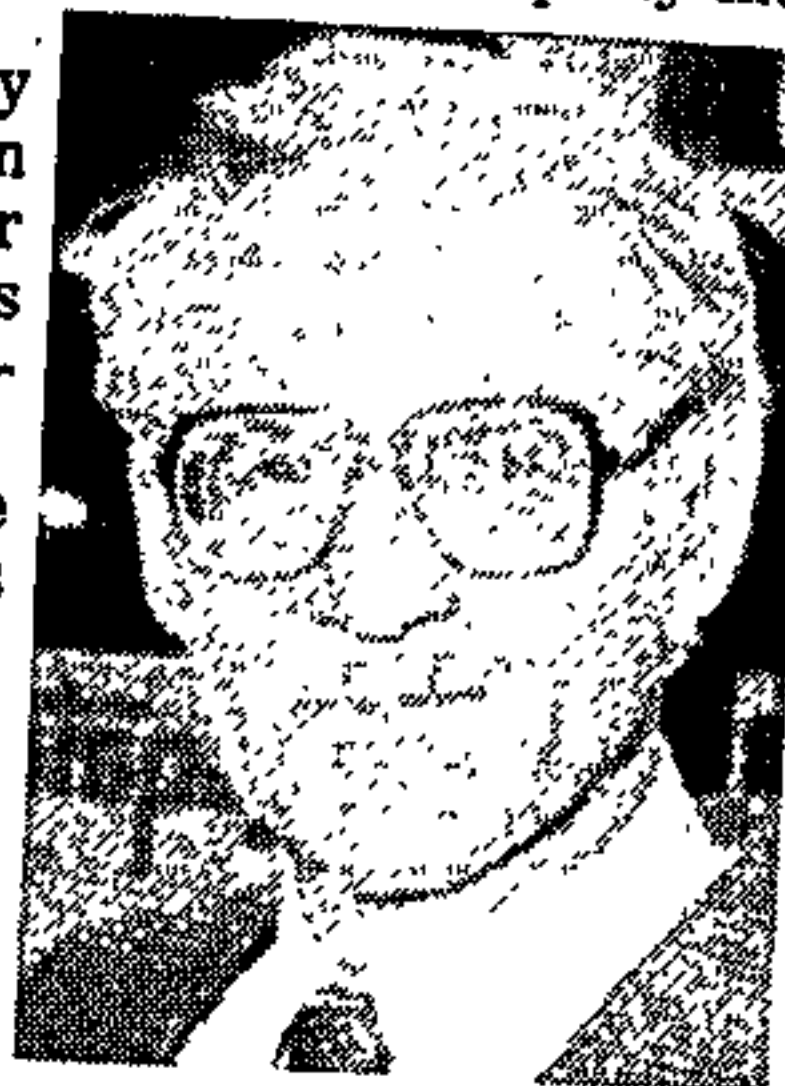
On March 8 a full meeting of the regional council of Natal Coast had voted in favour of contesting the election by 140 to 3.

During the last few weeks of the election campaign, certain caucus members approached the leadership to ask if the DP should not pull out.

"The leaders decided unanimously to continue."

Mr Gant said the DP would work for the inclusion of the CP in the negotiation process, but rejected its confrontational politics.

He said the federal congress later this year was primarily intended to discuss the party's reviewed policy on negotiations, the constitution, the economy, health, education and the environment.



Denis Worrall.

19/6/90

future SA

it his 'vision' to Canadians



THANKS: ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela acknowledges the cheers of the Canadian parliament after his historic speech in Ottawa. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is on the right.

Gunman mows down 13 then kills himself

JACKSONVILLE (Florida). — A man whose car had been repossessed gunned down customers and employees at an financing agency, killing eight people and critically wounding six before committing suicide, police said.

"He just started walking through the building and shooting," Sheriff James McMillan said.

The gunman used a semi-automatic rifle and a .38 revolver.

"It was just a terrible, terrible, senseless thing," said Mr McMillan.

The shootings occurred inside the General Motors Acceptance Corp. building, the car-financing arm of General Motors.

Most of the shots apparently came from the rifle. — Sapa-AP.

Special praise for FW in ANC leader's speeches

The Argus Foreign Service
TORONTO. — Mr Nelson Mandela gave special praise to President F W de Klerk in three of his speeches in Canada yesterday.

The deputy-president of the ANC told a joint sitting of the Canadian houses of parliament that the recent talks between the ANC and the South African government were a victory for all South Africans.

"We are determined to implement the agreement that resulted from those negotiations, and we believe the government is of the same view."

Mr Mandela said it would be only fair to indicate that he and the ANC saw Mr De Klerk and his colleagues in the leadership of the National Party as men and women of integrity.

The fact that an agreement had been reached with the government at Groote Schuur

demonstrated the bona fides of the De Klerk leadership.

At a Press conference, Mr Mandela said there was a will, from the point of view of the ANC as well as the government, to reach a negotiated settlement as soon as possible.

At a rally in Toronto, Mr Mandela said he had to emphasise he did not at all question the integrity of President De Klerk and his colleagues and he accepted the government would abide by the agreement it made with the ANC in Cape Town in May.

But he said it was important that Canada double, and redouble, its efforts in applying pressure on South Africa to end apartheid.

Apartheid remained firmly in place and not until it had been irrevocably ended would it be safe to lift sanctions, he said.



President F W de Klerk with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, left, and Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike after De Klerk's talks in Cape Town yesterday with five non-independent homeland leaders. (304A)

Picture: REUTERS

Real negotiations 'are top priority'

Political Staff

3048

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and five non-independent homeland leaders yesterday agreed that real negotiations about a new constitution should start "as soon as possible" and there should be efficient government in the process.

The homeland leaders, De Klerk, the four provincial Administrators, the various Commissioners-General and Chairmen of the Ministers' Councils in the three chambers of Parliament, agreed that constitutional negotiations should be "the highest priority".

A previously scheduled similar meeting has called off when only two homeland leaders, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and QwaQwa Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli, ignored ANC pressure not to attend.

● Picture: Page 3

Leaders discuss Govt efficiency

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk met five non-independent homeland leaders yesterday for talks focusing on the need for "efficient government" during the transition period to a new South Africa.

Also present were members of government's negotiating team, members of the three ministers' councils, the four provincial administrators, and the six commissioners-general.

The only absentee was Mr Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa who is involved with an election.

When the last set of talks were scheduled, only Mr Mopeli and KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi arrived, as the other homeland leaders obeyed calls from ANC deputy-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, not to attend.

In a statement after the talks, Mr De Klerk said that they had covered a broad spectrum, focusing mainly on recent developments on both the European and African scenes as they concerned South Africa, and on the way ahead to the new South Africa.

The statement said different viewpoints had been expressed but that it had been agreed that the "common interests, aspirations and needs of all South Africans" required:

● Efficient government and administration at all levels both before and during the negotiation process;

● Economic growth and job creation to fight poverty and ensure business and investment confidence;

● An end to intimidation and political and other violence, not only for the sake of reconciliation but also because a new, peaceful just society could not be attained through violence;

● The "responsible" use of peaceful protest;

● The involvement of all political entities committed to peace and with a proven support base in negotiations; and

● "Real" negotiations for a new constitution to be the highest priority.

The statement added that all present would direct their efforts at the achievement of these goals.

The leaders are to meet again for a full day's deliberations shortly — probably in August.

Yesterday's talks took place against the background of delay in talks about talks with the ANC, which is now only scheduled to present its reaction to the working committee report on political prisoners and exiles on July 10.

And, it would appear Mr De Klerk was anxious to show that government's negotiation efforts had not collapsed.



JOKES ASIDE . . . The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, (at left) cracks a joke with the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the start of yesterday's talks between the government and the leaders of the six non-independent homelands. Others in the front are: Mr Noko Ramodike, the chief minister of Lebowa, President F W de Klerk, and Professor Hudson Nisanwisi, the Chief Minister of Gazankulu.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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Bank Bill should give SA a boost

PARLIAMENT — It was to be hoped that South African assistance in establishing a sophisticated reserve bank for Namibia would pave the way for this country's return to the bosom of the international financial community, Louis de Waal (DP, North Rand) said yesterday.

Speaking in the second reading debate on the Extension of the Powers of the South African Reserve Bank Bill, he said it underscored the positive and stabilising role South Africa had to play in the economic affairs of its African neighbours. — Sapa.

More white voters are happy with FW

Rowe for 11/6/90 304A

SINCE FW de Klerk became State President there has been a sharp increase in the number of white voters who are happy with the policies and actions of the

Staff Reporter

Government - but there has also been an increase in the number who are unhappy with it.

In a Marken Mening-

sopname opinion poll commissioned by the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*, it was found that 44,9 percent of voters are "very happy" or "happy" with the Government.

This is the highest figure recorded since the first such poll in 1980.

The number who were "very unhappy" in 1980 was only 4,3 percent which grew to 10 percent by 1987.

Under De Klerk, the figure grew to 13,4 percent in November last year and to 21,6 percent by May this year.

Focus on DP leadership

CH-7mB 19/6/90
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent 306A

THE intense debate on the future role of the Democratic Party and its troika leadership will be resumed at a special parliamentary caucus meeting today.

Most caucus members appear to favour dumping the three-person leadership format — an arrangement endorsed by a comfortable majority of rank-and-file party members at federal congress in Durban about a year ago.

However, any change in the leadership structure will have to be approved by another federal congress.

The timing and venue of such a congress still have to be finalised but

party members are mentioning dates ranging from August to October.

Although opposition among MPs to the troika system has been spurred by the DP's poor showing in the Umlazi by-election, it is by no means a foregone conclusion that this sentiment will be mirrored by the party's grassroots supporters.

Indeed, the DP Cape Western region decided by a substantial margin on May 31 to reject a return to the one-person leader format.

While the party does not intend to ignore its role in white electoral politics in coming months, the leadership has emphasised the DP's bridge-building role in extra-parliamentary politics.



De Klerk's homeland talks 'positive'

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk and leaders of the self-governing homelands are to continue efforts to remove stumbling blocks to negotiations following a meeting at Tuynhuys.

According to a statement from the president's office they agreed that real negotiations for a new constitution should be the highest priority and should start as soon as possible.

Some of the chief ministers said however that they were not prepared to go into talks right away.

STUMBLING BLOCKS

Mr M N Ramodika of Lebowa said the Group Areas Act and the continued state of emergency in Natal were some of the stumbling blocks.

Homeland leaders agreed that all the obstacles could not be removed at once and that there was the need to have further talks, Mr Ramodika said.

Mr De Klerk's statement confirmed that there would be another meeting soon.

Mr Ramodika said the government and the African National Congress were co-partners in the effort to solve problems amicably. He was therefore prepared to speak to the ANC as well as to the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the meeting had been positive.

Violence and how to bring stability to the country had been considered.

Mr De Klerk said while different viewpoints had

been discussed those present had agreed that the common interests, aspirations and needs of all South Africans required that:

- There should be efficient government and administration at national, regional and local levels before and during the process of negotiating a new constitutional dispensation;

- Economic growth and development were needed to create jobs, to fight poverty and to ensure business and investment confidence in the country and the Southern African region;

- Intimidation and political and other violence should cease, not only for the sake of reconciliation but also because a new, peaceful, just and prosperous South Africa could not be attained through violence and destructive and unjust methods;

- Peaceful protest as a political method should be used sparingly and responsibly because of its disruptive and emotive effects;

- For a new constitutional dispensation to be eventually approved and supported by the majority of South Africans all political entities and interests committed to peaceful solutions and having a proven base of support should be involved in negotiating a new constitution.

Apart from the chief ministers and representatives of Lebowa, Kwandebele, Kangwane, Gazankulu, Kwazulu and Qwa Qwa the meeting was attended by the four provincial administrators, a number of cabinet ministers and the chairmen of the three ministers' councils in Parliament.



Mr De Klerk



Chief Buthelezi

"NO mama, I don't believe you," the servants giggled when Minah Nkosi told them she, also a black, was a guest in a white home.

Nkosi was strolling with her hostess, Jessie Jameson, when they met the off-duty maids chatting on a grassy verge in the prosperous whites-only Johannesburg suburb of Edenvale.

"Then apartheid is over," one exclaimed when Nkosi convinced them that not only were she and Jameson friends, but that the white woman had stayed in her own black township home.

After 40 years of race segregation, the South African Government has at last sat down with the African National Congress to discuss ending apartheid.

But while President F W de Klerk has tea with ANC leader Nelson Mandela, ordinary South Africans rarely socialise across the racial divide.

Barriers

The law restricting movement between black townships and white suburbs has been scrapped, but stubborn psychological barriers persist and blacks and whites rarely entertain one another at home.

Nkosi and Jameson belong to a Christian group called Koinonia (fellowship), trying to break down those barriers.

They and other Koinonia members recently met at the home of a white couple, Reg and Maureen Jager, for a "braaivleis" or barbecue.

"Blacks from work used to help me out at home sometimes, but it was awkward when we sat down to eat," said Reg Jager, whose wife belongs to Koinonia.

"But this is different," he added, glancing at black faces tucking into meat and salad around his garden table.

The visitors came from Tembisa, 10km from Jager's home.

Welcome

The black townships of South Africa are strange, unknown places for most whites. They are almost never visited and usually they are invisible from white cities. Whites know of them only through newspapers when there are outbreaks of anti-apartheid violence.

When Maureen went off to spend her first weekend in Tembisa with 60 other whites, her con-

servative husband refused to get involved. Her mother cried in fear for her safety and her nine-year-old son exclaimed: "Gosh, mom, you've got courage."

But she returned home unscathed and struck by the warmth of the welcome she had received.

She was also appalled by the conditions in which black people live in the areas allowed them under racial zoning laws. The tiny homes are overcrowded and commonly lack basic facilities such as electricity and bathrooms.

She invited her hosts, Peter and

Genevieve Matsobane, back to Edenvale.

"I was a little bit dubious about how my husband and children would react," said Maureen.

Hardening

"But Reg handled the situation with great ease. I was surprised by how similar they were with their philosophical approach to life."

A few years ago, Jager, a pharmaceutical salesman, and

Matsobane, a plumber, would have been enemies.

"Jager served for more than two years as an army conscript while Matsobane served in the then-outlawed Pan Africanist Congress.

Jager blames military service, compulsory for all white males, for hardening his attitude towards blacks.

Matsobane is not bitter about the past, although he said he was arrested and tortured by police.

"We must just forgive and forget. I think most blacks have done that," he said.

Jager was amazed to hear Matsobane say he now shares his admiration for reformist president De Klerk and would vote for him if he carries out his promise to give blacks the vote.

Matsobane and the other blacks seemed quite relaxed in the comparative luxury of Jager's house and garden. Their children played together happily by the swimming pool.

Awkward

The blacks were struck by the quiet of Edenvale compared with Tembisa, where 16 people often cram into a four-roomed house and privacy is virtually unknown.

While conversation began awkwardly with talk of black and white social customs, the party was soon laughing over the past.

"A few years ago if you had a gathering like this you would be called a communist," said Jessie Jameson.

"And we would have been called 'sell-outs'," said Nkosi.

In the warm afternoon sunshine, both possibilities seemed as hazy as the smoke rising from the barbecue. - Sapa-Reuters.

Straddling the racial divide



While Mandela and F W de Klerk enjoy tea at Tuynhuys, few South Africans ever socialise across racial barriers.

FOCUS

Sowetan
14/6/92

304A

NV

HERE are moments, these days, when I catch myself glowing with pride and pleasure to be a South African, to be living in this place at this time.

Such a moment came last week when I read a speech by Thami Mazwai, business editor of the Sowetan, in which he disclosed the dirty little secret of South African journalism: for some years, censorship by the black community — from the left, if you like — has been as bad as censorship by government. We have fallen into self-censorship.

Mazwai says the pressures from government, from "the community", and from newspaper "bosses" and their lawyers, combined to ensure that 60% of the story never found its way into print. He is saying what every South African editor knows — that there are aspects, of recent events that white reporters cannot reach, and black reporters will not tell for fear of the necklache.

All reporters take risks — in the course of a long career, I have been stoned, thumped, shot at, cut, thrown into a fountain, teargassed, and frightened out of my wits — but the necklache is not an ordinary risk. As Mazwai says, after narrow escapes from death by fire, quite a lot of black journalists wanted to leave the profession. Some did.

Two names deserve a special place on a roll of honour in the new South Africa. The first is Nomavenda Mathiane, the liberal writer who has dared to puncture the revolutionary myths and the pretensions of Soweto, and whose book (*Beyond the Headlines — Truths of Soweto Life*) is now on sale. The second is Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan, who set for his staff an example of cold courage by resisting, at its height, the bloodthirsty reign of the comrades.

The history of those years from 1984 to 1989 (and, in Natal, to this day) waits to be written. It was a time when the nation seemed finally to have lost its moral compass, when the security forces were descending

Oh dear, this place is starting to make me too sentimental!

KEN OWEN

into the depravity which is only now beginning to be uncovered by judicial commissions, and when a mirror-depravity was taking hold in the townships.

Few of us escaped a blunting of sensibilities. When a young woman from Natal was murdered in Lesotho by our army (what would General Dan Pienaar, or Sailor Malan, or all the others who fought the Nazis, have said about such a slaughter of civilians?), and turned out to be a friend of my secretary, it seemed just a sign of the times. Author Jenny Hobbs, displaying a quicker sense of humanity, saw a photograph of the murdered girl, and was moved to build a novel around it.

That was the time, too, when foreign correspondents, tipped off in advance, sauntered into the townships, local groupies in tow, to photograph the horrors laid on for them ("photo opportunities", as the jargon runs) by depraved little beasts who should have been in school.

The party line, assiduously put out abroad by a Press that would not, or could not, tell 60% of the story, ran something like this: a new generation of "young lions", enraged beyond endurance by apartheid, were bringing the self-outs, like black mayors or

councillors or policemen, to the people's justice: burn, baby, burn.

The "line" exploited an atavistic racism in Western societies, captured in a single vivid image by J M Coetzee in *Waiting for the Barbarians*: a dark hand reaching from under a bed to seize a woman's ankle. But the intent was more than voyeurism: it was to conceal the terrorism by which the black communities as a whole — not only the reporters — were being driven to conform.

The message of the necklache was fascist: march in lockstep, or die horribly. The battle still rages along the line where Inkatha and the UDF vie for territory, for control, for power. Bruce Nelan, the veteran *Time* magazine correspondent who made an honest attempt to grasp what was happening in this country and to report it truthfully, left in the end with a bitter valedictory: "You South Africans deserve each other."

What could one say? Powerful newspaper groups were, as Mazwai suggests, running to their lawyers and to the courts to make a show of dedication to Press freedom, but

they were rarely reporting the news. Other lawyers were collecting one-sided affidavits to show that this side, or that side, was the villain. Policemen became killers, soldiers assassins, and priests turned into propagandists.

Anti-censorship groups censored their critics, liberal universities silenced liberals, phony committees sprang up to throw their weight into the struggle, one way or another, and always in the name of justice. Fighting apartheid became the justification for any behaviour, including necklaching, and it became impossible to tell which moral outrage was real, and which was simply theatre. We lived under a regimen of lies and half-truths, 60% in the dark.

Few of us, I suspect, will escape the judgment of history for what happened in the Eighties, but there were redemptive exceptions: Anglican bishops, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, plunged into blood-thirsty crowds to save lives, or condemned openly the barbarity of the struggle. Some people, as Mazwai records, were saved from the necklache by compassionate comrades: the depravity was pervasive but not universal.

Even so, it is something of a miracle now, scarcely half a year into the new decade, that South Africans in tens of thousands have joined what the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Corbett, has called "a broad stream of human movement towards the creation of a new South Africa". It implies an irrepressible moral impulse in the varied people of this country or, if you like, in humankind. It is reason for the soaring hope that I, for one, feel for the future.

Hardly a day passes without some evidence of moral regeneration, which always begins with the confession of error. It is not only Thami Mazwai who cries, *Mea culpa*. Zach de Beer, looking up his own early speeches in order to tell the government "I told you so", finds that long ago — before the 1954 landmark judgment of the American Supreme Court in *Brown vs Board of Education* — he himself defended social segregation.

Never before have we examined ourselves or our future with such earnest attention. Constitutions shuttle to and fro, capitalists argue with Marxists, commissions and committees compile lists of human rights. There has never been so much talk about rights, or such concern about justice, in this country.

Albie Sachs dares to criticise censorship imposed in the name of "the struggle". Joe Slovo has shifted from Stalinism to the funny economics of Gorbachev, which is progress of a sort. The ANC itself talks more of growth than of nationalisation, and woos investors who, in turn, quarrel with each other whether to use the word "reparations" when they mean economic justice.

These are early days, the dangers are obvious, but more and more people like Thami Mazwai are stepping forward to say, "*Mea culpa*, I was wrong", to tell the truth, and to reaffirm the basic principles of a free society. It is a new dawn and I am beginning to think, rather proudly, that we South Africans deserve each other. But, then, I do tend to lapse into sentimentality.

DP argues for a fair deal on taxation of emigrants

CAPE TOWN — Foreign investors who had bought Eskom stock with SA rands would now have to pay tax on the interest, but it was not fair this should be made retrospective, DP Pinelands MP Jasper Walsh said yesterday.

He said this provision in the Income Tax Bill, which was debated in Parliament yesterday, would largely apply to emigrants who would be greatly disadvantaged.

"There is no strong lobby group for emigrants, many of whom will have left the country when there was little hope of a peaceful political settlement.

"Hopefully some of these

Political Staff

people will now be reconsidering their position."

Walsh said this provision should apply only to those who acquired Eskom stock after a specified date.

Walsh also said inestimable millions of rands were not collected in tax because of the lack of suitably qualified staff in the Receiver of Revenue's offices.

Walsh said unfilled staff positions existed and continued to remain unfilled due to a lack of supply of suitably qualified staff.

"The best financial brains in the country are matched against the Revenue office staff. The former are able to command high fees for their services. The latter are restricted to civil service salaries. And the beneficiaries are professional people and top executives. The shortfall has to be made up somehow.

"The losers are the salary and wage earners. And,

in the case of indirect taxes such as VAT and GST, the public at large."

Walsh said he believed the system of taxation through the appropriate legislation should be scrupulously fair.

Sapa reports that CP finance spokesman Casper Uys welcomed government's moves towards separate taxation of married women, but regretted that this could not be fully implemented now.

Broader

He said he understood the problem of possible manipulation on women's income, but felt that if there were irregularities they could be dealt with through existing methods.

DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said in the debate it would be suicidal to increase the tax rate.

He said what was needed to produce more revenue was a broader tax base.

"The more people earn, the more tax can be levied, and the programmes for job creation can thus be seen as producing more revenue for the state, which will assist in the redistributive process."

Tax evasion and, in some cases an inability to collect tax due to social and political disorder, were problems which confronted the Exchequer.

Indirect taxation was normally the most acceptable form of taxation when there were not massive income gaps. When there was massive evasion or non-payment of direct taxation, the fiscus turned inevitably to greater indirect taxation and forms of indirect taxation. VAT was such a tax.

The process of taxation had not been equitable until now, as in respect of certain social services there had been colour discrimination. Stopping the discrimination would have a redistributive effect.

No petrol price rise expected during June

NO PETROL price increase was expected for June following the recent downward movement of international product prices, the National Energy Council (NEC) said at the weekend.

In May PWV motorists underpaid 2,776c/l for 93 octane petrol. The amount they had been underpaying had steadily increased from 0,221c/l in January to 4,893c/l in April.

May's figures represented a break in this trend because lower international market prices resulted in the landed cost of 93-

ZILLA EFRAT

Octane falling from 49,035c/l in April to 46,918c/l in May.

For the first time this year, SA motorists overpaid for their diesel in May. During this month, diesel moved into an over-recovery position of 0,763c/l following April's under-recovery position of 0,259c/l.

The landed cost of diesel fell from 44,409c/l in April to 43,387c/l in May due to lower international prices.

DP to debate troika issue today

CAPE TOWN — The intense debate on the future role of the DP and its troika leadership structure will be resumed at a special parliamentary caucus meeting today.

Most caucus members appear to favour dumping the three-person leadership format — an arrangement endorsed by a comfortable majority of rank-and-file party members at the federal congress in Durban about a year ago.

However, any change in the leadership structure will have to be approved by another federal congress.

The timing and venue of such a congress still have to be finalised, but party members are mentioning possible dates ranging from August to October.

Although opposition among MPs to the troika system has been spurred by the DP's

Political Staff

poor showing during the Umlazi by-election, it is by no means a forgone conclusion that this sentiment will be mirrored by the party's grassroots supporters.

Indeed, the DP Cape Western region decided by a substantial margin to reject a return to the one-person leader format on May 31.

Today's caucus meeting will also continue the process of examining the party's future role in view of the Umlazi setback.

While the party does not intend to ignore its role in white electoral politics in coming months, the party leadership has indicated its bridge-building role is in extra-parliamentary politics.

CO

vestments

ded

28 February 1990 R'000	28 February 1989 R'000
88 665	53 884
1 848	2 693
1 001	962
847	1 731
208	504
639	1 227
—	1
639	1 226
	962

and carried out mainly in the Witwatersrand area, and could not be extrapolated to estimate national statistics.

Umlazi 'will not stop govt'

Business Day Reporter

304A

THE NP's setback in the Umlazi by-election would not cause government to abandon either its plans to repeal racial laws or negotiation, SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman said in Amsterdam yesterday.

Addressing a luncheon hosted by an SA merchant bank and attended by businessmen, diplomats, government officials and the media, Kane-Berman said: "The die is cast: even if Mr de Klerk wanted to go back, there is nowhere to go back to."

He said the process of change in SA was irreversible — apartheid was going the way of Humpty-Dumpty — it could not be put back together again.

Most apartheid laws had "already gone the way of Humpty-Dumpty" and the rest would follow soon.

Kane-Berman said if a rightist government ever came to power, it would not be able to reimpose apartheid. If it tried to do so, it would provoke violent resistance.

"Can anyone seriously imagine that a CP government would be able to ban black trade unions, as the CP has threatened to do?" he said.

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989.....	668
February 1989 — June 17 1990.....	1 058
Past 24 hours' official toll.....	1
TOTAL:.....	1 727

DP to hold early congress

B 10 29 20/6/70 304A

POLITICS—

CAPE TOWN — The DP is to hold a federal congress this year and has reconsidered contesting further by-elections in view of the Umlazi result.

Its parliamentary caucus issued a statement yesterday saying the decision to call an early congress had been taken before the Umlazi by-election and had nothing to do with any problem regarding Denis Worrall's position as a co-leader.

The caucus wanted to rectify media reports reflecting "inaccurate and distorted perceptions" of his role in the by-election.

It would reconsider participating in by-elections which could benefit the CP but this should not be seen as total withdrawal from white electoral politics, the caucus said.

Explaining financial arrange-

ments to meet the costs of the by-election, the caucus noted that the final decision to fight it rested with the Natal Regional Executive. The full Regional Council voted in favour of contesting it by 140 votes to three.

After detailing further dealings regarding funding and a "reasonably positive" report on canvassing results, the caucus said certain members of the party had approached the leadership separately in the last weeks of the campaign, asking that consideration be given to withdrawing from the contest.

The poor result triggered growing speculation that Worrall had made a serious blunder which required consideration of whether the party should revert to a single leader or retain its three-man team.

This the caucus denies in its state-

ment.

The DP's biennial congress is only due next year.

The statement said it had, however, been acknowledged all along that the leadership issue would be raised at such a congress as well as policy position reviews on a range of other issues.

All three leaders and "many caucus members" had met and discussed the Umlazi election, and the decision to contest was democratic, taken in terms of the party's constitution.

On the basis of the canvassing tallies indicating the party's potential support, there had been no reason for the leadership to override the party structure's decisions, and reports implying Worrall was the decisive factor, or the architect of the decision, were incorrect. — Sapa.

Parliament scraps cornerstone of racial segregation

CAPE TOWN — The Separate Amenities Act, a cornerstone of racial segregation for 37 years, was scrapped by an overwhelming majority of votes in all three Houses of Parliament yesterday.

The passing of the Discriminatory Legislation regarding Public Amenities Repeal Bill removed the legal base for excluding anyone on the basis of race from any public facility.

Only the Conservative Party voted against the Bill in the House of Assembly.

Promised

The Bill was passed in the House of Assembly by 105 votes to 38, with one abstention. The House of Representatives and the House of Delegates passed the Bill unanimously.

The repeal of the Separate Amenities Act was promised by the President F W de Klerk in his February 2 opening address to Parliament.

The Act was responsible for separating South Africans at every public amen-

ity from city halls and railway stations to park benches and toilets.

De Klerk has promised that the Group Areas Act and the Land Act are next in line for repeal.

The Group Areas and Land Acts are due to be replaced by "protective" legislation next year, while the remaining apartheid law, the Race Classification Act, is earmarked to be removed when the new constitution is negotiated.

Government insists the Race Classification Act must remain as long as it is the foundation of the tricameral constitution.

During debate yesterday, Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said the Bill would destroy whites' rights to self-determination in every facet of daily life.

It gave substance to a new SA in which a black majority ANC government would rule and the NP did not have a mandate for the legislation, Hoon said.

Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said his party supported the Bill unhesitatingly. — Sapa.

1907

WEDNESDAY, 20 JUNE 1990

1908

consent of the Department of Manpower and the Department of Home Affairs.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, he says that the Government is not involved, but the Government is involved because the Government issues visas and work permits. However, is it not true that the Department of Manpower recommended to the Department of Home Affairs that workers only be contracted from Spain and West Germany and, if so, does the contracting of these foreign workers from Portugal and Turkey represent, therefore, a deviation from the conditions laid down by the department?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the policy set out by the Department of Home Affairs and the hon the Minister of Home Affairs as to who might or might not be contracted is another question. I would like to advise the hon member to put those questions on the Question Paper so that we can answer them next time. [Interjections.]

For written reply:

Own Affairs:

Management/local affairs committees
4. Mr W J DIETRICH asked the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture:

- (1) Whether any (a) management and (b) local affairs committees falling under his Department are no longer functioning; if so, (i) how many, (ii) for how long, and (iii) where are they situated, in each case;
- (2) whether any of these management and local affairs committees are controlled by political parties represented in the House of Representatives; if so, (a) how many and (b) by which political party in each case;

- (3) whether the functions of these committees are being administered by other bodies; if so, by which bodies;

- (4) whether any savings have been effected as a result of these functions being so administered; if so, what savings;

- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

20/6/90 C107E
The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND AGRICULTURE:

- (1) Management and local affairs committees do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Department but under the Provincial Administrations. Information has been obtained from them to answer questions (1)(a), (b)(i), (ii) and (iii).

(a) Yes/...

- (1) (a) Yes.

(b) No.

(i) 5 management committees.

(ii) From March/April 1990.

(iii) Cape: Ashton, Elliot and Robertson.

Transvaal: Boksburg and Witbank.

- (2) No.

(a) No.

(a) and (b) fall away.

- (3) Yes — The Provincial Administrations and the parent local authorities.

- (4) Do not know as the functions are administered by the Provincial Administrations and the parent local authorities.

- (5) No.

1909

WEDNESDAY, 20 JUNE 1990

1910

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

*Precedence given to questions on general affairs on this day pursuant to the resolution adopted by the House on Tuesday, 19 June 1990.

QUESTIONS

+ Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Question standing over from Wednesday, 13 June 1990:

Single Chamber of Parliament

*1 Mr D K PADIACHEY asked the State President:

Whether he will consider dissolving the existing three Houses of Parliament and taking legislative steps to convert them into a single Chamber of Parliament comprising all current members of Parliament to act as an interim legislative authority while a new constitutional dispensation is being negotiated; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

20/6/90 D224E
The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT (for the State President):

No. There are various reasons which render such a step inappropriate namely, *inter alia*, the following:

- (1) The Government does not have a mandate for such a fundamental interim amendment of the Constitution.

- (2) It is essential that fundamental constitutional amendments be preceded by peaceful negotiations between all interested parties which enjoy substantial support.

- (3) Such an amendment of the Constitution will not contribute to the broadening of democracy among all South African citizens. At the same time it will destroy the protection of minorities as provided for the present Constitution, without replacing it with something else. To this the Government will not accede.

Mr M RAJAB: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply — he has in fact replied on behalf of the hon the State President — may I ask him, more particularly in view of a newspaper report which was published in the *Daily News* on Monday of this week, whether he could tell us whether the hon the State President has in fact received a request from the Ministers' Council of this House to in fact dissolve this House?

20/6/90
The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am not in a position to reply to that question.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply — if it is possible for him to reply — in response to the explanation given by him in respect of the mandate, is it not correct that the *de facto* situation is that we are actually functioning as one Chamber, and the mandate which the Government has had was already in respect of the removal of discrimination, and the three Chambers are in fact discriminatory? Would the hon the Minister not consider that the combining of the three Chambers into one is — shall I say — a programme to remove discrimination within the mandate that the Government received in the election last year?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the Government is firmly committed to, and has also clearly expressed during the past election, the view that the present Constitution is unacceptable in terms of a truly democratic constitution and that it has to be replaced by a new constitution providing for political participation of all South Africans at all levels of government. However, the view of the Government, which it expressed during the election, and for which it has also received a mandate, is that any new constitution should be the result of peaceful negotiations amongst the leaders of all parties committing themselves to peaceful negotiations and enjoying substantial support.

Minister:

Meeting: teachers' organisations

*1. Mr H M NEERAHO asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether he and/or his Department was involved in a meeting attended by representatives of teachers' organisations and held early in June 1990; if so, what was the

The paper for a changing South Africa

WIM MAIL

Volume 6, Number 20 Friday June 1 1990 to Thursday June 7 1990

**Warring
soldiers come
face to face ...
and peace
breaks out**

PAGE 9

TerreBlanche names his military chief

By CHARLES LEONARD



Eugene TerreBlanche

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) yesterday named the chief of its military commandos.

He is Colonel Servaas de Wet, who retired in June last year as the South African Police's divisional inspector in Krugersdorp. He has been a district commissioner in Windhoek and Cape Town. The ex-policeman will carry the rank of commandant general in the AWB's private army.

Earlier, an emotional Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB, called on a meeting of heavily armed supporters not to allow anyone to take away their weapons. Such threats had been made by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

Several AWB supporters held a variety of weapons aloft when he roared: "Beware the *donner* who tries to take away a Boer's weapon!"

TerreBlanche made this call yesterday at a joint Republic Day celebration of the AWB and the Her-

stigie Nasionale Party (HNP) at the Waterfall Festival Terrain in Johannesburg.

"We talk with microphones and loudspeakers," he told his audience, "but you will have to act through the barrel of a gun. You will have to kill!"

The predominantly khaki-clad audience responded with: "We will! we will!"

TerreBlanche said that the last white man who was without his weapon for a short while was Piet Retief who was killed by the forces of Dingaan. He called the African National Congress leaders present-day Dingaans and Mzilikazis.

He warned his followers that once they attend meetings without weapons the ANC would "stream" to AWB meetings and kill them.

Addressing himself to the ANC, he said: "If you want war, we will give you war. We will chase you back into the homelands!"

●To PAGE 2

AWB military 'commander' named

To shouts like "Hang Mandela!" and "Kaffir!" he told the ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela to keep his "claws of our wives and children". 1161-716190

In what was one of his most militant speeches, TerreBlanche said that the AWB would never accept an ANC government: "That night we will make war."

"Numbers never count when the spirit is willing in a struggle," he told the audience of about 500 people. "History is made by individuals and small groups of people."

He said that the Boers are at their best when their numbers are few and

they do not carry any "passengers" with them into battle.

He again called on the Conservative Party to resign en masse from the "mixed guinea-fowl illegal parliament" to force the government into a general election.

TerreBlanche's speech was the main feature on a day of Afrikaner folk dances, boerewors and pap, stalls selling a variety of rightwing goods and Nazi books. There was also another public display of the AWB commandos' drilling and baton squads.

304A

From PAGE 1

Cosatu appeals directly to FW

Political Staff and Staff Reporters
Cosatu representatives last night telephoned President de Klerk, asking him to intervene in a dispute between the labour movement and the Government.

Trade unionists are threatening a wave of pickets, boycotts and stayaways if the Cabinet does not extend the sitting of Parliament today to amend the Labour Relations Act.

A Tuynhuys spokesman confirmed today that Cosatu telephoned Mr de Klerk at home.

"Mr de Klerk took note of their views," he said, but said he would not discuss the matter on the telephone.

"He did not give them undertak-

ings or assurances and, in regard to their requests to have a meeting with him, said Cosatu would be contacted today," he said.

On claims by Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo that the President had said he would take the matter to the weekly Cabinet meeting today, the spokesman said Mr de Klerk would never disclose details of the Cabinet agenda.

The Government has said it cannot introduce legislation this year to implement the accord which Cosatu and the other trade union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), signed this year with the employer body, the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola).

The trade unions are hinting that the ANC could pull out of talks with the Government if their request is not complied with.

Parliament is due to go into recess on Friday.

Last night, top Cosatu officials started an indefinite sit-in at the Department of Manpower's offices in Johannesburg, demanding the amendments be brought before Parliament.

Among those who started the sit-in were Mr Naidoo and National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

Offers

Cosatu negotiator Marcel Golding said yesterday if the Cabinet did not extend Parliament for a few days for the amendments to be passed, the country faced a deluge of protests.

Yesterday, Manpower Minister Eli Louw said he could not entertain short-notice amendments to the Labour Relations Act.

Sapa reports that Mr Louw said in Cape Town he had offered to introduce most of the signatories' proposals and the accompanying recommendations of the National Manpower Commission in the current session of Parliament and leave those remaining for 1991.

As an interim measure, he had offered to introduce legislation immediately giving the accord legal recognition, confining its application to the signatories. This had been rejected.

Call for better deal for nature conservationists

Pretoria Correspondent

The Public Servants' Association (PSA) has called for a massive salary injection for nature conservationists.

This includes a 40 percent pensionable salary increase for nature conservation officers, as well as the implementation — backdated to 1983 — of a new dispensation for research technicians.

A report in The Public Servant magazine describes the 465 nature conservation officers, research technicians and conservation scientists as a "crisis group".

Gross starting salaries for learner conservation officers with matric were R642 a month and those for qualified nature conservation officers R1 139, while the average salary of the 343 nature conservation officers employed by the State and Cape and Transvaal provincial departments was R1 610 a month.

This, the article said, was R409 a month less than that of any similarly qualified personnel in the public service. The TPA responded by saying it had consistently given support for better salaries.



Mr. Slovo

SACP to name leaders at legal launch in July

Capl. Tents 20/6/90 304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Communist Party will be publicly launched as a legal political party on July 29 and will maintain its close working alliance with the ANC, it was announced yesterday.

SACP general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo told a media conference — the first on South African soil for 40 years — that the party's objective was to build a strong mass party, "democratically answerable to both our membership and our broader working-class constituency".

At the launch rally in Soweto the identity of the internal leadership — for years a topic of intense speculation — and party perspectives will be presented to the public.

He said the SACP would be launched as a new legal party at a "complex moment in the international situation".

Socialism in Eastern Europe was in crisis and had suffered severe setbacks. President F W de Klerk believed this crisis would produce what 40 years of suppression had failed to do — the discrediting of socialist ideology in South Africa.

"He is wrong."

There were important lessons to be learnt from the international situation, he

said, stressing the SACP could not function without democracy.

He said the SACP in its internal organisation and relations to the union movement was further advanced than the Soviet Communist party under President Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika policy.

The SACP and ANC had a common approach on a post-apartheid South Africa and their relationship would not change much.

The ANC headed the ANC-SACP alliance, Mr Slovo said.

"The ANC believes, and we believe it is correct, that it is a mass organisation which should contain within it people from all strata and all classes, from the working-class and peasantry to small and big business.

"That is the nature of the ANC, it is not our nature.

"We believe we must concentrate on that sector we call the working people."

The SACP aimed to represent the basic interests of the working class so this group's role in the alliance was not swamped by other forces.

An obvious difference between the two organisations was that the ANC did not have a programme for socialist transformation, while the SACP stood for the ulti-

mate creation of a socialist South Africa.

The ANC-SACP alliance would be in place for "quite a while".

Recent press reports claiming most of the ANC national executive committee were communists were exaggerated.

The SACP central committee would remain in place and an internal leadership body with "a great deal of autonomy" would be established, Mr Slovo said.

The SACP internal body would operate under the central direction of the external central committee.

The party would establish regions and open branches in all urban centres and aimed to balance the idea of a mass party and a party of "quality and calibre".

"We don't want people in the party who are merely there as sympathisers and bystanders. We want people who obviously believe in the party's programme and policies but who are also activists and participate in the democratic movement or the revolutionary movement as a whole."

Underground SACP structures would not be completely abandoned because the party believed the process of democratisation was not yet irreversible.

The SACP believed in freedom of speech, press and the right to full freedom of worship, he said. — Sapa

CP man's house hit by petrol bomb

CM Times 20/6/40
304A

JOHANNESBURG. — A petrol bomb was thrown on Monday night at the house of Mr Buks Williams, a Conservative Party candidate in today's Boksburg ward by-election.

Mr Williams said he and his helpers were preparing for the election when, at 11.50pm, there was a tremendous bang.

He saw a car drive away and found an unexploded "Molotov cocktail", with a burning rag for a fuse, outside the window. It set fire to a curtain when it broke the window before falling back to the ground.

Mr Williams said he would not be intimidated. The attack did not represent the feelings of the people of Boksburg but was the work of a "radical idiot" (radikale gek).

Police said no arrests had been made. — Sapa

SA pledging cash to UN today

Set 20/6/90 Special Correspondent 304ft

NEW YORK — South Africa will, for the first time, pledge funds to the UN Development Programme at a conference today. It was called expressly to finance projects in Namibia.

UN officials hope to raise more than R1 000 million for the projects — more than the cost of the UN operation that brought the territory to independence.

South African officials in New York say they understand the contribution will be substantial.

South Africa's decision to contribute to the UN fund for Namibia is regarded in diplomatic circles as a welcome sign of the country's readiness to help relieve African economic problems at a time when the United States, Japan and the major European donors appear to be more concerned with eastern Europe's difficulties than with those of Africa.

Still, South Africa has not paid any of its assessed share of the cost of the UN operation that brought Namibia to independence — and its total arrears of contributions for the UN regular budget now exceed more than R1 000 million.

MP delivers petition against Houghton office scheme

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Houghton MP Tony Leon yesterday handed to the Government a 6 000-signature petition objecting to Sanlam's proposed office park on the "Houghton Island" residential area.

Mr Leon, of the Democratic Party, gave the petition to Local Government Minister Amie Venter.

He said Mr Venter had promised to give the matter "due consideration once the townships board in Pretoria had decided on the application".

The Minister was by law the final court of appeal.

Devastation

Mr Leon said he, city councillor Claire Quail and the residents of Houghton were determined to stop Sanlam's "proposed devastation of a prime residential and educational area".

In a letter to Mr Venter, Mr Leon said the area was a prime example of botanical and aesthetic beauty and would be devastated by the proposed development.

The existing roads and infrastructure would not cope with the extra traffic.

Houghton Island is the wedge of residential stands bounded by Louis Botha Avenue, Carse O'Gowrie Road, Houghton Drive and Boundary Road.

FW may lose out, says SAIRR boss

3048
Sowetan
20/6/90

THE State President, Mr FW de Klerk, would probably lose black as well as white support if violence in South Africa was not eliminated, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said in London yesterday.

Addressing a business lunch, Kane-Berman said the Government's attempts in recent months to "pooh-pooh" continued talk of armed struggle as "mere rhetoric" were unconvincing.

They were probably one of the reasons for the National Party's serious setback in the recent Umlazi by-election.

Referring to demands for a constituent assembly to be elected to negotiate a new constitution, Kane-Berman said the risk in holding such an election

By Sowetan Reporter

in present circumstances was that it could be won by whichever organisation with the capacity to employ the most coercive violence in black townships.

He said: "No South African organisation committed to the armed struggle is in a position to step up insurgency from bases in neighbouring states.

"Nor are they really in a position to get tighter sanctions imposed against South Africa."

Addressing another luncheon in Amsterdam, Kane-Berman said apartheid was "going the way of Humpty-Dumpty".

"Apartheid cannot be put back together again. For many years National Party governments tried everything to make apartheid work, but they failed," he said.

KwaZulu police 'terror' stopped

DURBAN. — The Supreme Court yesterday ordered the people of the KwaMakhuta township to be protected against KwaZulu policemen.

The judgment — believed to be the first of its kind in Natal — was given by Mr Justice Nick Bristowe.

In April SAP officers alleged that KwaZulu police (ZP) had terrorised people of KwaMakhuta.

An interim interdict was then issued by Mr Justice John Broome restraining members of the ZP from unlawfully assaulting, threatening or intimidating the applicants and their families.

Yesterday, following evidence in the form of affidavits from community leaders that the alleged attacks had not abated, additional interim protection was asked for.

R50 000 on Piet Skiet's head

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The R50 000 reward offered by police for the arrest of right-wing fugitive Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph had elicited a steady stream of telephone calls from the public, police sources said yesterday.

However, a police spokesman said no breakthrough had yet been made in tracking down Mr Rudolph after he sent a video to a Johannesburg newspaper urging the violent overthrow of the state.

Meanwhile a second video — apparently a copy of the video sent to Beeld — was delivered to the studios of Radio 702 yesterday.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok announced the reward yesterday, warning that Mr Rudolph's "flagrant" call to arms could lead to a serious outbreak of violence.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday all calls would be treated in confidence.

In the video delivered to Beeld on Monday, Mr Rudolph urged like-minded Boers to use every means at their disposal to overthrow the De Klerk government.

In a statement yesterday the Boerestaart Party, of which Mr Rudolph is deputy leader, said President

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From page 1

FW de Klerk would go down in history as the "greatest traitor of the volk".

"Judas was only offered 30 pieces of silver, but FW is offering 50 000. If FW continues with his attempts at genocide he will create a second Ireland in Southern Africa," the party warned.

And yesterday Mr Kays Smit, chief secretary of the AWB — of which Mr Rudolph is also a member — said the video came as "news to us". The AWB had no details on Mr Rudolph's whereabouts, he said.

Describing Mr Rudolph as a dormant member, Mr Smit said his actions were indicative of a growing frustration within Afrikaner ranks at the government's reform policies.

Although the AWB was preparing its members for the day the government finally capitulated, it was not yet thinking in terms of an armed insurrection, Mr Smit said.

Easy Boksburg win for CP

The Conservative Party comfortably won yesterday's two-party by-election contest for the Impala Park seat in the Boksburg Town Council, coming in with a 448-vote majority.

The CP's Buks Williams took 794 votes to the 346 of the National Party's Philip la Grange.

The CP and NP now both have eight seats in the CP-controlled council. There are four independents.
— Staff Reporter.

Star
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304A Stc 21/6/90

CP leader predicts 'action' from PW

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party's leader, Andries Treurnicht, has met the former President, P W Botha, and believes he intends taking some action to oppose President de Klerk's reforms.

But Dr Treurnicht said today he did not believe Mr Botha intended joining the CP or returning to party politics at all.

Dr Treurnicht would not say what action he believed Mr Botha might take.

He speculated there were people in the National Party and outside politics in the economic field who would support Mr Botha's initiative.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr Botha had expressed

strong opposition to Mr de Klerk's negotiations with communists and the direction in which the Government was heading, which he believed would lead to black majority rule.

He based his speculation about Mr Botha's likely action on these statements by Mr Botha.

He said he deduced that if Mr Botha felt so strongly about these things that he was prepared to take the extraordinary step of speaking out publicly against them, then he must feel a responsibility "to take preventative measures" against them.

He said the point of contact between them was Mr Botha's strong statement against negotiation with communists and black majority rule.

'Future dim without ANC' ³⁰⁴⁸

Without the ANC the future prospects for a non-racial South Africa would be dim, and South Africa would be delivered into the hands of the racist thinking of the PAC, CP and sections of the NP, Jan van Eck (DP Claremont), said yesterday.

Speaking during the Second Reading Debate on the Local Government Ordinance Second Amendment Bill, he said supporters for a policy of non-racialism were lucky that the ANC was an active and natural ally in

^{Star 21/6/90}
the struggle for a non-racial South Africa.

It was a pity that the Government seemed to do what was needed only once it had been bullied into it.

In view of the Government, and the obvious effect of international pressure, it was not strange that Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC had asked the international community not to lift sanctions before the process of negotiation had become irreversible. — Sapa.

Treurnicht's no to right-wing use of violence

304A
204
CAA 11/15 21/6/90

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

IN his clearest rejection of right-wing violence, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night condemned people who took the law into their hands.

Although he accused the government of creating the feeling of extreme frustration, threat and insecurity, he also said the CP could not approve of the actions of fugitive right-winger Mr Piet "Skief" Rudolph.

Dr Treurnicht's statement comes after his opponents criticised him for failing to condemn right-wing violence and extremist actions.

They have in particular cited his public support for a group of right-wingers who attacked participants in a legal march by teachers with sjamboks and other weapons in Welkom earlier this year.

Dr Treurnicht was slated for objecting to the arrest of these right-wingers because they took the law into their own hands while the protesters were exercising their legal rights.

In last night's statement, Dr Treurnicht said on a number of occasions he had publicly stated that the individual who was dissatisfied with government actions did not as an individual have the right to use weapons.

Mr Rudolph's actions had been

to be seen in perspective.

"We cannot allow individuals or small rebellious groups to take the law into their own hands and therefore we cannot approve of Mr Rudolph's actions.

"That there has been R50 000 placed on his head, does not reflect favourably on the ability of the police to stop a suspect unless there are other strategy factors at play.

"And it is extremely strange that charges of high treason are not brought against other people who, in our opinion, have chronically contravened the Internal Security Act, apparently because of the political decision to unban those involved," Dr Treurnicht said.

Right-wing leaders support

Piet 'Skiet'

PRETORIA. — Right-wing leaders have come out in support of Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph — in spite of the R50 000 price on his head.

According to the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), Mr Jaap Marais, the threats made by Mr Rudolph in a video sent to the morning newspaper Beeld were evidence of growing resistance to and revolt against the government.

The HNP had complete understanding for Mr Rudolph's motives, he said.

The leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, has said that it would not aid the government to increase the "bribe to catch Piet Skiet".

He said President F W de Klerk would be judged by history as the "greatest traitor".

Meanwhile Colonel Suiker Britz, head of the Pretoria Murder and Robbery Unit, said the telephone had not stopped ringing following the request for information on the whereabouts of Mr Rudolph.

And a Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said yesterday there was no need to tighten security for the top government officials Mr Rudolph has threatened to kill. — Sapa

● Treurnicht no to right-wing violence — Page 5

FW offers to see Cosatu to avert labour law showdown

By Peter Fabricius and Shareen Singh

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has offered to meet the country's biggest labour federation, Cosatu, in Pretoria on Tuesday to try to diffuse a looming showdown over labour legislation.

But his peace bid coincides

with Cosatu's mounting of major protests at delays in amending the Labour Relations Act as proposed by employer and worker organisations.

Mr de Klerk made it clear last night he was not prepared to give in to Cosatu's demand for the Act to be amended this parliamentary session, which

ends tomorrow.

Cosatu officials left the Johannesburg offices of the Department of Manpower yesterday after a 21-hour sit-in to prepare for massive industrial action.

Speaking at the Department of Manpower's office, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo

said unprecedented levels of industrial action could be expected, including stayaways, national strikes, sit-ins and protest marches.

More than 300 protesting workers toyi-toyed outside Conlyn House in President Street, Johannesburg.

● See Page 10.

De Beer is favourite to lead the DP

The troika is on its last legs, having stumbled disastrously at Umlazi after pulling the fledgling Democratic Party to unprecedented heights in last year's general election.

The triumvirate of Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan is on edge as it strains to pull the DP away from the dark precipice of Umlazi where the DP lost its deposit in the June 6 by-election.

The mood in the DP caucus is strongly opposed to continuation of the troika leadership, MPs told *The Star*. They predicted that there will be a concerted move to opt for a single leader when the DP holds its annual congress before the end of the year.

"The troika is finished," a senior MP said. "It hasn't worked."

Another MP agreed, almost echoing his colleague's words. "The troika must end," he said emphatically.

A third MP, Tiaan van der Merwe, declined to comment on the mood in the caucus. Speaking for himself, however, he said: "I have not the slightest doubt that we should revert to a single leader. The speed at which the political environment is changing makes it vital

The Democratic Party's triumvirate looks certain to be replaced by a single leader. The urbane Zach de Beer appears to be the favourite to take over but the tenacious Denis Worrall is certain to make a fight of it. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

to respond quickly to events."

He, like many MPs in the DP, feels the troika is too ponderous an arrangement in the present rapidly-moving situation.

One of DP's triad of leaders, Mr Malan, has, in the opinion of several MPs, virtually dropped out of the anticipated contest to assume the leadership. He appears to have lost interest, having undertaken three overseas trips during the present parliamentary session, an MP said.

If Mr Malan — who is in the United States at present — has indeed opted out, the main runners are Dr de Beer and Dr Worrall, with Mr van der Merwe as an outsider.

The advantage at the moment lies with Dr de Beer, the polished and eloquent former director of Anglo-American who, in many ways, personifies the urbane and wealthy elite who led the old Progressive Party.



Zach de Beer, the polished and eloquent former director of Anglo American, holds the advantage in the leadership stakes.

Dr Worrall has been blamed for the Umlazi debacle, having reportedly insisted on fighting the by-election against the counsel of senior DP men.

He was warned, DP MPs told *The Star*, against entering the fray at Umlazi and thereby making it a three-cornered contest between the DP, the National Party and Conservative Party. DP supporters, he was reportedly advised, would

defect to new reform-minded NP rather than split the pro-reform vote and open the way for a CP victory.

Feelings ran high in the aftermath of the Umlazi result, as some DP men blamed Dr Worrall.

"He is charismatic," one of his sternest critics in the caucus acknowledged. "But he is impetuous and stubborn ... a disastrous combination."

Another MP insisted that Dr Worrall had disqualified himself as a serious candidate in the now looming leadership struggle. "I can't see how he can be a candidate," he said. "He'd be a disaster."

But Dr Worrall is not without friends and supporters, as a statement by David Gant, chairman of the DP's National Council showed. It detailed events leading to the decision to fight the Umlazi by-election, showing that it was taken by National Council and Regional Council of the Natal Coast.

The statement undoubtedly helped bolster Dr Worrall's position within the party. In the light of that, and taking account of Dr Worrall's ambition and tenacity, it would be foolish to write him off.

In 1987, after the Independent Movement excluded him from Mr Malan's National Democratic Movement, Dr Worrall appeared to be a defeated man. But he fought back, launching the Independent Party and winning a place for himself in the triumvirate which presided over the DP after its birth in April 1989.

If Dr Worrall cannot be excluded from the leadership stakes, however, two predic-

tions can be made fairly confidently.

- The days of the troika are numbered.

- The "going-for-power" philosophy, advocated by Dr Worrall in last year's general election, has been shelved. It rested on the assumption that the NP should be opposed wherever possible, even if DP participation carries the risk of facilitating a CP victory.

Since then, however, the situation has changed radically, not least because a negotiated settlement and subsequent non-racial elections makes a DP quest for power a quaint anachronism.

As Mr Gant puts it: "The party has agreed ... to reconsider contesting by-elections where its presence could directly assist the CP in achieving electoral gains. (It) is not a fundamental shift in DP direction but a responsible reaction towards the political demands of the particular time."

It is, however, a shift consistent with Dr de Beer's approach of fighting on a narrower, more selective political front in the interests of preserving liberal values, even where they have been belatedly adopted by the NP...

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No end in sight to DP Umlazi in-fight

Political Correspondent

THE dust has still not settled in the Democratic Party over who was to blame for the party's humiliating defeat in the Umlazi by-election.

A statement by DP national council chairman Mr David Gant, after a special caucus meeting of the DP on Tuesday, said that Dr Denis Worrall was not to blame for the party contesting the seat.

He said he was issuing the statement to rectify what he called "inaccurate and distorted perceptions" created by reports about Dr Worrall's role in the by-election, which saw the DP lose its deposit.

However, senior members of the DP complained yesterday about reports which attributed Mr Gant's statement to the party caucus. One MP said the statement was not approved by either the caucus or the national council.

The thorny issue is expected to be raised yet again at the DP's weekly caucus meeting today.

Soviets, SA talks

SA Press Association

THE first jointly organised conference between Soviet and South African organisations is due to begin in Moscow today. *Sowetan 21/6/90*

According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, the conference, on "South African and Soviet perspectives on southern Africa", is organised by the executive director of the SAIRR, Mr John Kane-Berman, and the director of the Institute for African Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Dr Anatoly Gromyko.

Gromyko is the son of the late Soviet president and foreign minister, Mr Andrej Gromyko. *(304A)*

Apart from Kane-Berman, the South African delegation consists of Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, Mr David Gevisser, Prof Gavin Maasdorp, and Prof Charles Simkins, all executive members of the SAIRR. - Sapa.

A professor replies

Stellenbosch economics professor Sampie Terreblanche is on the offensive. After denying reports that he advocated sanctions while overseas, Terreblanche is considering legal action against a Stellenbosch Business School colleague for alleged defamation.

"There is strong pressure on me to take legal opinion on the matter," Terreblanche told the *FM* this week (see *People*).

According to a report last week in the Cape daily *Die Burger*, a colleague of Terreblanche, researcher Gert Erasmus, had complained to Matie principal Mike de Vries about Terreblanche's political actions. Erasmus reportedly said he believed the university could not afford Terreblanche any longer and wanted to know whether, in the light of Terreblanche's political involvement, he had time to devote himself to the students.

De Vries, meanwhile, has come out in support of Terreblanche and rebuked Erasmus in a strongly worded statement: "I find it totally unacceptable that a lecturer or researcher employed by the university vents (his) opinions about the qualities of, and quantity of, work done by a colleague," said De Vries. *FIM 22/6/90*

The row started last week when Terreblanche was quoted as having told the *Observer's* Anthony Sampson in an interview that he favoured sanctions against SA. Afterwards Sampson said that the National Party press had "twisted a sophisticated argument" and that it had never been his intention to put words in Terreblanche's mouth.

In an interview with *Vrye Weekblad* (of which Terreblanche is a director) Sampson said he had been impressed with Terreblanche's "patriotism and the sophisticated trend of his opinions as a senior political commentator."

De Vries says he discussed the issue with Terreblanche and the head of the economics department, Colin McCarthy, and he is satisfied that they recognise the negative effects of sanctions and reject them. Terreblanche's record as lecturer, researcher and in community service is above suspicion, says De Vries. He hopes that a public apology to Terreblanche will clear the matter.

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(304A)

Speaking to the *FM* this week, Terreblanche said he had always refrained from doing outside contract work. The Stellenbosch economics department is the biggest on campus and Terreblanche is known to have lectured to thousands of students during his 25 years at Stellenbosch.

Referring to the *Observer* article, Terreblanche says he did criticise the NP. "I said that if negotiations are important to the Nats and the ANC is regarded by them as the other senior partner in that process, it would be unreasonable for the NP to expect the ANC to ask that sanctions be lifted. They (the ANC) would then not be the representative black organisation to negotiate a new SA. There is no point in the government putting the ANC on some pedestal and at the same time trying to swipe them off the pedestal."

Meanwhile, Terreblanche and the Democratic Party leadership (to whom he acts as an economic adviser) have also cleared the air. Earlier, DP Finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said that if Terreblanche had been quoted correctly he should be expelled from the DP.

Terreblanche, however, does not shy away from his political and economic beliefs. "I am totally opposed to SA's white capitalistic consumer community and how it is being maintained. It is artificial, undeserved and cannot be maintained indefinitely. For years I have spoken against the inequalities of wealth and income which are the results of apartheid."

"I am pleading for a redistribution of income. All the whites should admit that the apartheid debt has accumulated on our books and we should start repaying. I am definitely not a free marketeer, especially in a land where there is an imbalance of power. We must accept that redistribution surely means the lowering of white living standards."

Eddie Botha

DP leaders, caucus decide to end troika

Star 22/6/90 304A

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party's three leaders and its parliamentary caucus have decided to end the troika leadership.

A congress will be held as soon as possible to confirm this decision and choose a single leader.

David Gant, chairman of the DP national council, announced this in a statement yesterday after the matter was discussed at caucus.

It is understood that two of the co-leaders, Zach de Beer and Denis Worrall, will make themselves available in the contest for a single leader.

The third leader, Wynand Malan, said last night that he would decide later whether or not to stand.

National chairman Tian van der Merwe is also considered a likely candidate.

Mr Gant said the three co-leaders had agreed the troika had served its intended purpose.

The caucus agreed. However Mr Gant noted that only congress could decide the leadership question.

Clutching at texts

The CP, frustrated in its efforts to force a general election, has done research into the legal implications for government should it be found to be acting in contravention of its electoral mandate.

CP justice spokesman Fanie Jacobs, former professor of constitutional law at Potchefstroom, says government is not only acting without a mandate but in contravention of its mandate. He adds research into English constitutional law is important because it indicates the law which would prevail in SA. FM 22/6/90

Among important sources to quote, according to Jacobs, are De Smith's *Handbook of Administrative and Constitutional Law* and Jennings's *The Law and the Constitution*, which state that in major issues the policy of the country may be changed only after the electorate has had an opportunity to express its opinion.

Jacobs argues that by introducing a new constitutional dispensation — such as occurred with the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act and the planned opening of schools to all races — government is clearly in contravention of its mandate.

The NP, he says, refers to what it calls a "basic document and five-year plan" in which it seeks a mandate for negotiating "a new and just SA." The CP points to a pamphlet, *Key Issues*, in which government states it will not negotiate with the ANC and commits itself to own schools and retention

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(304A)

of the Separate Amenities Act and Group Areas Act.

Does the CP have a case?

Prof Johan van der Vyver, constitutional law expert at Wits University, tells the *FM* that the CP's arguments are "absolute nonsense."

He says that, under the Westminster system, the only remedy for a government that has exceeded its power or broken its promises is rejection at the polls.

Conventions may exercise considerable force, says Van der Vyver, but they remain just that — conventions — and cannot be enforced in a court of law. ■

1971

FRIDAY, 22 JUNE 1990

1972

(b) No deaths due to cholera were notified to the Department of National Health and Population Development during 1989.

* Notifications received by the Department of National Health and Population Development.

Poliomyelitis

513. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) How many (a) cases of and (b) deaths from poliomyelitis were reported in re-

(2) how many persons of each race group were immunised against poliomyelitis in each province in 1988? B1203E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Notified cases of poliomyelitis received by the Department of National Health and Population Development in the Republic of South Africa by population group, 1989 (as on 30 May 1990):

Province	Indian	Black	Coloured	White
Cape	0	3	3	0
Natal	0	2	0	0
Orange Free State	0	1	0	0
Transvaal	0	2	0	0

(b) No deaths due to poliomyelitis were notified to the Department of National Health and Population Development during 1989.

(2) Number of children under one year who received at least three doses of poliomyelitis vaccine in the seven health regions of the Republic of South Africa, 1988.

Province	Indian	Black	Coloured	White
Cape	345	43 819	71 168	19 319
Natal	16 029	78 765	2 212	7 240
Orange Free State	55	15 976	472	1 754
Transvaal	3 356	108 474	6 946	40 980

Sentences for murder

522. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) In respect of sentences handed down by the Supreme Court for murder, how many persons were sentenced to (a) a fine without the option of imprisonment, (b) a fine with the option of imprisonment, (c) up to 5 years' imprisonment, (d) 6 to 10 years' imprisonment, (e) 11 to 15 years' imprisonment and (f) other specified punishments in 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988 and 1989, respectively;

(2) what total number of persons was convicted of murder in each of the above years? B1230E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The required information is not readily available. To obtain it all court records, pertaining to the crime concerned will have to be scrutinised which is not economically feasible.

Unrest-related deaths in Cape Town area: 22/6/90 inquests

523. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any inquests have been held into the deaths of any of the persons who died in the (a) Cape Town, (b) Wynberg, (c) Goodwood, (d) Bellville and (e) Simon's Town magisterial districts as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989, if so, in respect of each such person, (i) when and (ii) what were the findings of the inquest; if not, why not? B1253E

1973

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1974

districts as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989, if so, in respect of each such person, (i) when and (ii) what were the findings of the inquest; if not, why not? B1253E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) CAPE TOWN

As far as could be established no persons died in this magisterial district as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989.

(b) WYNBERG

The persons who caused the death of 9 persons at Khayelitsha on or about 6 September 1989, have been charged. The deaths of 2 persons at Grassy Park and Mitchells Plain on or about 6 September 1989 are still being investigated.

(c) GOODWOOD

The person who caused the death of 1 person at Elsie's River on or about 6 September 1989, has been charged. The dockets in connection with the death of 3 persons on or about 6 September 1989 at Bishop Lavis are with the Attorney-General, Cape Town, for a decision.

(d) BELLVILLE

As far as could be established no persons died in this magisterial district as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989.

(e) SIMON'S TOWN

As far as could be established no persons died in this magisterial district as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989.

SA Development Trust: future of land

524. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Development Aid:

(1) Whether the Government has taken a decision regarding the future of land currently held by the South African Development Trust; if not, (a) why not and (b) when can such a decision be expected; if so, (i) when was this decision taken and (ii) what is the purport of the decision;

(2) whether he will comment on whether certain reports concerning such land

which appeared in newspapers on or about 3 May 1990, copies of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, what is his response to these reports? B1254E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(i) In the court of March 1990.

(ii) The land shall be administered by the South African Development Trust for the benefit of Blacks, which may include the disposal thereof to Blacks. The land shall further only be included in the areas of jurisdiction of independent states and self-governing territories if the inhabitants concerned agree thereto.

(2) The Government announced that the Black Land Act, 1913 (Act 13 of 1913) and the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act 18 of 1936) are receiving attention with the view to possible revision. These Acts effect *inter alia* the vested interests of a large variety of people and instances. It is therefore an extremely complex matter. No decision has as yet been taken in this regard.

HSRC: investigations for Bureau for Information

525. Dr F H PAUW asked the State President:

Whether the Bureau for Information requested the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) over the past four years to carry out investigations for the Bureau; if so, (a) (i) how many and (ii) what investigations, (b) what was the cost involved, (c) to whom was the information gathered by means of these investigations made known and (d) in respect of what period is this information furnished?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(a) Yes.

(i) 25.

(ii) On various matters of current interest to the Government.

1975

FRIDAY, 22 JUNE 1990

1976

- (b) R1 063 903. *Handwritten: 304A*
- (c) The State President, Cabinet, state departments, provincial councils, other state institutions according to the nature and subject of the research and under certain circumstances, to interested private bodies. *Handwritten: 22/6/90*
- (d) November 1987 — 5 May 1990.

Personal/company tax

526. Mr D P DU PLESSIS asked the Minister of Finance: *Handwritten: 22/6/90*

What total amount was collected in (a) personal tax in respect of the (i) White, (ii) Coloured, (iii) Asiatic and (iv) Black population groups and (b) company tax during the latest specified tax year which figures are available? *Handwritten: B1260E*

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

In consequence of the Final Deduction System and the Standard Income Tax on Employees a large number of taxpayers are not on the income tax register and accurate statistics are therefore not available. An income split between the various population groups has accordingly been made on the basis of statistical returns furnished by certain employers.

Income Tax Collections — 1988/89 Tax Year

(a) <i>Individuals</i>	
(i) Whites	R12 143 360 379
(ii) Coloureds	525 403 921
(iii) Asians	331 484 899
(iv) Blacks	1 473 900 507
<i>Total</i>	<u>R14 474 149 706</u>
(b) <i>Companies</i>	R10 680 090 305

KwaZulu/St Lucia area population

527. Mr J CHOLE asked the Minister of Development Aid: *Handwritten: 22/6/90*

- (1) With reference to his reply to Question No 16 on 29 May 1990, (a) how big is the portion of KwaZulu (Reserve No 1) surrounded by the St Lucia wilderness area and (b) (i) how many people are estimated to live in this reserve, (ii) what is their approximate rate of increase and (iii) in respect of what date is this information furnished; *Handwritten: B1268E*

- (2) whether the Government intends integrating the portion concerned with the said wilderness area; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) in what way and (c) what steps are contemplated in respect of the present residents of this portion? *Handwritten: 22/6/90 B1261E*

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

- (1) (a) The total extent of Reserve No 1 (now known as No 18520) is approximately 24 000 hectares, of which approximately 7 000 hectares is surrounded by the existing proclaimed St Lucia wilderness area.

- (b) (i) 4 500
(ii) 2.7% per year
(iii) census of 1985.

- (2) No, the portion concerned forms part of the tribal area of the Nibela Tribe under Chief Ntshlelo Mdhuli (GN 1852 of 29 November 1957) and is part of the jurisdictional area of KwaZulu since 1972. Only on request of the Nibela Tribe and with approval of the Government of KwaZulu is it possible to alter the status and utilisation of the land concerned. Such a request has not as yet been received.

- (a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

PE/Uitenhage area: nurses at State-run hospitals

533. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) How many (a) White, (b) Black, (c) Coloured and (d) Indian nurses were in (i) full-time and (ii) part-time employment at each State-run hospital in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area as at (aa) 31 December 1980, (bb) 31 December 1985 and (cc) the latest specified date for which information is available; *Handwritten: 22/6/90*
- (2) whether the number of nurses employed at any such hospital has decreased since 1980; if so, for what reasons; *Handwritten: B1268E*
- (3) whether any nursing posts have been abolished at any of these hospitals since 1980; if so, (a) how many posts at each specified hospital and (b) why in each case?

1977

FRIDAY, 22 JUNE 1990

1978

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) (a) White

	(aa)	(bb)	(cc)
1980-12-31	1985-12-31	1990-03-31	
(i)	(ii)	(i)	(ii)
Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
997	635	626	31

- (b) Black

	(aa)	(bb)	(cc)
1980-12-31	1985-12-31	1990-03-31	
(i)	(ii)	(i)	(ii)
Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
62	57	54	
3	3	2	
225	234	244	

- (c) Coloured

	(aa)	(bb)	(cc)
1980-12-31	1985-12-31	1990-03-31	
(i)	(ii)	(i)	(ii)
Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
37	23	43	2
121	55	903	
	372	446	
112	112	13	
80	82	114	
		88	

- (d) Indian

	(aa)	(bb)	(cc)
1980-12-31	1985-12-31	1990-03-31	
(i)	(ii)	(i)	(ii)
Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
12	28	70	
120	61	321	
		11	
55	87	98	

- (e) Provincial

	(aa)	(bb)	(cc)
1980-12-31	1985-12-31	1990-03-31	
(i)	(ii)	(i)	(ii)
Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
1	2	2	6

- (2) yes, Livingstone, Port Elizabeth: The emergence of job opportunities in the private sector eg private hospitals, Regional Services Councils and the commissioning of Dora Nginza Hospital. Port Elizabeth Hospital: A decreasing in the supply of White applicants especially for student training and the emergence of job opportunities in the private sector;

Zephania Mothopeng thanks Tanzanians



MOTHOPENG

Sowetan 26/6/90
Sowetan Reporter

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THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, arrived in Tanzania yesterday. He was accompanied by his wife, Urbania, and the PAC's director of publicity and information, Mr Waters Toboti. Mothopeng was met at Dar-es-Salaam Airport by members of the PAC's central committee, Tanzanian government officials and journalists.

"At the airport Comrade Mothopeng thanked the people of Tanzania supporting the struggle for all these years," Toboti said.

Mandela's gruelling schedule takes its toll

20/5/1986 9/6/90 3/8

By ESMARÉ van der MERWE
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

GENEVA. — Nelson Mandela's gruelling schedule has taken its toll. The exhausted African National Congress deputy-president, on the fifth day of the six-week international tour, has cancelled an appointment to rest.

Alarms flickered all across the world when it was reported that a doctor had examined Mr Mandela, 71, after his first public appearance in Switzerland. Mr Mandela left South Africa on Monday on a tour of 13 countries spanning three continents.

Crammed two days

He visited Botswana and then flew to France for a crammed two days of meetings with France's President Francois Mitterand, other top politicians and business leaders. He arrived in Switzerland yesterday and is due to move on to West Germany tomorrow.

After an address to the International Labour Organisation yesterday, Mr Mandela cancelled an appointment at the International Red Cross to regain his strength.

He did not disappoint fans who gathered at the headquarters of the World Conference of Churches to listen to the man for whose freedom they have campaigned for decades.

Mr Mandela, looking relaxed but tired, made a short off-the-cuff speech but then handed over to the ANC's foreign affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Arriving at the WCC, Mr Mandela told newsmen that he was in good health.

He denied that he had been examined by the doctor who is accompanying him on the tour, saying: "He has given me no instructions which suggest that I am not well. In fact, he did not even take my blood pressure today as he usually does every morning."

But Mr Mandela admitted that it was "quite possible" that his schedule would be cut back.

His close aides looked concerned and said they would relieve the pressure on him. They said the ANC's Ahmed Kathrada had telephoned from South Africa to inquire about Mr Mandela's health soon after the news was reported.

"Just tired"

Cosatu's secretary-general, Mr Jay Naidoo, who joined the 12-man entourage in Switzerland, said Mr Mandela was "just tired".

"We are trying to cut down on his schedule, but no one wants to allow that." Mr Mandela will meet anti-apartheid organisations today before taking a weekend break at an undisclosed venue in Switzerland. He will resume his programme in Bonn on Monday.



Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie arrive at the United Nations in Geneva where he addressed the International Labour Organisation.

LID	FORM
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DP leadership race starts as troika ends

17/6/90 22/6/90 30417

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's three leaders and its parliamentary caucus have decided to end the troika leadership.

And the race for a single leader is on.

A congress will be held as soon as possible to confirm the decision and choose a single leader.

However, the decision is considered a formality as the three DP leaders have agreed to dissolve the troika.

Mr David Gant, chairman of the DP national council, announced this in a statement yesterday.

Decide later

It is understood two of the co-leaders, Dr Zac de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall, will make themselves available for the leadership contest.

The third leader, Mr Wynand Malan, said last night that he would decide later whether to stand.

National chairman Mr Tian van der Merwe is also considered a likely candidate.

Mr Gant said the three co-leaders had agreed that the troika had served its purpose of moulding the three predeceasing parties into one and that the DP would be best served by a single leader.

Economic policy

The caucus agreed. However Mr Gant noted only congress could decide the leadership question.

The DP would also launch its proposed economic policy at the congress. An appropriate economic system would be vital for a peaceful, stable post-apartheid South Africa.

Mr Gant also announced that because political events were moving so rapidly the DP parliamentary caucus would meet regularly during the parliamentary recess starting today.



Mr Wynand Malan



Dr Zac de Beer



Dr Denis Worrall

Deputy Minister at Idasa forum

BARRY STREEK

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Leon Wessels has become the first member of government to participate freely in a conference attended by leading members of the ANC and extra-parliamentary organisations. (304A)

Wessels will take part in a panel discussion in Port Elizabeth this morning with mass democratic movement foreign affairs spokesman Jeffrey Radebe and UWC professor Peter Vale.

Last night he attended the opening of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) conference on SA in Transition.

Government members have refused in the past to share platforms with ANC and SACP members, and at international conferences have appeared separately. It is understood approval has been given for NP MPs and Ministers to go to conferences where the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations are present.

NP MPs are also expected to participate in a conference organised by the Five Freedoms Forum in August.

The Idasa conference in Port Elizabeth was opened last night by Prof Phillippe Shmitter of Stanford University, California, and Zola Skheyya of the ANC's legal department.

Other panel discussions will feature southern Natal ANC leader Terror Lekota and Business Day Editor Ken Owen; as well as former Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation head Thozamile Botha and the only black member of the provincial executive committee in the Cape, Themba Nyati. Other speakers include Cosatu's Jane Barrett, UCT's Prof Brian Kantor, Advocate Zak Jacob of the Natal Indian Congress and Idasa's policy director Van Zyl Slabbert.

DP troika, caucus favour election of single leader

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party is set to elect a single leader and scrap the controversial troika which has run the party since its inception.

And leading the charge are two of the troika members, the pragmatic Zach de Beer, the DP's parliamentary leader, and the more flamboyant Denis Worrall. Wynand Malan, the third member of the troika, is not expected to be a contender.

Green Point MP Tian van der Merwe is also being mentioned as an "outsider".

The issue will be finalised later this year at a national congress which has the final authority, but the question of whether or not to drop the troika has virtually been decided in advance by a statement yesterday by National Council chairman David Gant.

He said all three troika members and the caucus favoured a single leader, which now makes it difficult for the party to go against their wishes.

The troika was introduced in Feb-

Political Staff

ruary last year as a unifying manoeuvre when the party was formed to bring together its three component parts — the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement — and to broaden the party's public appeal.

Although there might have been cogent arguments in favour of a troika at the time, there has been growing resistance to it recently. Fears that the election of a single leader could drive some members out were dismissed in party circles yesterday.

Approval

The leadership will be only one of the major issues to be handled the congress, the date and venue of which have still to be set.

Gant said while a "negotiated constitutional settlement is the priority of the day" an appropriate economic

system would be vital for a peaceful, stable, post-apartheid SA.

"The DP will therefore use the opportunity of the congress to launch its proposed economic policy. Other policy documents in terms of education, health, environment agriculture and others will be laid before the congress for approval," he said.

"The leadership, namely, Dr de Beer, Dr Worrall and Mr Malan, have indicated their unanimous view that the troika has served its intended purpose of moulding the three predecessor parties into one and that the party would best be served by a single leader.

"This view is supported by the caucus of the party. However, it should be noted that in terms of the party's constitution the congress has the authority to take such decisions on leaders and leadership as it sees fit."

Gant said it had also been decided the parliamentary caucus should meet regularly while Parliament was in recess.



Pictured at last year's launch of the DP troika were, from left, Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan.

Economic disparity among blacks in SA set to widen

MOSCOW — Racial divisions will blur and economic cleavages among blacks will widen, SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) executive director John Kane-Berman told a conference here yesterday.

Delivering a paper at a joint conference with the Institute for African Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Kane-Berman said the

8 May 22/67 90
closing years of the 20th century were likely to see "a growing number of better educated, better housed, and better paid blacks".

On the other hand, "there will be a large black underclass — the unemployed, the illiterate, and the malnourished". (204A)

Financial and economic neglect of the homelands would make the black

underclass even larger, and would push some of its members into starvation, Kane-Berman said.

He said that devising appropriate economic strategies to deal with black demands for material improvement necessitated a wider debate than one simply between unions and management or between business and the ANC. — Sapa.

Govt on target ^(304A) De Villiers

CAPE TOWN — Government would have succeeded in its goal if the inflation rate was brought under 10% by the end of next year, Administration and Economic Co-ordination Minister Wim de Villiers said yesterday.

He told a special session of the President's Council that this was his personal view, but that there was a very strong determination in government to make the fight against inflation a success.

It was only through this that jobs could be created for the fast-growing population.

One of the most important issues in this fight was whether the man in the street believed inflation would go down or not.

"If he believes it will rise, or that gov-

ernment is not serious about its anti-inflation policy, it will not come down."

Circumstances were highly favourable for combating inflation. The roll-over debt had been dealt with and there was lessened sanctions pressure.

The fall in the gold price had brought home certain realities. These were that if production costs were too high, one had to find a way to lower them, or close mines.

Monetary policy was the demand side of the matter, the "fine tuning".

The key question was the production side, which was not where it should be because SA was not doing enough beneficiation of its mineral products.

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De Villiers ^(304A)

Some 88% of the country's exports were mineral products. Only 12% was in a fully beneficiated form and it was here that opportunities for jobs could best be sought.

Asked whether control boards did not inhibit production and if they were still necessary, he said the attempt to govern the economy through the boards had been one of the country's problems.

Dr De Villiers also said government was updating its economic development programme "right now".

Although the company tax rate stood at 50% (with an effective rate of only 30% as a result of tax concessions, evasion and avoidance), SA could do with a tax rate of 45% "coming down to 40% and down to 37% over a number of years". — Sapa.

☐ From Page 1

Referendum on new constitution possible within two years,

CAPE TOWN — Real negotiations would start next year and it was his opinion that a referendum could be held within two years to test support for a negotiated constitution, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference, Viljoen attacked the ANC for dragging its heels and continuing to use armed struggle rhetoric.

The ANC, he said, could not expect "the train to wait indefinitely for them".

Informal talks exploring possible aspects of how the negotiation process should take place and different options for a new constitution were already under way.

"These will be structured formally by the beginning of next year," he said.

Viljoen said it was his opinion that if an early start was made, substantial results could be achieved within two years.

Within government's five-year term of office a point would have to be reached where a referendum could be held and a new negotiated constitution implemented.

Although he favoured all races taking part in a referendum, there would have to be separate rolls as government was obliged to fulfil its commitment to white voters.

Within the next six months, Viljoen said, the NP would expand on and refine its con-

MIKE ROBERTSON (304A) constitutional departure points and goals.

Government hoped that other parties wanting to participate in negotiations on a constitution would also give urgent attention to formulating their proposals.

Any delay in getting negotiations going, he said, was the fault of the ANC. While government had accepted the Groote Schuur working group's report on political offences, the ANC was dragging its feet.

Asked about ANC executives' claim this week that they did not know where the July 10 date for it to respond to the report had come from, Viljoen said: "One ANC admin-

istrator does not know what the other is doing. A statement was formally conveyed to the State President."

The working group, he said, had proposed mechanisms for handling exiles and was irresponsible for the ANC to continue insisting that all offenders be set free and exiles allowed to return without any qualifications while it continued its armed struggle rhetoric. (31 Dec 77 22/6/77)

In any case these suggestions were out of step with the Groote Schuur Minute which specifically referred to definitions of political offenders and a time frame for implementing any agreement.

"What does it mean to have representatives on the committee if they are going to have problems now?" he said.

Viljoen argued that it was anachronistic for the ANC leadership core to continue referring to government as the apartheid regime.

Government, he said, was part of the anti-apartheid struggle and had demonstrated this in recent months and would continue to do so by removing the last vestiges of social apartheid next year.

He believed the ANC was experiencing problems in switching its style away from that of a "struggle" organisation to a political organisation.

□ To Page 2

Referendum

13/Dec 77 22/11/90

304A From Page 1

cal organisation.

Armed struggle rhetoric, he said, had a completely confusing effect on the many badly controlled and undisciplined youth in the ranks of the ANC.

"Obviously if you cannot control your own people and tell them the armed struggle must continue then you are fishing for trouble," he said.

Asked whether he thought the ANC

would add the amending of the Labour Relations Act to its list of preconditions for negotiations, Viljoen said he did not see how the organisation could do this and still retain credibility.

People who claimed to be democrats could not expect government to ignore the view of employers and employees who were not party to the agreement between Saccoca, Cosatu and Nactu.

says Viljoen

We're in a ^(304A) hurry to sign, says Viljoen

By SHAUN JOHNSON: Parliament
THE government is in a hurry to begin negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday in Cape Town.

Negotiations — the “real thing”, not talks about talks — could get under way early next year, a national referendum could conceivably be held before the end of 1992 — and a new constitution could be in place “within the five year life of the present parliament”.

This would mean the arrival of the “new South Africa” on or before midnight on September 5 1994.

Viljoen sketched these scenarios in a “state of negotiations” address to parliamentary correspondents.

“We are in a hurry,” said Viljoen, senior architect of the government’s negotiating strategy. Nearly a year ago the government undertook to work for a new, democratic South Af-



Gerrit Viljoen

rica. In the last six months we have taken goal-oriented and sincere steps to get the climate ready for negotiation. We are now on the last lap.”

The upbeat message, coming on the eve of the end of this year’s historic parliamentary session, will help the government to retain the initiative in the negotiating process, and the minister was clearly concerned both to express his colleagues’ wish to increase the speed of the process and to accuse the African National Congress of putting brakes on it (See Page 6).

It was anachronistic for the ANC to refer to the “apartheid regime” when

●To PAGE 2

State is in ^(304A) a ‘hurry’ to negotiate

●From PAGE 1

the government was “part of the anti-apartheid struggle”, he said, and attacked the movement for its “armed struggle rhetoric”.

Viljoen also signalled that the government would use the parliamentary recess period, which spans the next seven months, to develop and refine its constitutional proposals. Provincial congresses would serve as organisational fulcrums for the debate, he said and called on “other parties that will take part in constitutional discussions” to use the time to give the matter “earnest attention”.

He revealed that the government had not decided whether it would participate in negotiations “as government, or as the National Party”. The matter was receiving “serious consideration”, he told a questioner, because “there are a number of implications”.

In his briefing, Viljoen said although the government had “no formal timetable ... In my own mind I think if we can start (real negotiations) early next year, we can get substantial results within two years’ time. There could be a referendum and implementation within the five-year life of the present parliament.”

Viljoen also provided clarity in his briefing about the government’s view on several matters which will become crucial in the coming months:

Viljoen emphatically favours a referendum over an election. He believes it is “more practical”, although this is still open to negotiation.

He favours a referendum involving “the whole population — including those presently excluded — but counted electorally”.

He is strongly against a constituent assembly “along the lines of that implemented in South West Africa”, arguing that it is not appropriate for a country “with an existing government and constitution”.

He believes accepting a constituent assembly would effectively “start with one man/one vote majority rule from the outset ... Then you make your departure point what the militant groups want. It will make negotiations meaningless.”

SOUTH AFRICAN FOCUS

Two authors trapped in their South Africanness

THERE are three kinds of white South Africans abroad: those who angrily denounce their own government, those who vigorously defend their government's policies and those who shut up, hoping no one will spot "South African" written all over them.

The irony is the opponents of the government are the "good ambassadors". They prove that Pretoria does not automatically breed racists.

Marg de Villiers' acclaimed family biography — published in paperback for the first time — drives home the point with a vengeance.

Ted Botha's travelogue makes the point by default. He wants to belong to the same group — the opponents. He is forced by circumstances into the disguise of silence. And he finds himself, with horror, falling into the trap of trying to explain the complexities of apartheid to foreigners.

To foreigners, apartheid has no complexities. It is about one group of people thinking they are superior to another, since they have a different pigmentation. What could be simpler? What could be more absurd?

De Villiers avoids the trap but lays bare his tribe, attempting to explain how they "got here from there". The "here" is self-imposed exile in Canada, befitting a "good ambassador",

APARTHEID IN MY RUCKSACK by Ted Botha
(Jonathan Ball, R35.50)
WHITE TRIBE DREAMING by Marg de Villiers
(Penguin, R27.99)

whose distaste for his government has paradoxically made him an exemplary Afrikaner. "There" is the year 1688, a date which looms large in Afrikaner consciousness. It was the year the first of the De Villiers clan arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. In the same year, the first Bothas also set foot at the Cape.

De Villiers makes much of his past. It is the *raison d'être* of his book, and a reason for its occasional blandness.

Botha, by contrast, virtually ignores his Botha forebears. In person, he will readily volunteer the information that his branch of Bothas

date back to 1767, when the French side of the family arrived in the person of the first gunsman at the Cape. They became known as the "gunsman Bothas" — no relation to the 1688 variety, who were of German origin and ancestors of the parliamentary Bothas.

In the book, there is no mention of this, although the author finds that being a Botha in Africa in the 1980s is like being a Hitler travelling in Europe after the war.

The real burden he carries in his rucksack is not that of his family, but of his country. He has a romantic dream of "doing Africa": making a journey from the Cape to Cairo. Travelling on a Canadian passport — as is his right via the Irish side of his family — he makes it through Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

At the Tanzanian border he is declared a prohibited immigrant. Although he subsequently

manages to bluff his way into Kenya, the African odyssey is effectively over. He has discovered that, as a white man in Africa, "you're guilty of being a South African until you can prove yourself innocent".

With these words, Botha's book neatly redefines the notion of "the white man's burden". No longer the paternal liberal who believes he must bring civilisation to the natives; the white man in Africa must earn his right to belong. Botha understands this from the start but at first imagines it requires only that he succeed in denying his South Africanness. Instead, he writes, Africa "was searching for the South African in me, forcing me to come out of hiding, refusing to let me be the fake I needed to be to continue my journey".

Here is none of the painstaking research of *White Tribe Dreaming*. Instead, it is a story of a South African Everyman whose experiences are just a little out of the ordinary, but still oppressively familiar to ordinary readers. While the book is less informative and has none of the built-in significance of De Villiers's, its ordinariness makes it more accessible. And, ultimately, more instructive.

Arthur Goldstuck

3044
W/ Mail
22/6-28/6/90

'New' politics: It's still divide and rule

w/ Mail 22/6/90

THE African National Congress is disorganised and riven with splits. The South African Communist Party is in the grip of a single "almighty leader" whose policies change with the wind. The Congress of South African Trade Unions is jockeying furiously for power within the ANC. And the Pan Africanist Congress is adopting a more and more "reasonable attitude" toward a negotiated solution.

This biting, if contestible, analysis of the finer balances of power among South Africa's pre-eminent forces of resistance is not the work of a familiar academic commentator.

It is, more importantly, the considered assessment of the government's most sophisticated spokesman on negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Speaking at a special briefing in Cape Town yesterday, Viljoen opened a window on to the government's strategic assessments of the state of their principal challengers. It was the most comprehensive account yet of perceived weaknesses President FW de Klerk's negotiators might seek to exploit in the crucial coming months. It also showed that the "new politics" have done nothing to dull the government's fine sense of the potency of "divide and rule" tactics.

Perhaps the most unexpected element of the Viljoen thesis was his conciliatory stance toward the PAC.

"I noted with interest the PAC's new economic document," said Viljoen. "Although its contents were later qualified by (PAC general secretary) Benny Alexander, their attitude toward negotiations and the continued role of white people in South Africa is seen to indicate ... that the orientation towards negotiations on the part of the PAC and related organisations is improving.

"Provided that they commit themselves to the (negotiation) process, the government would welcome their participation ... I think it's better to have these people with their heads in the scrum rather than standing outside the scrum."

One should be careful, added Viljoen in a further metaphorical foray, "of not creating the impression of

*Constitutional
Development Minister
Gerrit Viljoen exposed
the government's
assessment of its sparring
partners: the ANC, the
PAC, the SACP and
Cosatu. By
SHAUN JOHNSON*

leaving some political passengers on the platform as the train is leaving. But they cannot expect the train to wait indefinitely".

The doctor's diagnosis of the ANC was less generous. There was no question that the ANC was "dragging its feet", he said, and that the delay in the publication of the joint Working Group's report was at the movement's behest.

The ANC was making heavy weather of the transition from being a "struggle front" to a political party, and often "one ANC administrator doesn't know what another knows or is saying ...

"They're having problems in retaining internal cohesion ... We note that they have different leadership groups that must learn to work together." He provided through a list these "groups", as perceived by the government: "There's the old Lusaka group; there's the younger Lusaka group; there are the older released leaders; there are the younger UDF/Cosatu leaders, who



Gerrit Viljoen ... The ANC's leaders cannot control all of their people

have the only real organisational structures in the country."

Levels of "political education" among the rank and file left much to be desired, he said: "Young members are conditioned by the rhetoric of struggle — they must be reoriented and the ANC is having trouble with this."

Nelson Mandela had admitted that the leadership "could not control all of their people", said Viljoen, and continuing talk of armed struggle merely exacerbated confusion and indiscipline.

"It cannot go on as at present —

also, the continuation of the rhetoric makes it very difficult to deal with rhetoric on the side of the right wing extremists."

Further to this litany of problems for the ANC, argued Viljoen, was the dramatic muscle-flexing occurring within the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

"While the ANC is (ostensibly) the decision maker, Cosatu's power is such that it determines the (political) temperature ... It is clear that Cosatu is seeking to secure maximum influence for itself (in the ANC axis)."

Viljoen reserved his most vituperative criticism for the SACP.

"The best way for the ANC to discredit itself," he said, was by "flaunting its relationship with the SACP when that party's philosophy has failed all over the world."

"Secondly, the SACP is still led by the people who made it one of the most pro-Stalinist of all parties, supporting the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan."

"They're still the big guys in the SACP. It has surprised me, the ease with which Mr Slovo indicated after the events of Eastern Europe were clear, that things had been done in the wrong way ... It illustrates clearly that the SACP is not representative of the views of the people, but of an almighty leader, in this case Mr Slovo."

Viljoen said he could not assess the SACP's support levels because "it and the ANC form an animal with two heads. To what extent the African leaders in the ANC are communist-related because of the ideology, I don't know — or whether it was just the hand that stretched out to them when they were drowning in the 1950s and early Sixties ..."

The government's criterion for negotiation remained that "all groups commit themselves to the process and must have proven support bases ... in both cases we must look carefully to see if the SACP qualifies."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

MEMBERS of the Civil Rights League share the widespread sense of alarm at what seems an inexplicable reluctance by the government

So who

high time that we appreciated the contribution of Mandela to the creation of a new South Africa. —

POLITICS: Democrats abandon their 'hydra-head' leadership

304A

W/Mail 22/6/90

Zac tipped for leader as DP ends the 'troika'

By SHAUN JOHNSON: Parliament

THE leader of the Democratic Party is likely to be Dr Zac de Beer when the party abandons its hydra-like leadership structure later this year.

DP National Council chairman David Gant announced yesterday "the leadership of the party, namely Dr (Zac) de Beer, Dr (Denis) Worrall and Mr (Wynd) Malan, have indicated their unanimous view that the troika has served its intended purpose of moulding the three predecessor parties into one, and that the party would in future be best served by one single leader."

The statement, issued after the DP's parliamentary caucus meeting yesterday, emphasised that the "single leader" view was "supported by the caucus of the party" but added that "in terms of the party's constitution, the congress has the authority to take such decisions on leaders and leadership that it sees fit".

The congress, scheduled to take place during the second half of this year, "will therefore be asked to exercise such authority at this occasion".

Theoretically, the congress could vote for a retention of the troika, but this is considered exceptionally unlikely given the expressed views of the leaders and caucus.

The troika structure has been lampooned mercilessly almost since its in-

ception: most memorably in a cartoon, now framed in Worrall's office, which shows the three leaders as spacemen confronting an alien with the question "Take us to our leader". The National Party made effective electoral capital out of the unwieldy arrangement, too, dubbing the troika "Three Blind Mice".

Speculation over the relative likeli-

hood of De Beer or Worrall capturing the single leader slot was increased recently during intra-party recriminations over the poor showing in the Umlazi by-election. Initially, Worrall was held responsible for the perceived tactical blunder in deciding to contest the election, but the remaining leaders have since rallied behind him, accepting joint responsibility.

The race for the leadership therefore remains wide open, with observers making De Beer favourite, Worrall a second bet and Tiaan van der Merwe an outsider. Malan is not regarded as a contender.

Gant's statement said the congress will be held at "the earliest feasible opportunity".

A key element will be the unveiling of the DP's proposed economic policy. "The DP believes that, whilst the negotiated constitutional settlement is the priority of the day, an appropriate economic system will be vital for a peaceful, stable post apartheid South Africa."



Zac De Beer

Deputy minister and ANC men at same conference

Political Staff

THE Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, has become the first member of the government to participate freely in a conference attended by leading members of the ANC and extra-parliamentary organisations.

Mr Wessels will be part of a panel discussion in Port Elizabeth this morning together with the Mass Democratic Movement's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Jeffrey Radebe, and University of the Western Cape academic Professor Peter Vale.

Last night he attended the opening

of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative South Africa (Idasa) conference on "South Africa in Transition" and he is to spend the whole day at the conference today.

In the past, members of the government have refused to share a platform with members of the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

However, it is understood approval has now been given for National Party MPs and ministers to go to conferences where the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations are present.

NP MPs are also expected to partici-

pate in a conference organised by the Five Freedoms Forum in August.

The Idasa conference in Port Elizabeth was opened last night by Professor Phillippe Shmitter of Stanford University, California, and Mr Zola Skweyiya of the ANC's legal department.

One of the highlights of the conference will be a panel discussion involving Mr Terror Lekota, head of the ANC in southern Natal, and Mr Ken Owen, editor of Business Day.

Another will be a panel discussion involving the former head of the Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation, Mr Tho-

zamlle Botha, and the only black member of the provincial executive committee in the Cape, Mr Themba Nyati.

Other speakers include Mr Ihron Rensburg of the National Education Crisis Committee, Ms Jane Barrett of Cosatu's Living Wage Committee, Professor Brian Kantor of the University of Cape Town, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa's director of policy, Mr Zac Yacoob of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr Cecil Sols of the Association of Democratic Journalists, Mr Peter Sullivan, deputy editor of the Pretoria News, and Dr Alex Boraine, Idasa's executive director.

'ANC to blame' if talks delayed

CHH T1415 22/6/90 (304A)

Political Staff

REAL negotiations would start next year and it was his personal opinion that a referendum could be held within two years to test support for a negotiated constitution, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference at the end of the parliamentary session, Dr Viljoen attacked the ANC for dragging its heels and continuing to use "armed struggle" rhetoric.

The ANC, he said, could not expect "the rain to wait indefinitely for them".

Informal talks exploring aspects of how the negotiation process should take place and different options for a new constitution were already under way.

"These will be structured formally by the beginning of next year," he said.

Dr Viljoen said it was his opinion that if an early start was made, substantial results could be achieved within two years.

Within the government's five-year term of office, a point would have to be reached where a referendum could be held and a new

negotiated constitution implemented. Although he favoured all races taking part in a referendum, there would have to be separate rolls as government had made a commitment to white voters and was obliged to fulfil this.

Dr Viljoen said that about a year ago the government had undertaken to work for a new democratic South Africa. It had fulfilled this commitment.

"In the past six months, determined and sincere steps were taken to create a climate in which negotiations could take place. We have now reached that stage."

Within the next six months, Dr Viljoen said, the National Party would expand on and refine its constitutional departure points and goals.

The government hoped that other parties that wanted to participate in negotiations on a constitution would also give urgent attention to the formulation of their proposals.

Any delay in getting negotiations going, he said, was the fault of the ANC.

While government had accepted the Groote Schuur working group's report on political offences, the ANC was dragging its feet.

The working group, he said, had proposed mechanisms for the handling of exiles and people found guilty of political offences.

It was irresponsible for the ANC to continue insisting that all offenders be set free and exiles allowed to return without any qualifications while it continued its "armed struggle" rhetoric.

He believed the ANC was experiencing problems in switching its style away from that of a "struggle" organisation to that of a political organisation.

The ANC could not continue operating as it was as present. "Armed struggle" rhetoric, he said, had a completely confusing effect on the many badly controlled and undisciplined youths in the ranks of the ANC.

Asked whether he thought the ANC would add the amending of the Labour Relations Act to its list of pre-conditions for negotiations, Dr Viljoen said he did not see how it could do this and still retain credibility.

People who claimed to be democrats could not expect the government to ignore the view of employers and employees who were not party to the Saccola/Cosatu/Nactu agreement.

Police probe Marais 'death threat'

Staff Reporter

POLICE are investigating allegations of a public death threat directed by HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais at anyone trying to collect the R50 000 reward for the arrest of Boerestaat Party fugitive Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

Mr Marais, who according to his wife in Pretoria was "out of town" and headed for an undisclosed destination yesterday, was widely reported to have made the threat at a combined AWB/HNP rally in Bloemfontein on Tuesday.

He told the rally that people trying to collect the police cash reward would "not be sure of their lives".

Colonel Vic Haynes, head of the police liaison department in Pretoria, said yes-

terday that police would investigate the alleged threat with the "many means at our disposal".

"Such comments can jeopardise our investigations and they are regarded with regret to say the least," he added.

Sapa quotes Mr Marais as saying that there were people who would protect Mr Rudolph and that he had received reports that the right-winger was in "good health".

Meanwhile, a third copy of a video in which Mr Rudolph declared war on the government has been sent to Mr Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat party.

Mr Van Tonder said the video arrived a day after copies were sent to a Johannesburg morning newspaper and a radio sta-

tion.

The postmark on the copy sent to the newspaper indicated that the parcel was posted in Johannesburg.

Mr Van Tonder said he had no idea where Mr Rudolph was.

He said the Boerestaat Party was "terribly disappointed" at the Conservative Party distancing itself from Mr Rudolph. The CP had let Mr Rudolph down and did not understand the motive for his actions.

The leader of the Boereweerstandsbeveging (BWB), Mr Andrew Ford, hailed Mr Rudolph as a "freedom fighter".

He said Mr Rudolph did not steal weapons from the South African Air Force: "He only took back what belongs to us."



Robert van Tonder

Saccola backs meeting with FW

22/6/90 By Shareen Singh

The SA Co-ordinating Council of Labour (Saccola) expressed frustration yesterday that the agreement on the Labour Relations Act was not legislated but it welcomed a meeting with State President F W de Klerk and the unions.

The agreement between Cosatu/Nactu and Saccola on amendment to the Labour Relations Act (LRA) was gazetted in a draft bill form and parties were invited to comment within 14 days.

The National Manpower

Commission (NMC), after considering comments by interested parties, recommended a few changes and supported the enactment of the balance of the agreement. But the Cabinet on Tuesday decided not to legislate.

Saccola said those elements of the Cosatu/Nactu/Saccola agreement which were endorsed by the NMC had the broadest possible union and employer support.

Cosatu had not made a decision by yesterday on whether the federation would meet President de Klerk.

30447 92 24/6/90

BACKGROUND

De Klerk or Mandela: the EC will choose in Dublin

LONDON — If F W de Klerk was the South African head of state most favourably received in Europe in decades, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela took the continent by storm.

When the European Community's heads of state meet in Dublin on Monday, they will weigh up the differing arguments presented by the two leaders when they review their collective sanctions policy on South Africa.

The debate will be stormy, the outcome crucial.

It will be a titanic battle between the pro-sanctioners — eager to stay in the good books of the ANC which is tipped by many as the next government, and determined to keep the pressure on Pretoria — and those favouring the easing of sanctions as a gesture of encouragement to Mr de Klerk for his brave reforms.

But South Africa's interests, ironically, will not be the only issue at stake.

The outcome of the debate could have a significant impact on the power stakes within the EC. The leader of the anti-sanctions lobby, British premier Margaret Thatcher, has been effectively marginalised and a decision to ease sanctions could be regarded as a victory of some sorts for her that many of her counterparts would hate to witness.

Inevitably, the EC summit review of sanctions will decide a key phase in the political bat-

Next week's Dublin summit will be a stormy affair at which the recent European performances of F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela will be carefully weighed. Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE reviews the impact the two key political players in South Africa have made on the sanctions debate.

the between the National Party and the ANC.

If the EC opts for the maintenance of sanctions — an outcome most observers are betting their money on — it will be seen as a victory for the ANC and a personal triumph for Mr Mandela, who is on a six-week tour of 14 countries to urge the world not to ease punitive measures yet.

Similarly, a relaxation of punitive measures will be a coup for the new Nationalist administration and a boost for Mr de Klerk's sincere but risky efforts to normalise political life in South Africa.

The styles of the two leaders during their recent tours of Europe have differed greatly.

On a nine-nation tour of Europe, Mr de Klerk stressed that he was not concerned with pleading for an end to sanctions, but wanted to correct "distorted perceptions" and prove that his Government was serious about finally removing racial discrimination.

He presented Europe's politicians and influential financiers and bankers with irrefutable socio-economic statistics, arguing that new investment was desperately needed to improve South Africa's dismal economy, which, in turn, would create

more stable conditions conducive to further reform.

He impressed on his audiences the gravity of the changes he had introduced since coming to power, maintained that these reforms were irreversible and outlined his strategy for the removal of remaining racial discrimination.

Pressure

By contrast, Mr Mandela used every platform — from Pope John Paul's private library to the packed assembly hall of the European Parliament — to call for continued international pressure until profound and irreversible change has occurred.

In discussions with six heads of state, he stressed that sanctions had been imposed to dismantle apartheid — a goal which had not yet been achieved. He threatened that the easing of sanctions would retard reform and would jeopardise negotiations.

He elaborated on the hardships caused by apartheid and continued police brutality. He

warned that the entire African continent would regard the easing of sanctions as a "stab in the back" of the protracted and bitter struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Demonstrating his firmness on principle but flexibility on strategy, Mr Mandela to some extent allayed Western concerns about the ANC's economic policies by saying the organisation did not have a blueprint but was only concerned about a more equitable distribution of wealth.

But what really won him the hearts and minds of Europe's leaders was his acknowledgement of Mr de Klerk's integrity, his own lack of bitterness after almost 27 years in jail and his expressed eagerness to bring peace — in co-operation with Mr de Klerk — to their strife-torn country.

Both leaders impressed Europe with their sincerity and commitment to a new society free of discrimination.

But whereas Mr de Klerk's warm reception signified the first breakthrough towards international respectability, Mr Mandela was on a victorious lap of honour for having steadfastly resisted the cruel apartheid system and gracefully forced the Nationalists to the negotiation table.

While the recently released ANC leader was honoured by Europe's royals, the Pope, heads of state and adoring crowds, Mr de Klerk quietly got on with the job of meeting

the EC's prerequisites for the lifting of sanctions.

He lifted the state of emergency in the greater part of the country, released more political prisoners and scrapped one of the pillars of apartheid, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

The EC will on Monday decide whether that was good enough. Two important events over the past two weeks seemed to indicate that it was not.

Removal

In Strasbourg last week, the influential European Parliament overwhelmingly rejected a proposal for the easing of sanctions — a day after Mr Mandela addressed a packed EP assembly and received two long standing ovations.

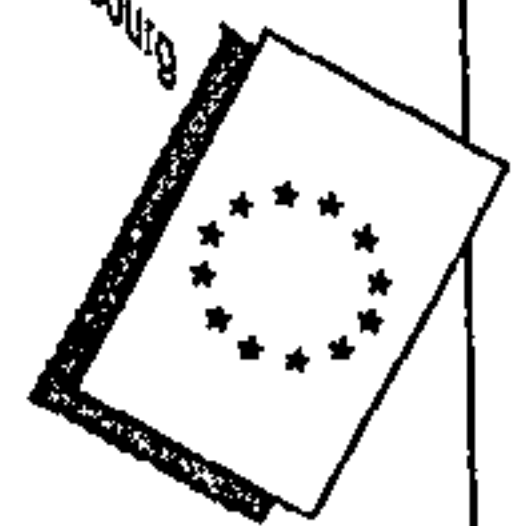
And this week, the EC countries' foreign Ministers in Luxembourg seemed to have overturned the advice from their political directors that the time was ripe to start with the easing of sanctions.

The majority of foreign Ministers seemed to have opposed a step-by-step removal of trade sanctions against South Africa.

The EC's heads of state will on Monday be faced with a number of options.

It seems unlikely that they will approve the easing of trade sanctions, a decision which could prompt some countries to follow Britain's lead by unilaterally lifting trade restrictions.

EUROPEAN SANCTIONS



	United Kingdom	France	Italy	West Germany	Spain	Portugal	Netherlands	Greece	Belgium	Denmark	Ireland	Luxembourg
Gold coins	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Iron & steel	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Coal	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Uranium	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Agricultural produce	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Products of parastatals	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Arms	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Petroleum products	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Sensitive equip. to army, police	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
New nuclear collaboration	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
New investment	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Air links	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●

- Mandatory
- Voluntary
- Not applicable
- Considered binding on EC member states
- Applied country-by-country by EC members

- The European Community discourages scientific and cultural agreements except where these contribute to ending apartheid.
- EC members recalled military attaches in 1985 and refuse accreditation to SA attaches.
- The EC proposed a freeze on official sporting and security contacts in 1985.

Graphic and research by CA Robertson
Sources: SA Indicator, South, embassy spokesmen for Spain, Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal and Greece.

No turning back from landmark parliamentary session

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The session of Parliament which ends today will long be remembered as the one when the National Party finally took the plunge into the Rubicon.

It was the moment when President de Klerk and his Cabinet stopped trying to beat back the tide of history and chose instead to ride it.

As the second session of the ninth Parliament opened on February 2 in Cape Town, astonished MPs of all three Houses either cheered or jeered as they heard Mr de Klerk announce that the NP's moral revolutionary enemies, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party, were to be unbanned immediately and unconditionally.

It was a bold move that surprised nearly everyone, including the ANC itself, and the rank and file of Mr de Klerk's own party.

All he had told the NP caucus the day before was to "fasten your seat-belts". It was as well. They were to be sorely buffeted by stormy winds over the next five months.

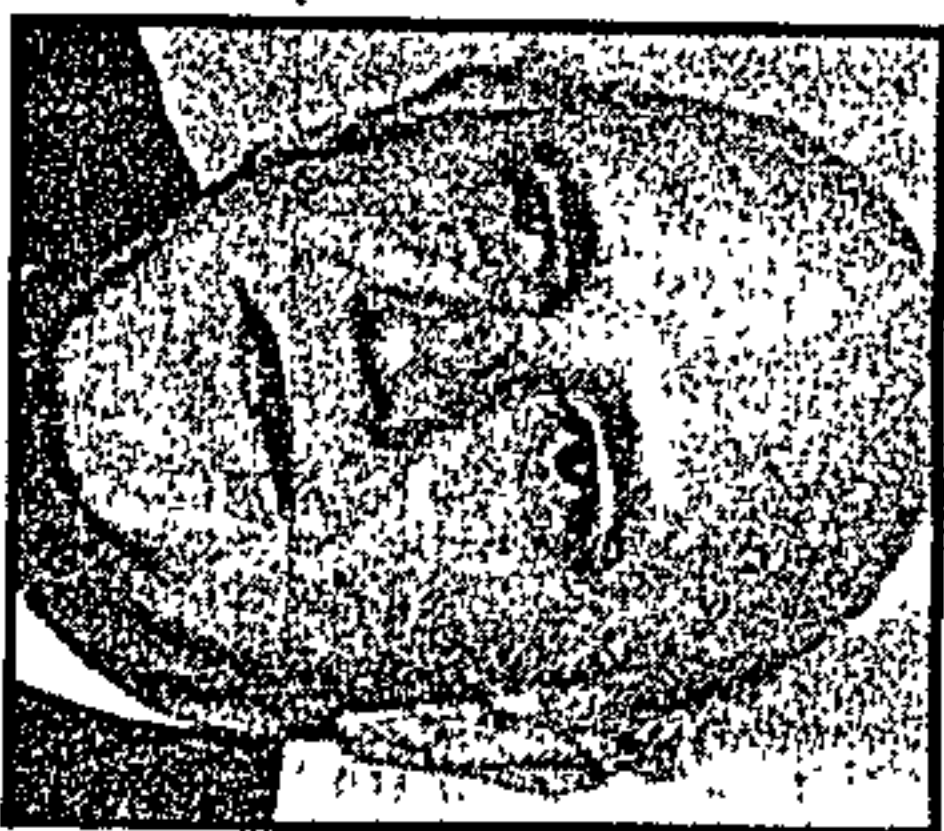
Obstacles

In that time Mr de Klerk devoted most of his considerable energies to sweeping away the obstacles to negotiating a new constitution.

He repeated that he was not ticking off anyone else's "shopping list" of obstacles, and was acting from inner conviction.

In fact Mr de Klerk and his Cabinet drew up their own shopping list. But it contained large elements of other lists — including the list in the ANC's August 19 1989 Harare Declaration of steps needed to create a "climate for negotiation".

To this Mr de Klerk added the re-



President de Klerk... warned NP caucus to "fasten seatbelts".

removal of social discrimination — a step not demanded by the ANC, but by parties within the system.

And, more important, at the Groote Schuur meeting with the ANC from May 2-4, he added the Government's own obstacles — the high level of countryside violence and the ANC's continued advocacy of the armed struggle.

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP at the start of the session largely removed the most important item on all lists (item 19.2 of the Harare Declaration — "Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and people").

The rest of point 19.2 he dealt with by lifting restrictions on 374 people and ordering the release of prisoners held only for their membership of the ANC, PAC or SACP.

He also tackled the Harare Declaration's last point (19.5 — "Cease all political trials and political executions") on February 2 by announcing a moratorium on executions, pending the passing of legislation scrapping the mandatory death penalty.

The legislation — the Criminal Law Amendment Bill — was passed this week.

Mr de Klerk dramatically launched into the demand for the release of political prisoners on February 11 by unconditionally releasing the world's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela. (Point 19.1 of the Harare Declaration — "Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them.")

Mr Mandela rapidly showed his considerable skills of statesmanship and moved up to share centre stage with Mr de Klerk in a unique and intriguing relationship.

The release of remaining political prisoners was to be the main obstacle. After the ANC called off an April meeting to discuss the obstacles, Mr de Klerk kept the initiative by publishing the Indemnity Bill, an enabling measure to allow him to grant immunity from prosecution and arrest to political exiles.

Groote Schuur

Eventually the ANC and the Government sat down to their first formal meeting, at Groote Schuur.

The Groote Schuur Minute set up a working group to tackle the major issue of identifying which political prisoners should be released and which exiles pardoned.

It also committed both sides to peaceful political solutions — the first step towards removing the Government's major obstacle — the ANC's armed struggle.

The Government won another important concession in the ANC's agreement to help it lift the state of emergency by contributing to the ending of violence.

The Government also agreed to review security legislation — addressing a point in the Harare Declaration.

Point 19.3 of the Harare Declaration, the removal of troops from the townships, seemed to have dropped off the ANC's list as all parties agreed that troops were necessary to subdue the warring factions in Natal.

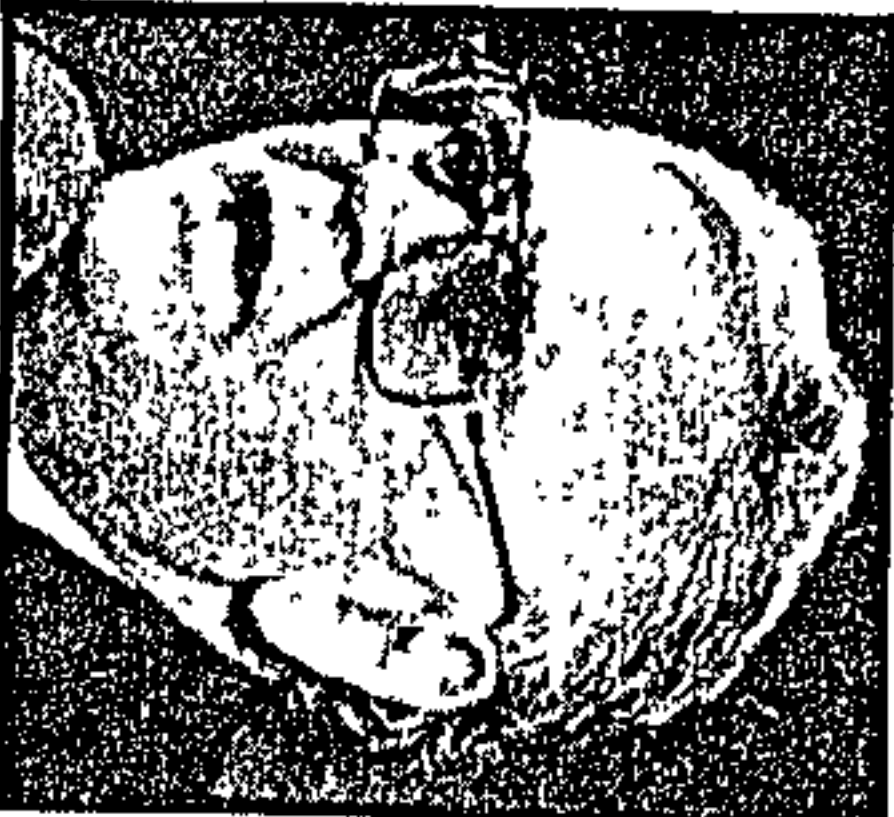
Mr de Klerk's rapid changes began having a dramatic impact on the outside world.

The endemic political violence in the townships subsided briefly after the unbanning of the ANC and release of Mr Mandela, but soon returned to the worst levels of 1985.

Inside Parliament, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht described Mr de Klerk's February 2 speech as the most revolutionary he had ever heard and accused him of betraying the white electorate.

Outside Parliament, militant rightists like the AWP's Eugene Terre-Blanche openly threatened violence.

The Democratic Party struggled to maintain an independent voice as Mr de Klerk's assault on social apartheid was spearheaded by the Discriminatory Legislation Regarding



SACP chief Joe Slovo... joked about wearing red socks.

Public Amenities Repeal Bill which repealed the notorious Separate Amenities Act and other laws and thereby abolished segregation of public amenities in other laws.

The Bill was introduced on June 1 and passed this week.

The Government had already announced the beginning of the end of segregation in white State schools, hospitals and prisons.

The effect of Mr de Klerk's drastic reforms on white voters was dramatically illustrated in the Umhaz by-election on June 6, when the NP's "safe" majority of 2 835 dropped to a perilous 547 as their voters flocked to the CP — and the DP vote plummeted from 3 314 to 982. The DP went into deep identity crisis and resolved to ditch its troops leadership.

On June 7, Mr de Klerk tackled one of the major obstacles to negotiations, (point 19.4 of the Harare Declaration) by lifting the state of emergency

everywhere except in Natal and plunging nearly R1 billion into beefing up police pay and other law and order measures.

The major obstacles remaining by the end of the session were the pardoning of political prisoners and exiles and the ANC's armed struggle.

The joint ANC/Government working group appointed to investigate this had reported back on May 21. Well-informed sources said it had agreed that all political crimes would be pardoned in phases, coinciding with a phased abandonment of the armed struggle.

The Government had accepted the report, but the ANC leadership had postponed its reaction until July 11.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen felt moved to say this week that the Government's efforts to date had created a completely different climate, and he urged the ANC to review its "anachronistic" pre-conditions.



CP leader Andries Treurnicht... said white electorate had been betrayed.

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11/11 (304A) 10
 Apr 22/6/90

'Club' eager to welcome purified SA

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Once South Africa has a government that is "truly representative" of all its people, it will be readmitted to the Commonwealth with open arms, but not before then, according to senior Commonwealth sources.

The ANC for its part takes the view that South Africa never left the Commonwealth, that the years between 1961 and 1990 were an aberration for which the white regime, lacking legitimacy, must take responsibility.

ANC President Oliver Tambo made this clear when he addressed the Royal Commonwealth Society in London before a stroke left him partly incapacitated.

For an ANC government, therefore, readmission to the Commonwealth would be almost a matter of course, and it would be supported by the National Party.

Once the De Klerk-Mandela talks reach a satisfactory conclusion, therefore, and a new, power-sharing government is installed, South Africa will almost automatically be restored to membership.

South Africa would become the Commonwealth's 51st member — Namibia was the 50th.

The debate on the value of Commonwealth membership is waged endlessly, particularly in Britain, where there are many vocal critics who want Britain to pull out, because they say the Third World tail tries to wag the imperial dog. However, the chances of this happening are nil.

For South Africa readmission would confer decided advantages.

The Commonwealth would provide the new South African government with a forum, additional to the UN, and smaller and more intimate, in which to explain its views. After five decades of growing isolation, South Africa under a new government would be an unknown actor in international politics.

Own resources

Also, with the opening up of Eastern Europe to foreign investment, other needy parts of the world, Southern Africa included, would have to depend more and more on their own resources and other contacts.

UN membership would give South Africa political access to the international community, but Commonwealth membership would provide it with a club in which it could address an extended "family" with shared associations and a myriad of potentially beneficial economic links.

A further point made by Commonwealth leaders is that a new South African government, functioning in a multicultural context, would find merit in belonging to an organisation whose whole structure is multicultural and in which anti-racism is a fundamental principle.

On a more practical level, the Commonwealth implements diverse programmes relating to education, health, science, law, exports, technical assistance and so forth. Member countries are enabled to draw on a pool of Commonwealth expertise and in turn to contribute their own expertise.

South Africa has many skills that are relevant to the continent, and particularly to the Southern African region, where there are already half-a-dozen Commonwealth members.

Finally, a number of bilateral programmes operated by richer Commonwealth countries like Britain and Canada are heavily weighted in favour of lesser developed Commonwealth countries. Some 70-80 percent of Britain's programmes and a substantial portion of Canada's, are weighted in this way.

However, South Africa's most pressing need when a new power-sharing government is created will be to inform the world what kind of regime has emerged in a country that has lived for half-a-century in the dark ages.

Friday June 22, 1990

SA on the last lap - Minister

30449

Sowetan
22/6/90

THE Government expects real negotiations for a new constitution to start early next year, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

Speaking at a briefing for journalists, Viljoen expressed impatience at what he said were delays by the African National Congress and warned that the "negotiation train could leave some people on the station".

He added, however, that a "second train could be sent to catch up".

Viljoen suggested that the ANC was delaying the

Sowetan Correspondent

start of negotiations by insisting all political prisoners and exiles should be pardoned immediately and without qualification.

But, at the same time, the ANC was still carrying on with its armed struggle rhetoric.

This was irresponsible and inconsistent with the Groote Schuur Minute which the ANC had agreed to, which expressly referred to a timetable for pardoning political offenders, he said.

Over the past six months the Government

had removed the most important obstacles to negotiation, the Minister said.

It was now on the "last lap" of the phase of creating the right climate for negotiation.

Most leaders across the political spectrum clearly wished the Government to take the lead to get negotiations off the ground now.

The political scene was already so "normalised" that political parties and organisations could organise and create policy without restriction.

Viljoen said no progress would be made if people continued to judge the Government's efforts

against a preconceived "shopping list" of obstacles to be removed.

The Government believed its changes were so fundamental they demanded a re-evaluation by other parties of their previous, now "anachronistic" positions.

He said that over the next six months the National Party would extend and refine its constitutional departure points at its provincial congresses.

The real negotiations, which he expected to begin early next year, included the phase of "talks about talks" - about how the negotiation process should look.

DP dump the troika

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party is set to ditch its controversial troika leadership structure — and the race for a new single leader is already on.

Leading the charge are the DP's pragmatic parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer and the party's flamboyant co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

Remaining troika member Mr Wynand Malan, who yesterday declined to be photographed with the party's other two leaders, is not seen as a serious contender.

The party's national chairman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, was yesterday being punted by party MPs as a strong outsider.

The DP's caucus yesterday decided that it had had enough of troika rule and decided to end the joint leadership arrangement that has been a hall-

mark of the party's short but turbulent history since its birth last April.

The issue will only be finalised later this year at a national congress which has the final say on matter.

But the issue was virtually sealed in advance by a statement issued yesterday by the chairman of the party's national council, Mr David Gant, who said the party's three leaders were unanimous that the troika should end.

Mr Gant said the leaders believed the troika had "served its intended purpose of moulding the three predecessor parties (the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement) into one and that the party would in future be best served by one leader".

This view was supported by the caucus, he said.

The leadership question will be settled at the coming congress.

CARL TMS 22/6/90

3048

FW to see Cosatu over Act

Sowetan 22/6/90

304A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has moved to ease tension between the Government and trade unions over proposals to change the Labour Relations Act, but has ruled out amending the legislation before next year's session of Parliament.

He has agreed to Cosatu's request for a meeting which will take place at 10am on June 26 at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Minister of Manpower, Mr Eli Louw, will attend the meeting.

De Klerk has invited Nactu and Saccola.

The meeting arises after Cosatu threatened a nine-point action plan - including a national stay-away - if De Klerk did not step in to help resolve the dispute.

Conflict arose because Cosatu wanted the Act amended this session. Louw argued that there

was not enough time.

The Democratic Party has called for a second session this year, if necessary, to change the Act.

Manpower spokesman Mr Tony Leon argued that the fact that the proposed amendments were the result of "consultation, negotiation and agreement" between the "giants" in the employer and employee spheres "means that they could ensure significant peace into the foreseeable future."

However, the President said in a letter to Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo yesterday that it was "clear that further deliberations and discussions would be in the best interest of both workers and employers."

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304A

Huddleston's dream may be in sight

Soweto
22/6/90

LONDON - Three years ago Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said he was determined to see the end of apartheid before he died.

Now at 77 and after almost half a century of fighting the system, which he watched being established while serving as parish priest of a Johannesburg black township in the 1940s and 50s, he thinks the goal is in sight.

"It won't take 10 years - it'll happen in four - either that or there'll be a bloody revolution," Huddleston, former Anglican bishop in Tanzania and Archbishop of the Indian Ocean, said.

"South African President FW de Klerk is more anxious than anybody to have a very quick negotiated settlement leading to a constitutional set up which will be acceptable to all parties," said Huddleston, who as a "prohibited immigrant" has been unable to return to South Africa in 34 years.

Impatient

The young black population is impatient for change, he said.

"And if De Klerk doesn't do it quickly his Rightwing is going to create mayhem...he knows that."

Although largely retired from his clerical duties, Huddleston is still campaigning relentlessly.

He is president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and chairman of the International Defence and Aid Fund, which defends political prisoners in South Africa.

He heads the British-Tanzania Society, the National Peace Council and several other organisations.

He made the headlines last year after being jeered by shareholders of Switzerland's largest bank, UBS, when he told their meeting they should stop supporting the South African regime by buying its gold and lending it money.

He is in close touch with the

FOCUS

African National Congress (ANC), whose leaders he knew well in Johannesburg. He travels frequently to the black Frontline states to speak, minister and campaign.

"I don't separate religion and politics. There's no way you can," he said.

Now based in London in a modest flat belonging to St James' Church in the middle of London's busy West End, Huddleston is constantly nagging the British and European governments to enforce and maintain economic sanctions against Pretoria.

"The only effective way (of ending apartheid), if it is to be non-violent, is mandatory sanctions," he tells them.

He has put his case to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher repeatedly.

"The British government is just immovable," he sighed.

Britain relaxed its voluntary sanctions in February this year, saying it acknowledged reforms had begun.

Huddleston insists it was wrong to do so.

Repealed

"Not a single (fundamental) apartheid law has yet been repealed. The whole of the apartheid structure is still in place," he said.

He recounted his last meeting with Thatcher a few years ago when she told him sanctions did not work. He pointed out that she had imposed them immediately on Argentina during the Falklands conflict and she retorted that it was a war situation.

"I said is this not a war situation? There are 100 000 troops in Namibia and South Africa seems

to feel it is free to bomb and attack Frontline states and villages," he said, adding that the discussion got no further.

He has met consecutive British foreign ministers and has been to Dublin several times recently to lobby European Community (EC) ministers to keep their sanctions in place.

The crunch comes when EC heads of state discuss the issue at their Dublin summit on June 25-26, Huddleston said, breaking off to answer a call from Commonwealth Secretary-General Sonny Ramphal who wanted to know of ANC leader Nelson Mandela's plans when he comes to London in July.

Huddleston left for Spain yesterday to advise the government - at its invitation - on South Africa and sanctions ahead of the EC meeting.

Evasive

A book on Huddleston's life, which he calls a picture book not a biography - he has refused to allow a biography to be written until after he is dead - was published on Wednesday.

It is based on a film about him called Makhalipile, Zulu for the Dauntless One, but he is evasive about who gave him the name, saying only that it comes from a

song written about him, sung by black schoolchildren as a farewell when he left South Africa in 1956.

Huddleston looks slightly shrunken in his baggy suit, faded purple shirt and clerical collar, his distinctive sharp features softened by age.

His room is crammed with books on fellow anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere alongside T S Eliot's poems and well-thumbed Bibles. A recent picture of Mandela and an African crucifix adorn the walls.

Huddleston has written only one book. "Naught for Your Comfort", published in 1956. It is an angry and bitter attack on apartheid's system of laws which he saw foster poverty, homelessness, unemployment and crime in Sophiatown, now part of the black township of Soweto.

"I just had to write it ... nobody had actually written about what apartheid is like from first hand experience," he said.

A second phone call interrupted, bringing news that the European Parliament had just voted by 177 to 47 in favour of a resolution to maintain sanctions.

"That's marvellous," said Huddleston, grinning broadly. - Sapa-Reuter



Father Trevor Huddleston



THE PRICE OF IT ALL: Nelson Mandela (left) in high spirits and (right) somewhat more exhausted. His hectic diary is causing concern.

Respect for FW's contribution is slowly emerging

NEW YORK — The glitz and glamour surrounding Mr Nelson Mandela's eight-city United States visit are in danger of concealing some early signs that Mr Mandela's main mission — to press for continued, perhaps even tougher sanctions — may be eroding.

Reward

President Bush, to meet the ANC deputy leader in Washington later, is reported to be eager at least to scale down sanctions and to be willing to offer President de Klerk some reward for his initiatives.

But before President Bush or Congress itself can ease sanctions, the SA Government must end apartheid and meet all the criteria established in the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

Though the goal-posts seem constantly to be shifting, there is now

RAMSAY MILNE

wide acknowledgement Mr de Klerk has gone a long way towards meeting Congress's goals — the release of Mr Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC, the freeing of some political prisoners and this week's final scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act are only some of the steps along the way.

Nonetheless, with all the tributes going Mr Mandela's way, many Americans are openly asking why is it that President de Klerk, the man who released him and who initiated the dialogue with the ANC, is lost in the shadows?

Said one commentator: "Americans watching Mr Mandela's triumphant



PRESIDENT DE KLERK.

ticker-tape parade in New York might be deceived into believing that Mr Mandela was a head of state instead of a recently released political prisoner."

Significantly, in an editorial before Mr Mandela's arrival, the powerful

New York Times, a consistent and vehement supporter of sanctions against South Africa, wavered for the first time.

Acknowledging Europe was beginning to have second thoughts on the issue, it said the purpose of economic penalties is to promote change and compromise, and added "a gradual easing of sanctions may well make sense as both sides begin good-faith bargaining" — an almost epochal change of direction by this newspaper, acknowledged as a powerful shaper of public opinion and one of the creators of the sanctions movement.

Its editorial board entertained Mr Mandela to lunch this week, considered an extraordinary reward in Mr Mandela's over-crowded itinerary

for the paper's remarkable focus on South Africa and its support of the goals of the ANC.

Other newspapers have been quick to follow, many of them using the carrot-and-stick metaphor in suggesting Mr de Klerk, having been beaten with sanctions, is entitled to be encouraged towards further progress by the reward of expanded US trade and aid.

Also notable is the ANC's skirting of Chicago, America's second largest city, because in the estimation of ANC itineraries its mayor, Mr Richard Daley, who is white, is not sufficiently enthusiastic about sanctions.

Mr Mandela has also been taken to task for his continuing refusal to renounce violence.

Closer look

One of his critics, Mr David Sanders, a consultant to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington, said Americans should ask themselves "just who is the real Nelson Mandela?" and urging them, before draping him in the garments of Abraham Lincoln or Martin Luther King, to take a closer look.

Claiming that Mr Mandela's conflicting public statements on violence may be prolonging the suffering in Natal, he said various acts of violence and intimidation by the ANC called into question its commitment to political pluralism.

Mr Mandela's personal magnetism has helped the ANC capture the high ground here, and these dissenting opinions will hardly make a dent in his personal popularity with Americans. But they are signs that not all Americans have been totally hypnotised by the hoopla.

3000A

Wessels in 'first' ^{CM 7.1.88} with ANC ^{23/6/90}

Political Staff

IN HIS breakthrough appearance on a public platform with an ANC member, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, said yesterday that South Africans had to identify with Africa in their hearts.

Mr Wessels participated in a panel discussion at a conference in Port Elizabeth, organised by Idasa on "South Africa in Transition".

It was the first time a member of the government had appeared on a public platform in South Africa with a member of the ANC.

Also present was Mr Jeffrey Radebe, who was sentenced to 10 years' jail in 1986 for being a member of the ANC and for receiving military training abroad and who was one of the 28 Robben Island prisoners-freed a week ago.

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

Other groups will have to join talks

Handwritten notes: C/Pren 24/6/90 (223) (224) (304/17)

TOO many people believed negotiations for a new constitution in South Africa would take place only between the government and the ANC, excluding all other groups in the country, *Die Burger* said in an editorial.

"Such an arrangement would be a recipe for disaster and inevitable conflict. Only by including the largest possible number of interest groups who represent the population spectrum, could formulae be worked out with the highest measure of consensus.

"The government realises this very well. Already it has talked to several representative groups. It happened again in Cape Town when the government talked to homeland leaders.

"President FW de Klerk invited the chief ministers of the self-governing areas, the administrators of all four provinces, the chairmen of the ministers councils, and the commissioners-general of the self-governing areas for discussions. It was well attended.

"Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has also stressed that negotiations cannot take place only between the two main actors.

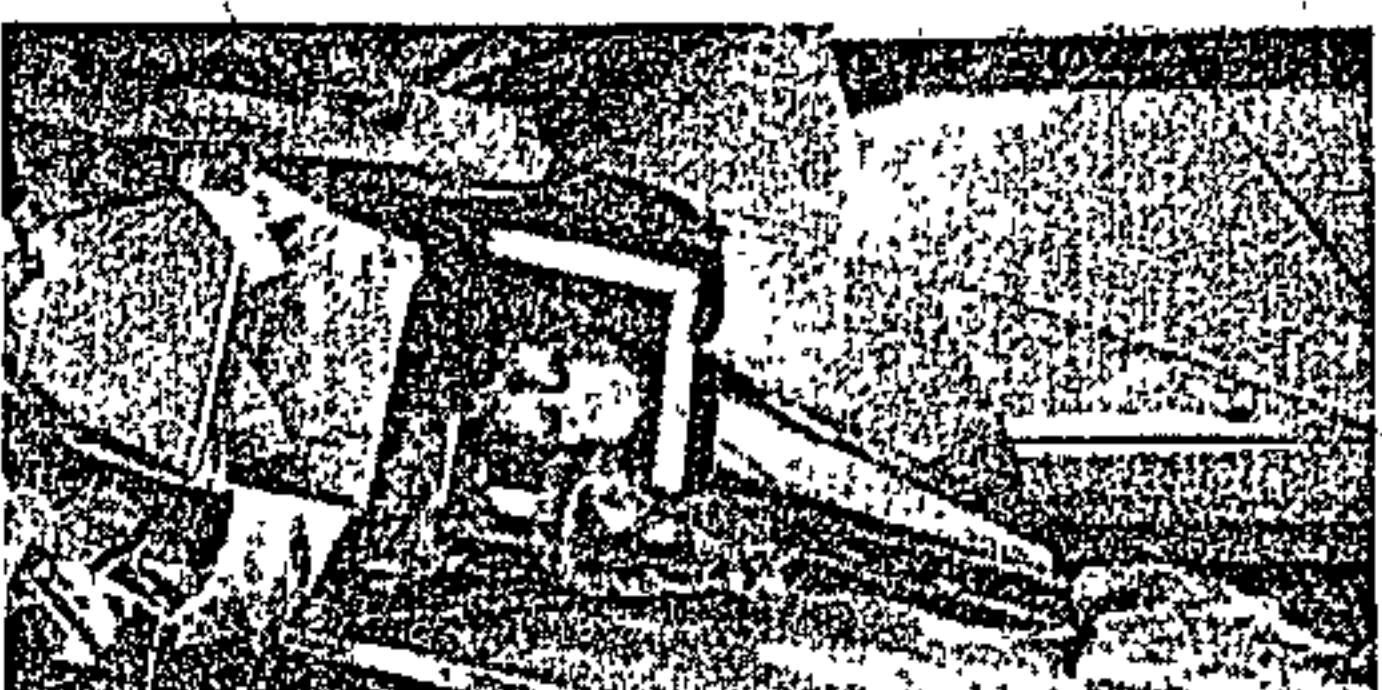
"He said political organisations identified as leading organisations within the present structures have had their places reserved at the negotiation table. At the same time organisations outside the present structures will be included. The only precondition will be a commitment to a peaceful solution.

"Hopefully all who qualify would take hold of it, eagerly and with an open mind," said *Die Burger*.

Terrorists strike as police step up hunt for fugitive fanatic Piet Skiet

BOMBERS RIP NAT OTTERS

AFTERMATH... debris piled up at the NP's Auckland Park offices after the blast from which an NP official was lucky to escape with his life



By DE WET POTGIETER,
MARK STANSFELD and
DOMINIC JONES

TERRORISTS have bombed two National Party offices on the Reef as police last night stepped up their hunt for right-wing fanatic Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who this week declared "war" on the Government.

The choice of targets — NP offices in Johannesburg West and Heidekruijn, constituencies of two members of the Cabinet team negotiating with the ANC — indicates the blasts were the work of a right-wing terror squad.

By last night, no one had claimed responsibility, but police public relations chief, Major-General Herman Stadler, said the use of commercial explosives pointed to right-wingers.

The blasts devastated offices in the constituencies of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Development Aid, and Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

A young NP official, Mr Willem Schap, was lucky to escape unharmed in a blast near his room at the NP's offices on the corner of Kingsway and University Road, Auckland Park, at about midnight on Friday.

The other explosion, 30 minutes before, was in the Heidekruijn shopping centre near Roodepoort.

Last night Dr Van der Merwe said the Government would not be intimidated by bomb attacks.

Self-appointed

"There has been so much talk of war by right-wingers that one could almost expect this kind of thing," he added. Meanwhile, it was learnt yesterday that Rudolph — self-appointed leader of an under "round" Boeristai army —

Botha babes are home at last



Send me to jail storms actor in POW with ex-wife

By DOUGLAS GORDON
TV Correspondent

TV STAR Michael Brunner this week vowed to go to jail over a bitter cash row with his ex-wife.

A defiant Brunner, 56, who plays bigot Barney Bosman in People Like Us and the tough dad in The Game, said this week: "It's been an eight-year nightmare. Now I've had enough. It has got to end."

Court papers served on the actor on Friday demand payment of R1 249 by tomorrow, or he will be arrested. Brunner is in Namibia filming the wartime drama The Suffering Desert, with film star, Jess Ackland, Iskra Connery and Rupert Everett.

"They can drag me out of here in a police van," he said. "Arrest or not there must be a point when a man must finally stop paying for a divorce."

The former Port Elizabeth medical rep moved to Johannesburg after his 15-year marriage ended in divorce in November 1982.

A well-known stage actor, his bad luck turned to good fortune in 1983. While surviving on R25 a week in a caravan park, he made his TV debut in John Connolly's acclaimed series on the 1922 miners' strike. Playing militant union rebel Taffy Williams, Brunner's bullet-headed aggression and icy blue stare launched him to fame as the nastiest baddest on TV.

Summons

But off-camera, Michael was locked in



MICHAEL BRUNNER as he appears in TV's The Game

Porn film trio held in swoop on flat

By BILL KRIGE

POLICE interrupted the making of a steamy homosexual sex video when they burst into a Port Elizabeth flat and found a woman filming two men in bed, one of them naked and bound.

Police said the threesome arrested in the suburb of Hunters Retreat were "reasonably prominent people." One has already appeared in court.

A 45-year-old man has been charged with the possession and development of pornographic material while a man aged 29 and a woman of 23 are assisting police with their inquiries.

Confiscated from the flat by narcotics squad police led by Detective-Sergeant Mark Minnie were a video camera, film and a variety of sex aids, including vibrators, oils and stimulants.

Police duty officer Colonel Jan Dord said police also took possession of various straps and dog leashes, pornographic magazines and other literature.

None of the three is married. Col Dord described them as "reasonably prominent" — but that's not to say they were racetrack owners or anything like that.

WOMAN

24/6/90

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By last night, no one had claimed responsibility, but police public relations chief, Major-General Herman Stadler, said the use of commercial explosives pointed to right-wingers.

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The other explosion, 30 minutes before, was in the Helderama shopping centre near Roodepoort.

Last night Dr Van der Merwe said the Government would not be intimidated by bomb attacks.

Self-appointed

"There has been so much talk of war by right-wingers that one could almost expect this kind of thing," he added.

Meanwhile, it was learnt yesterday that Rudolph — self-appointed leader of an underground "Boerestaat army" that has "declared war" on the Government — fled his lair near Brits just 30 minutes before police swooped on it two weeks ago.

And this weekend, as the massive manhunt for the Boere Pimpernel centred on the north-western Transvaal — heartland of the rabid right — the word went out from the police: Get this walking time-bomb before there's a bloodbath.

Rudolph, 53, has been on the run since he masterminded the theft of sophisticated arms and ammunition from the SAAF arsenal in Pretoria over the Easter weekend.

This week the Sunday Times received a copy of a videotape made at one of his secret hide-outs.

In a scene straight from an Irish Republican Army textbook, South Africa's most wanted man spelt out his war plan against the Government.

The video depicts him at a table in what appears to be a garage or barn.

Behind him hangs a Vierkleur — the flag of the old Transvaal Republic — and he is flanked by four armed men wearing balaclavas.

Network

Two of them cradle R-5 rifles, almost certainly from the SAAF arsenal.

On the 32-minute tape, Rudolph — described this week by a senior police officer as a megalomaniac who will stop at nothing — exhorts right-wingers to desert their homes and take their "freedom struggle" underground.

Senior police officers confirmed that the radical right had set up an "extremely efficient" underground network in the past few years to harbour "Boer freedom fighters".

"Their security system is tight, with tentacles reaching everywhere," said a spokesman.

"It's also obvious that they have strong financial support — but no underground operation is infallible, and we'll get Rudolph."

But he admitted that time was running out.

"Piet is a megalomaniac. Right now, he seems to be concentrating on recruiting

□ To Page 2



Leon, Andre

Chap with

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NAMIBIA'S most
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Hopes fade for early talks

24/6/90
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DISAGREEMENT between the Government and the ANC is building up on how — rather than whether or when — to get to the negotiating table.

The critical questions of who will be allowed at the table, in what numbers and ratios, and how their opinions will be weighed up against the others, are sharpening into a point of serious contention as the prospects for an early start to negotiations dim.

By LESTER VENTER

This week Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen acknowledged that delaying tactics — for which the Government blames the ANC — mean that real negotiations probably won't start before early next year.

In the meantime, Government experts say, the two main parties and others have to sort out who gets to sit at

the table and how they get there.

The ANC wants a constituent assembly. This would entail an election where representatives would be chosen and would sit at the table in the proportion in which they were elected.

Because of the numerical dominance of blacks, this would mean the ANC would probably have the major say in the decisions of the constituent assembly.

The Government wants the questions of who and how many sit at the table settled beforehand by consensus.

Frequent

A senior Government source said on Friday there should be "reasonable consensus" on which groups constituted political forces in SA. The Government believed all parties should be evenly represented at the table.

The Government also believed there should be no voting to make decisions at the table. Instead it felt that constitutional plans could be arrived at by consensus.

In a briefing earlier this week, Dr Viljoen spelt out the Government's arguments against a constituent assembly:

- A constituent assembly

was suitable for the birth of a new state. Here the state already existed with a constitution that had simply to be altered;

- An election for a constituent assembly would have to be on an open voters' roll. This would, in practice, anticipate one-man-one-vote negotiating decisions;

- An election was more suitable at the end of negotiations rather than at the beginning;

- An election for such an assembly would commit the contesting parties to policy positions which they would have to treat as a mandate and adhere to during negotiations.

In the six months between now and the likely start of negotiations, the Government and the ANC are expected to meet frequently to discuss a host of preliminary details — such as the venue, the size and shape of the negotiating table and the procedures for discussions and decision-making.

Dr Viljoen estimated that the negotiating process itself could take two years.

He said several homeland leaders were, at this stage, in favour of the ANC's idea of a constituent assembly.

Bombs rip Nat offices

□ From Page 1

people into his web of terror. "But there's no telling what his next move might be. He needs to keep the spotlight on his crusade — and the next step could well be a bloodbath," the policeman warned.

A leading psychologist issued an even more chilling warning after studying Rudolph's videotape.

"He scares the hell out of me," she said.

"This is an extremely dangerous, logical, cold and calculating man, desperate enough to begin killing and maiming to get what he wants."

The greatest danger lay in his leadership potential, she said.

"On the tape, he is clever enough to couch his message in words that will appeal to certain members of our society.

"He is blatantly militaristic — and if he can get like-minded people behind him, then we are in for plenty of trouble ...

"To make matters worse,



VIDEO WARS ... Piet 'Sklet' Rudolph as he appears on a video tape sent to the Sunday Times

S/Times 24/6/90
he also has the charisma to attract others.

The psychologist expressed concern about Rudolph's emotional stability.

"In his mind, anybody who is not for him, is against him. Those who oppose his ideas are The Enemy — and he is sincere in his determination

to eliminate all who stand in his way.

"He appears calm and collected, but became highly emotional when talking about the Melrose House incident.

"This is a clue to his mental makeup. In my opinion, he is a stick of dynamite on a short fuse, just waiting to be ignited."

The search for Rudolph is concentrated on farms around Thabazimbi and Brits — where right-wingers claim strong support.

As a price of R50 000 was put on his head by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok this week, specialist security police units joined the hunt.

Some are operating under cover.

The chief of Pretoria's Murder and Robbery Squad, Colonel Suiker Britz, yesterday reiterated his commitment to finding his quarry — with whom he served as a young constable in the SAP.

Arsenal (304A)

"If Piet wants to shoot it out, we'll give him a fight," said the veteran detective, who has brought some of South Africa's most dangerous criminals to book.

Maj-Gen Stadler, also the SAP's terrorism expert, said there was "grave concern" about the rise of the right-wing militants.

"We have reason to believe that commercial explosives stockpiled by white miners may have found their way into Rudolph's arsenal.

"The situation is still reasonably under control — but it could develop into full-scale white terrorism at any time.

"So far, there have been only threats to overthrow the Government. But once a new political dispensation becomes a reality, a well-orchestrated right-wing backlash could follow."

CP loses Boksburg majority

CM 7/12/90 4/6/90
(3049)
BOKSBURG. — The Conservative Party has lost its majority on the Boksburg Town Council following the decision by two key CP members to sit as independent councillors.

CP caucus chairman Mr Beyers de Klerk and the party's chief whip on the council, Mr T J Ferreira, announced their intentions on Friday but indicated they still supported the party.

The decision effectively means the CP has seven seats and the NP has nine. A by-election will be held on June 20 in Ward 19. — Sapa

Govt not fit for interim rule — Mbeki

TIM COHEN

AN INTERIM government could not be entrusted to the people who made the mess in the first place, ANC director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki told about 5 000 Wits students on Wednesday.

Mbeki spoke at a mass meeting which formed part of the SRC's campaign in support of a constituent assembly.

He said the legitimacy of SA's new constitution would depend on the participation of the people which required the election of a constituent assembly elected by the people on the basis of one person one vote.

President F W de Klerk had raised a "strange notion" requiring the proposed constitution to be ratified in a referendum by whites. He said the ANC had no objec-

tion to a non-racial referendum.

The government could not be responsible for the administration of the country in the interim stage, because of its partiality and the partiality of other bodies.

For example the SABC had reported "down to the last cup of tea" every move De Klerk had made on his overseas trip, but had not reported on ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela's African trip.

Asked how how the ANC would deal with white fears and white rights, he said no one had yet been able to tell him what a "white right" was. White fears were a consequence of apartheid.

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The ANC's Thabo Mbeki addressing Wits students on Wednesday.

Picture ROBERT BOTHA

THE future hangs uncertainly over us, like a promise of redemption, or like a death sentence. We are excited and unsure, we do not know where we are going. We do not even know where we are, or who we are.

One nation or several? Racial oligarchy or hodgepodge of tribes? Is diversity the glory of South Africa, or its cross? Is the main dividing line class or colour? Or language? Or religion? Does our notoriously unequal division of wealth follow racial lines, or is it more complicated than that?

The temptation is great to brush aside these questions, and to say piously that we must build a new nation, but few things (as we have learned from the calamity of 1910) are so risky as a constitution that tries to ignore uncomfortable realities.

If South Africans may reasonably be defined as a nation deeply fissured by differences of language, religion, race, cultural habit, historical experience and self-definition, then we have two extreme options: try to obliterate the differences under a strong central government that brooks no nonsense, or — as Mao said — let a hundred schools of thought contend.

There is no doubt which option is the more dangerous: to try to obliterate differences in a system that gives unfettered control to "50% plus one" (or even 90% plus one) risks unleashing into this volatile mixture the destructive fury of an IRA: a psychopathic right-wing underground army that carries violent resistance, against all odds, from generation to generation.

That makes it all the more alarming that the ANC and its various supporting groups persistently reject, as Nelson Mandela did last week, the notion of a federal state. The excuse, put forward most recently by the MDM's Faried Esack, is that such mechanisms to limit the power of "50% plus one" are mere

Beware the leader who wants power only to do good

KEN OWEN

devices to "perpetuate apartheid". A moment's thought exposes the excuse as nonsense. There is hardly a magisterial district, much less a potential federal unit, where whites are not a minority. In fact, former MP Reuben Sive has calculated that even in the "whitest" part of South Africa, which is the PWV area, whites are outnumbered by more than two to one. Elsewhere, the disparity is greater.

Until somebody comes up with a more convincing explanation, we must assume that the rejection of federalism arises from a determination on the part of the ANC to acquire unfettered power. And we must ask ourselves, why this lust for power, if not to coerce?

The problems of definition are severe. We are sketched on the terminology of racism: blacks, whites, coloureds, Asians. Nothing in our history led to quite the same agony as the attempt to lay down a pseudo-scientific definition of racial characteristics.

The Population Registration Act is to South Africa what the death camp monuments are to Germany, a reminder of the obscene perversions committed in service of a spurious definition of ourselves. Ironically,

however, the terminology of race, and the myths that go with it, still dominate our political discourse: rich whites, poor blacks, deprived minorities of coloureds and Indians.

In fact, an equal division of wealth, assuming it were possible, would give the Indians 3% of the whole, which is a little less than their present share; hence equality must make them poorer. But simply to state that fact is to fall into the old obscenity: the truth is that some Indians are very poor, some are very rich, and there is no reason at all to lump them together.

Look at the same question from another angle: almost all home owners in Soweto, and most occupiers of the "little matchboxes", draw large incomes from sub-letting back rooms, Zozo huts, or garages to so-called squatters. As in Sophiatown and old Alexandra in the Fifties, mutterings against the landlords are being heard from the underclass of sub-tenants who, ironically, are drafted into "the struggle" to give legitimacy to the claims of their relatively prosperous landlords! Who

are the rich, who the poor?

When we talk of poor blacks, whom do we mean? Or when we talk, say, about redistribution of wealth, do we mean that the backyard "squatters" will no longer have to pay rent to the new class of Soweto landlords? Or only that the landlords will not pay rent to the municipality? Or do we mean that the very poor will get new houses, and their landlords will lose their extra income?

Or, from yet another angle: the unionised workers have become a new, relatively privileged class, fighting off the hordes of half-starved "scabs" who clamour at the factory gates for jobs. The most under-reported story in South Africa these days, I venture to suggest, is the epidemic of killing and assault that occurs within 500 metres of the factory gate during strikes.

Again, who is rich, and who is poor? Is it better to throw the labour market open to all job-seekers, and let wages slide as a result, or should the unions fight to protect the interests of their members? Even at the cost of condemning the "scabs" not only to desperate poverty, but to high prices?

We are a country of myths and

illusions. The totalitarian machinery created to enforce apartheid also obliterated the facts. Statistics which divide the population according to the unscientific criteria of the Population Registration Act serve only to conceal reality, not to illuminate it.

In addition, if we are honest we must confess, as the Sowetan's Thami Mazwai has recently suggested, that we have all used those statistics as instruments of propaganda, to attack the National Party, or to whip up foreign funding, or to get foreign bursaries and teaching posts and subsidies, or for a thousand purposes, which, in the shadow-world of apartheid, might have seemed legitimate — but which now seem increasingly questionable, even shabby.

Nor does it help to claim purity of motive. A man who worked for the notorious Tomlinson Commission in drawing up the blueprint for apartheid, now preaching non-racism with the zeal of a convert, assures me that at the time, they all thought it the right thing to do.

Hoot if you will but listen carefully, now to the socialists demanding power in order to do good. Social engineers, whether Joe Slovo or Hendrik Verwoerd, always mean well when they set out to twist human affairs to fit their megalomaniac visions.

The constitutional challenge, it is trite to say, is to balance two principles which are not always easy to reconcile: equality before the law, and the right to be different. To strike that balance is never easy, but in a country like this, divided in a hundred ways, riven by fierce factions, it is more difficult and more dangerous than in most places.

In this volatile mixture of tribe and class and race, each nursing ancient myths and clashing visions, the surest way to disaster is to formulate another grand plan to replace Verwoerd's grand plan. If our history has taught us anything, it is to be wary of leaders who demand power in order to do good.

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Peaceful change to prevail — De Klerk

Escalating violence in South Africa would not be allowed to jeopardise the process of change in South Africa, President de Klerk said in a recent interview with a European publication.

The complete interview with Mr de Klerk is due to appear in the July/August edition of World Link, published by World Economic Forum, a private foundation based in Switzerland.

"Once the negotiation process has gained momentum, the search for consensus will replace polarisation," Mr de Klerk said.

The Government was capable of containing black violence and white counter-violence and he was confident that peaceful change would prevail.

Mr de Klerk said the time for violent confrontation was over and added that he perceived ANC leader Nelson Mandela as a man who preferred peace to violence.

Universal franchise

"I believe that we can work together with other leaders in negotiating a new constitution for our country on the basis of give and take."

Mr de Klerk said he was in favour of universal franchise within a constitutional dispensation based on non-domination.

"Protection of minorities does not mean protection of privilege nor continuation of domination by a minority. It does, however, mean protection against the abuse of majority power."

But how does Mr de Klerk wish to be remembered?

"I would like to be remembered as an honest leader who had the courage of his convictions and helped to bring long-term peace and justice to South Africa." — Sapa.

Negotiations going well, Mandela tells Bush

ANC likely to 'end hostilities' soon

304A
Stat 25/6/90

By David Braun, Sapa
and Reuter

Washington

Nelson Mandela expects to announce a cessation of hostilities soon after his return to South Africa next month.

That is what the ANC leader told President Bush at their White House meeting yesterday, according to the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen.

Mr Cohen, who was present at the discussions, told reporters Mr Bush reaffirmed to Mr Mandela the full support of the US administration for his lifelong objective to dismantle the apartheid system and replace it with a nonracial, democratic government.

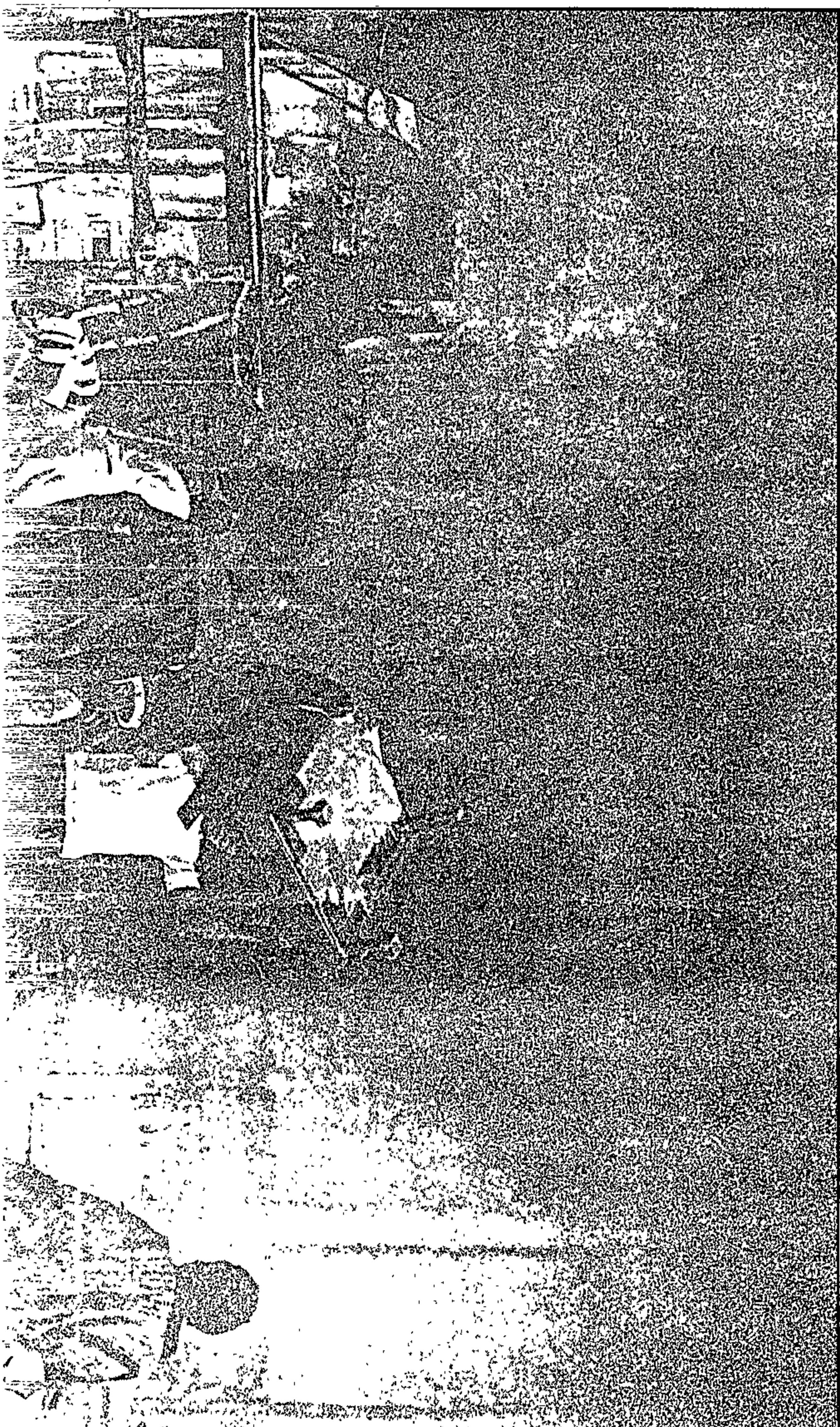
Mr Mandela, he said, had told Mr Bush the process of negotiation was "doing well" and he was optimistic about the next step, which would be to reach agreement with President de Klerk on removing the last obstacles.

Mr Cohen said: "Mr Mandela said that when the basic obstacles to negotiation are overcome, the ANC will announce a cessation of hostilities. He said that when he returns to South Africa on July 18, he expects that such an agreement will be reached rather quickly."

President Bush urged Mr Mandela to go beyond the cessation of hostilities to renounce the armed struggle



Shake ... President Bush greets ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in the garden of the White House yesterday. ● Picture by Associated Press.



26/6/90

304A

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President Bush urged Mr Mandela to go beyond the cessation of hostilities to renounce the armed struggle and to renounce all violence.

"Mr Mandela said he would consider Mr Bush's request."

Consult Congress

Mr Cohen said Mr Mandela repeated his belief that the maintenance of sanctions were important to continue encouraging the process of negotiations. The President said he would take no action on sanctions until the requirements of the US legislation were fulfilled, at which time he would begin a consultative process with the Congress.

President Bush requested advice from Mr Mandela as to the best way the US could use money recently appropriated by Congress, but indicated the US was unlikely to provide assistance to any specific political organisation directly.

At a media conference at his Washington hotel, Mr Mandela said the ANC's mission to the White House had succeeded beyond its wildest expectations. He had the distinct impression that he and Mr Bush had narrowed the gaps that existed between them at the start of the meeting and he came away "very much encouraged".

He listed the remaining obstacles to negotiation as:

- The return of almost 20 000 political exiles.
- The release of almost 1 000 political prisoners.
- The repeal of repressive legislation which has been identified.
- An end to political trials.
- Complete lifting of the state of emergency.

Today, Mr Mandela addresses a joint meeting of the US Congress, the first South African invited to do so.

months ago already been chopped back to 41 as a 1990

fits of a shrinking rand exchange rate.

perhaps more important, now to trim the soaring cost of production.

Tomorrow's meeting between FW and Cosatu may avert labour crisis

Star 25/6/90 1480 30/7 153/166

STAFF REPORTERS

President de Klerk is due to meet representatives of Cosatu, the country's largest labour federation, in Pretoria tomorrow to try to diffuse a looming showdown over labour legislation.

After two years of negotiations, between the bosses, the South African Employers' Consultative Committee (Saccola) on one hand, and the workers, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), Cosatu protested over a delay in the immediate implementation of the agreement in the Labour Relations Act.

Minister of Manpower, Eli Louw, said more time was needed for consultation over the agreement. The unions were not willing to accept this and contacted President de Klerk. This led to his agreeing to meet union representatives.

The Draft Labour Relations Amendment Bill comprises seven pages of interim amendments to the Labour Relations Act passed in 1956 and changed or enlarged scores of times since.

The major changes proposed relate to definitions of two aspects of unfair labour practice, namely:

- Defining the freedom of workers to strike and the right of employers to lockout;
- Broadening the definition of unfair dismissals.

On the first point, the proposed

legislation takes this aspect of organised labour relations back to the 1981 position in that employers cannot ask the Industrial Court to order a strike to stop on the grounds that it is unfair.

In the past, employers could claim that a strike was unfair because of its financial effects on the firm, or because the demands were perceived as unreasonable.

Under the interim amendments, if the correct labour procedures such as declaring a dispute, consultation and attempts at conciliation have been followed, there is no recourse to the Industrial Court to have the strike stopped.

Employers may still seek an interdict to have an illegal strike stopped — such as a wildcat strike before or while the union is involved in negotiation, or a sudden downing of tools by workers without attempting to resolve the issue through negotiation.

Major problems

In this case, the employer must give the workers 48 hours notice that it intends to seek an interdict.

This time lag would present major problems for certain industries — for example, the huge costs and potential damage to equipment should a steel foundry's furnaces have to shut down for two days.

The proposed legislation thus includes a provision that, where the application is served

in less than 48 hours, the other party is given written notice "at the earliest opportunity" and given a reasonable chance to be heard.

The flip side of this provision likewise protects a lockout by the employer from interdict without the union giving the employer similar notice.

On the second point, guidelines for unfair dismissals laid down by the International Labour Organisation have been introduced.

Workers may be fairly dismissed with reference to their performance or conduct — or with reference to the operational needs of the firm involved after consultation with the union and after proper procedures have been followed.

Further provisions simplify and clarify the processes for declaring a dispute; broaden the Act to include, in effect, oil rig workers; clarify certain powers of the Industrial Court; and provide for two assessors chosen by union and employer bodies to sit in Labour Appeal Court hearings.

The wider application given the Act also allows registered unions to have a mixed State and private sector membership.

Once amended, the Act will no longer recognise race as an industrial interest. Unions will not be able to object to the registration of new unions or extension of registration of existing unions on racial grounds.

Groups on the right sign a pact

THE Boerestaat Party (BSP) and the Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) concluded a formal co-operation agreement on Saturday, and immediately came out in support of fugitive right-wing colleague Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

In a statement issued yesterday, and signed by BSP leader Robert van Tonder and BWB head Andrew Ford, it was announced that the two

right-wing organisations would "remain independent but co-operate in our main objective of re-establishing a Boer Republic."

"The Boerestaat Party will give the political leadership while the Boere Weerstandsbeweging will provide for the organising of the Boer army," the BSP executive and BWB leaders said following agreements reached at their meeting at Sandspruit, Randburg.

They voiced their support for fugitive Rudolph, deputy leader of the BSP, who is wanted in connection with the theft of a large cache of arms from the SA Air Force headquarters in Pretoria on April 13.

"The meeting promised all possible legal support for Piet Rudolph, and all the other unknown Piet Rudolph. - Sapa."

FW: Remember me as a man of courage

CMT Tmp 25/6/90 (22) 30/11

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk would like to be remembered in the history books as an "honest leader who had the courage of his convictions".

In a frank disclosure in the latest issue of the Geneva-based international magazine World Link, Mr De Klerk says he would also like to be remembered as the leader who "helped to bring long-term peace and justice to South Africa".

The article, headlined "Africa's New Statesman", describes Mr De Klerk as having turned South Africa's politics "upside down" since taking office last August.

Questioned about his perception of Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr De Klerk said he saw the ANC deputy presi-

dent as a man who "prefers peace to violence".

He continued to find Mr Mandela "a friendly man, a dignified man and an interesting man".

"I believe that we can work together with other leaders in negotiating a new constitution for our country on the basis of give and take."

Asked which events or people had led him to the conclusion that apartheid had to come to an end, Mr De Klerk responded that over the years it had become increasingly clear that apartheid, however well-intentioned it might have been, would not work.

"Racial discrimination, often very hurtful, could not be justified, neither in political nor economic terms."

Wedding feast a beggars' banquet

Waiters served hors d'oeuvres, the stuffed chicken.

1891

TUESDAY, 19 JUNE 1990

Durban: clerical posts

*5. Mr R R MAHABEER asked the Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services:

- (1) (a) How many full-time clerical posts in the Administration: House of Delegates were filled in the Durban metropolitan area from 1 January 1989 up to the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) how many of these posts were filled by part-time clerks from the Durban metropolitan area;

- (2) whether any persons whose applications for these clerical posts were received after the closing date for such applications were appointed to the posts in question; if so, for what reasons?

Answered 19/6/90 D233E
The MINISTER OF THE BUDGET AND AUXILIARY SERVICES:

- (1) (a) 44 full-time clerks (up to 31 May 1990)
(b) 18 part-time clerks.
- (2) No, there are no closing dates for the filling of clerical vacancies.

Villa Lisa

*6. Mr R R MAHABEER asked the Minister of Housing:

- (1) Whether the Director of Local Government in the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture of the Administration: House of Delegates informed a committee under the chairmanship of Mr Thaver that the Minister's predecessor had instructed him to acquire the area known as Villa Lisa within two weeks; if so, (a) when and (b) on what occasion;
- (2) whether the area concerned has been acquired, if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF HOUSING:

- (1) Yes.

- (a) 26 January 1988.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1892

- (b) The instruction was conveyed in writing by the Minister's Administrative Secretary.

- (2) Yes, apart from certain sites collectively known as the Mapleton smallholdings. The land known as Villa Lisa proper, in extent 744,56 ha was acquired for R10 194 326.

- (3) No.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Phoenix: establishment of satellite police station

27. Mr M MOHANLALL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, in view of the current crime rate in Phoenix, he intends establishing a satellite police station on the western fringes of Phoenix; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) how many (i) policemen and (ii) vehicles will operate from it;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

D207E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2)
No, because the area is being effectively policed by Phoenix police station.

Durban harbour: harbour clearance permits

29. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises:

- (a) How many harbour clearance permits in respect of cartage contractors' trucks entering and leaving Durban harbour were issued during the period 1 January 1981 to 31 December 1984 and (b) (i) to which applicants were they issued, (ii) how many permits were issued to each applicant and (iii) what was the date of issue of each such permit?

D230E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

- (a), (b) (i), (ii) and (iii) Particulars for the period in question are not available as records are destroyed after expiration of three years.

1893

WEDNESDAY, 20 JUNE 1990

1894

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Human Sciences Research Council: research projects

509. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:†

- (1) (a) What research projects has the Human Sciences Research Council undertaken in each year since 1986 and (b) which of these projects were carried out, at public expense, (i) on its own initiative and (ii) at the request of the Government;
- (2) (a) the results of which of these projects (i) were and (ii) were not made known to the public, (b) in what way were the relevant results made known in each case and (c) for what reasons were the results of certain projects not so made known;
- (3) whether all information in connection with projects carried out at public expense will be made available to members of Parliament; if not, why not; if so, in what way?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

B1193E

- (1) (a) A list of research projects undertaken in each year since 1986 is given in the attached annexure under column 1.
- (b) (i) Projects carried out on own initiative are reflected as 1 in the attached annexure under column 2.
- (ii) Projects carried out at the request of the Government and at public expense are reflected in the attached annexure under column 3.

- (2) (a) (i) The projects whose results were made known to the public are reflected in the attached annexure under column 4.

- (ii) The projects whose results were not made known to the public are reflected in the attached annexure under column 5.

- (b) The way in which the relevant results were made known in each case is reflected in the attached annexure under column 4.

- (c) The reasons why the results of certain projects were not made known are reflected in the attached annexure under column 5.

- (3) No.

Only those projects whose details have been published in the form of reports or as otherwise agreed upon with the inquirers may be made available to members of Parliament and the general public. Where findings have not been published, the approval of the person or body that commissioned the project concerned will have to be obtained.

Annexure bound in Annexures of House — see M/336-90.

HSRC: opinion poll

544. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:†

- (1) Whether the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) recently undertook an opinion poll in which the support for White political parties in the Republic was determined; if so, what was the result of the opinion poll;
- (2) whether this opinion poll bears any relation to a report in an American newspaper, particulars of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1895

WEDNESDAY, 20 JUNE 1990

1896

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) Yes, as part of the HSRC's ongoing research concerning socio-political trends.

A random sample comprising 1 287 adult White South Africans, which was drawn in May 1990, showed 47% support for the National Party, 26% for the Conservative

(2) No.
(3) No.

3044

258

Party, 12% for the Democratic Party and 1% for the Herstigte Nasionale Party. Fourteen per cent were either unsure or refused to answer the relevant question or did not indicate a White Parliamentary party.

1897

WEDNESDAY, 20 JUNE 1990

1898

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

+ Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Questions standing over from Wednesday, 13 June 1990:

Mossgas project: contracts awarded

*1. Mr L T LANDERS asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises:

(1) (a) How many and (b) which South African and foreign companies have been awarded (i) on-shore and (ii) off-shore construction and fabrication contracts on the Mossgas project;

(2) whether all the expatriate and/or foreign workers employed by a certain company, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply and which has been awarded a contract on the Mossgas project, passed the required compulsory qualification quality control tests? C102E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

(1) (a) (i) ONSHORE

Construction Contracts: 69
69 contracts with 51 RSA companies.
Foreign companies Nil

RSA COMPANIES INVOLVED WITH CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS

Aminco, Babcock Engineering, CBI Constructors SA, Dorbyl Structural Engineering, Frankipile SA, 3G Construction, Genrec, Group 5 Projects, LTA Construction, Murray & Roberts, etc.

If necessary a complete list of names can later be provided at request.

Fabrication Contracts: 570

473 contracts with 157 RSA companies.
97 contracts with 58 foreign companies.

RSA COMPANIES INVOLVED WITH FABRICATION CONTRACTS

Consant Engineering, Cyclops Engineering, D B Thermal, Dorbyl Group (3), Elgin Engineering, Envirotech, Fraser & Chalmers, GEA Aircooled Systems, Howden-Safanco, International Combustion, Rapid Allweiler, Steinmuller.

FOREIGN COMPANIES INVOLVED WITH FABRICATION CONTRACTS

Borsig, Cleveland, Filippo Fochi, Glitch, Graham Manufacturing, Luigi Resta, I P M Laffer, Linde AG, Mannesman Demag, Rhine Ruhr, etc.

(a) (ii) OFFSHORE:

The nature of the work was such that a total of 135 main contracts were placed for construction/fabrication.

Contractors/Fabricators entered into further large numbers of sub-contracts.

In view of the special high technology nature of the work, arrangements were made for joint ventures between RSA and foreign companies.

MAJOR CONTRACTS

Construction/Fabrication

RSA companies 18
Foreign companies 9

(b) RSA COMPANIES

Dorbyl, Genrec, CBI, ICAL, Babcock, Algoa Pipe, Murray & Roberts, Grinaker, OVCON, LTA, etc.

FOREIGN COMPANIES

MIOC, Allseas, RGC, Roevin, IPCO/SME, Shore Crossings, etc.

(2) Mossgas does not have any control over the workers which are appointed by contractors to execute contracts for Mossgas.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

star 26/6/90



NEWS

Unions, Right to meet FW

President de Klerk will meet a delegation of trade unions and employers today, as well as spokesmen for ultra-Right organisations.

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) will accompany the joint labour and employers' delegation which will meet Mr de Klerk in Pretoria to discuss the enactment of a new labour law.

Nactu assistant general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said yesterday Nactu would be represented by six senior officials.

The meeting at Mr de Klerk's Union Buildings offices follows threats of widespread labour unrest by the Con-

gress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) after the Government had failed to enact the draft labour law during the 1990 parliamentary session.

Nactu, Cosatu and the employers' body, the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), are due to meet Mr de Klerk and Minister of Manpower Eli Louw at 10 am.

White views

● A delegation of ultra-rightists will meet Mr de Klerk in Pretoria today to raise "right-wing and white" views of the "new South Africa".

Herstigste Nasionale Party chief sec-

retary L J van der Schyff said yesterday the HNP, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Magsaksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme (MAN) and Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (GRA) would be represented at the 2 pm meeting.

The meeting had resulted from the ultra-rightists not being represented in Parliament, Mr van der Schyff said.

The HNP would be represented by party leader Jaap Marais and his deputy, Mynhard Peter, while Ernie van der Westhuizen and Nico van Rensburg would go on the AWB's behalf.

The AWB's "commandos" would be represented by former policeman Colonel Servaas de Wet. — Sapa.

De Klerk, ultra-right leaders ¹⁴⁶⁰⁵ for talks ^{26/6/90}

TOS WENTZEL ³⁰⁴⁹
on the Presidency

ULTRA-rightwingers will meet President De Klerk in Pretoria today to give him their views on political developments.

Mr De Klerk is today also meeting Cosatu and employer representatives to discuss the recent controversy about labour legislation. And on Thursday he will meet representatives of the Teachers' Federal Council in a bid to reconcile it to the Minister of National Education, Mr Gene Louw.

The rightwing groups asked for the meeting. They are the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging, Blanke Aksie, Magaksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme and Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners.

Mr L J van der Schyff, chief secretary of the HNP, said the talks had been arranged some time ago because the ultra-rightists were not represented in parliament.

AWB "COMMANDOS"

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said the groups wanted to hear from Mr De Klerk what the future held for the Afrikaner. Those who did not have a seat in parliament also wanted to submit to the president their views on current political developments.

Representing the AWB "commandos" will be former policeman Colonel Servaas de Wet.

The meeting with the teachers' council will be attended by Mr Louw and "own affairs" Education Minister Mr Piet Clase.

The TFC decided unilaterally to sever relations with Mr Louw over his recent meeting with the non-racial Cosatu and the ANC-aligned National Teachers' Unity Forum.

The Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging has been the major proponent of the break with Mr Louw, but two of the English-member TFC bodies have opposed the decision.

Secret DP document sets out new strategy

304A

8/26/90

CAPE TOWN — A secret document, circulated in the DP caucus, has called for the party to become hard-hitting and radical to influence a future ANC government.

Some of the document's proposals, such as a single leader and an urgent meeting with the ANC, have already been acted on.

Although the document has not been formally adopted by the caucus, it has won considerable support among DP MPs, whose role in Parliament this year has been overshadowed by President F W de Klerk's reforms.

The document, compiled by David Unterhalter from the Houghton constituency, says: "It is entirely illusory to have as an objective the bringing together of parties who are already locked into a process of negotiation.

"The NP and ANC presently require negotiations for reasons entirely independent of the DP."

The DP had pursued liberal values, crudely understood to be economic liberty, the equal worth of all people and the entrenchment of individual rights in a constitution. The events of 1990 had not changed the composition of the DP's constituency, nor its values and interests, the document says.

It could represent this constituency only if it was distinct from the pursuit of white interests generally, traditionally the preserve of the NP.

BARRY STREEK ...

DP supporters wanted their interests secured in the future government of SA and "that government will be the ANC.

"Therefore what matters most is that the policies of the ANC should reflect liberal values. Thus, the DP's primary objective is to influence the ANC and the formation of its future policies.

"It cannot be the DP's role to hold the ring between the two major contestants at the negotiating table. If it seeks to do so, it will be ignored as irrelevant. Rather, the DP must independently engage the ANC."

The DP had to have a hard-hitting parliamentary strategy and it was quite wrong to be overawed by the NP's altered stance.

"The DP must remain a radical party that is willing to lead on issues of principle."

This did not preclude the DP from a role in the negotiation process, but what mattered most was "to press the interests of a liberal order, not upon the NP which is destined to fall from power by its own hand, but upon the ANC who will exercise power in the future for better or for worse.

"The DP must ensure that it will be for the better. And that requires its commitment to good government by a process of engagement with the ANC," the document says.

FW meets right-wing leaders

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will today meet a broad range of right-wing leaders who are likely to demand that he ends constitutional negotiations in return for their co-operation in stopping right-wing political violence.

Leaders of the HNP, AWB, the Genoot-schap van Regte Afrikaners, Magaksie Afrikaners and the Boerestaat Party will attend today's meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. The delegation will be led by HNP leader Jaap Marais.

Meanwhile, the ANC yesterday condemned "in the strongest terms" what it

PETER DELMAR

described as the scandalous release of 11 right-wing people arrested for questioning last week in connection with an alleged plot to kill government leaders and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The 11 men should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law, the ANC said.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said the groups would want to know from De Klerk what his intentions were concerning negotiations.

To Page 2

Right wing

"He (De Klerk) must realise that a nation which fought two wars against the British and many others to establish its freedom will not allow itself to be sold out without shedding blood."

He said he and other right-wing leaders would be prepared to talk to groups which were believed to be responsible for committing violence, if De Klerk was prepared to change his policy.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC's national executive committee said the lenient attitude of the authorities towards "white racist, neo-fascist and white supremacist groups could jeopardise the process of removing obstacles to negotiations".

"We can only interpret the reluctance of the authorities to act as portraying a lack of serious commitment to the creation of a climate conducive to a peaceful settlement," the ANC statement said.

In another statement yesterday, the SA Youth Congress said the bombing of NP offices, after the right-wing commandos had declared war on government and the ANC, should encourage government to heed the call that had been made repeatedly by the ANC, Cosatu, Sayco and "many other peace-loving organisations and individuals" that the right-wing armies should be disbanded and all forms of racial hatred and rhetoric be outlawed.

See Page 4

From Page 1

Mr. T. 26/6/90
AWB to fire plotter?

304A
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — One of the alleged masterminds behind the right-wing plot to overthrow the government, Mr Heinrich Beissner, is to meet with the AWB leadership today, amid speculations that he has resigned from the organisation.

Last week the Afrikaans newspaper the Vrye Weekblad named 76-year-old Mr Beissner as being involved in plans which included the assassination of Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

The AWB, while acknowledging that Mr Beissner was a member of their organisation, has dismissed the report.

DP's role 'to influence ANC policy'

CAA Tint's
26/6/90
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BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A SECRET document circulated among the Democratic Party caucus has called on the party to be hard-hitting and radical to influence a future ANC government.

Some of the document's proposals, such as a single leader and an urgent meeting with the ANC, are already being implemented.

Though the document has not been formally adopted by the caucus, it has won considerable support among DP MPs, whose role in Parliament this year has been overshadowed by President F W de Klerk's reforms.

Many MPs are convinced the party must have a clearly defined role in the post-February 2 situation, even if this means shedding support.

In the September 1989 election, the DP was attacked by the NP for calling for the unbanning of the ANC and Communist Party, removal of apartheid in hospitals, schools and residential areas and negotiations with the ANC.

The government has since taken over many of these policies, or is in the process of doing so, and this has caused problems for the DP.

The document, compiled by Mr David Unterhalter from the Houghton constituency, says: "It is entirely illusory to have as an objective the bring-

ing together of parties who are already locked into a process of negotiation.

"The NP and ANC presently require negotiations for reasons entirely independent of the DP."

The DP had pursued liberal values, roughly understood to be economic liberty, the equal worth of all people and the entrenchment of individual rights in a constitution.

The events of 1990 had not changed the composition of the DP's constituency, nor its values and interests, the document says.

It could only represent this constituency if it was distinct from the pursuit of white interests generally, traditionally the preserve of the NP.

DP supporters wanted their interests secured in the future government and "that government will be the ANC".

"Therefore what matters most is that the policies of the ANC should reflect liberal values.

"Thus the DP's primary objective is to influence the ANC and the formation of its future policies.

"It cannot be the DP's role to hold the ring between the two major contestants at the negotiating table. If it seeks to do so, it will be ignored as irrelevant.

"Rather, the DP must independently engage the ANC."

Labour, Saccola to meet De Klerk

Sowetan 26/6/90

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102
304A

THE National Council of Trade Unions will be part of the joint labour and employers' delegation which meets State President Mr F W de Klerk in Pretoria today to discuss the enactment of a new labour law.

The federation's assistant general secretary, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, said yesterday Nactu would be represented by six senior officials.

The meeting takes

place at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. It follows threats of widespread labour unrest by the Congress of South African Trade Unions after the Government postponed enacting the draft labour law during the 1990 Parliamentary session.

Nactu, together with Cosatu and the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs employers' body, are due to meet Mr de Klerk and Manpower Minister Eli Louw at 10am today, spokesman for the State President's office, Caspar Venter, confirmed.

The three parties responsible for the alternative Labour Relations Act accord planned to meet in Johannesburg late yesterday. Mr Ngcukana added.

Comment

Commenting on the meeting with Mr de Klerk, a Saccola spokesman said the State President was "not the type of man who would arrange such a meeting for nothing".

A Cosatu spokesman was not immediately available for comment.

A delegation of ultra-rightists will be meeting State President F W de Klerk in Pretoria today to raise "rightwing and white" views of the "new South Africa".

Announcing this yesterday, Herstigte Nasional Party chief secretary Mr L J van der Schyff said the HNP, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Magsaksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme and Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners would be represented at the 2pm meeting with Mr de Klerk in the Union Buildings. - Sapa.

... .. mitted early next year.

Mystery over AWB man's 'resignation'

01/01/90 26/6/90 Own Correspondent

304A

CAPE TOWN — Heinrich Beissner, one of the alleged masterminds behind a right-wing plot to overthrow government, is to meet the AWB leadership today, amid speculation that he has resigned from the organisation.

Last week Afrikaans newspaper Vrye Weekblad named 76-year-old Beissner as being involved in plans that included the alleged assassination of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

The AWB has dismissed the report as "the abuse of a very emotional and confused, aged person's trust".

'Misunderstanding'

304A

While acknowledging that Beissner was a member of the organisation, an AWB spokesman said he was not a member of its protection commandos as claimed in the Vrye Weekblad report.

Last night Beissner said reports about his resignation from the AWB yesterday were "not quite correct".

"There is a misunderstanding; (tomorrow) I am in the head office of (AWB leader) Eugene Terre'Blanche and will speak after that," Beissner said.

AWB spokesman Kays Smit said yesterday "he believed" Beissner had resigned from the organisation but that he had not seen the resignation.

South Africans 'too dependent'

By Marguerite Moody

Apartheid had ultimately failed because South Africans were too dependent on each other, former editor and freelance journalist Allister Sparks said yesterday.

Addressing a gathering of the monthly Chapter's Literary Luncheon Club in Johannesburg, Mr Sparks said the key difference between the political scenarios in South Africa on the one hand and Israel and the Lebanon on the other was that in the latter two countries, the protagonists were not dependent on each other.

"However, in South Africa we are bound together by forces

that have been there for a long time and this is why apartheid could never work," he said.

The author of the newly published "The Mind of South Africa" said he was optimistic about the country's future despite the difficulties.

"Neither side has a viable alternative open to it but to move towards a post-apartheid, non-racial society."

The only alternative open to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was to re-ban the ANC, re-imprison its deputy president, Nelson Mandela, and to revert to the policy of apartheid.

"This would be totally unthinkable and reaction from the

international community would be enormous," Mr Sparks said.

The only alternative open to Mr Mandela was to return to the guerilla struggle which he knew he could not win.

Mr Sparks said the only option for South Africans was to discover their mutual dependence in their hearts, their minds and their economic activities.

"Just as South Africa has long been a symbol of racism and a pariah in the world, it has the tremendous potential of becoming a symbol of national reconciliation, racial harmony and of co-existence between black and white," Mr Sparks said.

Right wing says FW has hidden agenda

PETER DELMAR

LEADERS of the right wing who met President F W de Klerk yesterday got the impression that he was working to an agenda he was not even prepared to disclose to the ANC, HNP vice-chairman Mynhard Peters said.

De Klerk had told him and representatives of the HNP, AWB, Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners and Magaksie Afrikaner Nasionaal that it was not his style to divulge non-negotiables or the state's intentions, Peters said. *Bl Day 27/6/90*

The meeting — attended by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf

Meyer and Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe — failed to give the right any concessions, leaving right-wing violence unresolved.

The leader of the eight-man delegation and HNP leader, Jaap Marais, told a news conference that the right-wingers had been unable to elicit an undertaking that communists would not share in a future government. De Klerk "gave some indication" that he felt the retention of Afrikaans as an

☐ To Page 2

Right wing *Bl Day 27/6/90*

official language was a non-negotiable issue.

He had reiterated that the white electorate would get a chance to vote on a future constitution, but he failed to indicate that it would be for whites only, Peters said.

AWB commando leader Col Servaas de Wet said the AWB and other groups would continue mobilising the public into commandos to protect them against the breakdown of law and order.

Marais disclosed a plan to "force" the

state to an early election by getting HNP and AWB city and town councillors to resign, thereby forcing the NP to fight by-elections.

A statement from De Klerk's office said the delegation was told government was convinced it had a mandate for its policy.

It said organisations which took the law into their own hands would not be tolerated, including so-called armies or commandos which were not backed by the state.

304A ☐ From Page 1

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Regular talks for Japan, SA

TOKYO — Japan and SA will hold regular exchanges of views on the African and international situations, a Japanese foreign ministry official said yesterday.

The agreement came after a meeting on Monday between SA Foreign Affairs director general Neil van Heerden and the Japanese ministry's Middle East and African Affairs Bureau director general Makoto Watanabe, the official said. *B(Dun) 27/6/90*

He said Watanabe had urged SA to expand dialogue between blacks and whites to end apartheid.

The official quoted Van Heerden as saying SA was working towards dismantling apartheid and he hoped the international society would understand its efforts.

Watanabe and Van Heerden also discussed the international situation and bilateral problems, the official said.

The official said when ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela visits Japan this autumn, Japan also will urge him to expand dialogue with SA whites.

In Monday's meeting with Watanabe, Van Heerden did not ask Japan to lift sanctions, but expressed dissatisfaction with what he called Japan's lack of clarity in its conditions for removing the economic sanctions, the official added. — Sapa-AP.

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Star

27/6/90

Nationalists to launch information campaign

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is to launch a big information campaign in the second half of the year.

With Parliament in recess, Nationalist MPs will now concentrate on their home areas while President de Klerk and other leading figures will address public meetings.

Mr de Klerk is likely to attend all four provincial congresses of the party and is due to speak at public rallies.

There is a feeling that the President and some of his Ministers must show a higher profile to counter a fierce propaganda onslaught from the Right.

After the party's recent setback in the Umlazi by-election, Mr de Klerk said its informa-

tion efforts would have to be stepped up.

Renier Schoeman, chief director of information of the NP, confirmed that a stepped-up campaign was about to be launched.

The President attended a meeting of the party's central information committee under the chairmanship of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe last week. The provincial leaders and provincial secretaries were also present.

In future, the chief director of information and four provincial directors will confer weekly and will get together once a month to plan propaganda.

Mr Schoeman said there was a need to give perspective to the voters on the need for swift policy developments and reform.

De Klerk warns rightists over commandos, armies

TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

AKW 27/6/90
PRESIDENT De Klerk has told ultra-rightwingers that anarchy will not be allowed under any circumstances and he has warned against all kinds of so-called commandos or armies which had no State authority.

The rightwingers in turn have rejected an invitation from Mr De Klerk to take part in negotiations.

They said it was "shocking" that Mr De Klerk apparently did not believe that Afrikaners could have an own fatherland.

These points emerged from a meeting in Pretoria between Mr De Klerk and groups from the far right who are not represented in parliament, among them the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging, the Blanke Front and the Genootskap vir

Regte Afrikaners.

In a statement afterwards Mr De Klerk said legislation would be strictly applied against anyone who perpetrated violence or intimidation.

Dealing with the so-called commandos or armies Mr De Klerk said anyone who wanted to help maintain law and order should do so in an orderly way and in co-operation with the State.

Those who thought that existing mechanisms were deficient could make representations for their improvement to the Minister of Law and Order.

He called on everyone to abide by the democratic process, to reject violence as a political instrument and to make use of the opportunity to bring proposals to the negotiation table.

The justification of violence from the the left and from some far-right organisations clouded the negotiations and was unacceptable.

Mr De Klerk said the rightwingers had also been told that the government believed it had a strong mandate for what it was doing now and was bound to have another test of the voters before a new constitutional system.

Mr Jaap Marais, HNP leader, said afterwards that an acceptance to negotiate would give credibility to the ANC.

It would also mean that the right wing would have to abide by the result of negotiations.

Mr De Klerk had been asked not to capitulate to overseas and communist demands and to take note of the uncertainty and concern of Afrikaners, Mr Marais said.

FW accused of 'hidden agenda'

apt Tim H
27/6/90 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Right-wing leaders who met President F W de Klerk yesterday gained the impression that he was working to an agenda he was not even prepared to disclose to the ANC.

HNP vice-chairman Mr Mynhard Peters said Mr De Klerk had told him and leaders of the HNP, the AWB, the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners and of the Magaksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme, that it was not his style to divulge non-negotiables or the government's intentions.

The meeting — which was also attended by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe — failed to provide any concessions to the right and left the question of right-wing violence unresolved.

The leader of the eight-man delegation and HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, told a news conference after the 90-minute meeting that the right-wingers had been unable to elicit an undertak-

ing from Mr De Klerk that communists would not share a future government.

He said Mr De Klerk also offered no reply when asked whether the NP was prepared to participate in an interim government with the ANC.

Mr Peters said Mr De Klerk had reiterated that the white electorate would get the opportunity to vote on a future constitution, but he failed to indicate conclusively that it would be for whites only.

However, Mr De Klerk "gave some indication" that he considered the retention of Afrikaans as an official language to be a non-negotiable issue.

Mr Marais disclosed a plan to "force" the government to an early election by getting HNP and AWB city and town councillors, who he said numbered 500, to resign, thereby forcing the NP to fight by-elections.

And Colonel Servaas de Wet, leader of the AWB commandos, told the news conference that the AWB and other organisations would continue mobilising the public in commandos to protect them against the inevitable breakdown of law and order.

Searching for a solution in South Africa

304A

Concepts of power changing radically

Sowetan 27/6/90



Chester Crocker.

By Gerald L'Ange,
Sowetan special
correspondent



WHEN Neil van Heerden and Chester Crocker introduced the "no losers" formula into the Angola-Namibia peace negotiations back in the late '80s they were bringing something new to Africa.

The concept of a dispute being solved on the basis that neither party ends up the loser was, if not new, certainly unusual in Africa, where the tradition has rather been one of the supremacy of the strongest power.

African disputes have customarily been settled on a winner-take-all basis. But in the settlement signed in New York in December 1988 neither Angola, Cuba, South Africa nor Swapo emerged as an outright winner - yet none of them was an outright loser, either.

'No losers'

The "no losers" idea was introduced by Van Heerden, South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and Crocker, then United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, in an effort to break a deadlock in the talks.

It worked. In the resultant settlement no party lost face and each could claim to have furthered its own interests.

The New York agreement led in turn to the Namibian independence election where the winner-take - all concept was once again negated.

A major factor in this was the democratic principles inserted into the independence process by the Western powers. These forced an elective test of the United Nations' arbitrary designation of Swapo as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people - a designation disproved by the polls.

Although Swapo won most of

the votes it did not win enough for an absolute majority. So it had to compromise with other parties in the drafting of a constitution which contains, in the words of Professor Gerhard Erasmus of Stellenbosch University, "a remarkable set of finely-tuned checks and balances on the exercise of power."

Majority

These would probably not have been in the constitution had Swapo - or perhaps even some other party - won a big enough majority to have been able to dictate the content of the constitution.

It is far too early to tell what influence, if any, the Namibian solution will have elsewhere in Africa. But it certainly has the potential to have a strong impact - especially in South Africa - if it turns attention to the division of power as a possible means of stabilising societies.

This concept seems to be central to the new dispensation being sought in South Africa by Mr De Klerk's Government.

In embracing it, the Government is, rather ironically, rejecting the opposite concept - the concentration of power in the hands of a single group or party - which has been the basis of its own policy for 40 years.

It might be said, in fact, that the National Party Government has for all these years been doing it the African way.

As it prepares to relinquish at least some power it might find justification in the thought that it would be difficult to find anything in Africa's records to suggest that the total-power concept has in the long run benefited any country.

Africa's post-independence decline has accompanied an ob-

session with power, manifested frequently in one-party states in

which a single group, invariably Marxist, imposed its will on everyone else, usually by cultivating the fiction that it had popular support so massive that it did not need to be tested against other parties through periodic and free elections.

Before the arrival of European colonialism power tended to be exercised absolutely in Africa by chiefs and kings. While this may have brought stability of a sort it seems not to have promoted development, not in the European idiom, at any rate.

During their era the colonialists held power almost exclusively in their own hands so that when it was relinquished at independence domestic power struggles erupted among the natives, followed almost inevitably by the military coups that have become an African feature.

In South Africa the concentration of power in the hands of the white minority led to a racial power struggle that threatened to be disastrous - and might still be.

But the Government appears now to be accepting that effective and lasting power can only be exercised on behalf of people and with their consent, not in spite of them.

Philosophy

And the ANC for its part appears to be accepting that effective power does not, after all, come through the barrel of a gun.

Ostensibly the power-through-the-gun philosophy has been abandoned also by the Soviet Union, for years its main proponent in Southern Africa (and the chief supplier of the necessary hardware).

The ANC says its use of violence was intended not to seize power for itself but to force the Government to negotiate.

Since what was to be negotiated was the ending of apartheid some might say this meant in any event that power would pass to the ANC.

The organisation's present attitude must, however, have been influenced not only by the change in the Soviet attitude but also by the failure of its armed wing, Mkhonto we Sizwe, to seriously hurt the Government through insurgency.

It was not, after all, ANC violence that changed Pretoria's thinking but international political pressure, domestic economic imperatives and the Government's own realisation that apartheid is unworkable in addition to being immoral.

Already a new light has been cast on the concept of undiluted power through the suggestion, from the ANC's side, that Mkhonto we Sizwe be merged with the SADF in the armed forces of the new South Africa.

Question

A most interesting component of the power equation is this one, considering that in any society the ultimate arbiter of power is the army by virtue of the fact that it is the soldiers and not the politicians who have the guns.

It raises a pertinent question for the architects of the new dispensation: is it desirable, or even possible, in the creation of a coup-proof society, for even the military's power to be divided (assuming there is agreement in the first place that power should and could be divided)?

Public discussion about a new constitution turns frequently now to the American constitution's marvellously effective division of powers between the executive presidency, the legislature and the Supreme Court.

But even the United States constitution provides no guarantees against a military coup. Since there has never been any threat of a coup in America the issue has, however, remained academic.

But it is not going to be academic in the new South Africa.

PARLIAMENT adjourns today as it began, dominated by President F W de Klerk as he systematically goes about clearing away the debris of his party's failed apartheid policies.

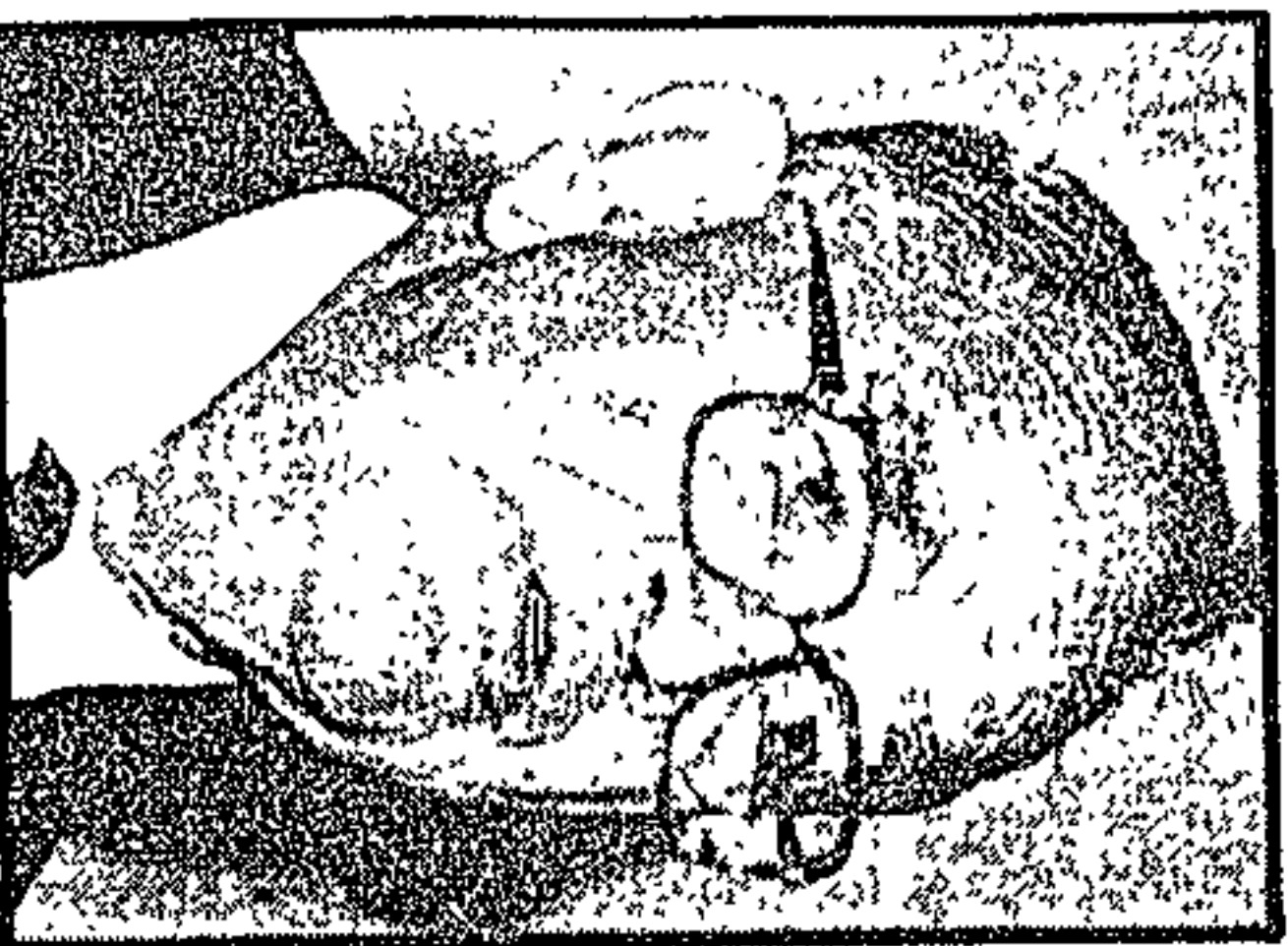
For the moment, with much debris still remaining, De Klerk — and through him Parliament — will continue to dominate and set the agenda.

But as the debate turns away from clearing, removing and repealing to planning, negotiating and building — a process that necessarily requires the input of extra-parliamentary organisations — the impetus for setting agendas will increasingly slip away from De Klerk and Parliament.

It will not slip away completely but surprisingly, given the momentous decisions during this session, debate in Parliament has often been sterile.

Much of the sterility stems from the manner in which debates are structured. Speakers address joint gatherings from a podium in the new Chamber of Parliament rather than from their benches in individual Houses; this produced a series of unrelated speeches rather than debate.

However the participants are also to blame. The coloured and Indian members, almost without exception, have been irrelevant — continuing to deliver stock speeches or scoring petty political points, contributing nothing to the broader debate on the



□ DE VILLIERS ... overseeing economic reconstruction.

Govt likely to lose impetus on agenda of reconstruction

MIKE ROBERTSON in Cape Town

future of a new SA.

The Conservative Party, with outside support growing but impotent in Parliament itself, grows increasingly desperate as the remaining vestiges of their apartheid dream are removed. They have drawn NP members into backward-looking debates on who said or did what in Afrikaner history, a Parliament which should be focusing on the future spends much of its time trying to rewrite the past.

Democratic Party leaders claim in interviews that the DP has a vital role in ensuring that liberal ideals are injected into debates on future education, health, economic and constitutional systems for SA.

Some members — like Harry Schwarz when dealing with future economic systems — have done exactly this. Education spokesmen Roger Burrows and Ken Andrew, and even newcomers like Lester Fruchs, have also made valuable contributions. But the DP as a whole continues to lack the consistency and cohesion to translate their leaders' stated aim into reality.

As for the NP, one gets the impression that MPs and some Cabinet Ministers are still struggling to recover from the shock of February 2.

It might be childish still to doubt the intentions of a party that has done so much in just five months. It has unbanished the ANC, PAC and SACP, released Nelson Mandela and

other political prisoners, partially scrapped the emergency, done away with the Separate Amenities Act, instituted a fund to redress backlogs caused by apartheid and abolished hospital apartheid.

But, when NP Ministers object to black teachers teaching black languages at white schools, doubts as to the NP's acceptance of the realities of a new SA creep in.

During the debate on the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, one NP MP after another got up to argue the toss with the CP as to why it was necessary to scrap the Act. Had they welcomed the end of this discriminatory piece of legislation one might have been more convinced that the NP does have a vision of a non-racial SA.

It would also help if someone in the NP stood up and said the party had made a mistake, and apologised for the ravages of apartheid.

There will clearly be two agendas in the next six months. De Klerk controls the first — a continuation of the process of clearing away the apartheid debris.

He has already signalled that the Group Areas Act and Land Acts will go or be amended next year. Fears that the NP will attempt to introduce a Group Areas Act in another form were considerably eased yes-

terday by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

He recalled at a media conference that De Klerk had said government would insist on maintenance of standards of living in terms of over-occupation and standards of hygiene when looking at changing the Group Areas Act.

However, he added that extensive legislation to this effect already existed in terms of council by-laws and at a central government level. Government would have to investigate just how effective this legislation was, he said.

If this is all government is looking at then one can reasonably expect genuine reform next year.

Viljoen repeated yesterday that the Land Acts would go. But, as he has stated before, one can expect a "sunset" clause restricting access to tribal land for five or 10 years.

At congresses during the recess, the NP plans to address the gap that has developed between it and its grassroots constituents. It realises the need to start spelling out bottom-line principles in order to allay white fears.

In the wake of Umlazi an increasing emphasis on the maintenance of law and order can be expected. The police pay increases and the 10 000 hike in numbers were planned in advance of Umlazi. However, concern over security is central to white fears of the future.

Another area on which De Klerk continues to dominate the agenda is the restructuring of the economy. A further round of budget cuts to partially fund the police pay and number increases is being overseen by Economic Co-ordination Minister Winnie de Villiers, who is also finalising an economic reconstruction programme.

This programme seeks to capitalise on SA's strategic advantages, emphasising mineral and metal beneficiation. As Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr said this week, there is much foreign interest in investing in projects of this nature.

Privatisation, after enjoying a brief period on the top of government's economic agenda in the run-up to the Iscor listing, appears to have been placed firmly on the back burner.

One reason is the fierce opposition from organisations like Cosatu. Another, more important reason, is that commercialising the operations of organisations like Eskom, Transnet and Posts and Telecommunications will probably take a number of years. A third reason, particularly in the case of Eskom, is that government appears to have decided that while commercialising its operations would be productive, privatisation would not be.

In the second agenda — negotiations — not much should be expected in the next six months before next year's parliamentary session.

Viljoen said yesterday that negotiations, including formal talks on how they should be constituted, could be expected to get under way only early next year. The main reason for this is that the ANC is only expected to reply to the working committee report on political offences on July 10.

If there is agreement it will take several months for exiles to return and for the ANC to transform itself from a "liberation" organisation into a political party.

With this in mind government does not anticipate that the ANC will be in a position to enter negotiations until after its congress in December, hence Viljoen's January target date. Government will in the coming months outline its departure points and goals in negotiations. But more than that there is little else it can do except to keep talking.

LETTERS

DP represents bourgeois interests ^{306A} Leon

THE DP had to accept that it was essentially a "bourgeois" party and that in the new SA it would be mainly concerned with representing these interests, Houghton MP Tony Leon said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report yesterday that a "secret" document compiled within his constituency had argued that the DP should become "hard-hitting and radical" to influence a future ANC government.

The document, drawn up by Houghton DP member David Unterhalter, was circulated by Leon to DP

PETER DELMAR

MPs for discussion and consideration. *Blom 27/6/90*

However, Leon stressed that it was neither secret, nor enjoyed "any weight or authority".

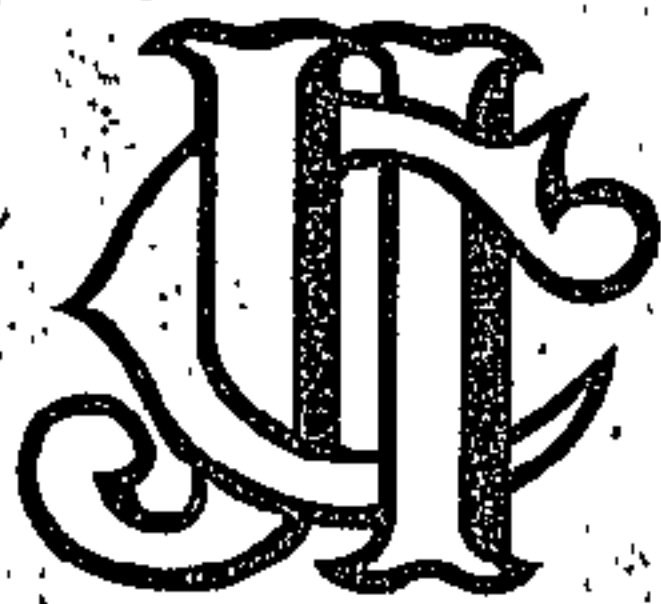
According to the document the DP should not try to bring the NP and ANC together, as they were already negotiating with each other.

The DP should rather concentrate on engaging the ANC to influence its policies in a liberal direction.

Said Leon: "The thrust of the document is simply that the DP must not only protect and look after the interests of its voters, but that its voters will carry a disproportionately large weight in the new SA."

The ANC, he said, would have to recognise that the DP's constituency was well-educated, skilled and relatively well-off and that the country could not afford to lose them.

Leon acknowledged that the DP was a party that represented bourgeois interests, but this did not mean that it did not have a "wider view".



The Randfontein Estates Gold Mining Company, Witwatersrand, Limited

(Registration number 01/00251/06)

(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)

Dividend

A final dividend, dividend number 110, of 60 cents per share has been declared in respect of the financial year ending 30 June 1990:

Last date for registration	:	13 July 1990
Registers close (dates inclusive) from	:	14 July 1990
to	:	20 July 1990
Currency conversion date (for payments from London)	:	23 July 1990
Date of payment	:	3 August 1990

This dividend is payable subject to the customary conditions which may be inspected at or obtained from the company's Johannesburg office or from the London Secretaries, Barnato Brothers Limited, 99 Bishopsgate, London EC2M 3XE.

Holders of share warrants to bearer should attend to the terms of a notice to be published by the London Secretaries late in July 1990.

Review probes South Africa's political geology

22/6 - 28/6/90
SOUTH AFRICAN REVIEW 5, edited and
compiled by Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery
(Ravan Press and South African Research
Services, R34,95)

WHY has the South African government found it necessary to explore ways of talking with the African National Congress? There are probably as many answers to this question as there are South Africans: each one would be better for the reading of this important volume. (304A)

Although only five have appeared, the *Review* is certainly the most important analytical handbook in South Africa. As they have done on previous occasions, its editors probe the essential features of our complex political geology: state and politics, regional policy in Southern Africa, labour and rural politics.

Each section is anchored in an introductory chapter — of a relatively uneven quality in this particular volume — which tries to touch on the theoretical underpinnings.

With negotiations on the road, many will ask why an understanding of this process should be complicated by the dead hand of theory. Jonathan Hyslop in his thoughtful introduction to the first section anticipates the question with this answer: "South Africa is about to undergo a new and unique historical experience. In order to contribute to our understanding of it, those engaged in the analysis of this process will have to take new theoretical and methodological roads."

Theoretical discourse, ideally, should be a liberating experience and the *Review* shows why. Each tightly-argued contribution brings out a fresh insight, a new perspective on what has driven the parties into the mating dance which allows Nelson Mandela to walk away from prison but not to vote and permits FW de Klerk to travel the world while the main struts of apartheid remain intact.

This provides the ideal moment to pause and reflect on the relationship between scholarship and the transition process. Without wishing to be chauvinistic, let me make this point: contributors to the *Review* are traditionally drawn from the liberal/radical spectrum of South African social science. It is a tradition in which a vigorous exchange of views is the very currency of learning; where argument itself opens up the footholds for political and social activism. Without it — as Eastern Europe so patently demonstrates — the capacity of society to manage its transition is, to be generous, blunted.

Each reviewer of *South African Review 5* will commend favourite themes. For myself, the Southern African section contains, perhaps, the finest collection of essays on regional politics ever drawn together in a single place. Their presence here highlights that long-neglected theme of the PW Botha years: the utter destructiveness of the South African Defence Force in our region.

Rob Davies and Thomas Ohlson, both living on the frontline, show why and how the tide turned against the generals, while the other chapters in the section show why it was not a moment too soon.

Three other essays stand out for different reasons. Because it fills such an important void, Bill Nasson's political map of opposition groups in the Western Cape is very valuable. By now it is out of date; it seems that nowhere else

in the country have the talks between the ANC and the government so upset the fragile balance between oppositional groupings.

Tom Lodge's is a fine chapter. He discusses the various tactical stands at work inside the ANC and his intimate knowledge of the organisation enables him to speculate on the role played by *Sechaba* in the formulation of policy. This is new work and shows how well his thinking on the organisation was developing just before his move to the United States.

Then, the late David Webster and Maggie Freeman have produced a comprehensive piece entitled *Repression and the State of Emergency* which integrates anthropology and statistics in a potent way. This is modern social science at its very best: hard analysis, clear writing and deep compassion. Methodologically, it is the best piece in this volume.

A concluding thought, however, troubles. Common sense suggests that many involved in the writing of this book will be drawn into making policy. Who will then write the *Review* which fingers the failings of the new South Africa?

Peter Vale

©Peter Vale is professor and head of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape

No constituent assembly, says FW

President de Klerk moved further to consolidate high-speed reform yesterday when he unequivocally pledged himself to a new constitution in which even the Population Registration Act, one of the base laws of apartheid, could disappear.

He said all parties agreed that "the best thing would be, before we decide what the new constitution must look like, to have solid negotiations".

From that would follow the repeal of the existing constitution (exchanged for a new one), and the repeal of the Population Registration Act.

Mr de Klerk, however, scotched the idea of a constituent assembly, demanded by both the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress.

"South Africa is different from Namibia. South Africa is a fully independent, sovereign country, recognised by the whole world. We believe the right route is to negotiate."

From those negotiations will emanate broad consensus as to what a new constitution should be like, and then that constitution should be implemented.

"A constituent assembly elected before you start with negotiations causes a constitutional vacuum, causes uncertainty and undermines the capability of government structures to continue with good government while negotiation takes place."

Similarly, Mr de Klerk was adamant about constitutional guarantees for minorities.

"When we talk about minorities, groups, etc, they (anti-apartheid opponents) think that maybe we have in the back of our minds apartheid in disguise. Nothing is further from the truth." — Sapa.

Sta
28/6/90 Consensus (304A)

DP, FW in strategy talks

Political Staff

(304A)

Stk 28/6/90

Democratic Party leaders were due to meet President de Klerk today for talks on how both parties plan to tackle negotiations for a new South Africa.

High on the agenda is likely to be the DP caucus decision last week, after the Umlazi by-election, not to stand in constituencies where the National Party could lose to the Conservatives.

The DP troika, Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan, will probably seek assurances in return that the NP will not stand in safe DP seats in any by-elections.

They approached Mr de Klerk for the discussion after a series of three caucus meetings in Cape Town last week where DP MPs thrashed out strategies for the future following a humiliating setback where the party lost its deposit in Umlazi on June 6.

Mr de Klerk was also scheduled to see a delegation from the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) today. Its president, Leslie Boyd, director-general Raymond Parsons and other office bearers will again be raising constitutional negotiations and the future role of business in a new SA.

More British aid needed, says Chalker

LONDON — A warning that SA could slip to Third World status came yesterday from Lynda Chalker, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development.

Giving evidence to the Foreign Office Select Committee, Chalker said this could happen unless growth in SA was enhanced and the fruits of that growth spread to the black community.

Britain, she said, was giving aid for health, education and housing through non-governmental organisations and this was enormously appreciated by the black population.

However, Britain's aid was only a tiny part of the assistance needed to educate the people of SA and to enable the country to feed itself.

B 10 am 28/6/90
Own Correspondent

There was considerable concern about the ability of SA to feed itself, Chalker told the committee.

Potential

Also high on Britain's list of priorities for aid was help with population planning.

If SA, which had "enormous potential" for growth, could get that moving together with international help in a post-apartheid society, the job could be done, she said.

But, she stressed "the real inhibitor for growth is apartheid".

22-28/06/90
SOUTH AFRICA: The big face-off — and the principal teams are the government and

From the night of the possible to the grand game of reality

ONE may say that the two major teams playing the South African Game — they are of course not the only ones — are combining forces in a paradoxical strategy for stability and for change which should lead to a country constitutionally, politically, economically, socially and perhaps culturally different from the one which we have known up to now.

This is indeed like the unfolding of a vision of a world being transported from the night of the possible to the grand game of reality. Who among us could have foreseen this development even a few months ago?

Can the two teams pull it off though? We may well perceive the possible profiling of a bloc consisting of the National Party and the African National Congress occupying the political centre ground, but this certainly doesn't mean that the two forces have merged.

One doesn't want to be too gloomy in outlook — after all, our century is not necessarily more callous or more bloody than previous ones — but this unfolding vision of a new South Africa is nevertheless all the more remarkable when seen against the background of a continent, and other parts of the world as well, where people are living on the darkening edge of obliteration: physical extermination, economic palsy, ultimately a moral demise because it is the death of a dream of freedom.

You only need to be reminded at random of a few examples outside Africa: Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Tibet, Burma, Colombia, Peru, the kids on the streets of Brazil... a death slower than the gas chambers, but as insidious because perpetrated in the silence of a generalised indifference.

Indeed, despite the formidable upsurge of hope generated by recent events in Eastern Europe, there would seem to be globally an erosion of the distinctions between the essential and luxury, between good and the superfluous. In the Western countries, for instance — force-fed on trivia by the media which are so often foolishly manipulated, with the arrogance of a presumably historic vantage point but tragically (for the narcissistic citizen) also with a self-induced sense of impotence, where the caps are doffed to the sovereign interests of state, where the propagation of racist attitudes is once again tolerated so that old prejudices resurface and the Jew, the Arab, the black, the squatter, the "clandestine immigrant" re-emerge as sacrificial goats — here we are witnessing a slow setting of the dividing lines between the fully employed and the economically useless, the rich and the poor, the north and the south.

One is told that history has come to an end and that capitalism has been victorious. One is being given the formula of capitalism equalling democracy, that democracy which is in fact a Western particularity, sacred moreover, and which, it is suggested, ought to be a universal model.

Maybe so. But in South Africa where there is a tearing of the old and a knitting of the new social fabric, and where you'd find upheaval with, to some extent, similar causes to those in communist countries, we do have a sea tide running strong in a different direction.

I'm not suggesting that the quest is not the same everywhere, namely for democracy (although I should add immediately that democracy could only be the means to a state of social and economic justice where all will share equal rights,

Poet and writer
BREYTEN BREYTENBACH
 looks from exile in Paris at a South Africa changed, and challenged, by talks between the major players in the South African Game

opportunities and obligations). I am saying that, compared with Eastern Europe, we are taking a route which may seem to be an old-fashioned, divergent one.

Because the "normal" in other parts of the planet seems so extraordinarily revolutionary in South Africa — the right to vote, freedom from racial discrimination — any move towards normalisation tends to be hailed as the crumbling of the house of apartheid. What we see is, for the moment, at most the publicised willingness of two major opposing political forces together to explore a way of survival — and that, I grant, is already encouraging.

Made starry-eyed by our desire to see the accomplishment of this long march to freedom and peace and prosperity for all, we'd be blind to history as well if we were not to take cognisance of the continuing differences in aims and methods of these two formations — differences motivated essentially by the intact edifice of apartheid.

●People are still defined and grouped according to racial category.

●As ever, the blacks have no vote.

●The state, to all intents and purposes, is white. Parastatals create some 29 percent of the gross domestic product and account for 40 percent of white employment. Add to that figure the whites servicing national and regional administrations and the security forces...

●Whites, through the laws and structures of minority rule, still have an effective monopoly of political and economic power. The ruling National Party represents but 6.3 percent of the potential electorate.

●Blacks are still prevented by law, with rare exceptions, from owning land in 87 percent of the territory.

●Five percent of the population owns 88% of the wealth. Six mining houses (led by Anglo American) control 80% of shares quoted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Where white personal income is measured at an index of 100, Asians will earn 26, coloureds 20, blacks nine.

●This year's budget still provides for five times greater social spending on whites than on blacks.

●More than half of all households have incomes below the "poverty line". The annual inflation rate is now nearly 20%. There is a dire financial shortage and, with the need to service its external debts and loans, South Africa is a capital exporting country.

We are in the surreal situation of talk-

ing peace and waging war. Casualties in the Natal region alone far exceed those in Lebanon — even though these are not caused by spectacular bombardments but with pangas, zip guns, burning tyres...

Our society is vicious, violent and lawless, and the two *makulu* teams, even if they were sincere in their wish for moderation, do not represent the ma-

The ANC's impulse has always been for unity, or rather for hegemony... This has made the organisation cumbersome and slow. The ANC needs time to regroup, organise, consolidate

majority of South Africans and therefore have a diminishing influence.

Many blacks may have wrested their minds free from the yoke of inferiority, but they know they still have to live by their wits in a hostile environment where white equals capitalist, Afrikaner equals Boer equals oppressor and exploiter. Some whites have come to the realisation, as Africans, that their freedom is defined and enhanced by the freedom of the Other, but a majority still look upon whiteness as a genetic right to privilege and exclusiveness.

To point brutally at the essential area of discord, despite the Cape Town rapprochement between ANC and NP (and I know I shall generalise unfairly, but I'm sure I reflect a valid assumption in a war of perceptions), whites by and large don't want to relinquish decision-making power. They may accept losing their exclusive monopolistic throttle on the levers of the state, but they're going to fight for effective control. Blacks in reality want everything and are asking those whites who bother to be concerned to trust them blindly in the name of the thrust of the struggle against oppression and injustice.

Let me sharpen the point by delineating more clearly the playing fields of the principal protagonists. The present regime is striving for the control which

ought to result from a guided adaptation of policy-making bodies to accommodate a larger participation of South African voters, probably structured in a complex and whacky confederation, intended to guarantee the preservation of white specificity. (I need not spell out the attributes of that specificity).

Put differently: to divide and rule further, but probably with the objective acquiescence of the ANC.

The government undoubtedly disposes of sufficient skills and resources, and enough international support, to reasonably believe that it can achieve its goal. It has to move fast though, both locally and on the world stage.

At home it has a crumbling electoral base, besides losing policemen deserting with arms and information to join the extreme right, and it is therefore strapped for time. Constitutionally the NP disposes of a mere four and a half years.

Internationally the government must move rapidly to profit from the fall-out of Eastern European events and the cave-in of Africa before it becomes clear that the free market system is not the panacea it is universally made out to be.

It must also as soon as possible wriggle out of international isolation before the economic quagmire sucks the country into oblivion. If stymied or cornered the regime may choose to re-activate the strong-arm tactics, strengthen its objective collusion with (KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and thus continue splitting the black majority to exacerbate tensions in the townships which must increase the incipient discord between ANC "troops" and the leadership.

The ANC's impulse has always been for unity, or rather for hegemony, and for the containment of differences. This made the organisation cumbersome and slow. The ANC needs time to re-group, become implanted, organise, consolidate. There are evidently differences of assessment in the ANC camp between those willing to go for "the historical compromise" of power-sharing now — to "cut and run" as it were — and others holding out for a better *rapprochement* of forces, who believe more time is needed to clarify matters and thus for the struggle to accentuate its class dimensions.

Many still over-estimate the extent and depth of the ANC's international support, suffering perhaps from a certain alienation and indolence induced by a false sense of the "historic rightness of the cause" and an exaggerated depen-

dence on hand-outs. Probably too much faith is invested in the break-up of white cohesiveness and a belief that state dissolution will follow.

Persecution and clandestinity, engendering the need to parry the truth and to distort information and perception, strengthened the authoritarian tendencies of the movement and hones the manipulative skills of the commissars.

The cleft stick for the ANC is that it must pacify and secure significant sectors of the white and black professional and business classes to obtain the means for addressing basic injustices, and then to start transforming state and economic structures remedially — whilst giving tongue and shape to the urgent and immediate aspirations of the majority.

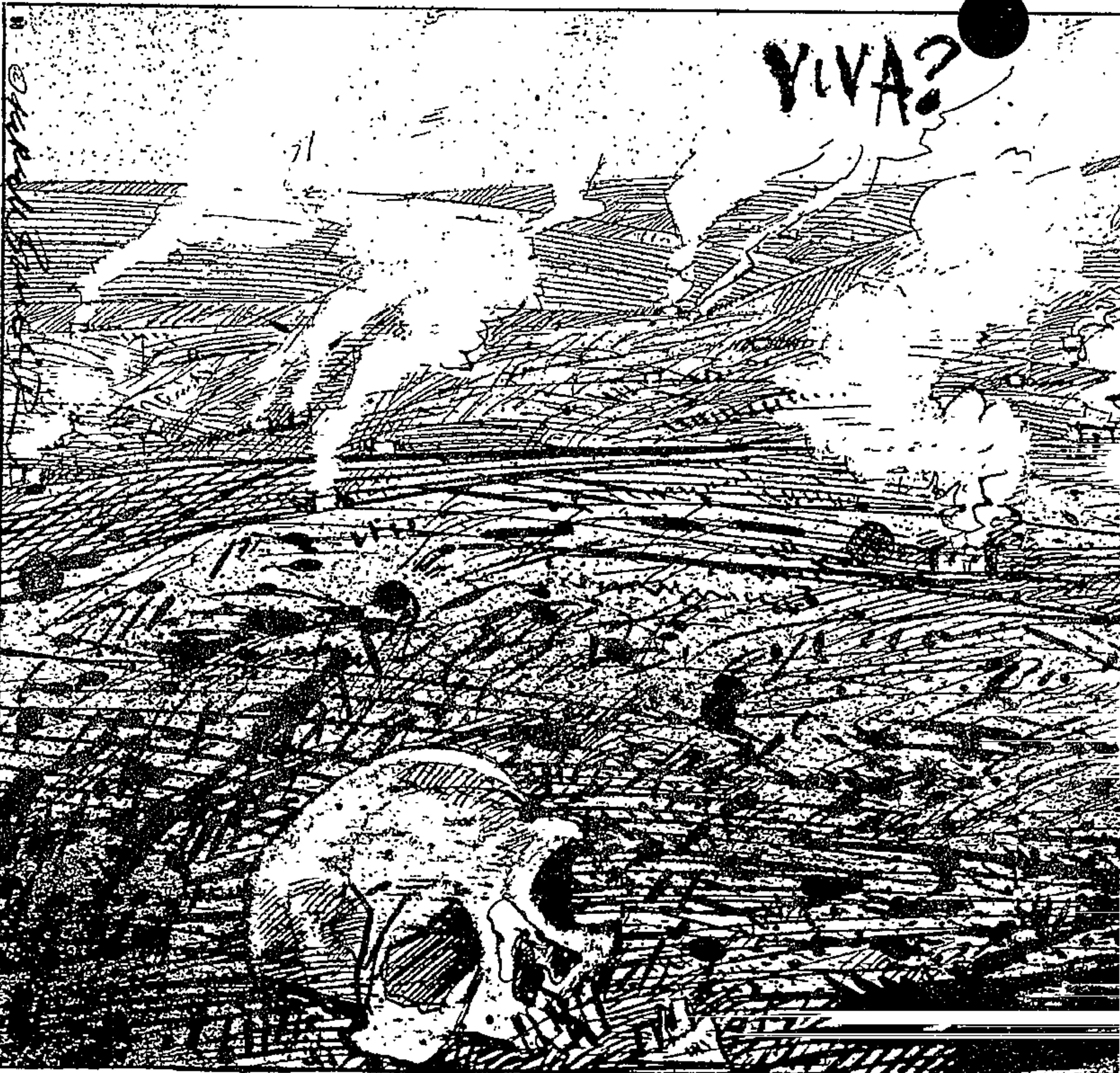
It may well find its space for manoeuvring restricted by popular demands and expectations. The ANC is in the process of becoming of the people, no longer a party for the people, and the people will ever more stridently call the ANC for order (if not to heel). In this delicate exercise the ANC is hampered in its quest for a clear and coherent ideological and black nationalist alternative that would satisfy the majority. How to mobilise the masses and still retain enough restraint to lead them to a reasonable compromise?

Continued unrest, sparked by frustration and fuelled by provocateurs, exploited by "the forces of law and order", may very well solidify the de facto autonomy of local reactions, thus breaking down national effectiveness.

The ANC's merit has been to oppose national unity to the government's attempts at divide and rule; its major achievement is to have been the crucible and the vector of South Africanness and to preserve this ideal — to which I also cling, because it is the only way for us to supersede chaos and communal strife — in the face of banning, jailing and exile.

I believe however that significant sectors of the ANC are not yet prepared to condone opposition and dissidence and effective pluralism in a democratic context. I believe the organisation has the historical task now to take a lead in establishing truly functioning alliances grouping all the democratic forces.

It is clear to me that we South Africans would also like to circumscribe and limit the powers of the state — by making it accountable, by devolution and decentralisation, by stopping corruption, by taking arbitrary decision-making away from the financial institutions and the



'When you're down, they'll keep you down'

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●From PAGE 1 WIE Mnd

and Mulbarton.

She and Abdul have been together since he came out of jail "after 16 years".

Theirs is the only romance among the *outies*.

Weichselbaumer confesses that she does not often have someone she can pour her heart out to. She and her consort quarrel often.

"I love Dulla. Even though he hits me sometimes and says he doesn't want me. I was in an alcoholic home. I met him just after I came out, and at the time, I thought: Oh, my God. A Muslim! But when we got to know each other better ...

"My family didn't want Abdul and that was why they kicked me out. But you see, we're drinkers. Last night, I went to visit my daughter in Turffontein. I had to sleep in the park."

She feels she cannot leave Abdul. "When he came out of jail, we went down to the station platforms. It was a cold night and he took off his clothes and covered me with them. No one's ever done something like that for me. He'll sell his last to get me a drink because he knows I get the shakes bad in the morning."

Even though he hit her "every day, I have respect for him. I don't want him to go back to jail".

She is worried. Dulla has gone off with Les. Les is pushing Dulla into crime again. Les was in for 15 years — one fewer than Dulla. She herself has been in jail at least seven times. The first charge was fraud — "We were given this cheque for R100 by some guy" — but she was bailed out of trouble by the South African Greek community. "My first husband was Greek, you know, and I lived in Greece for a while."

Since then, she has been inside mostly for drinking in public.

"People are very horrible, my friend," she says. "If you're not a survivor ... That's why I love Dulla. When they let him ring tills in the shops, he buys food for everyone here." Ring tills? "I can't tell you what that means. I don't want to get Dulla into trouble."

George Robinson is 60. Shivering from a combination of cold and the "shakes" — alcoholic fits — he lies curled on a bench in foetus position. His accent is English and he comes across as being extremely well-mannered and cultured. His words are forced — he speaks through teeth clenched against the shivering of his body.

It is a Saturday night, June 16, to be precise. Yet he does not know what day it is. "It must be the weekend," he murmurs. "I'm sure it must be. Shops closed early today. Shops always close early on a weekend ..."

He wanders in and out of a trance. "I wish I just had a little bottle of wine to keep me warm. But they would prosecute me," he grunts, lifting his head slightly as two policemen pass close by. "You can't go anywhere, do anything. Some policemen are friendly. Others aren't. Some throw a blanket over you but today, they want us out of here before midnight." Five minutes away.

"This is the warmest place there is. Some of them are good but some of them are rotten bastards. Where do I go from here?"

The Hillbrow shelter, perhaps?

"They misuse you. All the other *outies* told me not to go there because they make you work."

His last job, he says, was as a crane driver on the Durban docks during the railways strike. "I've been homeless now for 10 years, I think. I was in a place in Oribi Gorge in Natal recently. They just made me work for them — for no pay, save a spoonful of sugar and some porridge. We had to do a hell of a lot of manual labour."

He says: "I would like to have a home; I would like the police to be more friendly. But when you're down, they keep you down."

The two policemen were back, ordering the hobos to leave the station within 30 minutes. Thirty minutes to lam of a cold frosty Sunday morning.

A man teetered unsteadily, whining: "Rosary, haven't you got a light for me?" She offered him her still-glowing stub, saying gruffly: "You're not going to roll me tonight, hey. Because Dulla's not around to protect me tonight."

Then to me: "I wish I had somewhere to go to. I'm disgusted with this world. Why must people hate each other like this? I long for a home where there's love and peace and happiness. Damn, a home where I can sit and have a drink in peace."

Robinson's parting words turned cartwheels in the mind. "Be thou of what colour, thy art worth thyself." He could not recall the quote's origins, but claimed it as his lifelong motto.

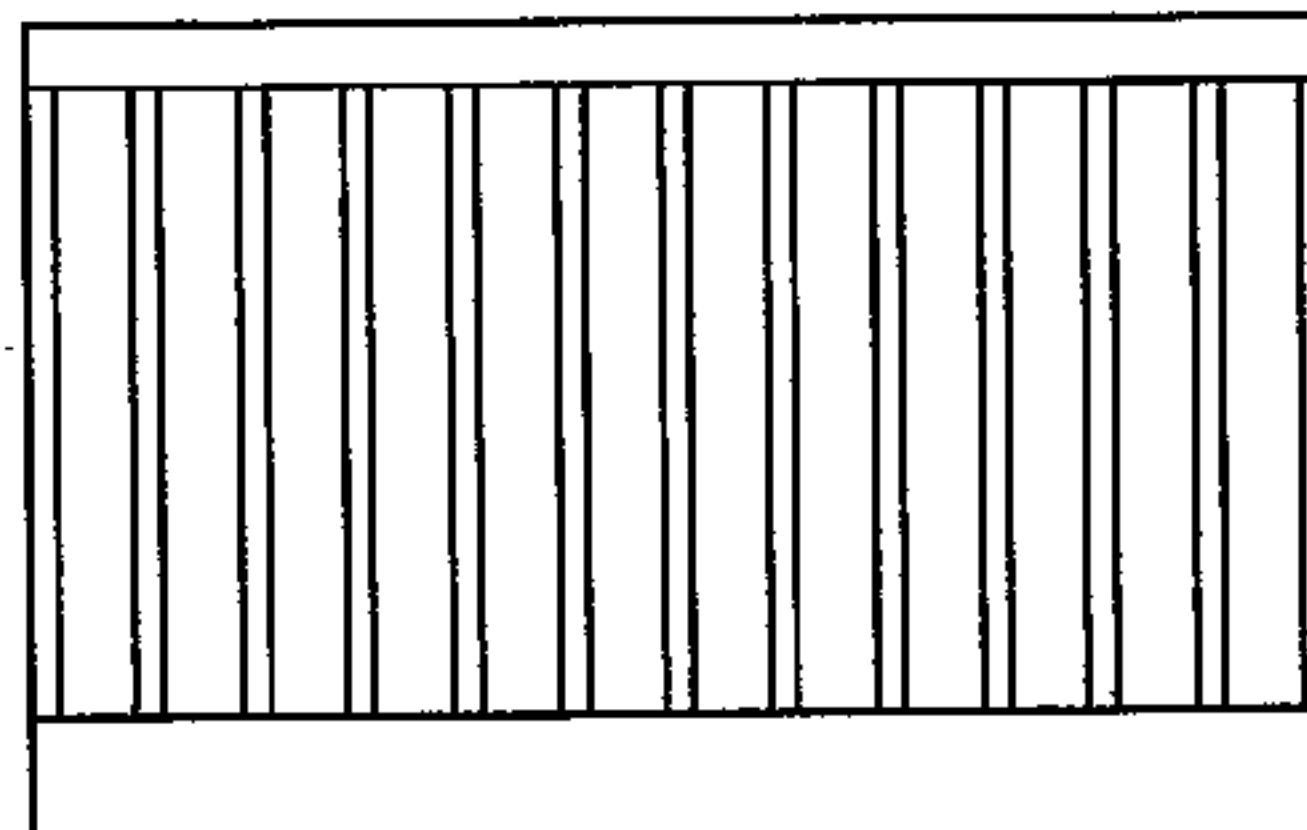
To it he had added: "Every time you fall, you have to get up but sometimes you can't. And you don't."



From Germany to Jo'burg station ...Rosary Weichselbaumer and Manfred Baureidl wait for their next drink. Picture: SEELANNADOO



Stare at the panther for about one minute...



then stare at the cage to complete the picture

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the African National Congress



Breyten Breytenbach in Amsterdam, 1987: Addressing delegates to the conference on Culture in Another South Africa
Picture: DAVE HARTMAN, Afrapix

that we have the confidence of our convictions by not insisting on blind trust and adherence, but allowing for creative freedom and the expression of the richness of our diversity.

The ANC must take the lead in positively identifying and bringing about, by example and not through coercion, a hybrid and potentially strong South Africa.

The choice for concerned democrats must not be between falling in behind De Klerk by default, or shutting up and biting back the criticism we may have of the "mother movement". There has been too much manipulation, too many winks and private reassurances, too much fellow-travelling and far too much hiding behind a false facade of unity.

Effective and creative unity comes from pulling people together, upwards, through clear objectives and inventive strategies and vigorous action — not by going for the lowest common denominator, by obscuring the problems and differences.

The test will be whether the ANC can mix and integrate — not so much blacks and whites and others — but urban dwellers and rural folk, the modernists and the traditionalists, the elite and the grassroots, excellence and egalitarianism, the exiles and those at home — in such a way as to highlight our shared and common purpose.

On a recent, very brief visit to South Africa, I was struck by the mixture of euphoria and fear that I encountered — only natural, as old patterns break up and the mutual shaping of the unknown commences. I sensed a real desire for respectability, for the release of our potential creative powers. These will have to be recognised, valorised, harnessed, channelled.

For politicians there is going to be the nearly inhuman challenge of containing and controlling themselves, of thinking beyond party lines of the common good, of "frying the little fish lightly" (as the old Chinese saying goes, referring to the art of ruling).

For historians it is going to be the work of understanding and offering to us the totality of our history — taking into account not only the black spots and the white spots, but also the ways in which the accounts have been cooked to serve as presentations of prejudice and the distortion of value systems — without neglecting or belittling the "specific", that which is peculiar to each segment of the national community.

For moralists it is going to be the daunting quest of identifying and analysing our condition of ethnic decay, where opposing protagonists have justified the excesses of brutality and savagery in the name of struggle or survival, and how then to present a moral code that would unite us — particularly as seen against the background of failing systems elsewhere in the world.

For economists it will be how to preserve and increase the riches of the country, in such a way that all may benefit — not as receivers of charity but as participants in development — and without serving as a one-time meal the goose which laid the golden eggs, even if those eggs were mostly for foreign consumption.

For thinkers and creators of cultural goods it will be how to imagine and interpret a "South Africanness" which will be the spine of a nation, how to lift out and enhance the values of our struggle without weaving these into the strait-jacket of a new orthodoxy, how to oppose exclusion and promote change, how to make of culture an arena that can accommodate the conflicting demands of quality and popular appeal, of criticism and mobilisation, how to harmonise and valorise the strains of Africa and Europe and South Africa, how to promote a growing together that would respect parallel developments which contribute towards expanding the totality of our experience.

I do have faith in the future of South Africa. I have met a large enough number of splendid South Africans to give me confidence. Our struggle has been justified, and it has forced us to better ourselves. It has also crystallised a cluster of unifying values.

On the plane returning from South Africa I read in a newspaper two quotations that may sum up what I tried to convey here, that there are serious dangers lurking ahead but that the process has started and will continue. The first was from George Steiner saying: "Everything can still go wrong." The second was from Tom Stacey: "No man can unbite the apple."

converging interests.

The results must rapidly lead to economic improvement, to a de-escalation of violence, to real negotiations around a constitution that would bring relief to the majority's aspirations for emancipation and the fears of the minorities of being swamped. A transitional caretaker government, a constituent assembly elected not by "group" voters' rolls, international monitoring and support — these will be necessary steps and features.

What are the signs of convergence? Maybe no more than a rustling in the leaves. Among the many that can be identified or dimly perceived, of different kinds and orders of importance, are the sense that "a historical corner has been turned"; that we all seem to share a measure of realism and an absence of cynicism whilst recognising the need for change; that the future unquestionably belongs to all South Africans. South Africa will truly be a Third World power of a special kind.

It is in keeping all the above in mind — but remembering that we are still a long way from being out the woods — that we see why the international environment remains important. Let me simplify. It is necessary to continue barking at the major teams so as to keep herding them down the road towards common sense. De Klerk should not be given the

means of buying time for continued minority rule. To inject fresh money into his development schemes now would in effect be laundering injustice.

De Klerk is a partner to change; he is not mandated to represent a nascent South Africa. This is not yet the time to re-invest, not under these circumstances. Financial and economic sanctions should be maintained until such time as the world may deal with a different South Africa. The yardstick ought to be quite simply: embarking upon the one-person one-vote system within a truly democratic framework. It is an attainable goal worth mobilising for.

Similarly it is important not to lull the ANC into thinking that the outside world will solve our problems. In fact, internally the onus is on the ANC: to stabilise and extend its formal membership on a clear platform, inviting — for example — whites and coloureds and Indians to join without their having to be members of the South African Communist Party; to withstand the temptation of irresponsible populist rhetoric; to educate and to politicise; to promote national alliances that would englobe groupings which are not necessarily ANC front organisations; to conceive of a functional council (a "parliament") of progressive forces where democratic decisions will be holding; to "privatise" culture; to promote the "new South African"; to show

repression of contestation, a bloated administration, cultural and intellectual terrorism where we have Stalinist jackasses manning "cultural desks" to tell us what a "people's culture" is supposed to be like.

Both parties to the Groote Schuur meeting obviously need to show positive results and to show these together — you could say they are clinging to

The government has a crumbling electoral base and is strapped for time. It must wriggle out of world isolation before the economic quagmire sucks the country into oblivion

one another like a recently married couple jumping over a cliff — and I believe they are recognising the signs of

political caste and their faceless accomplices, or sometimes their mirror masters: the bureaucrats.

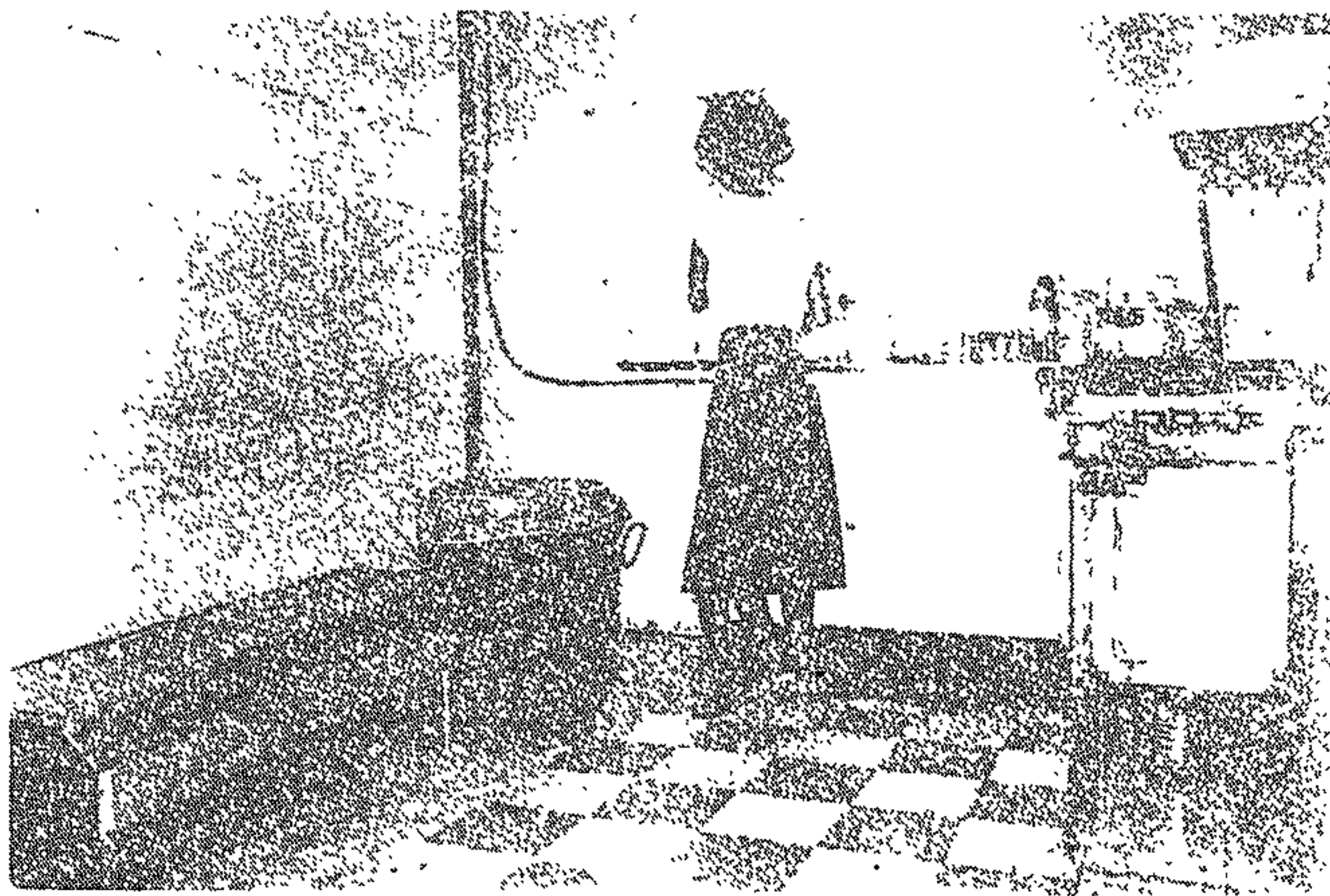
We too need to reassert the responsibilities and prerogatives of "civil society" — the professional and trade union and community and other grassroots bodies, the women, the youth.

But we have a contradiction: in fighting minority dictatorship, crass inequities and gross injustices perpetrated in the name of the present South African state (which, I insist, has no national foundation and should have had no international recognition), we'd like to see it replaced by a unitary state embodying a pluralist democracy.

The new state, first of all in order to attenuate the legacy of structural apartheid, and then to valorise our South Africanness by orchestrating and blending our diversities, will have to be strong. It would need to democratise and "blacken" the national economy so as to invest massively in redressment and positive action. This must mean a redistribution of wealth.

One cannot expect of this new state to be powerful enough to command the economy and build the nation, and then not to exercise the corollary attributes of its power which may well be — given our history of co-optation and the majority intolerance of competition — the

A TOUCH OF TOWNSHIP STYLE



On ice ... The shebeen's beer is kept in a rubber rubbish bin in the kitchen



Looking out ... The entrance to the block of flats in Lorentzville

Picture: SEELAN NAIDOO



Overcrowding ... A group of men gather in one of the bedrooms which has been partitioned to accommodate two families

Black blues in a white suburb

High rents and overcrowded conditions have not deterred a group of migrant workers from making a home for themselves in a city flat. **THAMI MKHWANAZI** reports on the migrants' struggle to survive

SUNDAY afternoon in a block of flats in the Johannesburg suburb of Lorentzville was spent with beer and loud music in typical township style. A transistor radio in Norjeff Court blasted Yvonne Chaka Chaka's *I'm in love with a disc jockey*.

Downstairs, the back garden resembled a typical township yard with Selina Malapane removing napkins from one of the numerous washlines.

The dilapidated block has become home to black migrant workers. Even astronomical rents have not deterred the men and their families from being part of white Johannesburg.

It was not by choice that a hostel exists in Norjeff Court. A number of factors, be they political or cultural, have gradually been transforming city flatlands into townships.

The high rentals and the acute shortage of housing among black communities has forced some into city flats where they live in overcrowded conditions.

While the men drink beer on Sunday, the womenfolk chat and cook in the communal kitchens.

Terrence Mosibetla spoke about the plight of having to fork out rent of R688,56 a month between himself and three other men. "The rents are killing us," he said.

The R688,56 includes R188,56 a month for electricity, although the tenants used the building's gas stoves for

cooking. As a result of the high rent, the residents were continually falling in arrears.

For survival, the tenants — all migrant workers — have had to share the rent, living on top of one another.

Mosibetla and his three home boys from Kgapanne village in Tzaneen — David Malapane, Evans Ramafalo and Patrick Ramatsoma — live with their wives in Flat 2. The Malapanes have been joined by their two-year-old daughter. The flat consists of two 5x3m bedrooms, a kitchen and a bathroom.

The Malapanes share the bedroom with Evans Ramafalo and his wife. The room is partitioned by a small curtain and two old wardrobes on top of which a lounge suite has been packed away. The Ramafalos' part of the room is taken up by a tiny makeshift cupboard, a chair and a three-quarter bed which stands on empty paint tins. A poster of Yvonne Chaka Chaka and another of Moroka Swallows adorn the walls.

The Malapanes have crammed a three-quarter bedroom suite and a cupboard in their side. A colourful calendar, wall mirror and pot plants grace the neat bedroom.

The Mosibetlas sleep on a three-quarter bed while the Ramatsomas use a single bed. The room is partitioned by a floral curtain.

The tenants of Flat 2 have received a statement for this month's rent totalling R916, 24 from J&M Properties of

Saxonwold, Johannesburg. Arrears of R107, 68 and a electricity reconnection fee of R120 have been added.

Upon payment of R880, the principal tenant, Mosibetla, was issued a receipt by Temba Trust, also of Saxonwold. The tenants are R36,24 in arrears.

The situation in Flat 1 is the same as in Flat 2. The tenants of Flats 3 and 4 upstairs pay a slightly higher rental of R600 and R188, 56 for electricity, although one of the bedrooms is slightly smaller. The tenants of Flat 4 — Levy Motloutsi, Sydwell Ramushu, Matthews Molewa and Sonnyboy Mbatha — have received a June statement for R1 193. They could only raise R715,56 among themselves, leaving them in arrears of R405, 24.

The Flat 4 tenants operate a communal shebeen to augment their rent. The beer is kept in ice in a rubber rubbish bin.

Temba Trust trustee J Doteman said the rent is in line with rates in other white areas such as Yeoville and Rosettenville. "If they feel the rent is too high, they should go."

Asked why the electricity bill is uniform, he said the idea is to punish the tenants for keeping unauthorised people on the premises.

"I used to arrive late at night and find 20 people sleeping in a two-bedroomed flat. I'd kick them out, but they'd return. What would you do in that situation. Besides, the authorised tenants are illegal in terms of the law."

June-July/1990

The last days of Robert Sobukwe

An extract from Benjamin Pogrand's forthcoming book on the founder of the PAC
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THE
WEEKLY MAIL

/Books



MONEY AND METAPHYSICS

First Eco, then Suskind sold millions of 'metaphysical thrillers' ... now the stock of Christoph Ransmayr is rising as theirs falls
PAGE 4

SMUTS THE HOLIST

Tony Leon reviews a new book on Smuts
PAGE 3

This Lynx is part leopard, part alley cat

LYNX: Time Out of Time (Penguin, R37,95)

THIS *Lynx* is a very odd creature; part leopard, part alley cat; sometimes wild, sometimes thoroughly contemporary domestic.

It smells of the committee room, not the lamp. Stories (long, short; Afrikaans, English; black, white; realist, post-modern; art, kitsch; you name it) are juggled together with poems inside a very stylish (Judith Mason) cover. No editors; no foreword. It's not a magazine and it's not a book — a bit of both. A bit like *Granta*, although at the comparison our *Lynx* slinks sadly away.

Maybe there's a point in all this: a book marketing point. Book as plaything; close to Trivial Pursuit. Anyone can join in — play critic — be clever. Confronted by the extraordinary melange of material there's little else you can do. Even when you've finished the argument about what's good and what's bad there's still the puzzle of how these pieces found each other and jumped into print.

"It's an experiment," says Penguin. I wonder what they are trying for. PJ Haasbroek gets just less than half of the 330 pages for a B-movie script-in-the-making: son or (given the coy Oriental sex) maybe daughter of *The Killing Fields*. It starts carefully enough with the now familiar landscape of Pol Pot's Kampuchea but it spins into a dreadful overwind as the huge themes try to work themselves out inside the limits of the author's energy, interest and concern. The result is grotesque bathos.

Haasbroek sets the terms for the collection. His story is a consumer perishable. Read and throw away. User safe. Brain degradable. Litter free.

The best stories have to struggle against this product ethic. Etienne van Heerden and Ivan Vladislavic survive, but they have to pay a price. Vladislavic's beautifully constructed play of meanings in *The Box* starts to look like only a clever trick. Van Heerden's two stories begin to feel like horror videos. Both writers have to struggle to sustain their claims to be read with inwardness and resonance.

Moteane Melamu suffers worst. His Newclare stories are written with extraordinary poise. They enter fully and faithfully the coarse and brutal textures of township life at the same time that they disclose a generous, warm and highly sophisticated way of understanding and accepting such extreme experience. The young Dickens comes to mind. But the *Lynx* context tends to flatten out their complex tone and to frame them as pieces of "black writing" or, worse, local colour.

The remainder of the stories are lamentable. They fit the Haasbroek product formula only too well. Three are pure consumer-kitsch — of the *Style* variety. The other (Nigel Maister's) skilfully establishes an atmosphere but cannot do much with it.

The poetry is redeemed by Douglas Livingstone's *Scourings at Station 19*. It has all the exactness, solidity and energy to stand, like the bantam cock it celebrates, on top of the surrounding debris and "bellow its polysyllabic epithet". Polysyllabic to be sure — it's written in five sets of five perfect Alexandrines. Douglas Reid Skinner and Stephen Watson, mooning quietly to themselves, are easily digested in the maw of the *Lynx* — small sweet delicacies well covered in old poetic wrappers.

The worst of *Lynx*? Too much designer cynicism. Writing as marketable object. The best? A good idea. Mixed material; new voices; between the little magazines and the established books.

Next time it must be better. Fire the committee. Appoint an editor. Declare the experiment — or the game.

Tony Morphet



Illustration: COSTAS KALARYTIS

NON-FICTION

South Africa's murderous mind

22/6-28/6/90
w/ mail suppl.

304A

IN Rian Malan's tales of racial homicide, fratricide and genocide, liquidation emerges as the metaphor for the South African condition. Returning from self-imposed exile in the United States in 1985, Malan set out to write about his clan in Africa, but audaciously decided to write about how South Africans murder each other instead.

Two of the year's most important books, published almost simultaneously, examine the South African soul.

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK compares Rian Malan's *My Traitor's Heart* and Allister Sparks' *The Mind of South Africa* — and finds some unexpected similarities

Like the Polish author Ryszard Kapusinski, whom he quotes at one stage, Malan is a reporter and he shares Kapusinski's egoism, the first person account of a strange and cruel world that is really a first person account of oneself. What results is a superbly crafted book, joining — in my estimation — Bill Finnegan's *Crossing the Line* and Joe Lelyveld's *Move Your Shadow* as one of the best-written journalistic accounts of South Africa.

Much of the narrative is Malan's account of how he got politicised, how he feared and loved black people, how he got laid and how much time he spent jolting — more of a post-hippie rake's progress than a Boere confessional — and how in the wake of the 1976 Soweto uprising, the event that transformed so many of that generation, he ran away to America "because I wouldn't carry a gun for apartheid, and because I couldn't carry a gun against it". But in America his soul is "dissatisfied".

After almost a decade away, he returns to an even more violent South Africa in a desperate search for answers. But from his tone, he also comes home to blast away the truths of the smug anti-apartheid types, those who would colonise his brain at dinner parties.

Having laid bare the atrocities committed around Winnie Mandela, he yells at

● To PAGE 2

the reader. "Okay. Let's open my bulging files of tales of ordinary murder. You choose your weapons and I'll choose mine, and we'll annihilate the certainties in one another's brains."

His files are impressive and make ghastly reading. They include the sadistic torture and murder of Dennis Mosheshwe by August de Koker while two white families, kids and all, enjoyed their braaivleis next to the pool — the "completely traditional South African death".

There is the tale of Simon Mpungose, the Em-pangeni Hammerman, victim of apartheid and Zulu outcast, who fulfills his destiny by braining whites with a hammer and going to the gallows. And — strangest of all — the family of the murdered Dutch Reformed elder which was so tormented by his heart having been transplanted into a black man's chest that they wanted it back.

Indeed, what writer of fiction could invent such sickness that one encounters in the pages of *My Traitor's Heart*?

Malan's writing outdoes fiction, yet it balances precariously on the edge of fiction. The central motif connecting Malan's own inner struggle and the lurid accounts of murder is his ancestor, Dawid Malan, the white man at the savage frontier of Africa. In 1788 Malan abandoned wife, property and the respectability of society for the love of a slave girl, Sara.

He fled the Cape Colony with the dragoons on his tail and crossed the Great Fish River into the

South Africa's murderous mind

●From PAGE 1

wilds of Africa. Malan hunts for further traces of him in the archives and discovers him again decades later as one of the ringleaders of the Slagtersnek rebellion.

Malan wonders what happened to his ancestor on the other side of the frontier. What turned him into a "race-hating savage"? He declares solemnly: "All I know was that he was one man when he crossed the river into Africa and another when he reappeared, and that his transformation paralleled the transformation of his entire tribe."

This is a critical sentence because the underlying thesis of the book rests on Dawid Malan as a symbol of the fate of the Afrikaners, turning their backs on civilising Europe, forging their identity and their racism in the strange and savage hinterland of Africa that they can only encounter by conquering and oppressing.

Malan takes shortcuts that no professional historian would countenance. There is no conclusive proof — certainly on Malan's evidence — that Dawid Malan underwent any such transformation, so he enters the realm of imagination.

It suits the narrative better to imagine his ancestor, carrying with him love for a dark-skinned person, riding his horse across the hostile plains

into the Africa of imagination, and making a profound choice that would reverberate across the centuries.

Dawid Malan and his generation of white Afrikaners on a hostile frontier refused to trust Africa, says Malan, "so they put the black man down and evolved the law of keeping him that way, forever and ever and ever. Very little changed between that day and the day I came home to my country, after eight years of running away. My people were still standing guard with guns at the ready and jackboots on Africa's back, and I was one of them".

This is Rian Malan's angst and he believes there is only one way of exorcising the demon — following in Dawid Malan's footsteps, but this time going into the wilds of Africa with love.

He has selected as his role models Neil and Creina Alcock who ventured into the interior of Msinga to build a development project for the impoverished local community, encountering natural and human disasters that tested their fortitude, culminating in Alcock's murder in the crossfire of a senseless factional war.

Neil Alcock is buried with Zulu honour and Creina Alcock soldiers on in the valley. This is Malan's answer to the bigots, sadists, psychopaths and nutters whose tales he has put forward

as if they represent all of South Africa. This is the way forward for his tortured soul.

Malan's obsession with race as the only determining agent leads him to ponder such bleak alternatives. He dislikes white liberals and the white left, putting them out with one quote from a foreign television man filming the barricades in the townships: "When the day comes, you'll still be whitey." Malan is dismissive of other routes to the salvation he craves. He would brush aside a Beyers Naude, an Albie Sachs, a Van Zyl Slabbert as of no account, choosing instead an extreme individualist, a wild man out on his own in a wild continent.

This is the solution of the California of the Sixties, not the South Africa of the Nineties. Or is it the descendant of Dawid Malan rebelling again, this time against the mainstream black political movement whose socialism he dislikes and does not understand and whose contradictions he cannot emotionally deal with?

Allister Sparks and Malan speak from different sides of the newsroom. As a former editor and a political commentator, Sparks holds a more elevated world view. He sets out to describe the broad sweep of South African history where Malan, the crime reporter, seeks out the scumbags and defectives and holds them up as if to embarrass and obfuscate the Sparkses of the world.

There are few journalists in this country as well-equipped to attempt such a mammoth task as recording *The Mind of South Africa*.

Sparks was a young journalist when the National Party government began implementing apartheid in the Fifties, a political correspondent when Hendrik Verwoerd stood at the zenith of white power in the Sixties, an editor when the system began to crack in the Seventies and a foreign correspondent for the great crisis of white rule in the Eighties. The book misses FW de Klerk — and probably the most momentous decade of all — by a few months, but no doubt there will be occasion to update.

The Mind of South Africa is an encyclopaedic outline of what we should never forget — our three centuries of wrong. This book ought to be required reading for the bigots who call up Talk at Ten every night, believing that "our blacks" are lazy and ungrateful and the best-off in Africa.

Unlike Malan's ahistorical account that sees a straight line between Dawid Malan and PW Botha, Sparks assiduously draws the linkage between events here and in the rest of the world, the interaction between economics and politics, even the influence of religious ideas, the details of our history that shaped the nation.

Ostensibly, Sparks and Malan have written very different books. Yet they do cross paths. Both are passionate in their engagement with the country. Sparks, in his introduction, quotes from a haunting Breyten Breytenbach poem: "This land craves water and is given blood". That could be the sub-title of Malan's book. Malan's hero, Neil Alcock, is the first white man to clamber across Van Riebeeck's bitter-almond hedge, the boundary between the races that Sparks constantly refers to.

Sparks uses a better example of life on the other side of the hedge: Nico Smith, the Afrikaner clergyman who went to live in Mamelodi, who was welcomed into that community with love.

Even when addressing the future of the whites, whose past he has laid bare in a most unflattering manner, Sparks is optimistic. "Whites do not behave the way they do because they are innately evil," he says, "but ... because they are caught up in the vortex of their own history. There is nothing about them that is irredeemable, as I believe they will show in due time."

Sparks presents a more human, less tortured, and thus more hopeful portrait of our society. He stresses repeatedly the inclusiveness of black political traditions in South Africa right up to Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki. Even the Pan Africanist Congress stopped short of a total rejection of whites. Where Malan sees savages, Sparks discovers on that fateful meeting point of history, the eastern frontier, the collectivist concept of *ubuntu* or an African humanity that informs black politics today.

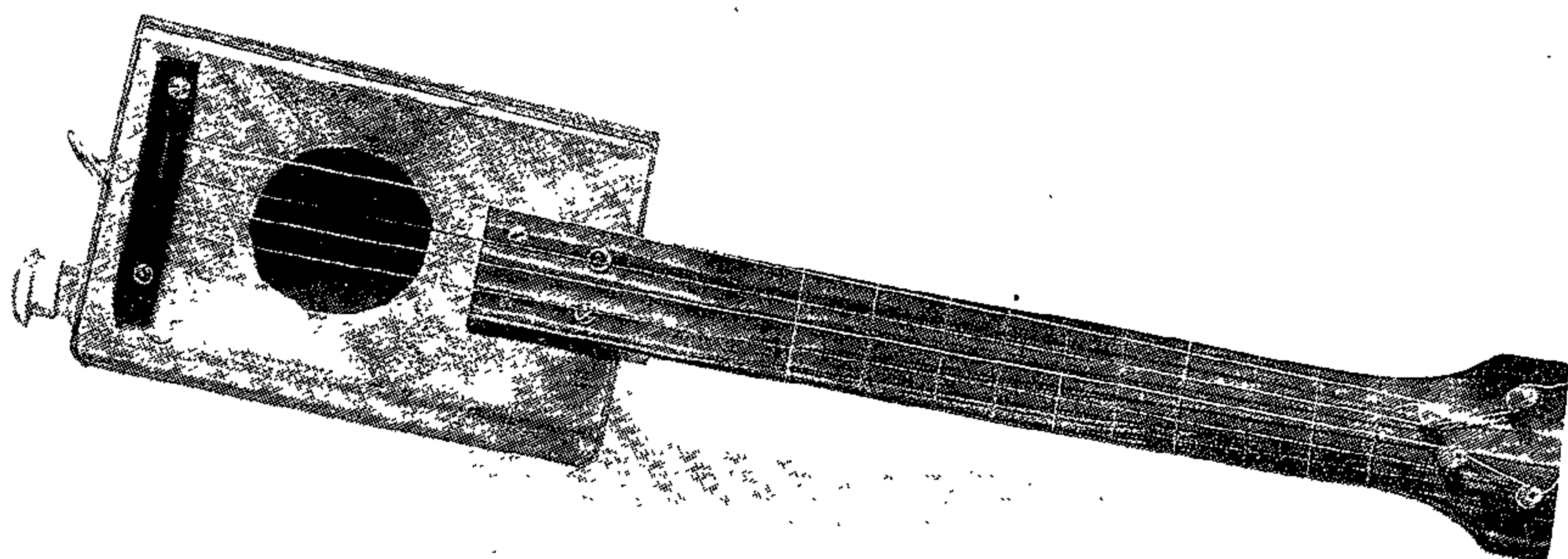
Sparks, like Malan, looks toward a future in Africa, but his is an Africa of compassion and reconciliation. As we move towards the "new South Africa", which view helps us better to understand the future to come? Perhaps FW de Klerk and the African National Congress have started to answer that question already. Other societies have come out of repression and unspeakable atrocities, have grown up and learnt to live with one another.

There are already whites meeting the challenge of the new society that is being born in the melting pot of the industrial cities, not on the segregated boundaries of feudal pastoral lands. We do not have to become Neil Alcock to belong to South Africa.

●*My Traitor's Heart* by Rian Malan (The Bodley Head, R49,99)

The Mind of South Africa by Allister Sparks (Heinemann, 70,95)

●See PAGE 6



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think they are worlds apart



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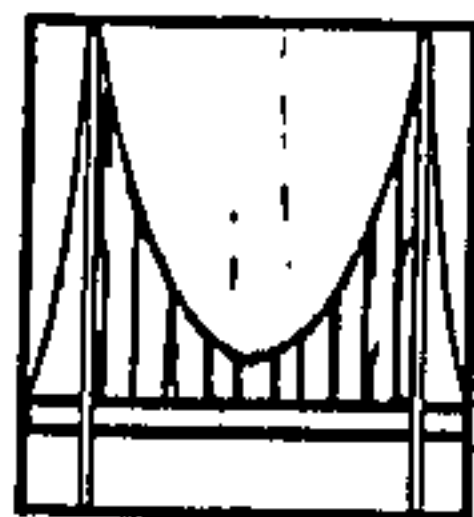
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SA, Zim combine in a joint business venture



Starbridge

By Winnie Graham

New links have been forged between a white-run South African company and a go-ahead Zimbabwean business.

This was the outcome of a chance remark concerning a short-term preservative with major benefits for the leather processing business.

The firms, Anikem, a chemical company based in Kempton Park, and Medicos Zimbabwe, signed a marketing agreement on June 19, in terms of which the South African firm will market the revolutionary new product.

According to Kamal Waghmarae of Anikem, the industry for years researched methods to improve the chemical short-term preservative for raw hides.

During the '80s, salt, a major preservative in Zimbabwe's leather industry, was in short supply. Accordingly, research was conducted to develop a suitable chemical preservative.

Douglas Ruhukwa, chairman of Silky Touch International (STI), and his team of researchers found the solution.

Advantages

STI, trading as Medicos Zimbabwe, commercialised the preservative

which has a number of advantages over salt.

Mr Waghmarae added: "The product is environmentally friendly. The effluent can be safely disposed of through approved channels."

He points out that the overloading of effluent systems with salt incurs penalties but the new preservative eliminates this problem.

In addition, even the most advanced chemical preservatives can preserve a hide for only 14 days. Tests have proved the new short-term preservative is effective for at least 30 days.

The concept was greeted with enthusiasm in South Africa, though some technical managers had difficulty accepting that a locally developed technology could be so effective.

During a meeting with Medicos in South Africa, someone mentioned the new preservative. Anikem's interest was immediately aroused by the chance remark.

Satisfied

A secret agreement was signed and Anikem went ahead with tests to evaluate the formulation of the product and its market prospects.

Once it was satisfied with the product's technological standards and sales prospect, it approached Medicos with a view to obtaining the marketing rights south of Zimbabwe.

"At first Medicos was sceptical about the co-operation," he said.

"The danger of a take-over or white/black patronisation was a worry, but Medicos realised that Anikem meant business."

The availability of a superior new product will mean increased revenue for both companies.

Environmentally, there will be a reduction in sodium loading of effluent and, on the production side, increased storage time of raw hides will promote more efficient production runs for tanneries.

"Not least of the benefits is a meaningful co-operation between white and black business which can only bode well for the future of South Africa," Mr Waghmarae said.

Blacks outraged as Mandela shunned

CAH TIPS 28/6/90

MIAMI. — Outrage and embarrassment swept through South Florida's black communities this week after six area mayors and the governor denounced Mr Nelson Mandela for his support of Cuba's President Fidel Castro and refused to issue proclamations honouring the civil-rights leader.

"It is an embarrassment," said Mr Ray Fauntroy, head of the Dade County chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "This town (Miami), which is supposed to be an international city, has not responded as every other city in the world has (to a visit by Mr Mandela)."

Mr Mandela's refusal to denounce President Castro, the Palestine Liberation Organisation's Mr Yasser Arafat and Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, who have all endorsed the ANC's campaign to end apartheid, has angered large segments of South Florida's Cuban and Jewish populations.

After outraged leaders of Miami's black community gathered at City Hall on Tuesday, Miami mayor Mr Xavier Suarez joined black elected leaders in welcoming Mr Mandela to the area, but said he would not be honoured with a proclamation or key to the city.

The leaders who went to City Hall had demanded that today be declared "Nelson Mandela Day".

Mr Suarez acknowledged "a rift in the community" because of Mr Mandela's visit, but added: "I'm sure we could resolve our differences on international issues."

The black leaders who came to City Hall had demanded that today be declared "Nelson Mandela Day". — UPI

● Mandela visits Martin Luther King tomb — Page 3

FW: Apartheid's end must wait

CAH TIPS 28/6/90

PRETORIA. — President FW de Klerk yesterday reiterated that the scrapping of the Population Registration Act, the basis of apartheid, could only follow a new constitution.

Replying to charges that the pillars of apartheid remained intact, Mr De Klerk said in a special interview on SABC television: "I don't know anybody who disagrees, the ANC agrees, Inkatha agrees, all other political movements that I know agree — that the best thing would be, before we decide what the new constitution must look like, to have solid negotiations. You can't put the cart before the horse."

From negotiations would follow the new constitution "and from that will follow the repeal of the existing constitution, exchanged by a new one — including the repeal of the Population Registration Act because in the new constitution, a new basis would have to be found".

Mr De Klerk scotched the idea of a constituent assembly demanded by both the ANC and PAC, and which is a cornerstone of the Harare Declaration.

"South Africa is a fully independent, sovereign country, recognised by the whole world ... A constituent assembly elected before you start with negotiations causes a constitutional vacuum, causes un-

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certainty and undermines the capability of present government structures to continue with good government while negotiation takes place. CAH TIPS 28/6/90

"And what this country cannot afford, is that there is so much uncertainty that it might turn into anarchy and where basic authority and maintaining of good government is made impossible," he said.

He said neither the government nor the National Party was prepared to embark on what could be perceived as a road to suicide.

The idea was not to promote minority rights to the detriment of the majority, but minorities should be protected against misuse of power.

Mr De Klerk also said he did not think ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's tour of the US would undo anything he had achieved during his recent European tour.

"My tour was not to beg for the lifting of sanctions. My purpose was to put a new perspective on the new realities in South Africa. The fact that there is a growing consensus taking place in the country even seems to be coming through in Mr Mandela's visit."

It was incorrect to conclude that the country's present problems of strikes, labour unrest and demonstrations were a result of the reform processes.

"These things were all happening before February 2. The fact is the level of violence in the country is too high and we are doing everything possible to reach peaceful solutions."

"We are talking to the ANC, but they still have a dualistic approach about negotiation. Their preaching of violence is still a stumbling-block."

Bottlenecks in education, housing and poverty could not be solved without a strong economy.

Mr De Klerk said that the longer foreign investment and trade was withheld, the longer South Africans would have to wait for progress.

LEVELS of repression

in South Africa - softened for a while following President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech - appear to have returned to "former brutality", says a recently released Human Rights Commission report.

The report was recently submitted to the UN delegation which visited South Africa and is likely to influence UN policy on South Africa.

It contains startling statistics on various facets of repression and says that while certain changes were brought about as a result of the President's acclaimed speech, all the "awesome" powers of repression were still intact and available to the government and most of them continue to be exercised.

Curbs still reign - report

The only exception to this, says the report, is the recent lifting of the State of Emergency in all areas of South Africa except Natal which represents "the first shift in formal repression" Mr de Klerk's February 2 speech.

In addition, the report says that while political activity has escalated, resulting in various activities largely

being disregarded.

security force response has "blown hot and cold" and for some time has "returned decisively to its former brutality".

Repressive powers continue to be embodied in the Internal Security Act (ISA), the Public Safety Act (PSA), the Public Safety Amendment Act (PSAA) and the amendments to the ISA and PSA which "wait in the wings", the report says.

Detention without trial in terms of the ISA continues on a daily basis and "is happening as we speak", claims the report.

The numbers of people affected are in the hundreds rather than the thousands of the recent past, and the detainee population in May stood at between 400 and 500. - Sapa.

28/6/90
Sowetan

304A

Right-wing coup would fail ^{304A} Idasa

LINDEN BIRNS

A COUP d'etat by the right wing would ultimately fail as it would not be able to deal with black labour and education issues, Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert said at an HSRC workshop debating SA's transition from apartheid to democracy.

Yesterday Slabbert said he agreed with former Broederbond chief Carel Boshoff "that a right-wing coup would run into severe difficulties dealing with things like organised labour movements and black education bodies... the right wing might end up just protecting Verwoerdburg".

In a recent statement ultra right-wing Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder warned that, with the AWB, the Boerestaat Party would take up arms against government when it "capitulated to the ANC-SACP alliance".

Authoritarian

Van Tonder also alluded to massive support from the ranks of the security forces.

Speaking at the workshop, UCT academic Prof Herman Giliomee said there was a build-up of the SADF coupled with the Reserve Bank's strict fiscal policy.

This indicated that "perhaps we are moving towards authoritarian rule, and that in about 20 years time the army will be a base for a transition to democracy".

Giliomee said SA currently sustained a "Herrenvolk democracy" whereby the

elite upper portion of society had democratic freedoms while the rest had "a colonial tyranny".

Urban Foundation manager: environmental analysis Chris Heymans said the NP needed to enter into an alliance with "a power source", possibly the military, giving them a "veto power option".

"There is an important element of giving the military something back," he said.

Heymans quoted a government source as saying one of the rights for minority groups was having their own professional army to protect them.

SA Institute for International Affairs Research director Andre du Pisani warned that "we have to recognise the manipulative political language of political figures.

"Perhaps the positions their language describes are not their true positions," he said.

"Is the ANC hoping to achieve the fruits of revolution without paying the price for it? If you analyse its language, you'll see it comes very close to this," Du Pisani said.

Wits University Centre for Policy Studies researcher Mark Swilling told the workshop a new society was being formed beneath "the feet of the regime".

"The regime is responding and not initiating in the transition process. February 2 1990 marked the beginning of transition to democracy in SA," he said.

Violence will increase 'if expectations not met'

THE potential for violence would be increased by any delay in meeting the raised expectations for a timeous transfer of political power, a Wits University expert on violence said last night.

The Psychology Department's Project for the Study of Violence director Lloyd Vogelmann was giving the opening address at the National Institute of Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro) AGM in Johannesburg.

He said the decrease in state repression and the climate of negotia-

THEO RAWANA

tion had given black people a strong expectation that the transfer of political power would be achieved soon.

"Rising expectations do not lead to violence — unmet expectations do. This problem may also plague a post-apartheid government. Failure to deliver on promises finally catches up with any organisation, party or government, be it in one year or 10."

Vogelmann said the combination of relative deprivation and unmet expectations was a deadly one.

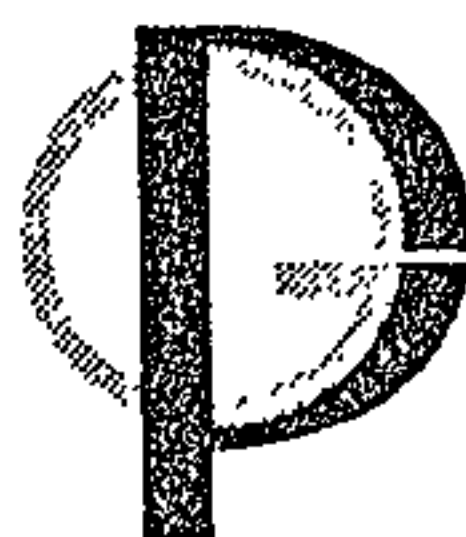
"For millions of South Africans,

talk of a new political era has made little or no difference to their day-to-day material existence. They are still without jobs and if they are fortunate to have a job, they frequently receive inadequate wages."

Despite the high incidence of crime in SA, there was no substantial anti-crime programme in the country.

Neither government nor the ANC had a policy on the subject, he said.

SA had more than 32 murders a day. In the Witwatersrand it was almost 10 a day, "twice the average rate of New York City".



DISCUSSIONS on the causes of transition in SA reflect a curious ambivalence. One argument implies that, given the circumstances, President F W de Klerk had no choice but to do what he did. The other argument implies that De Klerk caught everybody by surprise.

Both positions cannot be true; the one thing about the inevitable is its lack of surprise. The obvious point is that there is nothing inevitable about the transition — it was precipitated by deliberate political choice.

In other words, given the same circumstances confronting P W Botha and De Klerk, the one calculated the risks of choosing transition differently to the other. Of course, neither was an entirely "free agent".

One of the most important factors influencing De Klerk's choice was the political legacy Botha left him — a deadlocked situation in which maintaining a cycle of repression, reform, reaction, reaction, revolt, repression, was the one option, and breaking out of it the other. De Klerk chose to break out of it.

In examining the pressures for transition away from "white minority domination", I prefer to distinguish between external and internal pressures, and planned and unplanned pressures.

Without proper research it is impossible to determine the relative importance of each factor. It never fails to amaze me with what ease propagandists can isolate a single factor — sanctions, or Margaret Thatcher, or the market — and with dogmatic confidence explain a wide variety of consequences.

Unplanned internal pressures included the disproportionate increase between the white and black population; the accelerating flow of black people to the cities undercutting the regime's policy on land use and the provision of social services; and the shortage of skilled labour.

Increasingly it became apparent the economy could not carry the costs apartheid demanded. Political goals like job reservation, separate amenities and temporary black urban status were abandoned.

Planned internal pressures came from, firstly, the regime. On February 2 De Klerk destroyed the conven-

To kill peace or to keep it alive: 3044 the choice is ours

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

8/Dec 28/6/90

tional political base of the NP and split the white community between those in favour of transition and those against it. Those in favour of transition are more diffuse, less organised and at this stage even less committed than those against. Their lack of conviction and commitment are very largely dependent on the response of the ANC, PAC and other opposition groups.

Secondly, there is no doubt that those involved in "the struggle" against white domination had, and are still having, the most profound impact on the current transition. The relationship particularly between the regime and the ANC had to be "normalised" before serious transition could commence.

One of the major challenges facing both the regime and the ANC is to stop trafficking across contradictory paradigms: for the regime between consolidating white minority domination and negotiating it away; for the ANC between bringing it down through revolutionary collapse and negotiating it away. The transition phase is still locked into position bargaining and posturing. This increasing white anxiety and black expectation and feeds the volatile political climate — particularly on the white right.

A third planned internal pressure comes from the private sector. When those in power commit themselves to transition — to uncertainty and

possible instability — and those to the right wish to return to an untenable past, business has no choice but, for the sake of its own survival, to become interested in the political future. One of the most important forces for successful transition will be the kind of relationship developing between the regime, the ANC, and the private sector.

The interaction between internal pressures for change will drive the politics of transition. But the extent to which external pressures link up with or impinge upon the situation can have an important bearing on the outcome.

Unplanned external pressures include the changing relationship between the US and Soviet Union. One of the consequences of the rapprochement between them was the changing significance of what they perceived to be regional conflicts. These shifts in regional policy had an important bearing on the development in Angola, Namibia and SA.

Secondly, there is also no doubt De Klerk saw in the collapse of regimes in Eastern Europe an opportunity to precipitate transition in SA.

Thirdly, the decline of SA as a gold producer underscores the necessity for the SA economy to mature beyond its reliance on its mineral base.

Planned external pressures included the war in Angola and the costs of administering Namibia.

The debate on sanctions as a planned external pressure is a quagmire of confusion, half truths, platitudes, provocation and deception. It is also riddled with laudable intentions frustrated by reality. It is boring beyond redemption, but it will endure, if only because of its ability to generate more heat than light.

At best, the debate consists of competing ideological preferences parading as theories of change. To add analytical distinctions to the debate on sanctions itself is to add insult to injury to those who are unqualifiedly for or against it. But it has to be done.

Sanctions are the punitive actions of one state in relation to a target state to effect a political outcome. States differ in their capacity and resources in relation to target states in bringing about sanctions.

Without sanctions a society can experience massive disinvestment and capital flight. Sanctions can be turned on and off; sanctions can be turned on but not off; or a state can neither turn sanctions on or off, but pretend to be able to do both.

In other words, the relationship between sanctions and the desired political outcome is a matter of empirical analysis, not a *priori* pontification for or against it.

I think it is fair to say sports isola-

tion had a direct bearing on the changes in sport; the arms embargo certainly had an impact on the war in Angola as well as domestic arms production; financial sanctions affected the SA regime's fiscal and monetary policy; and the international climate created by the campaign for isolation and sanctions promoted both a sense of siege and transition in the white community.

Some trade and economic sanc-

tions (like disinvestment) weakened the economic power of the workers.

The most significant form of economic sanctions was not instituted by any particular state but was the voluntary flight of capital out of SA through loss of confidence in the polity and the economy.

Whatever the nature of sanctions there is a significant difference between Botha and De Klerk's response to pressure. The one would have deepened the siege with a smile; the other instituted transition.

Finally, the most dangerous illusion created by the sanctions debate is that when De Klerk and Mandela agree to end the call for sanctions, untold millions of investment capital will pour into SA. Nothing of the kind will happen. If the process of transition does not lead to confidence no turnaround on the sanctions debate will have any effect whatsoever. It is far more important to persuade investors of the viability of the society that will result from transition than to score debating points in the campaign for or against sanctions.

Perhaps a parable can best explain my conclusion. Two youngsters in a village in India decided to test the wisdom of an old sage. They agreed that one of them would hold a live pigeon behind his back with the head in one hand and the body in the other. They would then ask the old man whether the bird was alive or dead. If the sage said alive, the boy would rip off its head and present him with a dead bird. If he said dead the boy would present him with the live bird. And so they put the question to the sage. He thought for a while and quietly said to the boy: "The answer is in your hands." And so is also the nature of our transition.

Slabbert is planning and research director at Idasa. This is an excerpt from his address to an Idasa conference in Port Elizabeth last week.

Lekota and Mellett to share platform

SPEAKERS from the African National Congress and the Ministry of Law and Order will share a platform in Johannesburg this week to explain why violence is a common concern. *W/M 29/6/90*

The ANC speaker will be the organisation's Southern Natal interim coordinator, Terror Lekota, while the Ministry will be represented by senior spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellett.

The meeting will be held on Monday at 7.45 pm. The venue is the Exams Hall at the Johannesburg College of Education in St Andrews Road, Parktown.

Umkhonto chief adds muscle to 'action' week

UMKHONTO wSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani will be one of the speakers at a rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on Sunday to mark the start of a week of "national mass action". *W/M 29/6/90*

The campaign, which will culminate in the Western Cape with a march on parliament on July 7, has been called by the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Youth Congress — to protest against "the violence of the police and Inkatha" in Natal. *(ITA)*

DP leadership has 'helpful' meeting during FW's hectic week of talks

PRETORIA : The Democratic Party leadership held "thorough and very helpful" talks with State President F W de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday, DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said.

The DP was represented by De Beer and his two colleagues in the leadership — M. J. M. M. Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan. *W/M 29/6/90*

Deliberations between the DP politicians and De Klerk were "concerned with the negotiation process", De Beer said.

"I hope that as a result, we can play an even more constructive role in the process," he added, declining to elaborate.

His colleagues would issue similar

statements, he said after the meeting in De Klerk's Union Building offices.

The meeting is the fourth that De Klerk has held this week with prominent groups in South African political and business circles.

On Tuesday the State President met a joint delegation from the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs, Congress of SA Trade Unions and National Council of Trade Unions.

That same day he received representatives of four ultra-rightwing organisations and yesterday morning a delegation from the SA Chamber of Business.

The State President's office was not available for comment. — Sapa

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY FIM 29/6/90

Grasp the nettle (304A)

A strategy document being circulated in the DP is harshly critical of its performance in the 1990 parliamentary session. The docu-

FIM 29/6/90 (304A)

ment says the DP gives the impression that it could do little more than "applaud De Klerk and take some credit for the change in the NP's position."

The document, which apparently originated in the Houghton constituency, surfaces as the DP prepares to take a hard look at itself.

The joint leadership of Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan is simply not working and the election of a single leader does not necessarily mean the job will go to one of them.

Though a few wishful thinkers are hoping that Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert might be drawn back into the fold, the man now being viewed as a serious contender is Tian van der Merwe, national chairman and MP for Green Point. Van der Merwe is willing to stand; Worrall and De Beer are also expected to be nominated.

Possibly more important than the leadership battle will be the ability to carve out a strategy to distance the DP from the NP and move it back into a position of relevance — instead of being reserve voting fodder for the NP.

The strategy document argues that task groups must be formed to draw up policy blueprints in a number of key areas such as the economy, housing, defence, health and education.

It contends that the ANC is very weak in its ability to fashion policy and make it work, and this presents an opportunity for the DP to "engage" the ANC in forming policy and, ultimately, have influence on and even representation in a government. ■

Viljoen sets out Govt ideas for constitution

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A two-chamber parliament to protect minority rights has been envisaged in a major setting-out of the Government's thinking on a new constitutional system.

In a speech at a congress of Jeugkrug SA at Halfway House, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, emphasised structural protection of minorities in a new South Africa.

He said there was nothing sinister in the Government's insistence on the protection of minorities in a future political dispensation.

Experience worldwide had shown that the recognition of minority rights was in the interest of all heterogeneous states.

There should be no illusions that the extent of participation, autonomy and representation secured by a minority group would depend on its disposition, potential contribution and political relevance.

The function of a future constitution was to establish and maintain structures which were able to temper and transcend

the human frailties which led to the misuse of political power, Dr Viljoen said.

No nation could afford to expect its constitution to accommodate political programmes which were either so vaguely formulated as to be impossible to translate into policy decisions or so extravagant as to verge on utopianism with all its dangers.

Dr Viljoen said there was a basic democratic insistence on control over the arbitrary exercise or even misuse of the power of the authorities to the detriment of individuals or minorities.

Elements

The Minister indicated that it was for this reason that the Government was in favour of a constitutional system which contained the following structural elements:

- An entrenched constitution.
- An independent judiciary with a testing right over the constitution.
- Three fully fledged levels of government.
- Maximum separation between the executive, legislative and judicial authorities.

- The "Rule of Law".
- The maximum practically viable and functional degree of devolution in decision-making functions.
- "Probably" a two-chamber legislature, where provision could be made for separate groups as well as representation of the citizenry as a whole.
- Decisions by consensus or loaded majority where practically possible.
- The minority must, however, not be able to paralyse the natural flow of government.
- Equal universal suffrage.
- A "justiciable" charter of human rights.

Referring to the two-chamber authority, Dr Viljoen said the Government was thinking of a combination of a lower house, elected on the basis of one-man, one-vote, and a higher house in which minorities would be represented.

Decisions would have to be passed by both houses to ensure that minorities would have a meaningful say in certain important matters.

Dr Viljoen said minorities would, however, not be based on race and would not be of a discriminatory nature.

'Pressure needed to end apartheid'

By Kaizer Nyatumba

While cautiously forging ahead with reforms under severe pressure, the Government was also constantly looking for ways to maintain apartheid rule under some new guise, according to the South African Human Rights Commission.

In "Apartheid Under Pressure", the HRC's recent publication analysing repression, apartheid and prospects for a negotiated settlement, the HRC said domestic and international pressures on Pretoria were imperative if the Government was to move quickly to rid the country of apartheid.

The HRC publication said despite President de Klerk's historic announcements in Parliament on February 2, this year, apartheid was still very much alive.

Franchise

Discriminatory and repressive legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Internal Security Act were still in force.

"The absence of franchise for South Africa's 27 million blacks is still very much the situation today, and (that) is of course the most fundamental issue of all to be addressed if lasting peace is to descend on the country."

While the laws which underpinned apartheid were under considerable attack from all quarters, they were still being implemented. If any dismantling of these laws were to later occur, that would be as a result of "the struggles and resistance by the victims themselves, making both the laws and the structures of apartheid unworkable".

DP slams Info's news service plan

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The Democratic Party yesterday criticised plans by the Bureau for Information to introduce a news service.

It said this would be a duplication of the duties performed by the public relations departments of the various ministries and would also lead to a waste of taxpayers' money.

DP spokesman Peter Soal said the decision not to privatise the bureau was regrettable. He had always believed the bureau was the National Party's propaganda arm and therefore had to be disbanded.

President de Klerk, Mr Soal said, confirmed last week that the bureau was considering introducing a news service and he hoped that this decision

would be reconsidered.

Mr Soal, MP for Johannesburg North, said: "A news service in the bureau is a dream of some bureaucrat determined to extend his empire."

"It would be a further duplication of the communications function of the different ministries and can lead only to a waste of many millions of the taxpayers' hard-earned rands."

Mr Soal said he had always been a vehement critic of the bureau, but during a briefing earlier this year it had become apparent that some of the bureau's staff had acquired skills which could be put at the Government's disposal.

The bureau, he said, had "to cease its propaganda function"

DP describes top-level talks as helpful

PRETORIA — The DP leadership held "thorough and very helpful" talks with President F W de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday, DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said. B10cm 29/6/90

The DP was represented by De Beer and his two colleagues in the leadership troika, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan.

Deliberations between the DP politicians and De Klerk were "concerned with the negotiation process", de Beer said.

"I hope that as a result, we can play an even more constructive role in the process," he added, declining to elaborate.

His colleagues would issue similar state-

ments, he said after the meeting in De Klerk's Union Building offices.

The meeting is the fourth that De Klerk has held this week with prominent groups in SA political and business circles.

On Tuesday he met a joint delegation from the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs, Congress of SA Trade Unions and National Council of Trade Unions. (304A)

That same day he received representatives of four ultra right-wing organisations and yesterday he met a Sacob delegation.

The President's office was not immediately available for comment. — Sapa.

FW in appeal to business during Sacob meeting

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday appealed to the business community to help settle a number of national economic and socio-political issues, including the question of land distribution.

De Klerk met a high-level Sacob delegation for talks which were described as "very positive".

According to Sacob legal adviser Ken Warren, De Klerk was told the business community was not a monolithic entity, but that Sacob completely endorsed government initiatives taken since February 2 of this year.

The president, he said, recognised that business was an extremely important player in the process leading to a new constitution.

Land distribution was just one of the issues which would require intensive research and in which the private sector's resources could be used for further study, he said.

In a statement after the meeting, Sacob CE Raymond Parsons said the delegation emphasised the important stake which the business community had in the outcome of the negotiations.

A positive exchange of views on the

by Day 29/6/90

PETER DELMAR

future constitutional negotiating process took place, he said.

The talks were wide ranging, said Parsons, and covered such topics as economic aspects of any new constitution, the question of poverty and inequality of wealth and the removal of remaining obstacles to constitutional negotiations.

The problems arising from the violence in Natal were also discussed.

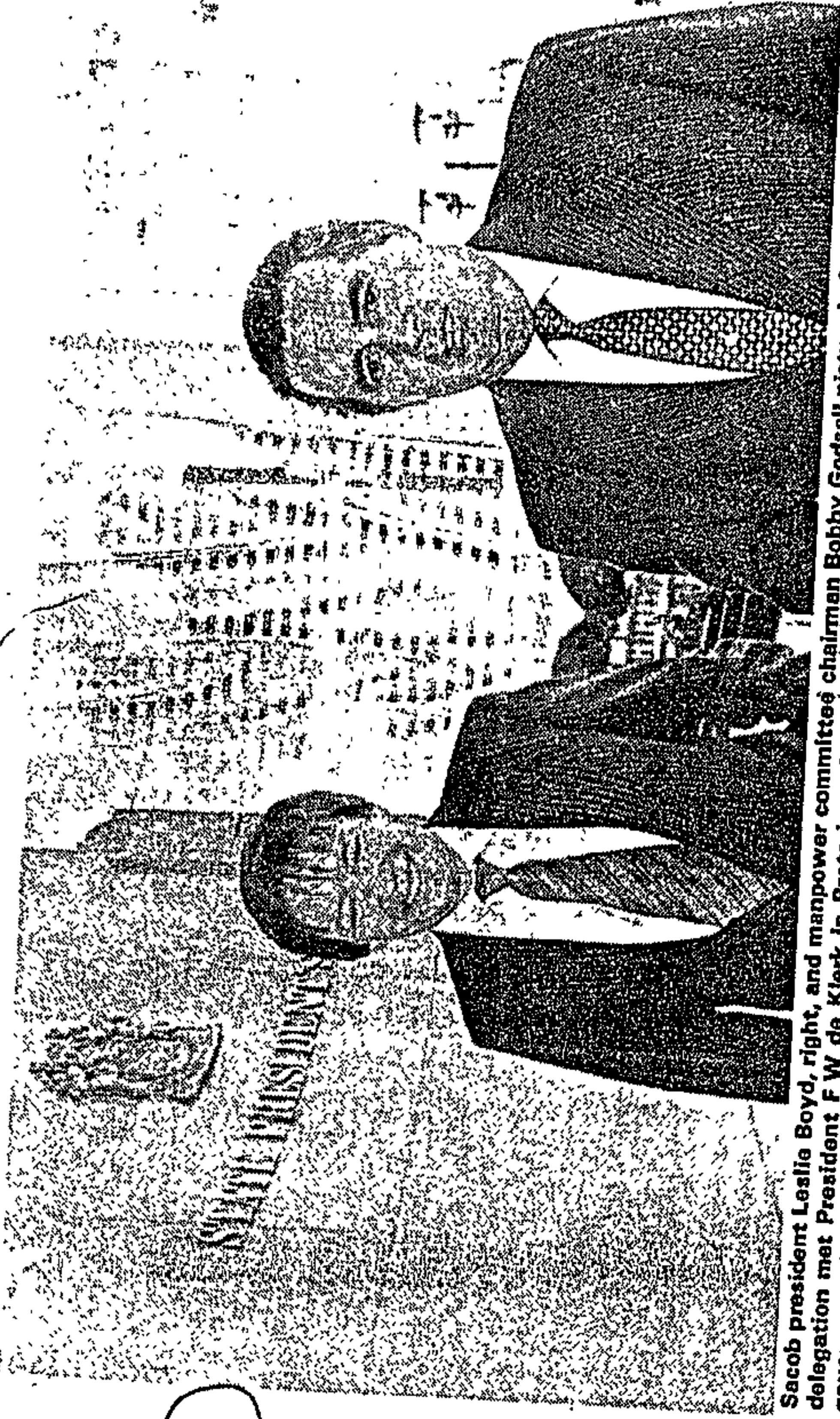
Views

Sacob president Leslie Boyd said the business sector could make a major contribution to the process of settling political differences through discussion, negotiation and compromise.

Boyd said a positive exchange of views on the current and future political process took place during the hour-long meeting.

Sacob reiterated the significance of the constitutional and political process from a business confidence and business perception point of view.

He said his organisation agreed that law and order was necessary in the process leading up to negotiations.



Sacob president Leslie Boyd, right, and manpower committee chairman Bobby Godsell pictured after a high-level Sacob delegation met President F W de Klerk in Pretoria and told him the organisation completely endorsed the initiatives government had taken since February 2.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

'White unrest' at scrapping of the Amenities Act

A DELEGATION from the Transvaal Municipal Association has held a meeting with President FW de Klerk to discuss problems which they believe the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act will cause. (304A)

The TMA said it had emphasised that the repeal of the Act had led to confusion and unrest among many white ratepayers. W/Mail 29/6/90

The delegation, headed by TMA deputy president Mars de Klerk, met the president yesterday at the Union Buildings.

The visit follows a TMA majority vote objecting to the repeal of the Act.

The delegation told President De Klerk there had not been enough consultation with local authorities before the decision to repeal the Act had been taken.

Everyone will be there. But will 'Terror' attend?

BY PHIL MOLEFE

304A

A WIDE spectrum of prominent individuals will address the annual congress of the National Students' Federation which gets underway on July 2.

The only person who has not confirmed whether he will address the congress, to be held in the Midrand, is Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Southern Natal Convenor of the African National Congress, said a statement released yesterday by the conservative student body.

Among those who will address the congress, entitled "Towards an accountable democracy", include: Roelf Meyer, Deputy Director of Constitutional Development, Dr Zach de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Oscar Dhlomo, former general-secretary of Inkatha, Leon Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation, Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia, and Eugene Nyati, director of the Centre for African Studies.

The president of the NSF, Danie Kriel said: "We hope that by bringing together such a prominent group of speakers from across the political spectrum we shall contribute to and promote reasoned and open-minded debate over the issue so critical to the future of our country."

The NSF is a federation of nine autonomous liberal student bodies and is opposed to "totalitarian rule and centrally planned economics, applied from the traditional right and the Marxist left".

Sacob, DP, TMA meet FW for talks

JOHANNESBURG. — In a series of meetings yesterday, President F W de Klerk met a high-level Sacob delegation, the Democratic Party leadership and a delegation from the Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA).

After the meeting with Sacob, Mr De Klerk appealed to the business community to help in settling a number of national economic and socio-political issues, including the question of land distribution.

According to Sacob legal adviser Mr Ken Warren, Mr De Klerk was told the business community was not a monolithic entity, and that Sacob completely endorsed government initiatives taken since February 2 this year.

The president, he said, recognised that business was an extremely important player in the process leading to a new constitution.

Land distribution was just one of the issues which would require intensive research and in which the private sector's resources could be used for further study.

After DP leaders Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan met Mr De Klerk, Dr De Beer said the talks had concerned the negotiation process.

"I hope that as a result, we can play an even more constructive role in the process," he added.

The meeting between Mr de Klerk and the TMA delegation, headed by its deputy president, Mr Mars de Klerk, followed a majority vote by the TMA objecting to the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act.

A spokesman for the organisation said it had emphasised the act's repeal had led to confusion and unrest among white ratepayers, and that there had not been enough consultation with the local authorities before it had been repealed. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

304A Main attack on Mandela and praise for FW by top US paper

NEW YORK - The New York Times yesterday took Mr Nelson Mandela to task for "changing the rules at the expense of President FW de Klerk" by reserving for the ANC and blacks the right to decide when the United States should lift sanctions.

The challenge to Mandela from the Times,

Sowetan Foreign News Service

a highly influential newspaper that has been a constant champion of sanctions against South Africa and a remorseless critic of its policies, is the first by a major newspaper since he began his visit here eight days ago.

More surprising was its support for De Klerk's role in the process of

change, referring to him as South Africa's "other liberating politician".

It said Mandela had earned an ovation during his address to Congress on Tuesday by invoking America's own struggles to broaden democracy.

It added: "The one jarring moment came when, having urged that sanctions remain in force, he suggested that his followers be the judge of when to lift them."

Mandela had insisted that it was "up to the people of South Africa", meaning its black majority, to determine when "profound changes have occurred and irreversible process achieved".

"Taken literally, that means changing the rules at the expense of President de Klerk, South Africa's other liberating politician," said the paper.

"Mr Mandela says it would be a mistake to reward Mr de Klerk for repairing wrongs that never should have occurred.

"But the purpose of sanctions is to squeeze apartheid, not to undercut a leader committed to change," it said.

Mr de Klerk faces hostile white conservatives who claim he has nothing to show for his reforms, not even a renunciation of violence by Mr Mandela's African National Congress.

It said the acclaim for Mandela was neither an endorsement of the ANC nor a rebuff to De Klerk, and added: "Moving the goal posts makes no sense."

"This is especially so since Mr Mandela himself has been notably vague about conditions for his own movement's ending its 'armed struggle', feeding suspicions that hurt his cause as well as Mr de Klerk's."

De Beer looks ahead at new SA prospects

Southern 29/6/90

304A

DOCTOR Zach de Beer was guest speaker at a breakfast meeting of Sheba, an association of women in professions,

By PEARL MAJOLA

management and executive positions, at Sunnyside Park Hotel this week.

Addressing the enthusiastic crowd of women, De Beer spoke on the "New South Africa: Beginnings and prospects" and said "I have undertaken to discuss the beginnings of the new South Africa and do so gladly.

"For me the new South Africa began in September last year, though at the time I did not fully recognise the significance of what was happening."

Progress

He said it became clear that President De Klerk was ready to move out of the old South Africa and into the new when he announced the unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and the SACP.

Since then De Klerk had forged ahead on this path.

"The second part of my task is to discuss prospects and I do so by

sketching three scenarios and the likely outcome of each.

"The first might be called Wasteland. This is where power slips out of De Klerk's hands and into those of the white right, causing conflict, worldwide hostility against South Africa, emigration of skilled and monied people and a ruined economy."

The second scenario, which he called a limbo, would occur if the present discussions to be followed by negotiations was retarded.

This would happen if the two sides (the ANC and the Government) played games of one-upmanship with each other, causing a stalemate, disillusionment and cynicism on both sides; the weakening of the NP and the ANC at the expense of the CP and the PAC respectively and the decay of the economy.

Consumption as a third scenario would occur where sufficient political leaders and organisations reached agreement so that a new constitution would be in-



Zach De Beer
stituted.

He cited the Namibian constitution as a strong contender for the title of the best democratic constitution in the world.

De Beer concluded by saying: "As I look with excitement and joy at the prospective new South Africa, I say it must be founded on equal rights, personal freedom, the Rule of Law and financial discipline."

"The new South Africa has begun, it is the only way to go, for the other road leads to disaster. The prospect is not without danger, but it can offer this nation a splendid future.

"We must take our courage in our hands, and go for it now."

Rifts threaten in DP ranks over move to drop 'troika'

Star 30/6/90

304A

CAPE TOWN — There is stormy weather ahead for the Democratic Party, which is facing a new identity crisis in South Africa's rapidly changing political scene.

If the proposed move from the "troika" system to a single leader for the party goes ahead, long-simmering tensions inside the party could again come to the fore.

Watchdog

If the party survives the storms it could emerge as a stronger political force in the role of seasoned guide and watchdog over the creation of a genuine democracy. Otherwise, it could be swallowed by other political groupings.

A final decision on the leadership issue is to be taken at a DP congress in a few months.

But, as the co-leaders of the party — Dr Zac de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan — and the DP's parliamentary caucus have backed the idea of a single leader, the matter seems to be a foregone conclusion.

Dr de Beer is heavily tipped as most likely leader, but Dr Worrall could be a strong contender.

Some fear the expected decision to choose Dr de Beer could result in a bitter feud, especially between "old Progs" supporting Dr de Beer and many relatively new members supporting Dr Worrall and Mr Malan.

Tian van der Merwe,

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

DP national chairman, may be proposed as a compromise candidate if a dispute develops.

Mr van der Merwe is highly respected and is said to have strong backing throughout the party.

Since the DP came into being, there have been underlying tensions between factions inside the party, which the three co-leaders seem to have managed to control.

The dilemma the party faces is where to stand in the new political set-up. The DP's main problem arose as a result of the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and their entry into the political scene.

Usurped

President de Klerk's swift moves took the wind out of the sails of DP politics and had the effect of virtually usurping the DP's political position.

However, a strong body of opinion believes there is still a crucial role for the party as guide and watchdog over the process.

The party has the experience, expertise and commitment to scrutinise and evaluate every move made by the main negotiators for a new constitution, and to watch for any subtle deviations that may not be immediately clear.

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1990

July

How to halt national

STimes 11/7/90

suicide

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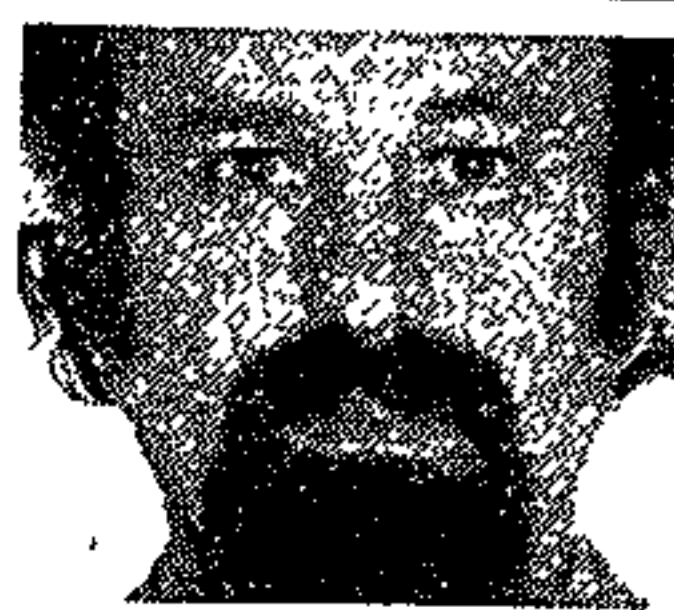
WHAT I wish to propose is absurd because it is rational. It will be rejected because it could work, whereas most proposals for managing the country would not enable us to run even a medium-sized grocery store with success.

Indeed, the current practice is to allow countries to be taken over by mobs of gangsters who extract as much loot as possible from their victims before they are expelled by their rivals.

Anyone who doubts this need only look at the history of South Africa or of any other country with similar ethnic differences.

The fact that we acquiesce in this system of government is a wonderful illustration of our capacity

Psychologist Peter du Preez of the University of Cape Town comes up with a novel idea for designing a government that could work in the new SA



to deceive ourselves. It rests upon our belief that "the people" should govern and that there is such a thing as "the people".

If there were a homogeneous "people" this would be unassailable. We could then determine whether 51 percent supported this or that, and reject the views of the other 49 percent. It would also be impossible for

a homogeneous people to exploit itself.

However, the moment we recognise the division of "the people" into factions, classes, ethnicities or religions, this theory of government collapses into a mess of contradictions.

These are resolved by turning to one of the perverted ideologies of the age, in which it is claimed that

some particular faction is really "the people", "the folk", "the working class", "the chosen race", or whatever else is sanctified by the current theory of political murder.

It also followed from this that "the leader" should be strong. If we are about to wage war on other members of society, then we had better have strong leaders.

They comfort us. Their strength is our strength. We experience exaltation when they are present. Like wolves, we howl in joy at the moon.

What I am proposing is that we leave these things behind as soon as possible. First, we should abandon our notion of "the people".

Diversity

What we have instead is society, made up of many different people doing many different things, belonging to many different organisations, and adopting many different points of view.

Recognition of this fact must be the basis of government. Instead of believing in uniformity or antagonism, we begin to recognise diversity and complementarity. That is the true basis of society; it distinguishes society from a mob.

Second, we should look for "weak" leaders. Any signs of "strength" in a leader, such as demands for unquestioning obedience, an inclination to tell us what to believe, or a vision of folk destiny, should immediately lead to the disqualification of that leader.

This will be difficult. There are few things we long for as much as obedi-

ence, being told what to think, and a part in destiny. Rejecting strong leaders will mean that we finally recognise our position, which is that in a world of nuclear, chemical and biological methods of mass killing we have to sacrifice glory if we are to survive.

This is immensely painful to a species whose first impulses on hearing martial music is to march off to heroic death. We will sacrifice anything if we can keep our strong leaders. Can we be ruled by weaklings? The answer is that if we can't be ruled by weaklings then we must be destroyed by the strong.

Scepticism and cowardice are our way to survival. It is almost impossible to imagine people having the moral strength to accept these new virtues when there are so many invitations to glorious suicide.

Without much hope, therefore, I wish to propose a scheme of government that will enable us to live as sceptically and ingloriously as, let us say, the Swiss. We cannot adopt their constitution, but we can look for solutions "in the Swiss spirit". Perhaps that sounds better.

In designing a constitution, let us accept that "the people", "races", "ethnic groups" etcetera are unacceptable foundations for government. Then what is?

Quite obviously, to those unblinkered by prejudice, people engage in a variety of occupations and belong to a variety of organisations. They contribute to society in different ways.

If we were managing a large company, we would find it more useful to hear from representatives of the different functions, departments, or divisions of the company than from representatives of the different "races" or "ethnic groups".

The basis of a new constitution for South Africa arises from this. Purely for purposes of representation, we should vote according to

or affiliation. Thus, parliament should include representatives of the trade unions, professions, media, agriculture, employers, and whatever other affiliations seem necessary.

Each functional affiliation will elect representatives to a single-chamber parliament that will in turn elect the prime minister. Parliament could operate according to Westminster rules in all but its mode of election.

Let me spell out the concept at risk of repetition.

Each voter will have one, and only one, functional affiliation. The main affiliations (as we might term them) will be determined by negotiation.

The sole proviso is that these affiliations be based on function or contribution to the economy, and not on race, religion, ethnicity, gender or any other invidious distinction.

Uninspiring

Each affiliation will elect the same number of representatives to parliament. The prime minister, elected by parliament, will form a cabinet of its members and be responsible to it.

We can easily include a written constitution, a bill of rights and entrenched clauses to ensure that no temporary majority can tamper with the constitution.

What are the advantages of these constitutional proposals? Obviously, it reduces ethnicity and other invidious distinctions to their truly negligible role. Furthermore, they are uninspiring and not likely to lead to heroic massacre. Equally important is the fact that no faction could dominate permanently.

Dare one hope that we will prefer this system to all the emotionally satisfying but disastrous alternatives on offer?

ETHNIC SOLUTIONS ARE A RECIPE FOR DISASTER

FINANCE FOR THE FUTURE

A BUSINESS TIMES FEATURE

PROVISION for retirement is becoming more urgent because inflation continues to bite into income and reduce savings.

The Mouton Commission is investigating foreign experience with a view to adapting it to South Africa.

Old Mutual's Reg Munro has spent much of his time as a member of the commission gathering information about retirement provision, which includes pension and provident funds and retirement annuities.

Nearly seven-million South Africans belong to retirement funds. It is estimated that 70% of pensioners belong to private funds, comparing favourably with First World nations and putting SA on a par with Switzerland.

It is difficult to compare foreign with SA pension provision because in many countries the state takes care of it.

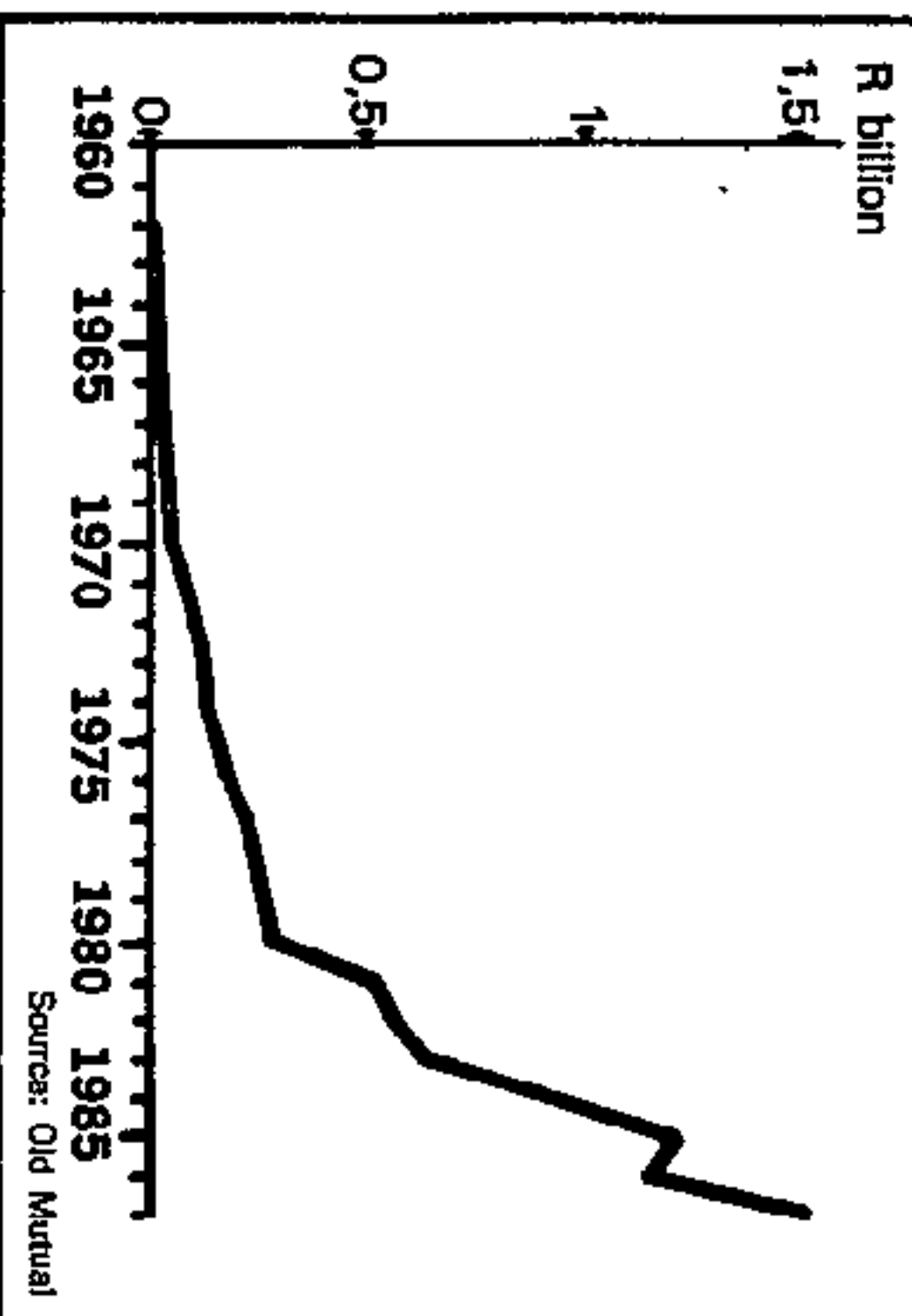
SA's retirement assets show a steady rise from less than R5-billion in 1960 to nearly R100-billion in 1988. Apart from the Netherlands, that places SA in

SA's R100bn retirement kitty among world best

STWes 117190

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Pre-retirement leakage



line with major First World nations.

However, the gap between those with pension provision and those without is wide in SA, possibly because there is a large infor-

for today. More than 90% of pension funds allow members leaving their jobs to invest their own contribution plus part of the employer's in further pension provision.

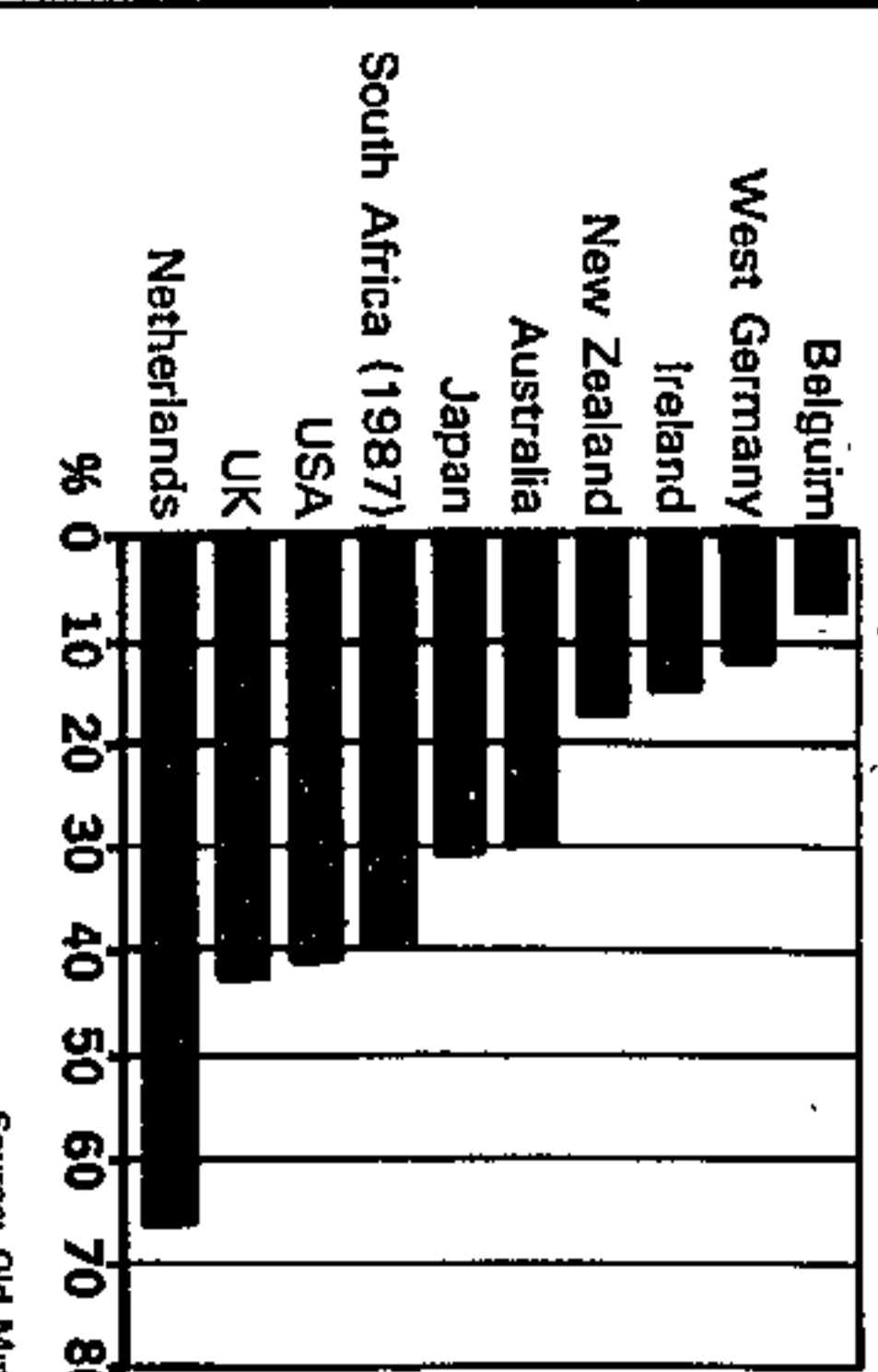
The rate of interest paid on employee contributions has improved in the past five years, but some funds pay none to departing employees.

Mistake

The rate of "leakage" from retirement provision when employees leave their jobs and spend their pension money on goods has increased from 15% in the early 60s to 25% — more than R1.5-billion annually.

Knowing that the last attempt to preserve pen-

Retirement fund assets as % of GDP (1989)



sions did not work, the commission will avoid a similar mistake. It is taking a holistic view.

Analysis of the pensions industry is being completed.

One of the major complaints of contributors to pension funds is the low rate of interest they receive. Mr Munro is surprised that no employee has asked the Industrial Court to regard it as an unfair labour practice.

Diverse

Mr Munro says: "It is unfair to pay an employee who has worked for 20 years only about 4% interest on his contributions when he leaves. It is tantamount to the employee lending the company money at a subsidised interest rate."

He believes a test case should be brought, because "legislation takes time and often does not benefit those for whom it is intended".

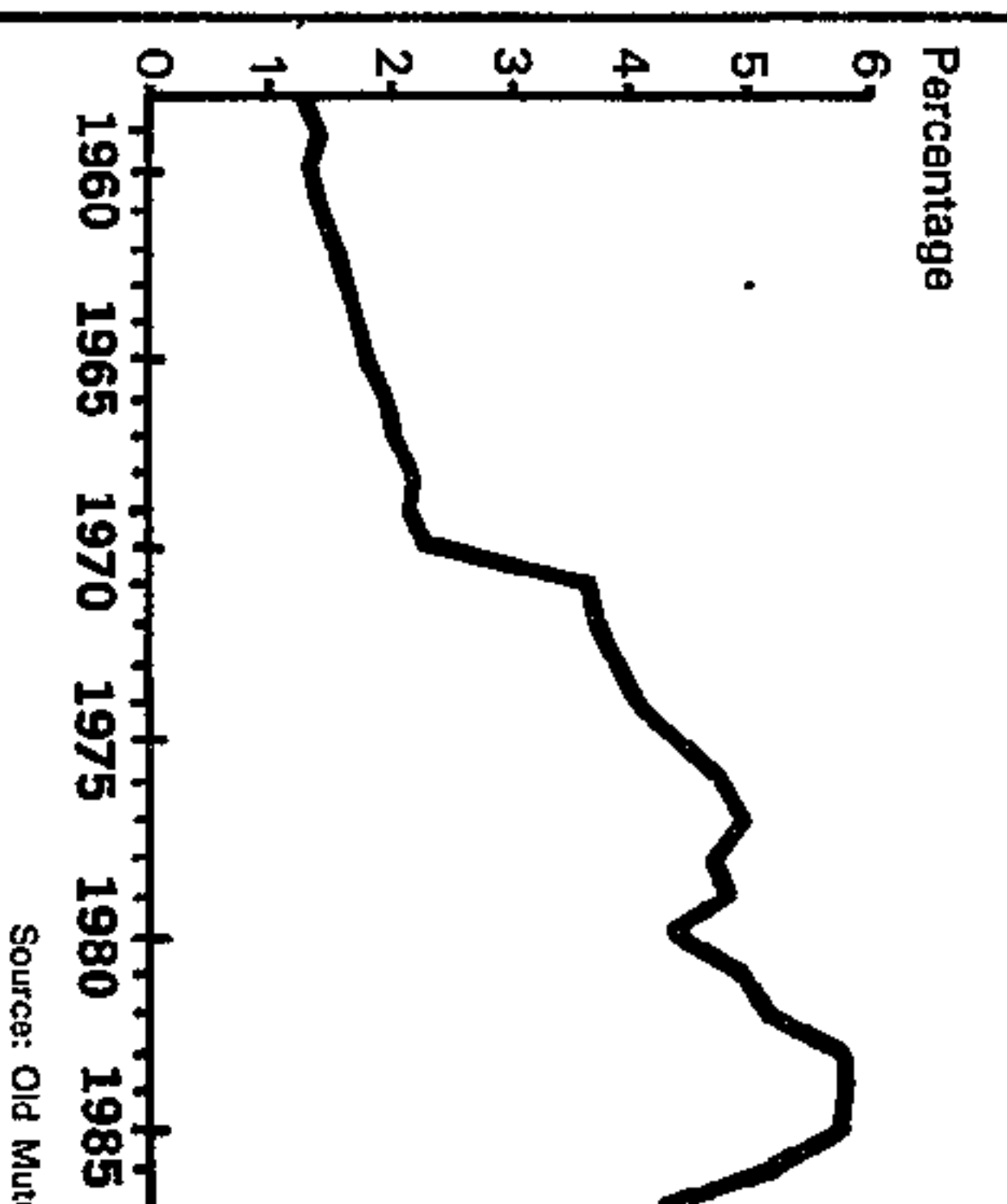
"Pension funds are complicated and diverse. To pass laws to benefit all concerned is virtually impossible. Prescribing a minimum is the only equitable alternative."

"Many companies give departing employees the company contributions as well as their own, provided it is reinvested in pension provision. But this is still far from the norm."

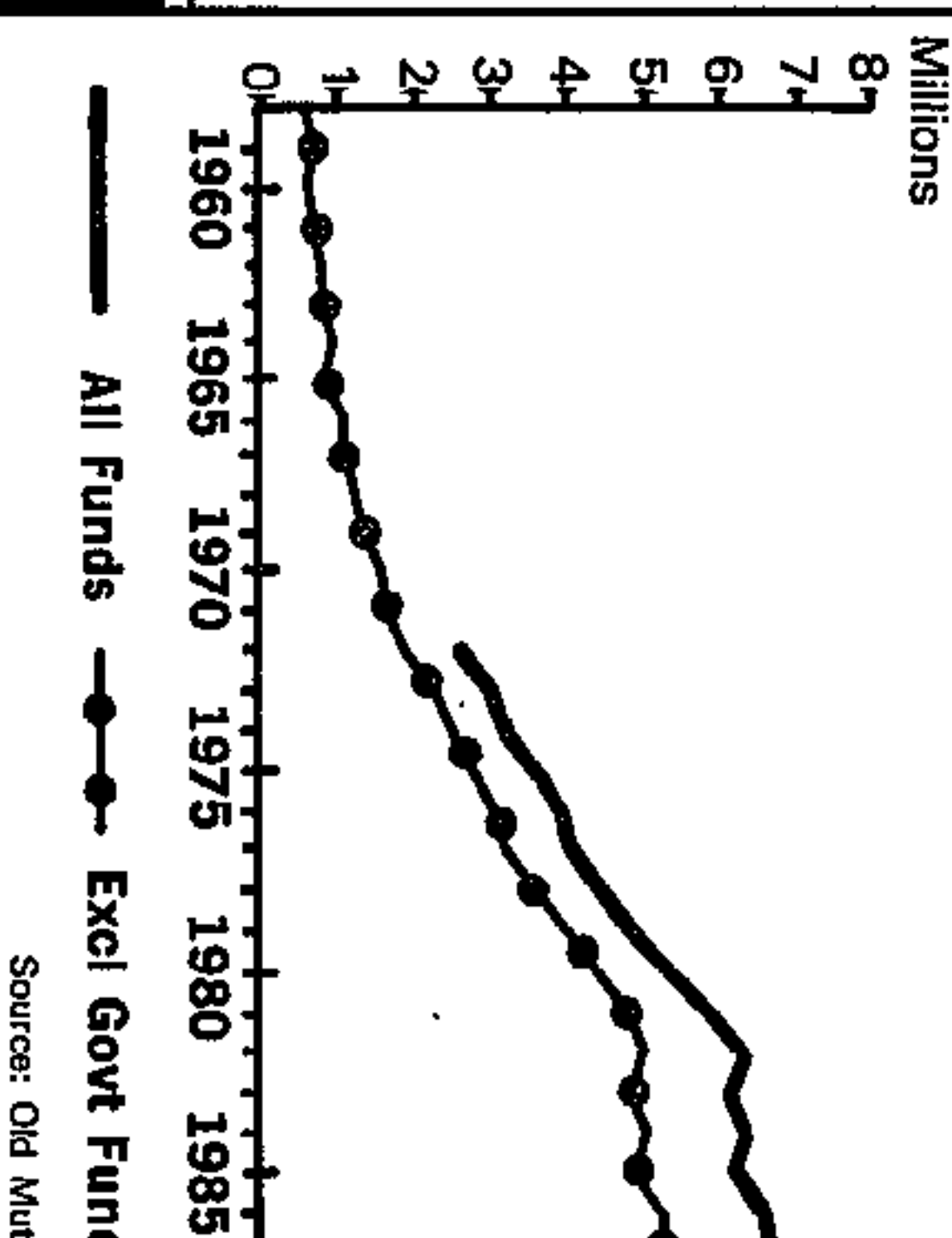
Compulsory pension preservation is a thorny issue, particularly for the retrenched who need money to tide them over until they find another job.

It is also a problem for migrant workers, who either do not know where they will be at retirement age or might not know how to claim their money.

Contributions as % of GDP



Total membership of retirement funds



→ cont.

Revealed: a cordial President-to-President call to report on Mandela talks

WHEN BUSH MEETS

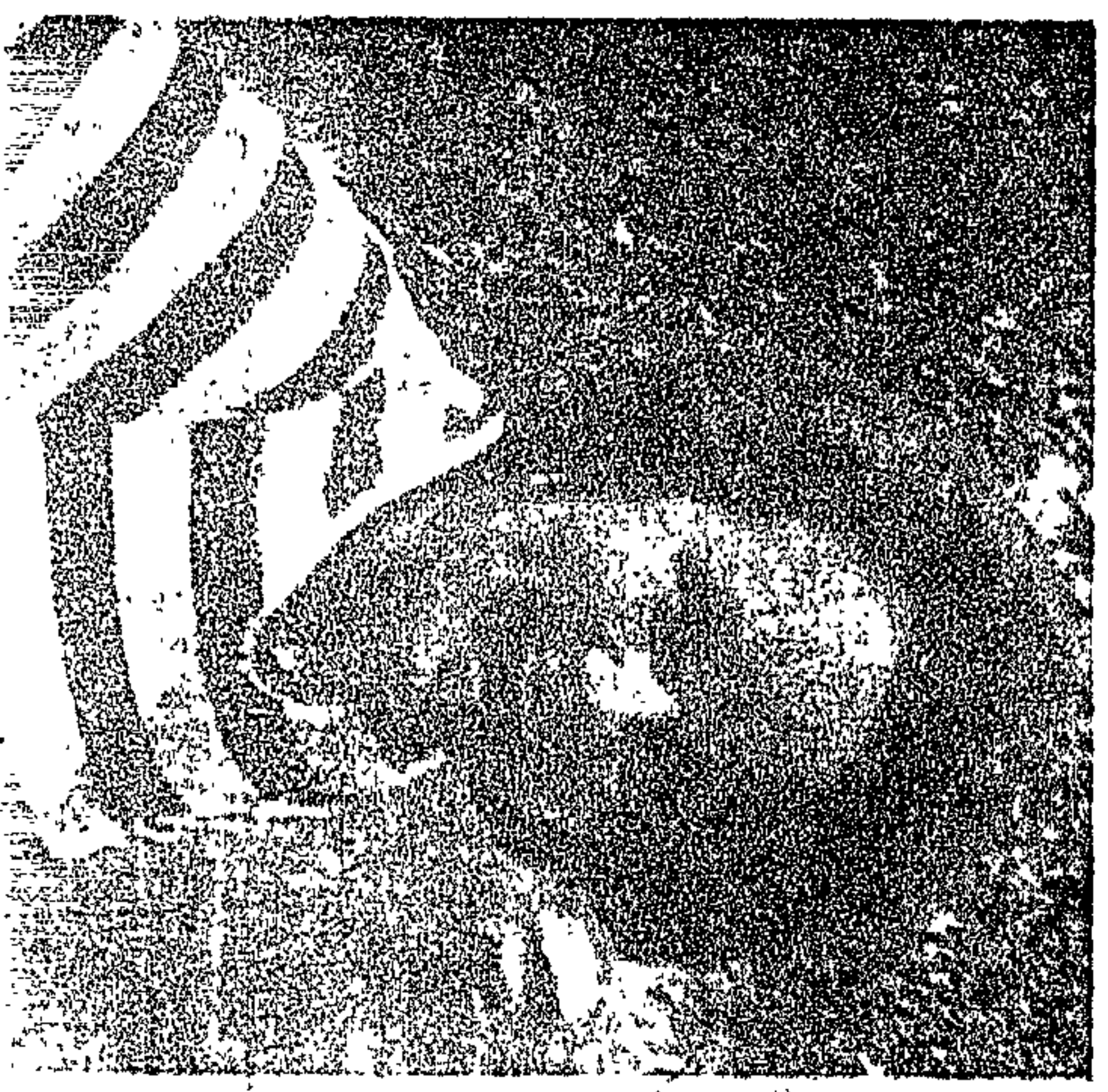


GEORGE BUSH
Straight talking

S / 11/11/90
11/11/90

304M

SECRETISE SON TO WED FARMER'S DAUGHTER



By LESTER VENTER
and SIMON BARBER

PRESIDENT George Bush made a "very cordial" telephone call to President F W de Klerk after his meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela, it was disclosed yesterday.

It was clear from the call that the ANC leader had endured some remarkably straight-talking from the US President during their three-hour meeting in the White House on Monday.

Mr Bush told Mr De Klerk he firmly rejected proposals by Mr Mandela that all American initiatives towards South Africa be vetted in advance by the ANC.

President Bush's Wednesday call to the Union Buildings — apparently designed to emphasise Washington's wish to be a non-partisan broker in South African affairs — lasted 30 minutes.

After giving a detailed account of his meeting with Mr Mandela, President Bush urged President De Klerk to visit Washington as soon as he could.

The drift of the conversation between the two presidents — some details of which were disclosed to the Sunday Times by diplomatic sources — suggests Mr Mandela's ecstatic public reception in the US was not quite matched by the cooler, straight-talking session with President Bush.

Informed

In the President-to-President call, Mr

EXCLUSIVE: THE SUNDAY TIMES TALKS TO HEIN GROSSKOPF

ANC'S Afrikaner soldier says: I want to go home



on as soon as he could.

The drift of the conversation between the two presidents — some details of which were disclosed to the Sunday Times by diplomatic sources — suggests Mr Mandela's ecstatic public reception in the US was not quite matched by the cooler, straight-talking session with President Bush.

Informed

In the President-to-President call, Mr Bush said:

- He "pushed Mr Mandela hard" on the ANC's continued adherence to the armed struggle;

- He refused Mr Mandela's appeal for financial aid while the ANC remained wedded, even rhetorically, to violence;

- Mr Mandela went out of his way to applaud Mr De Klerk's initiatives;

President Bush said Mr Mandela told him that soon after his return to SA further negotiations with the SA Government would take place and the ANC would then be in a position to make a formal declaration ending the armed struggle.

The US President said he was eager to see that happen.

Washington sources said President De Klerk was well-informed about details of US legislation and asked several "pertinent" questions.

President Bush also told Mr De Klerk he had expressed his misgivings to Mr Mandela about the ANC's call for a constituent assembly to negotiate a new constitution for SA — a forum that the SA Government opposes.

Unclear

He said Mr Mandela's plans for structuring a constituent assembly seemed unclear, but if the ANC provided further clarity there might be room for compromise with the SA Government.

President Bush indicated to Mr Mandela that if a constituent assembly pre-supposed acceptance in advance of simple majority rule — one of the options to be negotiated — the US administration would not support the concept.

Discussion about President Bush's invitation to President De Klerk to visit Washington was, it is said, inconclusive.

President De Klerk is known to be reluctant to visit the US too soon after Mr Mandela since a low-key public reception would contrast unfavourably with that given to the ANC patriarch and threatened public protests could attract negative attention.

The view in Pretoria is that President De Klerk's Washington visit should take place early next year.

In Washington yesterday, an American official said Mr Bush's call was "a sign of our President's desire to keep a good relationship with the SA Government".

Mr Bush and others in the administration have been growing increasingly alarmed by the souring of their relations with Pretoria. They are anxious to help Mr De Klerk, but feel stymied by Congress' effective veto on any attempt to ease sanctions.

It is understood Mr Bush and his top advisers, Secretary of State James Baker, Chief of Staff John Sununu and National Security Advis-

□ To Page 2

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PICK

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Over the

A 40-HOUR ban was
on booze sales to
trouble as 3 000 Eng
arrived in Nap
tonight's World Cup
final against Camer

Bush phones F W on talks

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SI Times 11-7-90

□ From Page 1

er Brent Scowcroft, were disappointed by Mr. Mandela and his delegation.

The ANC leader was "dogmatic," too "liberation-struggle minded" and evasive on key issues on violence, economic models and commitment to true multi-party democracy.

Moreover, Mr. Mandela's somewhat imperious contention — at the welcoming ceremony on the White House lawn — that Mr. Bush had not been properly briefed did not go down well.

Though Mr. Mandela put a positive spin on his meeting with the President, Mr. Bush later described himself as "irritable" and admitted he had not had a good day.

One source said: "Mr. Mandela did not achieve nearly the same level of success with the US Government as he did with the American public."

Some American analysts have also been irritated by what they see as ANC foot-dragging, especially in its delayed response — to July 10 — on joint working group proposals to release political prisoners.

They feel the delay may have been deliberate so that Mr. Mandela would be able to claim on his US tour that "the pillars of apartheid are still standing" — an argument that would have been undercut overseas by a wholesale release of prisoners.

There is also concern that the ANC has not done all it could to help end the violence in Natal, where the Government has been compelled to retain the state of emergency — once again providing fodder for Mr. Mandela's arguments.

Multiracial govt envisaged by Democratic Party

A MULTIRACIAL government created by political alliances across racial lines is envisaged for South Africa by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer.

He told the national congress of the Jeugkrug movement at Midrand at the weekend that the first such political alliance the country would need was one strongly representative of black, brown and white people.

De Beer advocated a multi-party system of government based on

some form of proportional representation.

This, he said, would enhance the possibility of having more rather than fewer parties and would be the strongest bulwark against the development of a one-party state.

Doubt

He expressed doubt as to whether the National Party or the ANC or the Democratic Party would still exist in their present form by the time the

country had a new constitution.

Under a new constitution there would be a new voters' roll with probably four or five times as many voters as on the present roll. There would be a new political ballgame.

De Beer said he could not see any future government maintaining law and order or achieving economic growth if it was not seen as legitimate by both black and white.

This is so in view of the history of conflict in the country, the privileged status of so many whites and the deprived status of so many blacks.

306A
Sowetan 2/7/90
"Before you even come to consider what will preserve multi-party democracy, ask yourself what will be able to run the country at all," De Beer said. - Sowetan Correspondent.

Slabbert reviews a decade of SA change

By Darryl Accone

GRAHAMSTOWN — The South African political agenda for the '90s was open-ended, but internal dynamics would be the major determining factor in a constitutional settlement, said Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert in his Winter School address, "A decade of South African politics" at the Standard Bank National Arts Festival.

"Mr Van Zyl Slabbert's paper dealt with white minority domination — the "central issue of conflict" between the Government and its opponents.

The lecture traced the political developments that Mr Van Zyl Slabbert saw leading to President de Klerk's acceptance of the "mantra" of "unban, release, dismantle, negotiate".

Mr de Klerk's serious adoption of the mantra had opened political space and presented challenges to his opponents.

Negotiations

On its part, the ANC had shifted from a conventional revolutionary paradigm to one of negotiation.

The ANC's Harare Declaration was a detailed spelling out of the mantra with various additional conditions, including the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

The mantra had been steadily gaining international acceptance since 1985, and the need for Mr de Klerk to break the cycle of reform, revolt and reaction that had characterised the security-conscious Government policies of the Eighties led to his post-election reforms.

Mr Van Zyl Slabbert cited some external factors that had influenced the current climate for negotiations.

The rapprochement between the US and the Soviet Union had led to fundamental changes in their approach to solving problems of regional conflict.

Don't mistake promises for change - Mandela

DUBLIN - The promise of change in South Africa to democracy should not be mistaken for change itself, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela told the Irish parliament in Dublin yesterday.

It appeared that South Africa was heading for a negotiated settlement but apartheid remained in place and nobody could guarantee the process of negotiations would inevitably lead to democracy, as there were many whites prepared to cause a bloodbath to protect the system, he warned.

Mandela, who has developed a heavy cold over the past two days, was making an historic address as the first political leader who was not a head of a state or a political party, to a special session of both houses of parliament.

Earlier in the day, he held talks with Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, after calling on President Patrick Hillery.

In his address, speaking slowly due to

his illness, Mandela reiterated his acceptance of the integrity of President FW de Klerk and his colleagues and their commitment to change. (304A)

"Despite this, we should not mistake the promise of change for change itself.

"The reality is that the system of apartheid continues.

Racist system

"Our country continues to be ruled by a white minority regime and all the fundamental features of the South African racist system remain unchanged.

After meeting more Irish politicians for talks in the afternoon and a rest period before a reception in the Dublin Castle, Mandela was scheduled to leave last night for London.

There he will meet British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd today and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher tomorrow, marking the end of his overseas tour. - Sapa.

De Beer is opposed to ANC plan

DP CO-LEADER Zach de Beer yesterday supported government's rejection of the ANC call for an interim government and said constituent assembly elections should not take place immediately.

Addressing the annual congress of the National Students' Federation in Midrand, De Beer said he did not believe it would make any sense to replace government until such time as the negotiation process was completed.

However, he said he believed government should start consulting widely on sensitive issues, taking into account the views of its negotiating partners. This would ensure it maintained stability and uniformity in routine matters.

He also told the congress he believed that elections for a constituent assembly should not be held immediately.

"What actually happens if you now order the election by universal suffrage ... of a constituent assembly?"

"I'm willing to bet that the electoral process that will follow will have precious little to do with the terms of a constitution — bill of rights or not, federal structure or

PETER DELMAR

not, protection of minorities, proportional representation or a constituency system and so forth.

(304A)
"No parties would be formed and (they) would simply go out to get their people elected, by any means available to them. Economic grievances would be exploited, sectional loyalties played upon, and so forth."

De Beer said such an election should be preceded by prolonged and wide-ranging debate over the "constitution-making issues". "There must, in other words, be public understanding of what is at stake."

Such debate, he said, would be overseen by an umpire or facilitator.

When alternative constitutional plans had been identified, it would be necessary to invest the new constitution with authority "by bestowing upon it the approval of the people themselves".

Once the constitution has the people's approval, it can be implemented and "the new SA can choose its first government".

Security police detain top KwaNdebele lawyer

KWANDEBELE lawyer and National Association of Democratic Lawyers treasurer J B Sibanyoni has been detained by the Pretoria security police in terms of the Internal Security Act.

A Pretoria attorney for Sibanyoni, Mpho Molefe, confirmed at the weekend that Sibanyoni's wife, Allinah Klaas, had filed an urgent Supreme Court interdict seeking the release of her husband. The application will be heard in Pretoria next Tuesday.

Molefe said Sibanyoni was detained last

Thursday night at his home in Ekangala township in KwaNdebele following the detention of two men, Tshepo Matlala and another named only as Sello.

The arrests of Matlala and "Sello" followed an attack last Wednesday with an AK-47 rifle on a house of an employee of the Ekangala Town Council, Molefe said.

Among police allegations were that Sibanyoni harboured and gave assistance to "Sello", and failed to make a report to the police to this effect. — Sapa.

Debate needed before constitution – De Beer

By Janet Heard

There should be thorough and wide-ranging debate over constitutional issues by all South Africans before the establishment of a truly democratic constituent assembly, Dr Zach de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said yesterday.

Addressing the moderate National Students Federation (NSF) Congress in Midrand, Dr de Beer said that it was important to devise a constitution which met the requirements of a liberal democracy for all.

To achieve this goal, the consent, approval and respect of the majority of the people was required.

"There must be willingness to compromise, within reasonable limits."

He said that after the process of consultation was complete, the envisaged constitution should be approved by the people through a referendum.

Constitutional Development

Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer said there was no doubt that the actual negotiations over a new constitutional dispensation would not be easy, but it was the only workable solution to the country's problems.

Explaining the Government's framework for constitutional change and negotiations, Mr Meyer insisted on the protection of minority group interests.

"An outgoing point underlying this is the acceptance that South Africa is an undivided state with one citizenship for everyone."

Non-domination

"Every South African has the right to participate in political decisions at all levels, taking into consideration the principle of non-domination".

Mr Meyer said it was important to draw all political groupings, including the Pan Africanist Congress, into negotiations.

The director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman, said it was

clear that apartheid was being dismantled and the question now was how to ensure the establishment of a multi-party democracy.

He warned against what he called "tendencies to promote monopolism" by left-wing organisations and outlined a number of areas which threatened the establishment of multi-party democracy. These included:

- The increasing use of totalitarian language such as the "will of the people", by organisations as though there was only one opinion in the country.

- Attempts by organisations to pressure writers, academics and journalists to conform and be answerable to them.

- "The liberal slide away" — the failure of the English-speaking universities to fight sufficiently for academic freedom and the downplaying of the increase in "black on black" violence by liberal newspapers.

- The bias of foreign funding — most governments only sponsored projects which were approved of by the ANC.

New constitution for SA within 4 years, ^(304A) Minister tells BBC

A NEW constitution for South Africa, which will make provision for power-sharing, will be implemented before the next General Election.

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the Government wanted to draft a new constitution within the next four years, because the present Parliament had to be dissolved within a period of less than five years.

Meyer was speaking during a phone-in programme broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation. *Sowetan 31/7/90*

He was asked about a time-table for President FW de Klerk's power-sharing plans.

He said the Government did not foresee another parliamentary election without the participation of blacks. - Sapa.

Leader
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New schools solution

Still one teacher to 54 pupils in black schools

The Government has realised that it is not feasible to continue the present system of education which is fraught with problems at both black and white schools.

Education in South Africa is characterised by an increasing number of white schools closing down on the one hand and, on the other, overcrowding, poor facilities and mass resistance at black schools.

Against this background, the Government three months ago announced the go-ahead for white State schools to accept black pupils next year with qualifying conditions.

According to Piet Clase, Minister of Education and Culture (House of Assembly), white parents would decide who would be admitted to schools and a 90 percent vote in favour of open schools was suggested.

New thinking by the Government is that while schools will not be run along racial lines, there will be no forced integration either.

Two models have been proposed, both of which have been all but rejected by both Left and Right.

Heated debate

The models have been the subject of heated debate in white schools and the various statutory advisory bodies which have submitted recommendations to Mr Clase.

● **Model A** — white State schools which wanted integration could register as private schools. These schools would receive more than the 45 percent subsidy which private schools presently receive.

● **Model B** — schools which wanted to remain State schools could admit other races but preference would be given to children from the surrounding community. Black pupils would have to be "in a position to benefit from the education at the school", which implied that pupils must be up to academic standard.

A third option was to remain the same. According to Roger Burrows, Democratic Party spokesman on education, this would mean remaining exclusively white with dwindle-

The Government will shortly announce a model for the opening of white Government schools to all races ... with qualifying conditions. The proposed model, which is part of broader political reform, has come under heavy scrutiny from both left-wing and right-wing organisations. The Government intends to implement the model next year.

Education Reporter Janet Heard reports.

ding pupil numbers and reduced government funding.

Brother Neil McGurk, headmaster of Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg, described the models as "leadened kites".

"When the models were first proposed, there was quite a bit of excitement. After scrutinising the models, it became clear they are full of contradictions and, in the end, are hardly worth looking at," he said.

He said that while the Government wanted to liberalise education, it refused to relinquish any control and do away with "own affairs" departments.

Anti-apartheid groupings said the Government would not solve the deepening crisis in education by merely "tinkering" with the existing education system.

They argue that the single most effective change would be to institute a single non-racial education department.

White right-wing groupings rejected the models as destroying the cultural identity of different racial groupings.

The statutory bodies were given until June 15 to submit recommendations to the Minister. A spokesman for Mr Clase said last week that the recommendations were being evaluated and an announcement on one or both the models would be made shortly.

A number of events have highlighted the growing crisis in white education. For instance, there was the row which erupted over the clo-

sure last year of Johannesburg High School for Girls which is situated in the grey suburb of Berea.

The Government refused an application for the school to be opened to all races and it was forced to open this year as a private and more expensive school under a new name, Barnato Park.

Johannesburg High was one of nine white schools in the Transvaal which were forced to close last year due to a drastic decline in pupil enrolment.

Residents of Homestead Park are presently trying to get the Government to open Western High School in Johannesburg West to all races rather than have it closed. The school, which has 80 pupils from Std 6 to Std 9, can accommodate about 1 000 pupils.

Recent statistics in Parliament show that:

● 78 white schools are unused or are being used for purposes other than education.

● A total of 97 teachers at white State schools were made redundant last year.

● There were 177 225 vacancies in white schools in the first term of this year.

● The number of black pupils at secondary schools (outside the homelands) increased by 62 percent from 1984 to 1989. The classroom/pupil ratio, although somewhat narrowed, was 1:54 last year.

● There was a shortage of 60 343 classroom places at primary schools and 99 506 places at secondary schools administered by the

rejected

black education department, the Department of Education and Training.

One of the statutory bodies which submitted recommendations to the Minister was the Natal Education Council (NEC), which advised that requiring a 90 percent positive vote for the introduction of either of the two models was "unrealistically high". It recommended that any motion by parents to change the status quo should be made by a two-thirds vote.

The NEC said the privatisation model was not a viable option for most schools and suggested that model B — that the school remain a State school — was acceptable.

The NEC said that it accepted the principle of parental choice.

Mixed reaction

The Transvaal English-Medium Parents' Association (Tempa), which held meetings with all 200 white English-speaking schools to discuss the two options, said there had been a mixed reaction from parents.

Tempa's general impression was that parents were in favour of open State schools (option B) as long as certain safeguards were realised, the most important being that standards were not dropped.

The conservative Transvaalse Afrikaanse Ouervereniging (TAO) concluded that the models were unacceptable. The TAO opted to retain the "existing and proven" education models.

Liberal and left-wing organisations have criticised the privatisation option and said that most black parents and many white parents would be unable to afford an increase in school fees.

Another objection was the high mandate required by parents for a motion to be passed.

In the past few years, parents of more than 20 white schools have voted to open their schools and have been turned down by the Government. All these schools obtained less than a 90 percent mandate.

580-3/7/90
304A

Challenge of the next six months

By TOS WENTZEL,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — After six hectic months a period of consolidation lies ahead for President de Klerk.

Back in Pretoria, he will be taking a short break this month.

In the meantime, he is maintaining a schedule that would be trying to most other public figures. Mr de Klerk is clearly a long-suffering, patient man.

Everyone who meets him praises his willingness to listen and to engage in negotiation.

Labour discontent over delays in enacting a landmark industrial relations agreement were eased in a meeting last week between Mr de Klerk and representatives of trade unions and employers.

On the same day, he had a meeting with ultra-right extra-parliamentary groups. It was apparently a business-like occasion where the two sides did not get any nearer.

In the second half of the year one of Mr de Klerk's top priorities will be to take stock of the state of his own National Party.

Its organisation, information service and morale are clearly not in good shape. They have not kept pace with Mr de Klerk's swift moves during the first half of the year.

Exploit

There is uncertainty, bordering on bewilderment, among many traditional Nationalists and the Conservative Party is able to exploit this effectively, as was shown in the Umlazi by-election.

Mr de Klerk is earning lavish praise but little else from the outside world as was shown again last week by the statement of the European Community and remarks by President Bush.

After Umlazi one Nationalist newspaper editor warned that if the National Party were to survive to lead the country into a new system, it would have to reach out not only to the future, but back to its own people.

After the by-election Mr de Klerk said that the party's information service would have to be improved. He made it clear that it would be necessary to counter what he described as "disinformation" by the Conservative Party.

He blamed the Right wing for two untruths especially. These were that the NP was willing to surrender the whites and other minorities to domination and repression, and that the NP was suddenly having cosy relations with communism and terrorism.

The party is now planning a stepped-up campaign. Its central committee, under the chairmanship of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, met recently and leaders are expected to address public rallies later in the year.

Election

Morale is said to be low among many Nationalists, including MPs who have the Conservatives breathing down their necks.

Some of these MPs appear to have the attitude that as there will never again be an old-style white general election, they need not worry about retaining their present constituencies.

Their hearts are just not in it any more.

Mr de Klerk has to drag this baggage along with him and it is with some justification that Democratic Party MPs claim that they have to try to sell the Government's reform efforts because many Nationalist MPs are not inspired by it.

Even if an old-style white general election is not held again, the Government will still face a referendum among white voters on a new system in the five-year term of the present Parliament.

When Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen was asked what would happen if most whites rejected the new constitutional proposals at a referendum, he said that it would be the Government's task to see to it that the whites did not do so.

He was confident that a referendum would be successful when it was spelt out to the voters that the CP's alternative was not viable.

But Mr de Klerk and his party are clearly in for a long and difficult haul.

ANC must renounce violence Meyer

Capl Tips 3/7/90
20411

PRETORIA. — The ANC would have to renounce violence before all exiles could return home and all political prisoners be released, Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

In an interview here, Mr Meyer said these obstacles to negotiations raised by the ANC could not be removed unless the ANC committed itself to peaceful solutions.

Also, negotiations for a new political dispensation could not go ahead unless the ANC renounced violence and played its part in removing the obstacles, he said.

The government had accepted the recommendations of the report by a joint government/ANC working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and was awaiting the ANC's response, Mr Meyer said.

The government wanted to begin the talks to structure the agenda for negotiations early next year and would not wait forever.

Mr Meyer said the ANC's rhetoric on armed struggle was encouraging the right wing's rhetoric on violence.

The right wing should stop this nonsense about violence and bring their proposals on a new constitution to the government, Mr Meyer said.

If they did not do so, they would exclude themselves from the democratic process. While the PAC had stated its opposition to a negotiated settlement, he was optimistic the organisation would soon change its mind, Mr Meyer said.

There would be little sympathy for the gaining of political power through violent means and the PAC could find itself with little choice but to commit itself to negotiations.

Mellet, 'Terror', call for 'new centre'

JOHANNESBURG. — Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet and ANC leader Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, in the first public meeting between the police and the ANC, called last night for a new centre in South African politics.

They shared a platform here with DP spokesman on security Mr Tiaan van der Merwe at a panel discussion titled "Violence — Our Common Concern", organised by the Five Freedoms Forum and attended by more than 100 people.

It is correct what Brig Mellet said here. A new day is dawning in SA, and we have to find a new (political) centre," said Mr Lekota, who is the ANC's regional organiser in southern Natal.

He warned, however, that a new political centre should not come from only one side.

"We need a new balance in SA. We must not look to the past with an eye to accusing each other, but to building on it," Mr Lekota said.

Brig Mellet said South Africans "must not be naive — there will

always be political differences".

"But we must try to find narrow sidelines, and a broad centre," he said, comparing the political situation in SA to a sports field.

Brig Mellet said South Africans "have got so much to go for. But we can destroy it if we keep on trying to find solutions through the barrel of the gun, or acts of violence.

"Whether it comes from the police, or the people we should be protecting — let's forget the past."

Mr Lekota said "political solutions

must be given priority", not violence.

He said that since the ANC was allowed to hold its first public rally in February this year, the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, "has toned down its activities".

"In public we are not saying it, but practice shows it," Mr Lekota maintained. "In fact we are unarmed at present."

Addressing the situation in Natal, including the stayaway, Mr Lekota called for the police and SA Defence Force to leave the troubled region. — Sapa

Capit. Jmfs. 3/7/90

300A

Treurnicht 'trying to split NP'

Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was trying to drive a wedge between Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and the rest of the cabinet, the Ministry of Defence charged last night.

The accusation came in response to a statement issued by Dr Treurnicht yesterday in which he said he was gratified that at least one member of the cabinet — General Malan — was still prepared to criticise Mr Nelson Mandela.

This followed a stinging attack by General Malan at the weekend in which he described the ANC deputy leader as "the most over-publicised politician in world media" who needed to "come to terms with reality".

General Malan said Mr Mandela continued to contradict the terms of the Groote Schuur Minute as he "trots the globe" and asked whether Mr Mandela and the ANC were simply using the process of negotiation as a means of continuing the armed struggle.

However, the CP praise for General Malan was interpreted in

government circles last night as a thinly disguised attempt to create a split in the cabinet and the National Party.

General Malan's spokesman and communications chief of the Ministry of Defence, Dr D Herbst, said late last night: "Anyone who tries to claim General Malan's Saturday speech for his own particular political interests misses the point entirely."

Dr Herbst said General Malan had stated clearly in Parliament earlier this year that he stood by the National Party, the State President and the security forces.

'Warfare' changed 306A

THE new South Africa must be built on the cornerstone of freedom and must be a country that is governed for the benefit of all its inhabitants, National Student Federation president Danie Kriel said yesterday.

Speaking at the opening of the student organisation's national congress at Midrand, Johannesburg, Kriel said the battlefield in South Africa had moved from the country's borders to the spheres of ideological and intellectual warfare. - Sapa. *So what 217/10*

FW's visit to US likely next year

304A

Sowetan
3/7/90

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha confirmed yesterday that President FW de Klerk and President George Bush had a "friendly and encouraging" telephone conversation last week.

He said the two men had spoken for about 30 minutes. Bush had called De Klerk from Washington last Wednesday.

Botha said the telephone call had been the continuation of earlier telephone conversations.

He declined to give details of the conversation, but according to United States diplomatic sources the call was

mainly meant as a courtesy gesture after Bush's meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela.

Bush repeated his invitation to De Klerk to visit the United States.

Botha indicated that the visit was still on and that it was only a question of fixing a date.

It appears as if the visit will only take place next year.

In Government circles the feeling is that it will be inopportune for De Klerk to visit the United States soon after Mandela's visit.

SA should find cure - Slabbert

Sowetan
3/7/90
304A

THE South African political agenda for the 90's is open ended but internal dynamics will be the major determining factor in a constitutional settlement, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

He was speaking on "A decade of South African politics" at the Standard Bank National Arts Festival in Grahamstown.

Slabbert's paper dealt with white minority domination, what he termed the "central issue of conflict" between Government and opposition groupings.

Leading

The lecture traced political developments Slabbert saw leading to President De Klerk's acceptance of the "mantra" of "unban, release, dismantle, negotiate".

De Klerk's adopting the mantra had opened political space and presented challenges to his opponents.

On its part, the ANC had shifted from a conventional revolutionary position to one of negotiations.

Slabbert cited several external factors that had influenced the current climate for negotiations.

SOWETAN Correspondent

The rapprochement between the United States and Russia had led to fundamental changes in their approach to solving problems of regional conflict.

The economic isolation of South Africa had also been a factor.

He said former President PW Botha would

"happily have pulled down the pillars of the temple with a smile on his face" but that De Klerk was "blessed with greater intelligence".

"The negotiation will be driven by the internal dynamics of the South African situation and by people and organisations within the country," he said.

NP queues up for ritzy FW banquet

PETER DELMAR

304A

MORE than 1 600 Nationalists have queued up to pay R500 a head for a glitzy banquet next month arranged to honour President F W de Klerk.

Transvaal NP secretary Gerhard Koornhof yesterday disclosed details of the banquet at which 10 one-ounce, 22-carat gold medallions bearing De Klerk's image will be sold by tender.

Only 840 NP members can attend the Carlton Centre bash on August 9 which is expected to raise thousands for Transvaal NP branches.

The medallions will bear De Klerk's image with the words "New SA — Nuwe SA". The reverse will carry his signature and the inscription "1990 — Leader of the NP".

Koornhof said yesterday the medallions could fetch as much as R10 000 each. *6 pm 4-7-90*

The mould would be destroyed after the dinner, he said.

Those not attending the dinner could apply to buy silver or bronze medallions for R250 and R100 each respectively.

Senior cabinet ministers are expected to pay tributes.

SAP, ANC and DP plead on violence

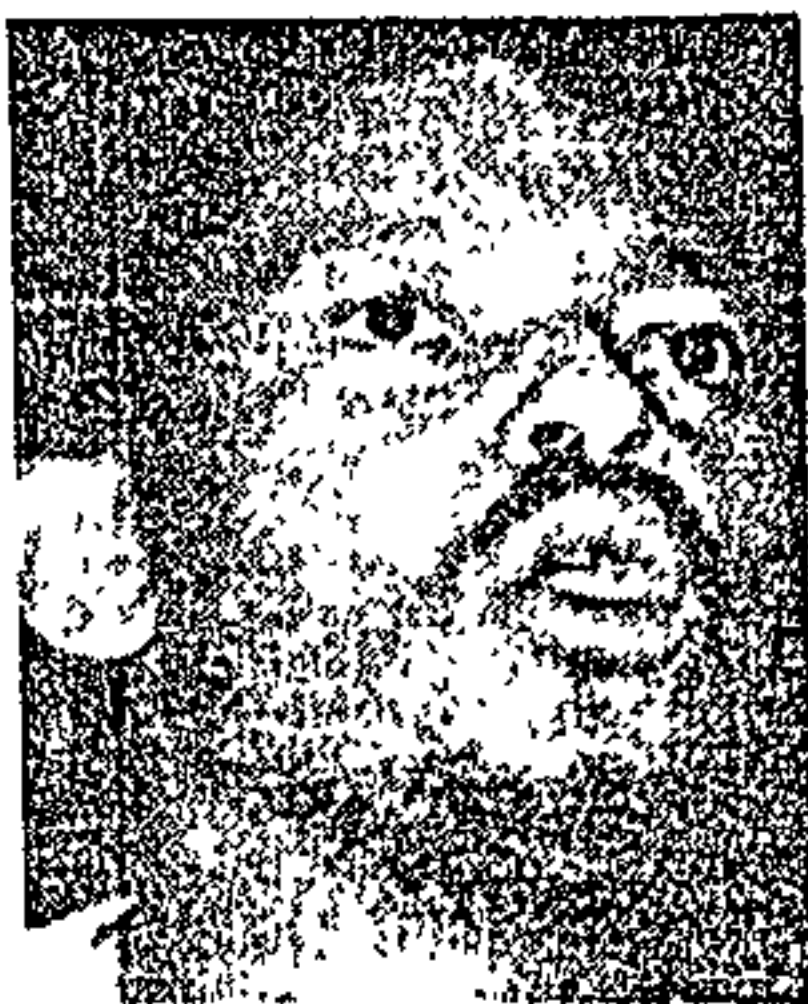
Sowetan 4/7/90

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**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

LEADING representatives of the ANC, SAP and Democratic Party stressed the need to find the common ground necessary to combat violence in the country at a meeting organised by the Five Freedom's Forum in Johannesburg on Monday night.

Sharing the platform for the first time were



TERROR LEKOTA

Brigadier Leon Mellet of the SAP, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's southern Natal convenor, and Mr Tian van der Merwe, the DP's national chairman.

Van der Merwe said South Africans needed hope, political leadership and statesmanship as never before.

"They need an indication that there is something better ahead of us; they need an indication that their sacrifices have been worthwhile, and they do not need more war rhetoric," he said.

The greatest threat to peace in the country were exaggerated expectations combined with the prevailing climate of fear and uncertainty, both of which were open to exploitation by politicians.

Lekota said South Africans deserved something better than what was happening today.

"The kind of blood-letting that is happening in this country should never have been allowed to come to pass," he said.

Referring to the conflict in Natal, Lekota said

the ongoing violence was rooted in the apartheid system.

He repeated the ANC's call for the disbanding of the KwaZulu police which he described as "the armed wing of Inkatha".

He called on the Government to consult the ANC before allowing police to intervene further in Natal.

Mellet appealed for a common understanding to assist the police in their fight a common enemy - crime.

"We need the support of the public. We need the goodwill that is out there to assist us," he said, adding that there were between 80 and 90 percent of law-abiding people in South Africa.

F W to get Sebokeng report

STE 4/7/90 3044
The Goldstone Commission's report on the Sebokeng shootings on March 26 this year, in which several people were killed, is being considered for presentation to President de Klerk.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Department of Justice, which said the report by Mr Justice R.J. Goldstone would later be handed to the president.

A spokesman said it was not yet certain when the report would be placed on the President's desk, but that the matter was being treated as urgent.

— Pretoria Bureau.

Only we can save De Klerk from the Right - Mandela

By Esmaré van der Merwe

LONDON — The ANC was the "only organisation in the entire world" which could help President de Klerk survive the onslaught from the political Right, Nelson Mandela last night told millions of British television viewers.

"If you want to destroy the position of Mr de Klerk, you must ease sanctions on the grounds that you are helping

him. That is one thing that would sink him," the ANC deputy leader said during his only interview in Britain.

He argued that the right wing was accusing Mr de Klerk of bowing to international pressure in his quest for a new non-racial constitution.

The right wing, already accusing Mr de Klerk of selling out the Afrikaners, would "go to town" if punitive measures were

to be eased in an effort to encourage political reform.

"That type of approach helps the right wing to strengthen this propaganda. We (the Government and the ANC) are addressing this matter. It is better left to us, not to the international community.

"Where a government establishes channels of communication between itself and the

masses of the people who are oppressed, there is no need to resort to violence. But where the government bans political organisations, intensifies oppression, the people are entitled to resort to violence to defend themselves."

He added: "Once the Government agrees to remove the obstacles to negotiations we will consider the cessation of hostility. We will consider a truce."

CP trying to cause Cabinet rift - FW

President de Klerk has accused the Conservative Party of trying to create a rift in Government ranks by misrepresenting the Government's attitude towards the ANC.

He told SABC-TV news he had already made firm demands on the ANC to discontinue its calls for an armed struggle.

Mr de Klerk said the Cabinet was undivided in its approach to the ANC and other organisations. He described as "propa-

ganda" the statement by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht that he was pleased there was at least one member of the Cabinet, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, who was willing to attack the ANC.

Mr de Klerk said the CP should stop its propaganda campaign and hold talks with the Government, as other political parties and movements had done. — Sapa.

Leon rejects merger between NP and DP

DP Houghton MP Tony Leon yesterday came out strongly against suggestions that the party would merge with the NP.

Addressing the annual congress of the National Students' Federation in Midrand, Leon acknowledged that the DP was "caught between the hammer of NP power and the anvil of African nationalism, which today trades under the title of 'non-racialism'".

During the past parliamentary session, much of the DP's rhetoric and some of its policies were taken over by the NP, he said, and the party should urgently reconsider its future to avoid being eclipsed by larger forces.

Leon said there were important reasons why DP members should not join the NP. These included the fact that the NP was still a "uniracial party, ambivalently oscillating between the politics of reform and the practice of repression."

"The fact that the NP has decided upon negotiation has not transformed it into a party of good government. We are still saddled with apartheid. Its economic commitment to free enterprise is, in many cases, illusory."

Similarly, the ANC was "politically incoherent", with rhetoric substituting reality and slogans substituting substance.

"Their deep distrust of territorial federation only indicates their deep dislike of abandoning the desire for absolute power which all freedom-loving South Africans should reject," he said.

Leon said he welcomed the DP's imminent leadership contest because this

PETER DELMAR

would provide an opportunity to debate its future in a healthy, competitive and democratic atmosphere.

At the same meeting, Free Market Foundation executive director Leon Louw proposed that a possible solution to anti-privatisation pressure was for government to devolve the provision of most welfare services to second-tier authorities.

Those local governments that could not resist the pressure of interest groups could continue to fund bloated bureaucracies, while others would allow private enterprise to provide services and limit themselves to financing the needy.

Monopolies

Louw said there were more than R300bn worth of privatisable assets in SA, enough to provide every black family with R50 000.

"And that's not all. Privatisation can create hundreds of thousands of black and white business and investment opportunities. State monopolies can become small private businesses or shares in them can be sold or given to employees or the people."

The vast majority of blacks, he said, were victims, or the descendants of victims, of land theft. However, scrapping restrictive laws and freeing the land market would enable prospective black farmers to develop under-utilised land.

304A

Hopes high ANC-govt talks will end 'armed struggle'

By DESMOND BLOW

Press 5/7/90

304A

THE ANC and the South African government enter talks in Pretoria tomorrow with high hopes of ending the "armed struggle".

The ANC delegation, led by Nelson Mandela, comprises ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo, Umkhonto we Sizwe's Joe Modise and ANC director of foreign affairs Thabo Mbeki.

The government delegation, headed by President De Klerk, comprises Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrie Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and other officials.

The ANC has already indicated it will present proposals to end its armed struggle.

Major issues to be discussed include the release of all political prisoners and the return of thousands of exiles.

Mandela said in Durban this week continued political violence in Natal and KwaZulu would also be raised.

The talks will review the progress of the provisions of the Groote Schuur Minute.

There is a positive spirit in ANC circles that tomorrow's meeting will be successful and there is talk that a meeting will be held before the end of the year in which all political parties will participate to iron out a new constitution.

The talks were nearly disrupted by an alleged "Red plot" and Chris Hani's hardline stance on the armed struggle.

Mandela and De Klerk this week came out with enhanced reputations as leaders who would not allow anything to divert them from a negotiated settlement.

The dispute over Joe Slovo's inclusion in the ANC team was settled amicably.

Mandela said he had misunderstood De Klerk to mean he did not want Slovo at the talks, when all the State President had done was voice his concern at allegations police had made against Slovo.

Mandela said the so-called "Red plot" and the detention of several ANC and SACP members would be discussed at tomorrow's talks.

Adriaan Vlok this week rejected allegations the police were trying to sabotage negotiations by misrepresenting facts about the alleged SACP plot to seize power.

He said he was satisfied the information police had given to De Klerk and the Cabinet was "correct".

The ANC's National Executive Committee this week said they were concerned about the continuing detention of people under the Internal Security Act.

The NEC said such actions seriously undermined efforts to create a climate conducive to negotiations and demonstrated little had changed with respect to civil liberties. Such arrests should stop and detainees should be released immediately and unconditionally.

I see an early govt role for Mandela - Slabbert

GRAHAMSTOWN — The man who forged contacts between South Africa's white establishment and the ANC believes Nelson Mandela could be helping to run the country by September.

But Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert said Mr Mandela would then have to abandon the ANC's long-standing armed struggle.

"Mandela and (President F W) De Klerk have not in any meaningful sense begun to share responsibility for transition ... That still lies with De Klerk.

"But Mandela knows he has to come in some time ... The question is when. I wouldn't be surprised if we have some sort of joint responsibility beginning to emerge by August or September," Mr Slabbert said.

Mr Slabbert said Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk would have to begin working together soon to give legitimacy to the white leader's proposed transition from white domination to democracy and to ensure a black voice in post-apartheid South Africa.

Mr Mandela's participation would signal to governments and investors abroad that the transition could be smooth and that they could ease sanctions which have stifled economic growth.

Critical issue

"The critical issue here is that Mandela and De Klerk have to agree the process of transition is irreversible. De Klerk says now it is, and Mandela does not agree," Mr Slabbert said.

"If Mandela says it is irreversible, it immediately has consequences for the ANC's stand on the armed struggle and sanctions. You can't come in and share responsibility ... and keep up the armed struggle ... and sanctions," he said.

The United Nations, the European Community and other apartheid foes have said Mr de Klerk's reforms must pass the point of no return before sanctions are lifted.

Mr Mandela, now in London as part of a six-week world tour, insists that sanctions and the ANC's armed struggle against apartheid must continue until then.

Mr Slabbert said Mr de Klerk had gone too far to turn back and regain white support he has lost as a result of his apartheid reforms.

"He has effectively destroyed his own conventional political base. The National Party as we have known it is finished," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Leon: DP must make critical choice soon

Not yet time to pack up — DP leader

By Marguerite Moody

The present role of the Democratic Party was to promote the enormous task of reconciliation between South Africans and to contribute to the process of negotiation, the party's MP for Johannesburg North, Peter Soal said last night.

Speaking at a report-back meeting in Johannesburg, Mr Soal said although it had been suggested the DP should "pack up" and join either the National Party or the ANC, he saw the party's role as even more important than before.

"The time may very well arrive when the NP and the ANC will, after a period of negotiation, and with our assistance, reach the stage when we feel it would be safer to enter into an alliance with them."

He said although he believed the NP was sincere in turning its back on apartheid, the party had a long way to go before it was anywhere near the DP's belief in universal suffrage.

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

The Democratic Party has to decide on its future as a matter of urgency, and deferment of the decision could "simply see the party's eclipse by larger forces on the political landscape," according to DP MP for Houghton, Tony Leon.

Speaking at the National Students Federation's (NSF) annual congress in Midrand outside Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Leon said the DP, which was "caught between the hammer of National Party power and the anvil of African nationalism" trading under the banner of non-racialism, was one of many political parties which had to make "critical choices".

Failure to do so could prove to be disastrous for the party, which also had to reflect on the

past Parliamentary session where "much of its rhetoric and some of its substantive policies were taken over by the NP".

Mr Leon, former DP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, was one of many politicians from different organisations invited to address the NSF annual congress.

'Clear opportunity'

He said he welcomed the fact that the DP was facing an imminent leadership contest because this would present it with "a clear opportunity to debate its future in a healthy, competitive and democratic atmosphere".

The DP, Mr Leon said, would have to address the following key issues:

- Decide whether there was a need for a viable third force in South African politics. This, he said, required of the party a fundamental choice between power and freedom.

- Decide whether the party would be "obliged" to keep shifting its position, abandoning policies and adjusting its focus when the Government co-opted its policies.

"I believe such a continuous shifting and side-stepping could prove terminal. As and when (the) Government adopts DP policies then the DP must ensure that such policies are properly implemented. This requires both a critical and complimentary approach, which in turn need consummate and skilled leadership."

Another choice facing the party, Mr Leon said, was joining either the NP or the African National Congress (ANC). The NP, which was still "oscillating between the politics of reform and the practice of repression", was still a uni-racial party, while the ANC, whose "rhetoric substitutes for reality and slogans for substance", was politically incoherent.

DOES the National Party want to rule in a "new South Africa"? Does it want this more than a political settlement? The answer is crucial — for it may find that it cannot have both.

NP policy and strategy has changed dramatically in the past year. This time last year, it saw itself as forever a white party, which would play a major role in a post-apartheid government simply because it was white.

Its five-year plan of action proposed a constitution in which race groups, not people, would be the elements of the political system. If the NP wanted a share in power, retaining white support would have to be its priority.

Now, although the 1989 plan remains formal NP policy, it has dropped both a "group-based" political order and the idea that it can retain a share in power by representing whites only.

President F W de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen now suggest that "majority rule" is inevitable. De Klerk says that "universal franchise on a common voters' roll" may be compatible with white interests.

Of course, the NP still insists that majority rule should be qualified by constitutional safeguards — but Viljoen and other party thinkers insist that these will have to be non-racial.

So its desire for a settlement has led it to realise that a system which guarantees whites power simply because they are white is unattainable because black leaders won't accept it.

It is also coming to accept that it can retain influence in a new order only if it wins votes from people who are not white. That suggests that it is now preparing for a system which will be non-racial in practice and theory.

But, despite these sea-changes in strategy, it is still not clear what role the NP sees for itself in the new system. Does it accept that it will have to compete for votes and retire into opposition if it doesn't get them, or does it still want a guaranteed role in government?

The answers are not clear. Viljoen

The NP's best option may be opposition

STEVEN FRIEDMAN

talks of a guaranteed minority role in government. While other party strategists are less explicit, they neither think nor talk like people who expect to leave government.

But if the NP has also accepted that no black party will accept a system in which whites have power simply because they are white, how does it plan to stay in government?

The answer may lie in how it sees "alliances". Its MPs insist that they want an alliance with parties and people that share its values. But they don't seem to have a clear idea of who these partners are.

One choice is a deal with those who have influence simply because they participate in the present order: the President's meeting with homeland leaders and black parties in Parliament suggests that this is still an option. But this would offer the NP little in a non-racial democracy. Besides Inkatha, homeland elites don't have much of a base.

If the NP wants only this narrow alliance, it must still want a system which guarantees it power simply because it is the NP. But its current rhetoric suggests that it knows that this sort of deal would win it no legitimacy abroad or at home.

If insider gossip is to be believed, some NP leaders have a more ambitious goal: an alliance with "reasonable" figures in the ANC. This sort of "elite settlement" has been tried

elsewhere — in Colombia it actually achieved a sort of stability.

But its success rate is low. And its prospects here are slim. Even if NP and ANC leaders could sell a pact to their parties, and they probably couldn't, it would be extremely fragile unless both were sufficiently in control of their constituencies to make it stick. The signs suggest that they aren't.

Umlazi confirms that whites will not go wherever the NP leads, while the ANC's constituency is unorganised, and unified mostly by a symbolism which would crumble if it entered a pact with the NP.

There are also significant black and white groups who would be excluded from the pact, who would be forced to destabilise it, and might well have the capacity to do that.

But there is a third view within the NP which might offer it a far more viable option. Its supporters want an alliance with like-minded "moderates" — but only if they have a constituency.

For this to be a real option, there must be a substantial number of black people who would prefer the NP to the likes of the ANC and PAC. If we look at existing political groups, this doesn't seem on. Only Inkatha stands out and its support is

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That might not be enough, constitutions can be torn up. The NP's best protection against that might be to demand that "professional" recruitment and promotion criteria be applied in the military, police and civil service.

This would ensure a significant white and minority black presence in both the security forces and the bureaucracy, which might prevent a majority government simply imposing its will.

Resistance movements may jib at accepting some of this — but might face international pressure to accept. It would be hard to paint such moves as covert racism.

Ultimately, this might be the NP's best option. It might not rule in the new system but it would retain influence.

If it is concerned about values and interests, not privilege, it may be able to safeguard these from the opposition benches only.

resistance movements might balk at identifying with the NP.

For this and other reasons, it seems highly unlikely that an NP-led alliance could win a majority in a non-racial election. So, if the NP wants only this sort of alliance — and plans to stay in government — it must still be preparing to insist that the minority's role in government be guaranteed.

But it is precisely this demand which may ensure that a settlement cannot be achieved.

The NP does have another choice. It could agree to a majority system — and use the third option to retain influence in it. But then it would have to abandon its insistence on governing. It would, like Dirk Mudge and his DTA, be concerned not about whether it ruled a new order but about retaining enough influence to ensure its constituents could live with the new system. It could do this even if another party ruled.

Protection against infringements of personal and political liberty and seizure of property could be entrenched in a constitution which could only be amended by a large majority.

□ Friedman is a senior researcher at Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies.

Government fears ANC may demand new preconditions for talks

304A7

GOVERNMENT is closely monitoring possible signs of a move by the ANC to introduce new preconditions — related to Natal, the police, right-wing violence and the hit squad issue — into the negotiating process, government sources said yesterday.

This follows statements by senior ANC officials Walter Sisulu, Raymond Suttner and Alfred Nzo, in which they linked the future of constitutional negotiations to these matters.

Sisulu told a media conference yesterday government's failure to take decisive action against right-wing terrorism was threatening future negotiations.

On Wednesday night Sapa reported ANC political education department head Raymond Suttner as saying that the ANC was prepared to begin negotiations only when it had a full report on CCB activities, and as long as the Natal violence continued the ANC would not negotiate.

In contrast, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela expressed optimism in London that the negotiation process would proceed quickly.

Asked for clarity, ANC spokesman Mohammed Valli Moosa said it would be confusing to describe the ANC's stance on violence as "a precondition to negotiations in the sense of what we have put down on

paper in the Harare Declaration".

However, the escalation of violence went against the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute and would have to be addressed before negotiations.

Government sources said yesterday they were attempting to discover the meaning of these developments.

A serious concern was that the ANC would like to elevate the question of Natal violence to a new precondition for negotiations as a means of intensifying pressure on KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu

Buthezi and Inkatha.

On the CCB, sources said the ANC would be unwise to press President F W de Klerk while the Harms Commission was still considering the question.

Regarding right-wing violence, there was a view that the ANC was expressing a legitimate concern — one which was equally worrying to government.

Sisulu said yesterday the Harms Commission had been "sabotaged" and the ANC and its affiliates could be forced to rely on the Press rather than the judicial machinery to expose "violence and corruption in the repressive forces".

Government handling of the right wing

did not indicate it was dealing with a "grave crisis facing the country".

He also said government should appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to test ANC claims that the police and SADF were a "major problem" in the violence.

Meanwhile, the ANC and its allies are in the process of preparing for a major peace conference on the Natal war next month to which all parties committed to regional peace will be invited.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said Inkatha would not be invited unless it made a clear commitment to peace.

OK strikers may be fired - union

Sowetan 6/7/90

THERE is a strong possibility of retrenchments at OK Bazaars as the workers' strike enters its 31st day, the company confirmed yesterday.

SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Worker Union spokesman Mr Jeremy Daphne revealed on Wednesday the OK had threatened workers with retrenchment if the strike did not end soon.

"The union's characterisation of the possible retrenchment of staff in the PWV area as a threat is an unfortunate interpretation of a reality facing the company," OK spokesman Mr Keith Hortshorne said in a statement yesterday.

Reaction

"The retrenchments are no more than a natural consequence of the situation facing the company in the PWV area where the strike is at its most serious."

He said the retrenchments must be seen as a reaction by the company to the effects of the strikers own activities.

The union had been advised of the possibility of retrenchments before the strike began.

The company suggested that in order to make the process flexible and to ensure job security as far as possible, lay-offs were an "appropriate alternative".

Daphne also said

there was an overwhelming vote in favour of a strike so far in the Checkers strike ballot.

Although the voting was due to be completed by 1pm yesterday, Daphne said it was "fairly academic".

He said if Saccawu chose to take legal action at this stage, they could do so.

* Food and Allied

Workers Union members at Mama's Pies were locked out yesterday, the union claimed.

A spokesman at Mama's Pies confirmed the incident but said the issue had been "amicably" resolved.

The union said seven drivers had been dismissed last Thursday for refusing to deliver pies to OK Bazaars. - Sapa

Govt still waiting for ANC report - Viljoen

3049

THE Government was still waiting for an ANC's official response to the report of their joint working group, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said this week.

Viljoen was reacting to a report from London in which a senior spokesman for the ANC, Miss Frene Finwala, alleged that the ANC had proposed several amendments to the report, but had received no comment from the Government. *Sowetan 6/7/90*

He said Mr Nelson Mandela had told the State President before leaving for overseas that the ANC would not react to the report before the 10th of this month. He said in the meantime there had been exchanges between representatives of the Government and the ANC serving in the joint working group. - Sapa

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S 5864

'Replacing FW won't solve problems'

SIMPLY replacing State President FW de Klerk with ANC Nelson Mandela would not solve South Africa's problems, as black domination was no better than white domination, according to the head of the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Natal, Dr Mike Sutcliffe.

"What is required is that collectively we develop the means by which the political, economic and social base of our society's reproduction may be enhanced," Sutcliffe said this week. (304A)

He was addressing a meeting of the South African Perceptions Initiative in Durban.

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SIX MONTHS TO PAY

OK strikers may be fired - union

Sowetan 6/7/90

THERE is a strong possibility of retrenchments at OK Bazaars as the workers' strike enters its 31st day, the company confirmed yesterday.

SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Worker Union spokesman Mr Jeremy Daphne revealed on Wednesday the OK had threatened workers with retrenchment if the strike did not end soon.

"The union's characterisation of the possible retrenchment of staff in the PWV area as a threat is an unfortunate interpretation of a reality facing the company," OK spokesman Mr Keith Hortshorne said in a statement yesterday.

Reaction

"The retrenchments are no more than a natural consequence of the situation facing the company in the PWV area where the strike is at its most serious."

He said the retrenchments must be seen as a reaction by the company to the effects of the strikers own activities.

The union had been advised of the possibility of retrenchments before the strike began.

The company suggested that in order to make the process flexible and to ensure job security as far as possible, lay-offs were an "appropriate alternative".

Daphne also said

there was an overwhelming vote in favour of a strike so far in the Checkers strike ballot.

Although the voting was due to be completed by 1pm yesterday, Daphne said it was "fairly academic".

He said if Saccawu chose to take legal action at this stage, they could do so.

* Food and Allied

Workers Union members at Mama's Pies were locked out yesterday, the union claimed.

A spokesman at Mama's Pies confirmed the incident but said the issue had been "amicably" resolved.

The union said seven drivers had been dismissed last Thursday for refusing to deliver pies to OK Bazaars. - Sapa

Govt still waiting for ANC report - Viljoen

3047

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S 5864

ANC 'recognises sincerity of De Klerk'

Star 6/11/90 3048

By Stan Hlophe

The struggle by the majority of the South African people, coupled with the pressure exerted by the international community, has secured the release of many imprisoned leaders and the unbanning of anti-apartheid organisations, said ANC cultural spokesman Barbara Masekela.

Speaking at the Grahamstown Festival, she said it was against that background the ANC had recognised the sincerity of President FW de Klerk.

But most repressive and discriminatory laws still remained on South Africa's statute books. Even in the short time exiles had been back in their homeland, they had

seen that the appalling conditions under which the black people lived and laboured "impelled them to take up the struggle again".

"Through our day-to-day work and through the gatherings we have initiated — most notably 'culture and resistance' in Gaborone in 1982, and Casa in Amsterdam in 1987, we have supported South African artists who have been developing the voices and images of challenge and resistance.

"During our stay abroad, we have been sustained by the international community, and we have introduced them to the vibrant richness of South African culture," she added.

● See Tonight!

304A

6/7/90

Police seek two teenage girls

Crime Reporter

POLICE are looking for two teenage girls who ran away from a children's care school in Paarl six weeks ago.

Sixteen-year-olds Michelle Smith, of Cape Town, and Leanne Clemitson, of Johannesburg, were last seen in Paarl getting into a yellow car driven by a young man at 5pm on May 21.

The stolen car was subsequently found abandoned in Cape Town.

The deputy headmaster of H S van der Walt School, Mr Johan de la Rey, said he believed the children could be in Johannesburg.

"They are very sweet girls. I hope they will be found so that they can come back to school soon."

Anyone with information should contact Paarl police at (02211) 23001.



ON THE RUN ... Michelle Smith

City council backs R25m carpark plan



LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER: Democracy is tolerance of different views

territory, which has the most serious implications for a future democracy, and blaming one side or another simply deflects attention away from the deeper problem.

The first need, obviously, is to curb the violence. Thereafter the immense challenge is to foster a respect for political difference and dissent. This latter challenge cannot be underestimated and might be the most difficult of all. The problem needs to be more adequately understood.

Reconciling interests

In 1988 Monica Bot and I conducted extensive research among senior pupils in KwaZulu schools. The UDF-linked pupils in particular displayed a well developed consciousness of one element of democracy, namely the articulation of rank-and-file needs through representative leadership.

This consciousness is widespread and reflects a passionate commitment all over South Africa. It is a necessary but not a sufficient element for effective democracy, however. It can all too easily degrade into an obsession with the articulation of majority consensus at the cost of two other necessary elements: the acceptance of political competi-

DP leaders bid for the youth vote

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's first ever national youth symposium starting in Port Elizabeth today is expected to serve as an important dry run for candidates vying for the position of sole leader in the party.

The frontrunners in the leadership stakes — Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Tian van der Merwe — have been given the opportunity to win over the important youth vote when they appear as guest speakers.

Other speakers will include the UDF publicity secretary in the Eastern Cape, Mr Mkuseli Jack, and the Director of the Human Rights Trust, Mr Rory Riordan.

80-71190 (S) (CONF)

'Most pupils white' edict enrages private schools

JANET HEARD
Education Reporter

PRIVATE schools have expressed outrage at an amendment to the Private Schools Act which stipulates that more than half of pupils registered at such schools falling under the House of Assembly must be white.

The amendment to the regulations has broader implications as the Government is considering implementing two proposals for the opening of white State schools to all races, one of which entails schools opting to become private schools.

Exceptions to rule

According to the amendment which appeared in the Government Gazette on June 29, the Head of Education may deviate from the new law "in exceptional cases", but he may withdraw the exception "at any time at his sole discretion".

Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) general secretary Brother Jude Pieterse, said yesterday that in the light of the reform initiatives of the Government and the lack of schools in the black community the new regulation made "no sense at all" and was "extremely retrogressive".

He said Catholic Schools had tried for the past 16 years to bring about an admissions policy in which the Government's racial classification of people played no part.

"Schools cannot be expected to ask pupils to be withdrawn from school, nor can they be expected to limit their admissions in terms of racial classification. Such action will not happen."

Headmaster of the private non-racial school, Sacred Heart College, Brother Neil McGurk, said the change would have a dramatic effect on private schools.

He said the white school population was dropping by about 7 000 a year and demographic patterns showed that whites were moving out of the city suburbs while blacks were moving in.

Shirking issue

For instance Belgravia Convent had mostly black pupils and white State schools in the area were half-empty.

He said it appeared Minister of Education and Culture (House of Assembly) Piet Clase did not want to take responsibility for schools not predominantly white.

"What will happen to the registration of these schools? What will happen if the Government implements the privatisation proposal on open schools next year?" he asked.

Fears of new preconditions for peace talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is closely monitoring possible signs of a move by the ANC to introduce new preconditions — related to Natal, police, right-wing violence and the hit squad issue — into the negotiating process, government sources said yesterday.

This follows statements by senior ANC officials Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Raymond Suttner and Mr Alfred Nzo in which they linked the future of constitutional negotiations to these matters.

At the same time, Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, said yesterday in reaction to the recent discovery of an ANC plot to eliminate Inkatha "warlords" in Natal, that the government could not sit at the negotiating table if "terror" continued.

He said police had arrested three guerillas and an accomplice who had instructions to eliminate "so-called Inkatha warlords" near Durban.

They had admitted they were members of the ANC, Mr Vlok said.

ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said last night he was "not in a position to comment" on the alleged plot, but he said the ANC was still committed to the armed struggle, adding however: "It is incorrect to link what is going on in Natal to the armed struggle."

Meanwhile, Mr Sisulu told a media conference yesterday the government's failure to take decisive action against right-wing terrorism was threatening future negotiations.

Earlier this week ANC political education department head Mr Suttner was quoted as saying that the ANC was prepared to begin negotiations only when it had a full report on CCB activities, and that as long as the Natal violence continued, the ANC would not negotiate.

Government sources said yesterday they were attempting to discover the meaning of these developments. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter

Police^{CA} search^{7/7/90} home of 'Boere'³⁰⁴⁹ leader

JOHANNESBURG. —
The house of Boerestaat
Party leader Mr Robert
van Tonder on his farm
Sandspruit, outside
Randburg, was searched
early yesterday by 35
policemen.

An angry Mr Van
Tonder said he could not
understand the reason
for the search as he was
not the leader of an un-
derground organisation,
but of a registered politi-
cal party.

"All they confiscated
were a number of party
newsletters which were
available to the public,"
he said in an interview
yesterday afternoon.

Mr Van Tonder, who
described the police
contingent as larger
than the commando in
which his father served
during the Boer War,
said the police filmed
the whole search with a
video camera.

"This was an addition-
al indignity as we were
still in our pyjamas."

He said the police ac-
tion was further confir-
mation that democracy
in South Africa was dy-
ing and political parties
were now also becoming
victims of the govern-
ment's persecution-ma-
nia against Boers, Afri-
kaners and rightists.

"Organisations like
the Boerestaat Party,
which are working open-
ly in a democratic man-
ner, are now also being
persecuted and intimi-
dated."

Mr Van Tonder said
the government might
suffer the same fate once
they had lost power. —
Sapa

W/E ARGUS 7/7/90

3064

NOW: THE BOER FREEDOM FIGHTERS

By BRENDAN SEERY

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Bible in one hand and gun in the other, Andrew Ford is prepared to fight to the death to prevent the white "Boer State" from falling into the hands of blacks or communists.

The "hooffleier" of the newly formed Boereweerstandsbeweging (BWB), a breakaway group from the AWB, Mr Ford angrily attacks the "Jewish money conspiracy plotting to hand over the land of the Boers to black terrorists like Mandela."

Sitting at the dining room table of his home at Bethlehem in the Free State, Mr Ford vows: "We won't let them get us and our women and children again" — a reference to the Boer nationalists' belief that women and children were deliberately exterminated by the British in concentration camps during the Boer War.

Against a backdrop of Boer republican and BWB flags, he adds: "I will never give up my country to be ruled by a black man"

Mr Eddy von Maltitz, a Ficksburg farmer who calls himself a "rightwing radical" and is the BWB's secretary-general, chips in: "The black man is a destroyer. I believe God is on the side of the people who build and collect, not of people who destroy."

Suspended by church

Mr Von Maltitz, once involved in a verbal slanging match with Anglo American supremo Mr Harry Openheimer at the University of the Free State, has had a colourful history on the ultra-right

He was kicked out of the army reserve — having had paratroop, weapons and unarmed combat training — and was suspended by his church for his extremist views.

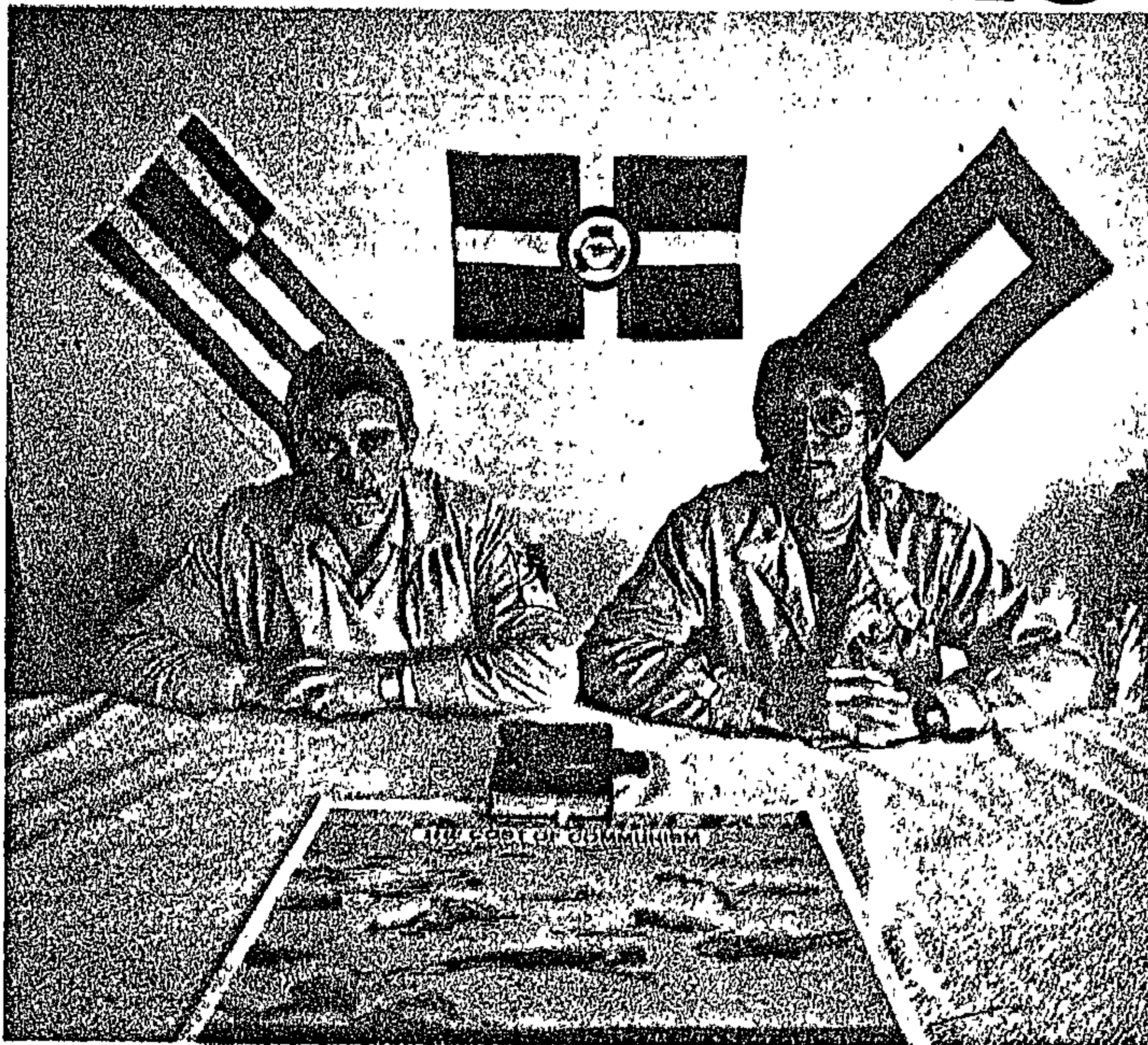
He has led one-man demonstrations in Bloemfontein, has fired at security police snooping on his property and has "declared war" on the government and anti-right newspapers like Bloemfontein's Volksblad.

The BWB, which believes Eugene Terre'Blanche is too much of a moderate, has aligned itself with the Boerestaat Party of Mr Robert van Ronder to fight for the restoration of the old republics of Transvaal, Free State and Vryheid which they say were "stolen" from the Boer people by the Vereniging treaty at the end of the Boer War in 1902.

The organisation is training its members and women and children — some as young as four years — in gun-handling and shooting, karate, knife-throwing and baton-charge drill. Members are reminded of the history and culture of the Boer volk.

Mr Ford says the BWB may be an armed wing, but that it is defensive in nature.

"We will wait until the day we see them hand over our country — and then we will take action."



Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition: Boereweerstandsbeweging (BWB) chief Andrew Ford, left — "I will never give up my country to be ruled by a black man" — and the organisation's general-secretary, Eddy von Maltitz — "the black man is a destroyer".

When will the BWB consider that the "sell-out" has happened?

Mr Ford will not be drawn: "We will know the time when we have to pick up our guns."

Nowhere to go

With his 10-year-old son Hendry looking on devotedly, he remarks: "We are not like you English. We have nowhere else to go. I can't go overseas. Who is going to accept me, my son, my wife, my daughters?"

It angers both Mr Ford and Mr Von Maltitz that CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht did not come out in support of fugitive Piet "Skiet" Rudolph and instead condemned the use of violent extra-Parliamentary means to bring a halt to

President De Klerk's programme of change.

Of Mr Rudolph, Mr Ford says: "He is no terrorist. He is no criminal. He is just a man fighting for his country. We see him as a hero."

The BWB and the Boerestaat Party have started a fund to help Boer compatriots like Mr Rudolph who may be get arrested for anti-government activities.

"The way things are going, they are using the jails we built for the ANC to put our people in" says Mr Von Maltitz.

But the Boer people, vows Mr Ford, will not be a pushover.

"We have a message for De Klerk: don't tell us things cannot be turned back now. Only death is irreversible."

Breaking the ice barrier

Two top-ranking Foreign Affairs Department officials conducted secret high-level talks recently with Moscow. The possibility of establishing official diplomatic links with the Soviet Union was discussed.

Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden and deputy Herbert Beukes have just returned from the Soviet Union after making a stopover in Moscow during a trip to Japan.

The FM learns from a reliable Soviet diplomatic source that Van Heerden and Beukes had discussions with their Soviet counterparts on the opening of an SA "interest office" in Moscow. It would operate on the same basis as the American presence in Cuba — not formal diplomatic ties, but ties nonetheless.



Beukes



Van Heerden

In theory it means that Pretoria would be represented by a friendly and neutral country in the Soviet capital. In practice, however, the South Africans would have their own building manned by their own diplomats. The only restriction would be that SA's name would not be seen from the outside of the building and the SA flag not be flown.

The possibility of a Soviet interest office in SA has also been discussed.

According to diplomatic sources, Van Heerden's and Beukes's visit to Moscow was initiated on a previous visit to Havana by Van Heerden during a meeting of the Namibian monitoring commission. It was suggested to Van Heerden that he should visit the USSR.

In December the FM reported that Foreign Minister Pik Botha would visit Hungary (*Current Affairs* December 22). Botha's trip — a closely guarded secret at that stage — took place in January. It was followed by a highly successful visit by Trade & Industry Minister Kent Durr to Poland. The thawing of relations between SA and the Soviet Union has been evident in the number of visiting Soviet journalists to this country. A frequent visitor to SA has been

Boris Piliatskine, the southern and eastern African correspondent of *Izvestia*. Diplomats were last year convinced that the Soviets were keen to place a permanent correspondent of *Pravda*, the State-controlled mouthpiece, in SA.

This week it was reported that SA and Czechoslovakia may establish formal diplomatic ties this year.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman confirms that a senior departmental official is due to visit several East Bloc countries this month

to assess the possibility of establishing formal diplomatic ties.

Stellenbosch Sovietologist Philip Nel says the Van Heerden-Beukes visit is news to him but it confirms a trend of interaction that has taken place between SA and the Soviet Union.

"There has been a constant traffic of Soviet journalists visiting SA and in talks with them all have lauded the policies of FW de Klerk," he says. "However, they claim that internal problems in the Soviet Union re-

strict diplomatic initiatives coming from Moscow. SA should play the leading role, they say."

In June Nel had talks with the second in charge of *Novosti*, an information distributing magazine, in SA and he was "very keen to open an office in Johannesburg."

Nel adds that the present trend fits the pattern which the Soviet Union has followed with South Korea and Israel. "When people opened their eyes the Soviets had a presence in those countries. Visits by journalists and those like Neil van Heerden's may be the forerunner of diplomatic ties."

Eddie Botha



FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent, takes a look at the work of Professor Philippe Schmitter, a visiting specialist in the field of political transition who says that South Africa can learn lessons from the experiences of other countries where the transitions were from authoritarian rule to democratic systems of government.

'Pact-forming best bet for democracy'

W/E ARGUS 7/7/90 364A

SOUTH AFRICA is only one in a long list of countries where transitions involving major political changes have taken place in recent times.

There are lessons to be learnt and new insights to be gained from the experiences of the others, especially those countries where the transitions — like ours promises to be — were from authoritarian rule to democratic systems of government.

This has been shown by a visiting specialist in the field of political transition, Professor Philippe Schmitter, of Stanford University in the United States.

He has studied 29 societies that have moved from autocracy to democracy since the fall of the 50-year-old Portuguese dictatorship in 1974.

But he has warned that processes of political transition are complex, without fixed rules, and the outcome is often unpredictable. The process could even be reversed or lead to authoritarian rule of another kind.

Professor Schmitter regards himself as "a sort of junkie hooked on transitions" — and he says he is "delighted" to be in South Africa. He sees this country as one of the least expected of contemporary transitions and one which promises to be among the most original and unusual.

He is co-author of a four-volume series entitled *Transitions from Authoritarianism*, published in 1986. The series examines political transitions in southern European and Latin American countries — including Portugal, Spain, Greece, Venezuela and Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Peru.

He has also studied more recent transitions, including some of those in Eastern Europe.

His theoretical framework to changes taking place in these countries has been applied in a penetrating look at South Africa's transition by Professor André du Toit, of the University of Cape Town.

Both Professor Schmitter and Professor Du Toit were keynote speakers at a recent conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), held in Port Elizabeth on the theme of *South Africa in Transition*.

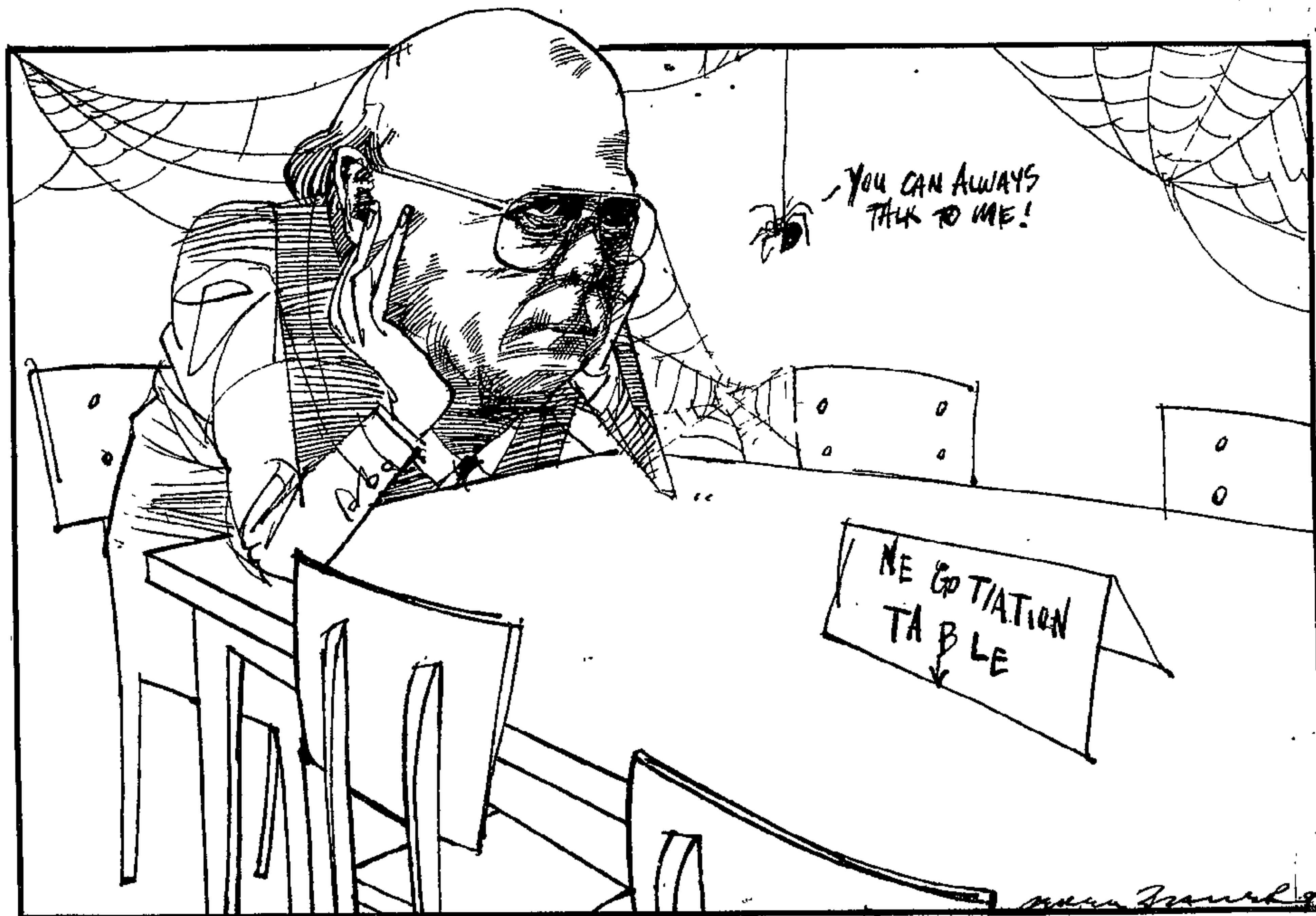
Professor Schmitter's case studies show that the pact-forming process of transition offers the best hope of a stable democracy, while revolution offers the worst.

According to Professor Du Toit, the pact-forming course is being followed fairly closely by South Africa.

THE transitional process, according to Professor Schmitter, typically starts within the ruling group as divisions arise between "softliners" and "hardliners" — or, in South African political language, between verligtes and verkramptes, like those who emerged in the ruling National Party during the 1970s.

The division may occur for various reasons, such as economic problems or international pressures. But the fact is that while the hardliners see no reasons for change, the softliners begin to push for modifications and "reforms" of harsh authoritarian rule.

Characteristically the softliners argue from strength — on the grounds



'TRANSITION JUNKIE' PROVIDES POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR SA

that the regime is strong enough not to be threatened by a limited and controlled extension of rights, such as less censorship and more freedom of speech.

The "reforms" by the softliners are then rejected by the opposition as a sham, but despite that, the opposition begins to change its own strategy by making use of some of the limited political spaces opened up by the reforms.

This is the beginning of the actual transition. Resistance politics begins to revive. Elements within the oppressed society discover their common ideals and unite in a resurgence of quasi-political activity at grassroots level.

Professor Du Toit believes South Africa entered this phase in the early 1980s when ex-President P W Botha's tentative reforms brought together a multitude of organisations in the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Such a popular upsurge can sometimes lead to a further explosion of opposition and resistance in which the emerging popular fronts take to the streets and press to exploit and expand the limits of the liberalisation and partial "reform" initiated by the softliners in the regime. Opposition groups supporting each other's efforts towards democratisation tend to include trade unions, grassroots movements, religious groups, intellectuals, artists, clergymen and others.

The popular upsurge is a "euphoric moment" when the people rediscover their freedom and power and believe

they can challenge and take over the State itself.

Professor Du Toit believes South Africa's popular insurrection during 1985-86 clearly constituted one such moment of "popular upsurge".

As the upsurge continues, a stage is reached when softliners fear a takeover of the regime by hardliners to restore authoritarian rule.

However, the popular upsurge extends so widely that it passes beyond the point where it can be controlled. The costs of wholesale repression become too high even for the hardliners to contemplate.

SOONER or later the popular euphoria subsides as the intense political mobilisation cannot be sustained and there is a clampdown by the security forces. Internal divisions of interest and policies begin to appear among "the people".

In South African terms, according to Professor Du Toit, this was the situation under the state of emergency from 1986/87 onwards.

The typical aftermath of the popular upsurge brings a period marked by the negotiation of transitional pacts. This is the moment of the politics of negotiation.

The softliners realise they are no longer in control of the process, that they have an interest in letting the pro-

cess continue, but that they need to come to a negotiated understanding with the forces of opposition and resistance.

At the same time the leadership of the resistance also realise they are unable to take over power. They cannot overthrow the state and have to come to a negotiated understanding with the softliners in the regime.

Evidently South Africa is now in the middle of such a process of pact-forming, according to Professor Du Toit, with the ANC entering into talks about talks with the NP government.

According to Professor Schmitter, pacts typically take the form of an agreement to limit the uses of political violence and to constrain the militants and extremists in one's own ranks.

Pacts are, therefore, essentially undemocratic. They are negotiated at leadership level and do not involve grassroots participation. But their function is to allow the transitional process to continue.

Professor Du Toit says South Africa has entered a new and vital phase of the transitional process since February this year — when the ANC and other political organisations were unbanned and Mr Nelson Mandela and other prominent political prisoners were released.

The new phase is somewhere between pact-forming by leadership groups and the normalisation of politics, with all parties from the CP and NP to the ANC and SA Communist Party openly organising and competing for electoral support.

A crucial question now is whether or not, and at what stage of the process, there will be a constituent assembly following on a proper founding election for the "new South Africa".

about real social transformation."

Shakespeare, Jane Austen, Dickens and

"I only see them once a year."

ANC 'must be urgent about negotiations'

3047 C/11111 8/7/90

THE ANC has to demonstrate it is not being dragged to the negotiation table, says Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Boraine said although the ANC was pressured by the demands of establishing itself internally, it had a responsibility to dispel the belief it did not have the same sense of urgency as President FW de Klerk.

Writing in Idasa's newsletter about the "messages" South Africans needed to hear from the ANC and the government, he said Nelson Mandela had on numerous occasions sought to reassure white South Africans.

However, the ANC had to go further and deal with public confusion about its stand on negotiation, sanctions and violence.

He said the ANC had called for an end to violence, but needed to go much further.

"So long as the ANC continue to emphasise the need for the continuation of the armed struggle, it is impossible for them to urge with conviction the end of violence in Natal or anywhere else," Boraine said.

The government needed to present whites with a vision of the future and an understanding that there is life for them beyond apartheid.

On Idasa's future, Boraine said it had to remain independent and become a "critical ally" of the transition process towards democracy in South Africa.

"We will not become an ally of the ANC or the government, but we will criticise and encourage where necessary." - Sapa

FW to delay 8/7/90 US trip until 304A 1991?

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

AN official visit to the United States by President FW de Klerk will probably take place early next year.

No date has been fixed, but political and diplomatic considerations between the two countries mean President De Klerk's visit — originally set for last month but postponed suddenly in May — will now happen only in the new year.

President George Bush, whom President De Klerk will meet, is keen for the South African leader to come as soon as possible — even this month.

But President De Klerk and his advisers are against having his visit "back-to-back" with that of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Embarrassing

President De Klerk would not receive the same public adulation, and diplomats are keen to avoid comparisons.

Additionally, threatened protests by anti-apartheid groups, including Randall Robinson's TransAfrica organisation which arranged Mr Mandela's visit, could be embarrassing to President De Klerk.

Later this year, neither President De Klerk nor American politicians would like to see his visit become an issue in Congressional elections being held in the US in November.

These factors combined mean President De Klerk will probably take up President Bush's open invitation to a US visit early next year.

AN Monday July 9 1990

PW or FW - the same old story

3044
Sommer
9/7/90

SHORTLY after F W de Klerk had become State President, he announced the disestablishment of the National Management Systems (formerly known as the National Security Management System).

Under P W Botha's administration, this had been the instrument of the "total strategy" which the NP regarded as essential to cope with the perceived Soviet-inspired "total onslaught".

We all thought this was evidence of a wholly new approach to politics - a move away from security-determined "solutions" towards a political solution to what was, of course, a political problem.

And the evidence was convincing: not only did Mr de Klerk's administration unban those organisations formerly regarded as part of the "total onslaught", but actually engaged in talks with them designed to lead to a new constitution for a "new South Africa".

Reports

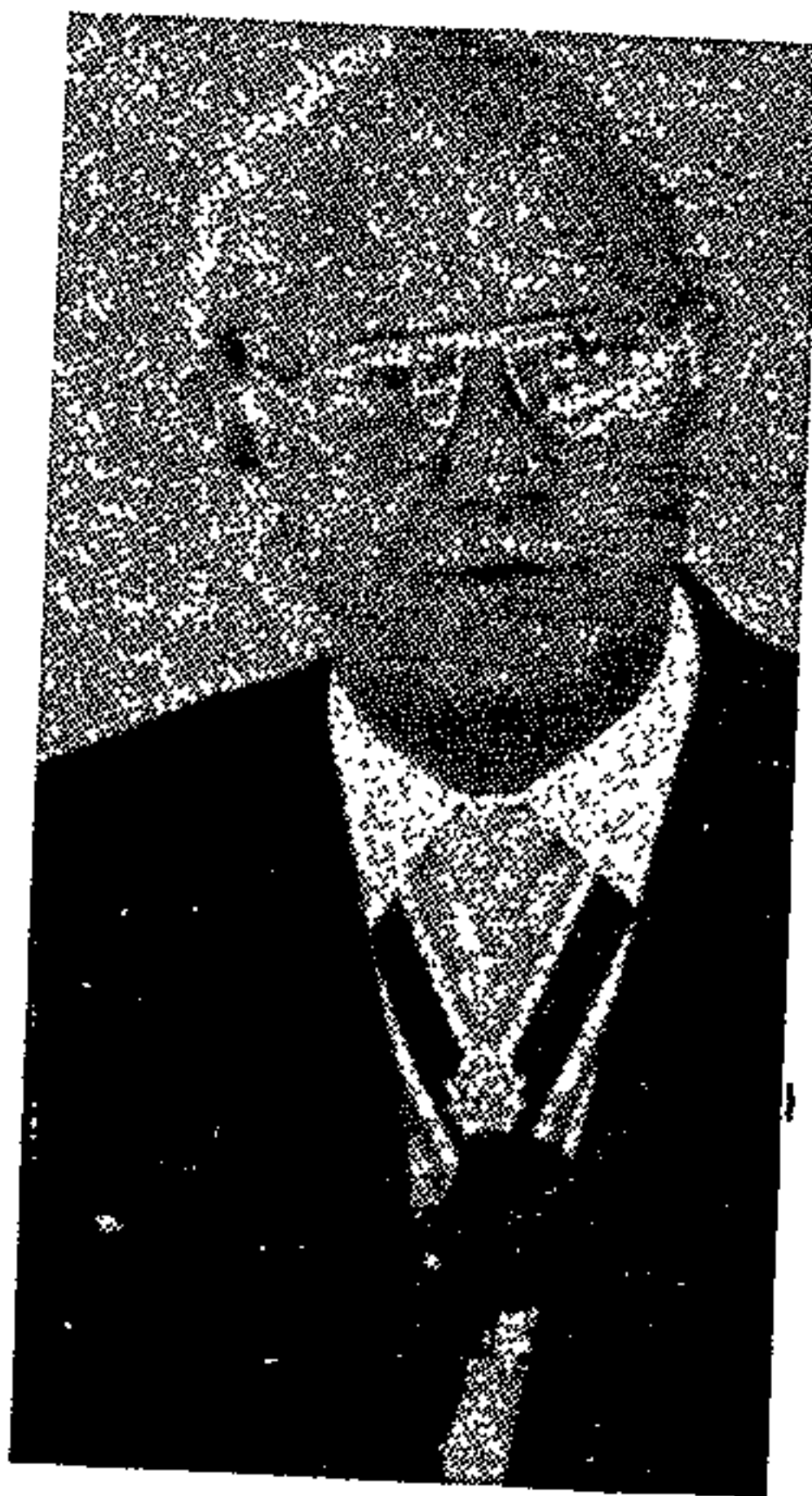
It now seems that reports of the "death" of the NMS were greatly exaggerated.

It has come to our attention that the structure still exists. It might have changed its spots, but it remains virtually the same animal, now known as the National Co-ordinating Mechanism (NCM). Most troubling is the fact that its political agenda remains essentially the same as that of the NMS.

To understand what has changed and what remains unaltered, it is necessary to describe the political role which the NMS was required to perform.

Under the "total onslaught" theory, it was assumed that the "revolutionaries" (i.e. the ANC, PAC, SACP, UDF etc.) would "exploit" community grievances, thereby undermining the legitimacy of the State and its institutions.

By JAMES SELFE
DP member of the President's Council



Mr FW de Klerk

In this way, large areas of South Africa would be made ungovernable. In order to counteract this, the NMS had firstly to "stabilise" the situation, using primarily the security forces.

At the same time, and in increasing measure, the NMS would deny these "revolutionaries" opportunities to mobilise the communities by delivering welfare services which, by virtue of lack of political power, such communities had been denied.

As more and more of South Africa became "stabilised", the accent of the NMS became increasingly welfare-oriented, so much so that the former dominance of the security forces in bodies such as the Joint Management Systems was starting to be watered down in favour of the welfare departments (e.g. education).

But the bottom line remained the same: get rid of agitators (by



security force action) and issues around which to agitate (by welfare provision), and the problem would disappear. The fact that agitation may have been caused by the absence of political rights was never addressed when F W de Klerk announced the end of the NMS in November.

Documents in the possession of the DP show that the National Co-ordinating Mechanism (NCM) is, in structure, virtually identical to the old NMS. It is true that while the NMS was primarily concerned with security management, the NCM's primary responsibility is the provision of welfare services.

However, this process was happening naturally as the NMS sought increasingly to frustrate community organisations by socio-economic upliftment programmes.

Membership

The old Joint management Centres (JMCs) have been replaced by Joint Co-ordination Centres (JCCs); sub and mini JMCs have become Local Co-ordination Centres. Their membership and areas of jurisdiction are identical to the JMCs they nominally replaced. Each of these bodies is supported, as before, by military or police-dominated Security Committees (Veikoms) who report, as previously, to a Security Secretariat and a Joint Security Staff which key into the Cabinet Committee for Security Affairs, whose Cabinet members are the same as those on the State Security Council.

Each Veikom will, as was the case previously, be assisted by a Joint Operations Centre, to co-ordinate SAP/SADF operations. The Interdepartmental Committees, which assisted the

Secretariat of the State Security Council in the NMS, have been renamed Task Forces, some with identical terms of reference.

The system has some new, and disturbing, features. Provision is made for the creation of "Community Liaison Forums" (although the documents stress that the name is unimportant). These forums are described as "indirect extension" of the Co-ordinating Mechanism in these communities.

According to the documents, the forums should ideally be divided racially, but each should have a (not too conspicuous) representative of the Government, who will report up the line to other co-ordinating centres. There is also a direct link between the forums and the local authorities, and through them, to the Regional Development Advisory Committees.

One can then conceive of a situation of a civic individual who gets involved, in good faith, with an informal civic development association. Before he knows it, that individual has been unwittingly co-opted: his suggestions form part of the "new, improved" total strategy; his concerns are faithfully reported to the security forces.

The documents reassert the authority of the Cabinet over the new system, and to that extent the political agenda is determined by politicians rather than seurocrats. But the assumption behind the NCM remains the same as that of the NMS - sort out welfare problems and "agitation" will disappear.

I had assumed that the new politics of Mr de Klerk would be negotiation with parties with proven constituencies. It would appear that the intention of the NCM is to undermine those constituencies.

I am forced to the conclusion that "plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose" - the more things change, the more they stay the same.

Thatcher visit to boost SA talks?

Mr F&D 9/7/90
LONDON. — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has told ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that she will time her long-awaited visit to South Africa specifically to give a boost to negotiations between black leaders and President F W de Klerk.

In a significant change of tone, she made clear during last week's talks with Mr Mandela that she would deliberately hold back her visit — originally pencilled-in for this year — until a moment when it would help smooth the way to a political settlement in South Africa.

Mrs Thatcher now believes that her personal seal of approval may play a crucial part in a successful outcome of negotiations by persuading waverers on both sides to stand by any deal that is reached.

In particular she may be able to use her authority to help Mr De Klerk assuage the fears of hard-line Afrikaners over the expected introduction of one man, one vote in South Africa.

There are growing anxieties about a possible white backlash against such an agreement.

Although the date for her visit is no closer to being set, it is most likely to be in the first half of next year.

Mr Mandela left Mrs Thatcher convinced that he is clearly in command of the ANC. — Sunday Telegraph

Govt plan to 'use' blacks

THE Government's covert plan for State officials to "use" existing black community organisations has been revealed.

Government, provincial and municipal officials are also being instructed on how to set up new local structures, mostly for black or coloured people. The plan refers to these people as "target groups".

The aim is to ensure that these co-opted "target group" organisations become part of the State's National Co-ordinated Mechanism (NCM).

State officials involved in these structures have been instructed to keep a low profile. Hundreds of black organisations involved in the scheme may not even know they are being slotted into the NCM system.

The aim of this system is to improve the living standards of "target groups" and win their goodwill in an updated version of the old discredited "hearts and minds" approach. Public officials are instructed to get these communities to play a direct role in

improvements to their living standards.

The Democratic Party, which revealed the official document setting out the scheme, estimates that about 1 000 organisations could be set up in this way.

This plan forms an integral part of the NCM, which will operate directly under State President F W de Klerk and his Cabinet.

The NCM is the updated version of the old National Management System (NMS), which operated largely under military direction in the PW Botha era. The new NCM by contrast, is largely under civilian control, but with the securocrats playing a vital role.

The new system places less emphasis on security functions and more on "welfare" functions aimed at upgrading living standards. The aim is to "mobilise community involvement directly in its welfare and indirectly in the security situation", the Government's plan states.

Under the new system, the old Joint Management Centres (JMC) at the regional level change their name to Joint Co-ordinating Centres (JCC).

So veteran 11/1/90

There are likely to be nine JCCs coinciding with the nine development regions. The old mini-JMCs at local level change their name to Local Co-ordinating Centres (LCC). There could be more than 300 LCCs.

The Government uses a generic name for the co-opted, mainly black, organisations which will be slotted into JCCs and LCCs. They are known in official jargon as "Community Liaison Forums" (CLF or "Development Associations").

The document says: "The name which such a mechanism is called is not important. What is important is its composition and function. While the CLF or Development Association is strongly community-orientated and must be so put together that it is made up primarily of community members, it is essential that there be a direct line of communication between the CLF or Development Association and the LCC."

"Of the utmost importance is that while we refer here to a CLF or Development Association, it is only a sort of generic name, and that communities must have the

right to give this mechanism the name which it as a community will be happy with.

"It is important to note that at present there is an emphasis on black and coloured communities in order to improve their living standards, but other groups must also be kept in mind.

"At this stage it is important to obtain the goodwill and co-operation of whites for the upliftment of black towns ... to ensure and improve the security and welfare of all the inhabitants of the country", the document states.

The method suggested by the document is that an official, who should come from "within the framework" of the public sector, must have the primary responsibility of "initiating, marketing and establishing a CLF or Development Association".

The official should "through his marketing action and his creation of attitudes in the specific community, succeed in enabling the CLF or Development Association to be set up by the community itself."

FW's office to clarify status, role of NCM

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk's office is to step into a growing row over allegations that former president P W Botha's shadowy National Security Management System (NSMS) — ostensibly scrapped by Mr de Klerk last year — still exists under a different name.

Casper Venter, spokesman for President de Klerk, said last night that his office would issue a statement today.

The row erupted at the weekend when Democratic Party member James Selfe of the President's Council claimed that a document had been leaked to him which made it clear that the old NSMS was continuing largely unchanged, under the new name of the National Co-ordinating Mechanism (NCM).

The Government has denied that there is anything sinister about the NCM, or that it is similar to the NSMS.

Government sources said the NCM was intended to do no more than co-ordinate Government activities — and that this had been made clear when the NSMS was scrapped in November.

The NSMS, dominated by security officials, was set up in 1979 to co-ordinate the Government's "total strategy" against the "total revolutionary onslaught".

It consisted largely of a security arm and a welfare arm, with an octopus-like bureaucracy stretching from hundreds of local committees to the State Security Council.

When Mr de Klerk scrapped it last year, his move was widely interpreted as a blow to the "securocrats" — the police and military — who enjoyed wide power under Mr Botha.

The Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, is reported to have said this

week that though the NCM bore a superficial resemblance to the NSMS it had a totally different aim and command structure.

The NCM was run by a secretariat of civilian officials from the State President's Office, and its purpose was merely to co-ordinate Government functions.

Mr Selfe said the document leaked to him — issued on behalf of Secretary to the Cabinet Jannie Roux — made it clear that the huge structure of the old NSMS was largely intact and that security committees were still central to the system. It was also clear that the NCM was designed to co-opt members of the black community — such as town councillors — into the system.

This placed a big question mark over the Government's apparent new approach of negotiating openly.

He likened it to management conducting wage negotiations with a union while ordering police to arrest troublesome shop stewards.

Two agendas

Dr van der Merwe's response was that the Government did indeed have two agendas — to negotiate a settlement and to continue good government in the meanwhile. The NCM was part of the second agenda.

Government sources said the NCM mainly differed from the NSMS in three areas: the Cabinet's authority on security matters had been re-asserted; there was now a much clearer distinction between welfare and security functions; and responsibility for action had now been returned to departments.

Mr Selfe said the same assurances had been given about the old NSMS.

"We were continually assured ... that the NSMS did not issue orders either, and merely carried out orders from the Cabinet."

Accountability the key

Warning on SA's 'secrecy culture'

Cape Times
10/7/90
30/4
B20

Political Correspondent

THE new South Africa would inherit a "deeply troubled" media situation, Daily Mail editor Mr Anton Harber said yesterday.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, he said the media was currently weighed down by a culture of secrecy "across the borders of our society" and a major cultural shift was going to have to take place if SA was to have a freer and more open society.

South Africa needed to move from a culture of secrecy to a culture of accountability.

One of the tragedies was that this "secrecy culture" was fairly evenly spread.

As the ANC began returning home, there was still a great deal of adaptation to be done "to reach a more open and freer flow of information there."

When a UDF leader had recently questioned the wisdom of a stayaway to deal with violence in Natal, his peers had "shut him up."

"The National Party, the ANC and the business community must recognise the value of a free and independent press," he said.

Mr Harber also maintained that the current monopolistic control of the South African press created a situation that was "ripe for nationalisation".

He said the Zimbabwean experience had demonstrated "how easy it is to take control of the press if power is vested in one or two hands.

"Take-over becomes very easy," he said.

South Africans were generally aware of the right-wing threat to the press and extent of monopolistic control over the electronic media.

But the question of the extent of monopoly control within the print media should also be addressed.

He said the ownership structure of the Daily Mail was designed to ensure that the staff working on the publications were the biggest single shareholders "rather than an outsider who can manipulate policy."

Gift Traps

10/7/90

3047

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk says he wants negotiations with black leaders to start as soon as possible.

He emphasised that this did not mean the protection of privileges, nor continued domination by a minority. Under the headline "The South Africa I aim to build", Mr De Klerk said the time for violent confrontation was past.

"All of us share some common ground in realising that peace is the only option. Once the negotiation process has gained momentum — and the government is

He said that over the years it had become clear that apartheid, however well intentioned, could not work. "Racial discrimination could not be justified in either political or economic terms."

The government now wanted to "work out a just and equitable system for all, but at the same time make sure that those who have enjoyed full freedoms do not forfeit them". "That is why the National Party repeatedly emphasises, in addition to universal franchise, the principle of non-domination and the protection of the rights of minorities."

Mr DeKlerk said a franchise based on a common voters' roll "in an otherwise undifferentiated and unqualified system of political representation" would lead inevitably to majority domination of minorities. "History has ample examples of the tension, frustra-

approach was therefore not the answer.

However, universal adult franchise within a system into which constitutional mechanisms of protection are built is indeed an achievable possibility.

He then spelt out the constitutional framework his government would be seeking.

constitutional dispensation based on the principle of non-domination with the following in-built mechanisms: The decentralisation of power, devolution of authority to lower levels, constitutional checks and balances, decision-making by consensus and an inde-

"Taken together, these elements will pave the path to a fair and just South Africa."

During his visit to London last week, Mr Nelson Mandela emphasised that the ANC wanted a united, non-racial democracy in a unitary state. While the ANC also supports a bill of rights,

rejected calls for constitutional mechanisms for minority protection. This will clearly be one of the main issues to be debated when negotiations get under way. Indeed, in his article yesterday, Mr De Klerk said he believed he could work with Mr Mandela and other leaders in negotiating a new constitution "on the basis of give and take".

we have a mandate from white South Africans to extend democracy to include all South Africans in a new constitutional dispensation."

Mandela's date for talks 'misinterpreted'

Talks between the African National Congress and the Government were not scheduled to resume on July 18 as reported in the media, which wrongly attributed its source to Nelson Mandela, the ANC said.

At least one senior member of the foreign press has said that Mr Mandela's statement on the resumption of talks had been ambiguously reported.

On Monday ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said Mr Mandela would consult the NEC on his return and only then would talks resume.

Accusations that the ANC is dragging its heels have been attributed by a paper to Government sources.

"The ANC only agreed at Groote Schuur to commit itself to the May 22 deadline which was met when the joint working group submitted its report to both of us (ANC

and the Government)," Mr Sisulu said.

The ANC would once again be communicating its dissatisfaction concerning the Government's use of the media and parliament to communicate with the ANC, another spokesman said.

"We only approached the media as a last resort and not to score a point against the Government," Mr Sisulu said yesterday.

He added that the whole question about the resumption of "talks" was based on a misinterpretation of the Groote Schuur Minute.

"The issue of talks and the removal of obstacles to talks have been wrongly interpreted as one and the same thing."

He said until the Government formally communicated its acceptance of the input of the ANC National Executive on the joint working group's report, the ANC was hamstrung. — Sapa.

3044

11/7/90

11/7/90

New security body oriented to welfare — President's office

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The State President's office has disclosed that 10 of the 11 chairmen of the Joint Co-ordination Centres in the controversial National Co-ordination Mechanism (NCM) are civilians.

In a statement yesterday, the office strongly denied Democratic Party claims that the security-dominated National Security Management System (NSMS) scrapped last year, had been resurrected largely unchanged under the NCM.

The office said the old system was "strongly security-orientated and certain functions were managed from within it".

Now the "emphasis has shifted to welfare and co-ordination".

The primary objective of the NCM was to "create the pros-

perity demanded by the new South Africa".

The 11 Joint Management Centres around the country elected their own chairmen and 10 were civilians.

The "state war book" referred to in an official document about the NCM leaked to the DP, was a set of administrative rules for state department action in the event of "military onslaught" against South Africa.

Compiling these sorts of procedures was standard international practice.

The press had been informed of the existence of the war book before and had shown no interest in it.

The book also had nothing to do with the NCM, the office claimed.

For co-ordination regionally, the present system was being

replaced by joint and locally co-ordinated centres which would be formed as required.

Matters which could not be dealt with locally or regionally would be passed directly to the heads of individual departments or the Minister.

DP President's Councillor James Selfe, who made the original claims about the NCM, said yesterday he remained unconvinced that the new structure differed materially from the old.

Commenting on the fact that 10 of the 11 JCC chairmen were civilians, Mr Selfe said he could accept that the emphasis had now shifted away from security control.

But Ministers and officials had also repeatedly denied that the old NSMS was dominated by the security establishment.

Buthelezi offers merger with either NP or ANC

By Kaizer Nyatsumba,
Political Staff

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday held out the possibility of a merger with either the Government or the African National Congress (ANC) in centre-stage politics in future.

In his opening address at an Inkatha business forum at a Johannesburg hotel, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha, which will this weekend become a full-fledged non-racial political party, had always been at centre-stage. As the ruling National Party (NP) from the right and the ANC from the left moved towards centre-stage they would find Inkatha there.

"Inkatha will be there to combine with any other political force

which is there, because it (Inkatha) seeks national unity and wants to promote reconciliation.

"If the NP is too late in arriving Inkatha will combine with the ANC if it has already arrived. If the ANC is too late in arriving, Inkatha will combine with the NP if it has arrived. Centre-stage political forces will have to put the past behind them and thrust together towards a new future," Chief Buthelezi said.

The KwaZulu leader, who said winner-takes-all politics had no place in South African life, told the Inkatha business forum that South Africans would reject any form of one-party state rule.

South Africans, he said, wanted to move away from apartheid "with absolute determination", but they would not "leap away from apartheid over precipices

and trust to some posturing political leader — or to luck — to land on their feet".

Chief Buthelezi disclosed that Inkatha will hold a national conference in December as a non-racial political party, and would then adopt a new constitution.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha would not pursue economic policies which had failed in the Soviet Union and which were "now lying in tatters in East Europe". In its economic policy, Inkatha would take the best from the NP and the ANC because it was determined to evolve an economic policy which would be above party politics and put South Africa first.

However, Inkatha would not be able to avoid "looking at the realities of the demand for the redistribution of wealth and the redistribution of land in particular".

Confidentiality stressed

The controversy in the media over the report of the working group on political offences was discussed yesterday at a meeting of the steering committee, consisting of South African Government and ANC representatives.

A joint statement by the ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, and the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Stoffel van der Merwe, said it was essential that the contents of the report and of exchanges remain confidential at this stage.

Issues flowing from the Groote Schuur Minute were also discussed.

"The committee agreed on recommendations to be made to their principals on ways and means to resolve the issue," the statement said.

These recommendations are to be presented to the respective principals next week.

"The steering committee is confident that the matter will be finalised without great difficulty and that the results will be made public," the statement said.

— Sapa.

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Gov
11/7/90

ANC to respond to offer of more talks

17/08/85 11/7/90 304/1

Zac de Beer 'encouraged' by Mandela

Political Staff

NELSON Mandela's request to the United Nations not to debate the South African issue before Christmas suggested he was prepared to compromise, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, said today.

If the UN responded, Mr Mandela's request would effectively cancel the General Assembly's annual week-long debate on South Africa towards the end of the year and the UN sitting where the government always came under fire.

Dr De Beer said he was greatly encouraged by the report of what Mr Mandela had done.

OPTIMISTIC

"This strongly suggests that he is optimistic about progress in the negotiations by early next year at the latest," he said.

"Knowing as he does what the government's attitudes are, this in turn suggests that he is prepared to move towards some form of compromise line. This can only be good news."

The Minister of Education and of Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night the government African National Congress steering committee had met in Pretoria yesterday to discuss issues flowing from the Groote Schuur Minute.

Controversy over the report of the working group on political offences was discussed, he said. The committee agreed on recommendations to be made to their principals on ways to resolve the issue.

"These recommendations will be presented to the respective principals during the course of next week," he said.

From PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE government and the African National Congress could still meet at ministerial level this month for talks about talks.

Government sources said that a specialist group from the government negotiating team could meet an ANC team under deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela to try to resolve the thorny problem of releasing political prisoners and allowing exiles to return.

The ANC answer was originally expected on July 10 but was delayed because of Mr Mandela's tour overseas, among other problems.

The government sources were

commenting on reports that the next round of talks would take place only during the second half of August.

ANC spokesmen said Mr Mandela would need to rest on his return.

Government sources said today they expected Mr Mandela would spend about two weeks working before taking a "spell of leave."

They said a brief meeting could take place before he departs.

The meeting is also expected to discuss setting a date and agenda for a fuller round of talks, to be held probably after August.

This round would also address the stumbling blocks to negotiations proper.

ANC and Cabinet to meet next Tuesday

Sowetan 11/7/90

304A

THE Joint Working Group of the Government and the ANC will meet again in Pretoria next Tuesday, the ANC has confirmed.

The group, formed after the Groote Schuur meeting in April, is to discuss the status of political prisoners.

SA Press Association

At a previous meeting in May the return of exiles was dealt with and shortly afterwards legislation was passed giving returning exiles exemption from prosecution.

It is not known if a statement will be issued after Tuesday's meeting which is due to start at 3pm.

Meanwhile, the ANC's chief of information and publicity, Mr Pallo Jordan, yesterday clarified reports about Mr

Nelson Mandela "meeting the Government on Wednesday, July 18".

He said Mandela was expected back in South Africa on that date and that a meeting would take place between the ANC and the Government some time afterwards.

ANC's stance on Bop

Sowetan 11/7/90

THE ANC's chief information officer, Mr Pallo Jordan, has dismissed as untrue a report by a Bophuthatswana newspaper suggesting that the ANC may recognise some form of "independence" for the homeland.

The Mail of Bophuthatswana published a report to this effect on the front page of its June 29 issue.

In an interview with ANC national executive committee member, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Bobby Saul of *The Mail* reported that Mkwayi "said that although the Bophuthatswana government would not agree to reincorporation into South Africa, the ANC and the homeland's government would agree on certain terms".

Observers said the report appeared to suggest the ANC may recognise a

degree of "independence" for the homeland.

Jordan yesterday refuted the report and expressed concern at the "ambiguity" of its wording.

"The ANC position is that we do not recognise bantustans," he said.

Actions

However, the South African Government had created certain political realities that forced the ANC to appreciate certain actions taken by certain independent homelands, he said.

"If, for instance, the Ciskei abolished the death penalty, we cannot shrug off such an important development. I think such moves must be encouraged," Jordan said.

He said the ANC would adopt a policy of

encouraging the reincorporation of homelands into South Africa. The methods of doing this would be dictated by the situation in each of these territories. - Sapa.

Yesterday newspapers reported that the Government was "mystified" by reports that the ANC meeting would take place on July 18.

Government officials said no meeting was scheduled for this date.

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Split and 'crisis of relevance' loom

Fragile DP counts

11/7/90

3044

Cost of Malan exit

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party today began assessing the damage inflicted on it by co-leader Wynand Malan's announcement of his retirement from politics. The move has plunged the party into a "crisis of relevance", sources said.

Mr Malan said yesterday he would give up his position and his parliamentary seat for Randburg at the end of the month.

Party insiders said the chances of the DP "splitting and falling apart" were now far greater.

Fears have been expressed that the party's left wing, which Mr Malan represented, might now defect — either into the wilderness or to the ANC.

The party congress, expected early in September, will now be more crucial than ever. It will have to decide if the DP is still a viable force.

Mr Malan's resignation coincided with the surprise decision by DP Johannesburg city councillor Hans Strydom to resign from the party — but not his seat in the council — in protest over Mr Malan's continued dual membership of the DP.



11/7/90

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The party congress, expected early in September, will now be more crucial than ever. It will have to decide if the DP is still a viable force.

Mr Malan's resignation coincided with the surprise decision by DP Johannesburg city councillor Hans Strydom to resign from the party — but not his seat in the council — in protest over Mr Malan's continued dual membership of the DP and the Broederbond.

Mr Strydom said in a telephone interview that Mr Malan's resignation did not remove his argument

against the party — because there were other DP

members who still belonged to the Broederbond.

Mr Malan's departure is likely to sharpen the divisions in the party between the free-marketeers under co-leader Zach de Beer, and the social democrats who saw Mr Malan as their champion.

Mr Malan's reason for retiring implies that the DP no longer has a role to play.

Mr Malan said the changed political circumstances and climate in South Africa, which he had striven for in the National Party, National Democratic Movement and the DP, had made it possible for him to retire.

"That for which I have worked, has come true. The political process is irreversibly on the road to a negotiated constitutional settlement."

He said he would continue to identify with the political process "from a slight distance" and use whatever opportunities arose to contribute to the realisation of the new South Africa.



Wynand Malan
... champion of
social democrats.

By-election

Dr de Beer said Mr Malan's departure was a great loss.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said he had developed a deep and lasting friendship for him.

Political commentator Harald Pakendorf, who has been closely associated with Mr Malan's election campaigning in recent years, described Mr Malan's resignation as the "straightforward action of someone who felt he had had it".

Mr Malan's resignation has precipitated a by-election in Randburg, which experts believe the DP cannot now win — if both the DP and the National Party contest it.

Randburg was regarded as a touch-and-go decision in last year's September general election before Mr Malan beat the National Party's "glamour candidate" Glenn Babb by a comfortable 1 714 majority.

The DP is to fight the seat.

● Strydom quits DP
— Page 3.

Land possession will become fierce issue in new SA

Land — or more accurately its inequitable division between whites and blacks — lies at the heart of the South African conflict.

The determination of white farmers to defend their lion's share of agricultural land is reflected in the result of a recent referendum: nearly 95 percent voted for retention of the status quo.

In what many observers consider a loaded question, farmers were asked by the Transvaal Agricultural Union if they favoured "white preservation of the land".

The skewed question, as much the answer, reflects how strongly white farmers feel about land.

But feelings run as deep on the opposite side of the racial divide, as the black majority, sensing that a new dispensation is in the offing, prepare to stake their claim to a bigger share of the land.

The origins of the land dispute date back in large measure to the frontier wars of the 18th and 19th centuries. Those wars, known to black historians as wars of dispossession, or wars of conquest, saw the black share of land shrink dramatically.

In 1913 the results of the wars were enshrined in law: the Land Act restricted the black share of the land to hardly more than 6 percent of

The history of South Africa can best be described as a struggle over land. It goes back to the frontier wars of the 18th and 19th centuries. With the dawn of the 21st century barely a decade away, land is still a major issue among white farmers and landless black people, foreshadowing vigorous discussion when the subject reaches the negotiating table. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

South Africa.

It was one of the first causes taken up by the ANC after its formation in 1912.

Professor Julius Lewin's remark, made more than 30 years ago, remains apposite today: "Parliament thus presented the congress (ANC) with a grievance as deep and wide in its incidence as any that could have been imagined."

Later, in 1936, South Africa's white rulers, recognising the inequity of the 1913 Act, agreed to bring the black share of land up to about 14 percent.

But the then Prime Minister, J B M Hertzog, demanded his pound of political flesh: allocation of additional land was made conditional on removal of the small number of blacks who qualified to register as voters on the common voters roll in the Cape.

Later still, during the heyday of apartheid in the 1960s, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd demanded an even heavier price: the loss of their

claim to all political rights in the 86 percent of South Africa which was designated white.

Under the apartheid order, black political rights and ownership of agricultural land were confined to their "own areas" or "tribal homelands", which, after the final delivery of the extra quota of land promised in 1936, would amount to only 14 percent of South Africa.

It is a reflection of white reluctance to part with land — even under those favourable conditions — that the full quota of land promised in 1936 has still not been delivered.

The ANC and its offshoot, the Pan-Africanist Congress, refused to countenance Verwoerd's policies, insisting on an equitable share of the land for blacks, and on their inalienable right to full citizenship in the whole of South Africa.

When the ANC and the PAC were outlawed in 1960, even the perceived collaborators who rose to power,

briefly, under Verwoerd's apartheid empire, maintained a constant clamour for more land.

They were met by the stern reply of Verwoerd's successor, Prime Minister John Vorster: he would, he said sombrely, fulfil the promise made in 1936, but he would not concede a square centimetre beyond that.

The historical wheel has now turned 180 degrees if not full cycle: President de Klerk has abandoned Verwoerd's policies, signalling his willingness to grant equal citizenship to all South Africans and to scrap the discriminatory Land Acts of 1913 and 1936. Hence the nervousness of most white farmers.

But the scrapping of the Land Acts is unlikely to resolve the problem or satisfy the demand of indigenous black people for a just share of the land. The free sale of land under a market economy is likely to work in favour of wealthy whites, not impoverished blacks.

Maldistribution

The major beneficiaries on the free sale of land will be the large landholders and giant corporations, accentuating rather than rectifying the maldistribution of land.

These predictions — made by a wide range of observers of, and participants in, South Africa's political dispute — form the background to increasingly shrill cries for State intervention to redress the imbalance.

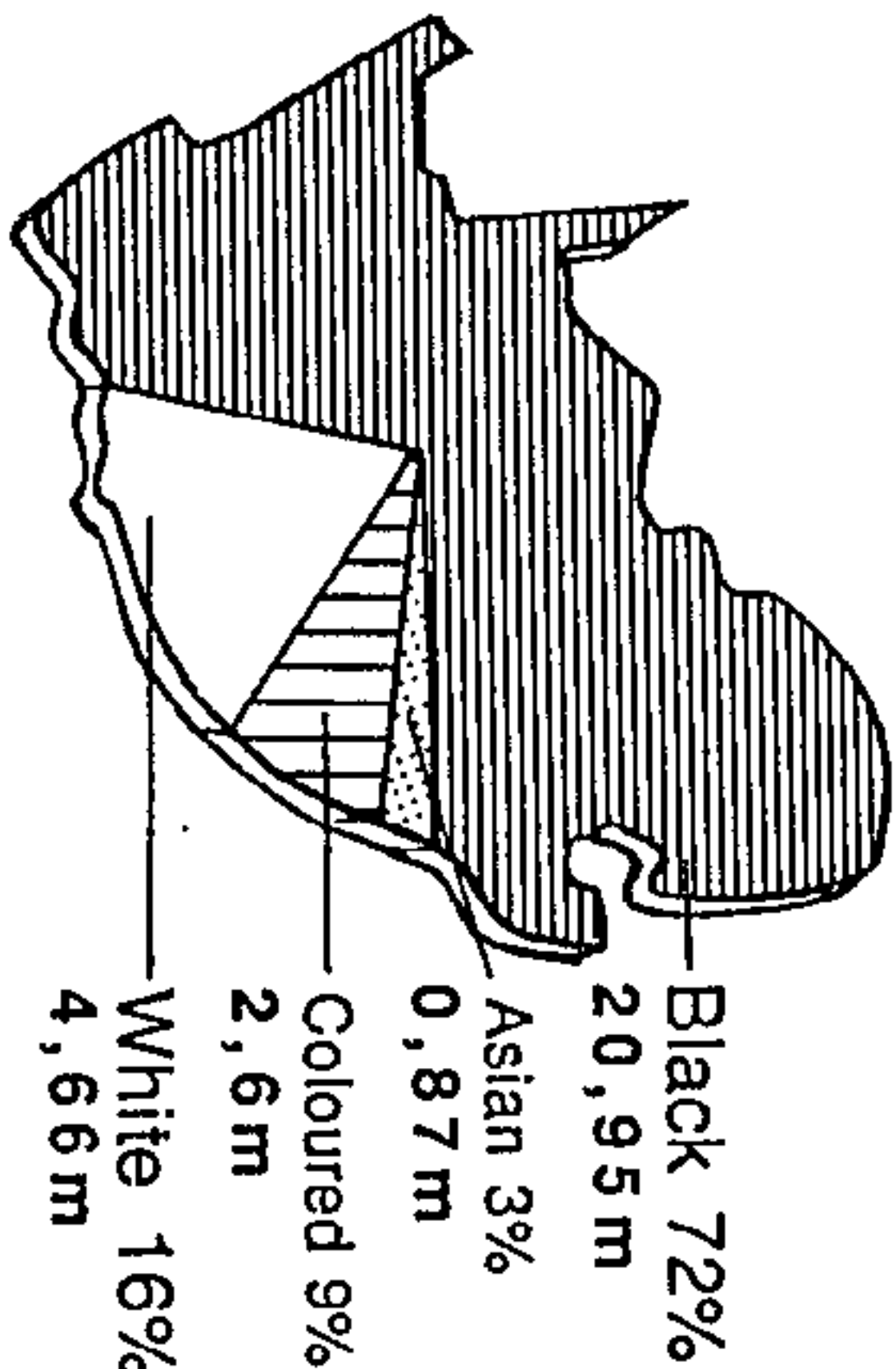
Land remains a major point of contention even within organisations seeking a radical redistribution of land.

The ANC proclaims: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

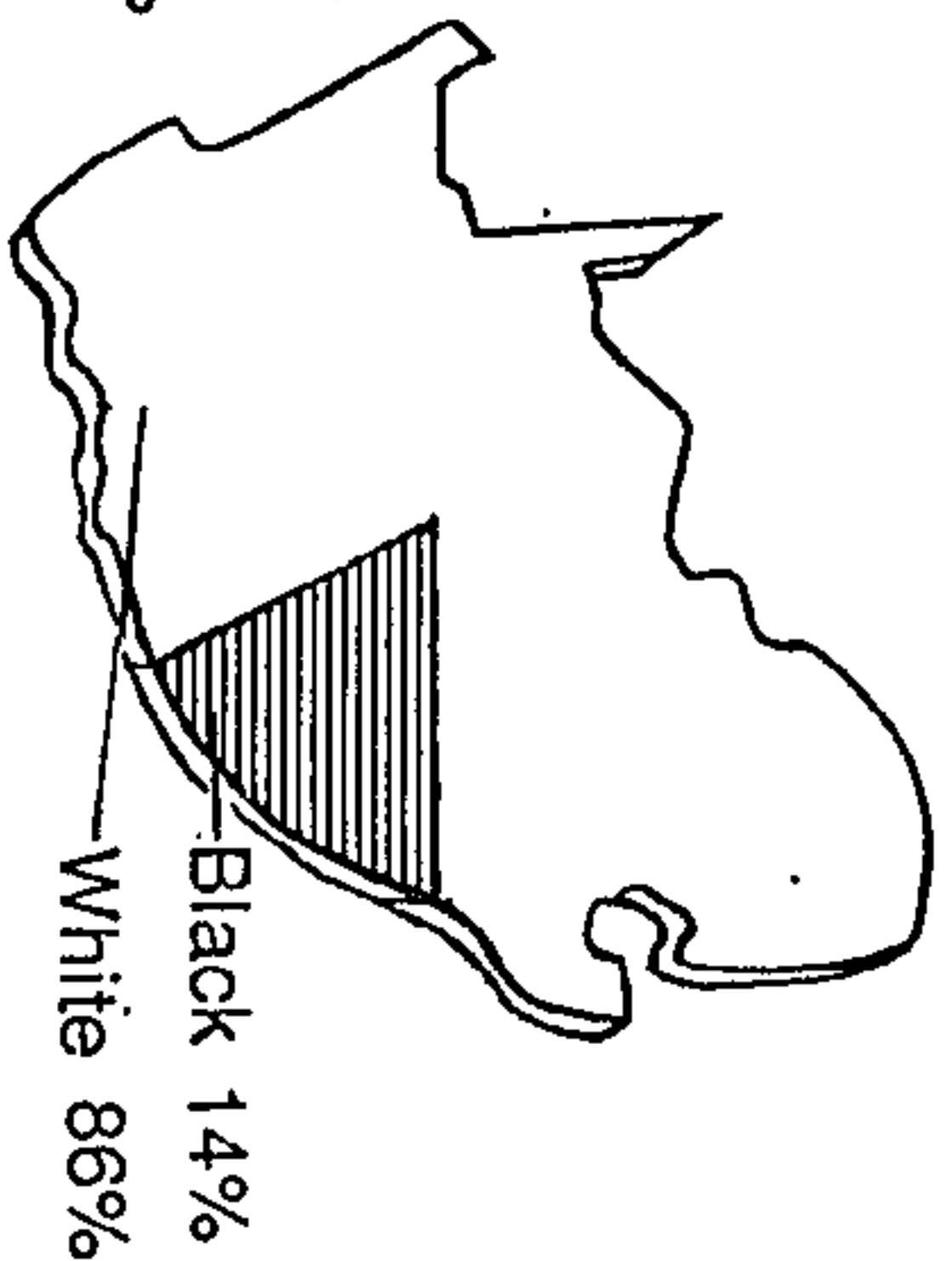
The PAC, asserting the claims of indigenous blacks, the "rightful owners" as it calls them, accuses the ANC of betraying the black majority by giving parity to whites who "usurped" the land in the first place.

The land conflict is still a long way from resolution.

POPULATION



LAND DISTRIBUTION



Early talks hinge on Mandela's return

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government and the ANC could still meet at ministerial level this month for talks about talks.

Government sources said the Government negotiating team could meet an ANC team under deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela to try to resolve the issue of releasing political prisoners and allowing exiles to return.

3047 (117) 11/7/90
The meeting was originally scheduled for July 10 but various problems have cropped up, not least the fact that Mr Mandela is still out of the country.

The Government sources were commenting on reports that the next round of talks would only take place during the second half of August.

ANC spokesmen said the delay would be caused by the fact that Mr Mandela would need to rest after his exhaustive international tour.

However the Government sources said today they believed Mr Mandela would be working for about two weeks after his return and would then "take a spell of leave".

They believed a brief meeting could take place before he took leave.

The meeting would also set a date and agenda for a fuller round of talks which would probably take place after August.

304A) Sec. 11/7/90

DP experiences a net gain in membership

Political Staff

The Democratic Party (DP), despite a poor performance in the recent Umlazi parliamentary by-election and negative comments on its future, has experienced a net gain in membership, according to DP southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soal.

In a statement on his re-election to the post on Monday, Mr Soal said the DP still had an important role to play as South Africa moved towards a negotiated settlement.

Challenges facing the DP were contributing to the process of reconciliation.

Mr Soal said the DP, which won all 11 parliamentary seats it contested in the southern Transvaal in the 1989 general election, had more MPs in the region than in any other region.

The DP's southern Transvaal executive committee is: Mr Soal (chairman), Ian Davidson (senior vice-chairman), Douglas Gibson and Sias Reyneke (vice-chairmen), John Davis (chairman of finance), Tara Forster (fundraising), Clifford Garrun (organisation), Hans Strydom (publicity) and Avril Howes (internal communications).

Interest in SA - Pik

Sowetan 11/7/90
CHANGING political circumstances in South Africa and abroad had created renewed international interest in normalising relations with this country, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

He was responding to reports of diplomatic relations being formally established by the end of the year with Czechoslovakia and speculation of relations with Moscow.

Botha said South Africa was having discussions with several countries which had been isolated from it before, "and Eastern Europe is part of that new interest". (304A)

"It is really too early to speak now of establishing official relations with individual countries in Eastern Europe," he said.

- *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Mandela's biggest worry: his allies

LONDON — Nelson Mandela's biggest political problem is not apartheid; it is not the South African Government, much less is it President de Klerk.

His biggest problem is the liberation movement.

The most difficult challenge facing the leaders of the African National Congress is to transform the raw emotions of their supporters into a disciplined political force ready to back the deal that has been struck with the Government.

In all the political essentials Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk — who never tire of praising each other's "integrity" — are in agreement.

They agree that white rule must cease by the end of the present parliament, within four years. They agree that apartheid must be abolished and replaced by a one-person, one-vote democracy where racial discrimination has no place.

Peaceful climate

They agree that the transition to democracy should be conducted in a climate of peace and political freedom. They agree that a *de facto* alliance between the ANC and the Government should steer the process. They agree that the constitution for the "new South Africa" should be arrived at through negotiations.

They have even agreed on the broad outline of what the new political system will look like, a majority rule system with the necessary "checks and balances" — one of Mr de Klerk's favourite phrases — to ensure that the blacks do not do to the whites what the whites have done to the blacks. The negotiations will centre on how to guarantee such safeguards.

The issues over which there is disagreement, notably the ANC's commitment to armed struggle and to sanctions, are more noise than substance.

The influence of noise — in this case revolutionary rhetoric — on South African politics should not be underestimated. Much inflam-



Nelson Mandela.

Mandela's understanding with F W de Klerk may set him apart from his supporters. JOHN CARLIN examines the two leaders' latest problems as South Africa moves towards democracy.



President de Klerk

matory potential exists there, much that can scare off the white and divide the black, complicating the political transition.

But noise is what the ANC's freedom struggle has largely been about, noise which has provoked fearful white governments into violent response. When the noise dies, so will the violence. At that point the Mandela/De Klerk plan will be put into action.

When constitutional negotiations formally begin — probably early next year — it will not be as if the two sides are venturing into virgin territory. Mr Mandela had been discussing the shape of post-apartheid SA with Ministers for three years before his February 11 release from prison.

The breakthrough came when Mr Mandela conceded, in a letter to former president P W Botha early in 1989, that the essence of any future negotiations would be to find a compromise between the black demand for majority rule and the white demand for constitutional guarantees.

In other words, Mr Mandela recognised the validity of the Government's insistence on "protection for minority (meaning white) rights". It was that, as much as anything, that gave Mr de Klerk the green light to try to break the deadlock of revolt, repression and revolt of his predecessor's rule.

Behind the scenes discussions between Mr Mandela and the Government, and more recently between ANC and Government strategists, have gone beyond identification of the conundrum to seeking solutions.

The ANC has called upon able black lawyers who keep a low profile to put its case in the talks with the Government, backed by a team of bright, usually young, ministerial technocrats.

These advisers, with the help of academics summoned by ANC leaders and Ministers to provide informed input on the nature of transition politics, have confirmed in recent weeks what Government officials have been hinting at publicly, that a two-chamber legislature is what is envisaged for the new South Africa.

Ill-defined talk

One chamber, like the Commons, will be elected by the entire population on a common voters roll. The party which wins a majority will be the government.

It is on the details of the second chamber, where the checks and balances will come in, where specific agreement has yet to be reached. In broad terms this is where the various population groups will be able to have their say, but the problem lies in how to

define such groups without recourse to racial definitions.

There has been ill-defined talk among Government officials of "cultural groups", each of which would somehow accommodate people of different skin colours. Another problem lies in the veto powers this second chamber would have over Government. Will these be blocking or delaying powers?

A probable solution lies in the arithmetic of the system. If agreement is reached on a requirement of, say, a two-thirds majority in the second chamber before a Bill can become law, then, without having to resort to race mechanisms, a way might be found to ensure that the whites — and other minorities — retain a significant degree of power.

A further guarantee, and here solid agreement does exist, will be provided by a Bill of individual rights and an independent judiciary.

So far advanced are discussions between the ANC and the Government, such is the personal chemistry between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk, such is the awareness of the need to join forces if negotiations are not to fail, that it is tempting to ask: why don't half a dozen leaders from each side get together and sort out the whole thing over dinner?

The fact that this cannot be done is what presents Mr Mandela, and to a slightly lesser extent Mr de Klerk, with their most immediate challenges.

Mr Mandela said upon his release from prison that there was no question of negotiating an agreement behind the backs and above the heads of the people. Not only is this not feasible on moral grounds, as Mr Mandela sees it, but on practical ones.

If the new constitution lacks popular legitimacy it is worthless. Mr Mandela, like Mr de Klerk, must deliver his constituency.

When Mr de Klerk promised "drastic change" and an end to racial discrimination during the parliamentary election campaign last year, very few National Party supporters imagined that this was the last time they would be voting for a white parliament.

The increasingly popular Conservative Party screams that he is acting without a mandate. The President's task is to persuade a previously complacent but now fearful and confused white population that democracy will make their lives better, not worse.

Mr Mandela faces a tougher test because black politics, far from complacent, has been characterised by energetic militancy.

'Facilitating'

While Mr Mandela was writing to P W Botha about the need for compromise, ANC comrades remained locked into the politics of revolution. Mr Mandela was indeed negotiating — he would say "facilitating" — behind the backs of his people.

Now his task is to steer them towards acceptance of his plan to end apartheid by peaceful means, a plan based on the recognition that since the white Government is far from weak, its demands must be taken into account.

Mr Mandela's task is to wear his people away from their outdated revolutionary goals (the only response to the bullying governments of the past) towards a maturer understanding of the limits in the real world, of political action.

Publicly Mr Mandela must remain a slave to the call to arms and the call for sanctions — two of the sacred articles of faith of "the struggle".

Otherwise he risks losing a baffled constituency to the hardliners of, for example, the simplistic and ideologically unreconstructed Pan Africanist Congress.

There is much theatre involved, accordingly, in Mr Mandela's public persona — hence the gap, often commented upon, between his public and private pronouncements. The moment will come when he and the ANC will have to come clean. The timing will be determined by the success of the delicate re-education campaign. — The Independent News Service.

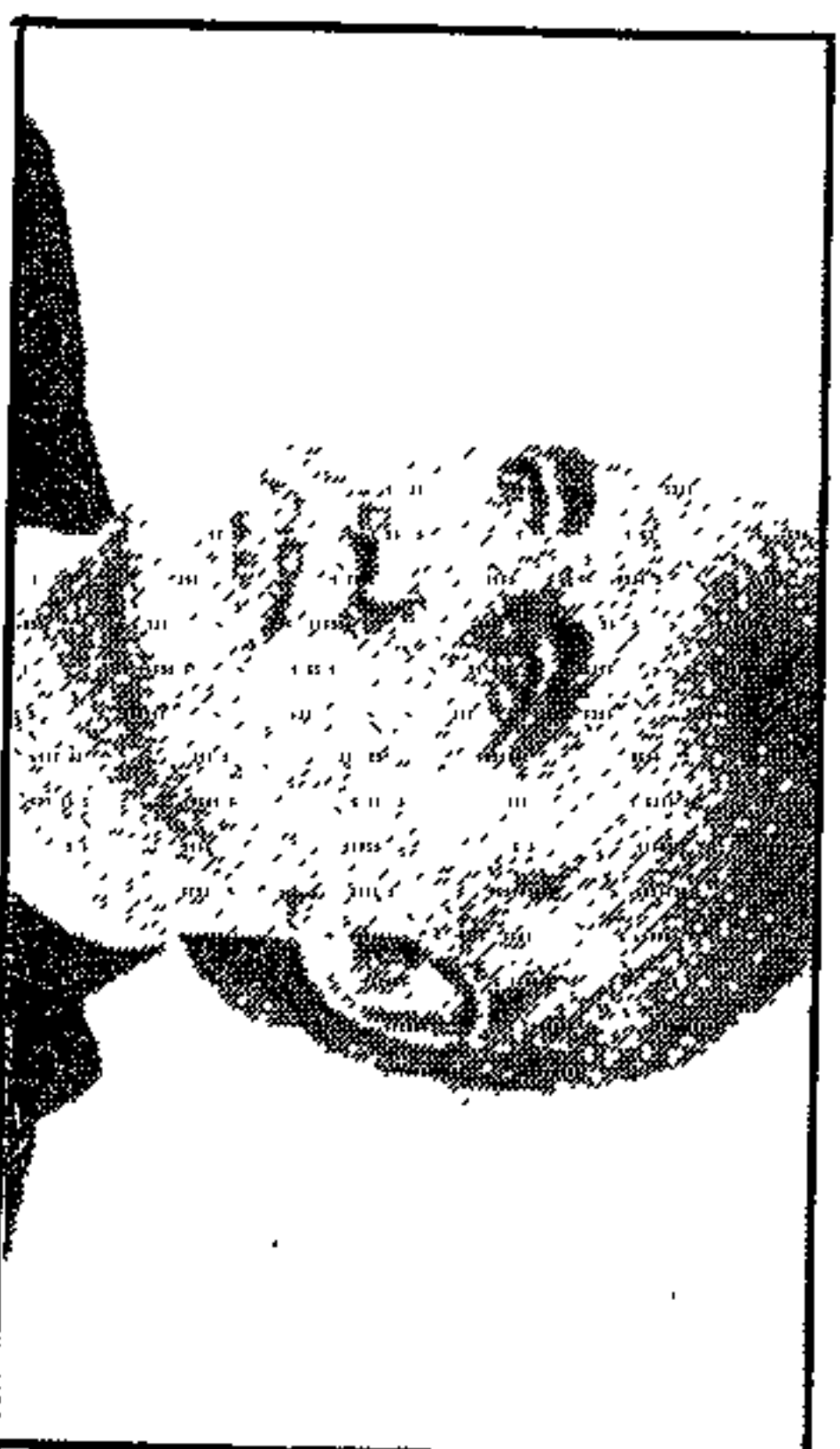
DP leader

quits

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Mr Wynand Malan

Troika breaks after row over Broederbond

Political Staff

MR Wynand Malan, one of the Democratic Party's troika leaders, quit yesterday after a row over his membership of the Broederbond.

The bombshell news has rocked the party, which is already torn by turmoil on other issues.

Mr Malan's resignation as MP and co-leader is effective from the end of this month.

His move came hours after Johannesburg city councillor Mr Hans Strydom quit the DP dramatically because of Mr Malan's continued membership of the Broederbond.

Mr Strydom said last night that Mr Malan had finally shown that his loyalty lay with the Broederbond. His reasons for resigning did not ring true. "There are still many other Broeders in the DP," he said.

The Democratic Party is now confronted with a by-election battle in the marginal Randburg seat where Mr Malan squeaked home against the NP's Mr Glen Babb last September.

Mr Malan's decision comes at a time when the DP is still reeling from the disastrous Umlazi by-election result and while the party is embroiled in a potentially divisive debate on economic policy on the eve of its federal congress.

The DP's parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer,

said last night that Mr Malan had given no indication of joining another party.

Dr De Beer me Mr Malan and the DP's other co-leader, Dr Denis Worrall, yesterday afternoon before the announcement.

Mr Malan announced his decision to leave active party politics after 12 years and to resign his official positions in the DP at the end of July in a lengthy statement.

The former NP MP and former leader of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) said it had been a difficult decision but the changing political circumstances and climate had now given him the freedom to leave politics.

To page 2

P.T.O.

From page 1

"What I have been working towards is now becoming reality. The political process is now irreversibly on the way towards a negotiated constitutional settlement." *CAT TIPS 12/7/90 (30KA)*

He said he would still identify with the process from a distance and would make use of any opportunity to contribute to bringing about the "new South Africa".

In the meantime he would again become involved with his legal practice in Randburg and devote more time to his family. "I need this," he said pointedly.

Mr Malan said that all people — whatever their political persuasion — who felt unsure about the future should think above the old political order and identify with the current process of change.

Dr De Beer said he "very well understood the reasons" for Mr Malan's resignation, but he would be a great loss to the DP and public life in South Africa.

"He was a man of stature and integrity and has contributed a great deal to important developments," Dr De Beer said. "I will miss him."

He said he did not believe Mr Malan's resignation had anything to do with the criticism of his continued membership of the Broederbond.

In a significant statement, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said last night that Mr Malan had taken a difficult but courageous step in resigning from Parliament and the co-leadership of the Democratic Party.

In Johannesburg Mr Strydom, who quit the DP because of Mr Malan's continued membership of the Broederbond, said: "The Broederbond is a racist political organisation discriminating on the grounds of skin colour, religion, language, sex and fighting for Afrikaner supremacy."

"It is also a highly secret society with its own agenda."

Mr Strydom said that since he had become aware of the situation he had tried through personal discussions, correspondence, articles, caucus and party structures to persuade Mr Malan and other Broederbond members to resign and show undivided loyalty to the DP. "They refused."

He said that on Monday night he introduced a motion to the Southern Transvaal regional council, to be submitted to the party's national congress, that dual membership of the DP and Broederbond was incompatible.

The motion was debated and defeated.

The news of Mr Malan's resignation did not come as a surprise to Mr Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) who said he had been hearing rumours of Mr Malan's intention to quit for some time.

Mr Malan has faced sustained criticism from fellow members in the DP for his continued membership of the Broederbond.

Mr Malan's departure would leave a "great vacuum" in the party, DP Western Cape regional chairman Mr Jannie Momberg said last night.

"To all of us in the DP, Wynand symbolised the liberal Afrikaner and the keen democrat," a "shocked and disappointed" Mr Momberg said.

Left, right on SA issues

session in the

Anti-Apartheid man Mr Robert demanded the sanctions — he n Mandela had that sanctions r be an issue at an summit. t-wing Conserva-

tive Party MP, he said the British government would talk to all leaders who were willing to negotiate the way to peace.

In response to a call by pro-SA MP, Mr John Carlisle for Britain to withdraw from the Gleneagles agreement, Mr Waldegrave said the agreement was entered into collectively and Britain would honour it. — Daily Telegraph

FW reacts to reports

THE State President's Office on Tuesday reacted to media reports that the shadowy National Security Management System still existed under a different name after Mr FW de Klerk announced last year that it would be 'replaced'. *Smuts* 14/1/90

The State President's Office said in a statement in Pretoria several media reports contained incorrect information on the matter, and that the new National Coordinating Mechanism was in line with what the State President had announced.

The statement said the purpose of the NCM simply was to facilitate bringing together all with a part to play - departments and institutions - in respect of those matters demanding multi-departmental action.



Generation gap: Young whites shuffle to the right

304A

W/Mail

Afrikaners. 1317-16/7/90

ANY attempt to give a single answer to the question "What do white South Africans think?" is an obviously foolish exercise.

One might as well have stood on the Johannesburg-Pretoria highway one Saturday last month, exactly halfway between the Voortrekker Monument and the Johannesburg suburb of Yeoville, and flagged down the first white-driven car to pass by.

That commuter's view would have been no more or less a valid barometer of white opinion than the right-wing *volksvergadering* taking place to the north, or the African National Congress white membership drive simultaneously under way in the south.

But the specious nature of the exercise does not discourage pundits from trying to take the national white temperature — for the simple reason that what whites are thinking has an enormous bearing on the future of the negotiation process, and of South Africa itself.

Which is why, given the welter of analysis, voodoo sociology and plain guesswork on offer, the publication of the South African Institute of International Affairs' latest survey of white opinion is so welcome. Within frankly conceded parameters — the respondent base comprises 2 000 "representative" white households, and the survey was conducted in January — "What do we think? A survey of white opinion" provides the most reliable gauge of political trends among whites today.

It also throws up a startling prospect: according to the research young South African whites — in the 16 to 24-year-old age group — are significantly more conservative than their elders on a range of key issues. If this trend holds, it could have a profound impact on the aftermath of the negotiating process — for these are the

This generation of young whites will help shape the future of South Africa. But it seems they are more conservative than their parents. They are racist, military minded and unhappy about change.

By SHAUN JOHNSON

very people who will inherit the "new South Africa" which the process spawns.

Edited and interpreted by SAIIA research director Andre du Pisani, the study shows those in the young category to take a more unbending and right-wing line on these among other issues:

●Funding for the South African Defence Force. Eighty-one percent of respondents said the SADF should get more money.

●The "threat" posed by the Soviet Union in Southern Africa. Only three percent agreed that the USSR was "abandoning its active involvement" in the subcontinent.

●South Africa's supply of food to its neighbours. Eighty-four percent believed South Africa "should not export food to black states which support or harbour terrorists/guerrillas".

●Economic sanctions. Thirty-seven percent of 16-24 year-olds (as opposed to 25 percent of 25 to 34 year-olds) agreed that "the South African economy is strong enough to prevent economic sanctions hurting our country".

●Equal political rights as a means of ending sanctions. Less than half of those in the youngest category agreed that "the only way in which South Africa can in the long run avoid tougher economic sanctions is by granting equal political rights to blacks", while 65 percent of their immediate elders concurred with this view.

●The "loyalty" of blacks to South Africa in the event of war being declared against the country. Fewer 16 to 24 year-olds "trusted black motives" than any of their elders.

●Black representation in parliament. Only 62 percent in this age group believed that "blacks should serve with whites, coloureds and Indians in the same parliament", as against 65 percent of 25 to 49 year-olds.

●Direct negotiations with the ANC. Only 45 percent of 16 to 24 year-olds supported this, while an average of well over 50 percent of their elders thought it a good idea.



Young whites ... They will inherit the new South Africa

●The SADF's ability to contain the armed struggle. A bare 20 percent agreed with the statement that "South Africa cannot win the military struggle against the ANC in the long run". The incidence of positive reaction from 25 to 49 year-olds was at least 10 percent higher.

●The acceptability of the South African Broadcasting Corporation as currently constituted. Well over half — 55 percent — of the youngest age group surveyed agreed that "SABC-TV adequately informs the public on domestic and international political developments". Older groups were much more critical, with only 35 percent of 35 to 49 year-olds agreeing with the statement.

Within the defined group, Afrikaans-speaking youngsters are markedly more conservative than their English counterparts, and factors such as low income and geographic location play a part in feeding conservative attitudes. Nevertheless, the overall trend toward conservatism among those who might be expected to be more open-minded than their elders, is clear.

Du Pisani concludes — not necessarily with specific reference to the 16 to 24 year-old group — that anxiety and defiance is extremely high among whites, and that although opinion has shifted toward a "law and order" perspective, there is some improvement in people's potential acceptance of social integration at various levels. But the latter remains lowest among the youngest.

"The spectre of communism and onslaught still looms large," says Du Pisani, speaking particularly among

"The manner in which the government and its state-controlled media articulate the 'communist threat' is widely accepted," he says.

"What the research shows is that the majority of young white South Africans are very, very poorly informed on regional, African and international questions. These people watch *Netwerk* as their informative programme, but don't read widely beyond that.

"Secondly I believe that very often their political attitudes are shaped remarkably early, and under artificial conditions in that they don't get wide exposure. They also don't interact with black South African youth — they don't know how politicised they are, or what the separate reality of apartheid is."

For these reasons, "I am not that surprised at the conservatism", Du Pisani said.

He added that the experience of militarisation among many respondents — "young men have tasted the military mind" — had served to harden many attitudes. "It is a significant enough experience to influence their perceptions."

Du Pisani agreed that his findings were "obviously extremely disturbing in that this is the generation that will partly shape the future of the country — it's frightening that members of this age group should hold such conservative views across a variety of questions."

"This indicates an even bigger problem for South Africa: the processes of political socialisation haven't kept up with the pace of political change. They're lagging behind."

"Very often people simply react, don't internalise and consider issues for themselves. I think white political parties, the media and even big business have failed to prepare people in vital areas for the future."

Du Pisani said that "on the ground" this resulted in "insularity and parochiality being powerfully enforced". International isolation had played a part in this process, he said, but to blame the international community was "an easy way out" of an essentially local problem.

Du Pisani said he expected a trend towards changing views in the aftermath of State President FW de Klerk's February speech to parliament, but that "it is likely to go both ways. People will move more to the left on 'reform' issues, and to the right on 'security' issues. I suspect we will find a curious paradox."

If there was cause for optimism regarding the attitudes of young whites, he said, it was in the opening up of the information flow. "There will be an impact — for the first time they have direct information to such issues as opposition to the ANC. More importantly, while profound international transitions have not yet influenced many whites — like *perestroika* and the fall of governments in Eastern Europe — their impact will be felt."

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THE Democratic Party was rocked last night by another resignation as recriminations grew over the reasons behind the shock "retirement" of co-leader Wynand Malan.

Late yesterday Sandton councillor Meyer van Nickerk, who joined the Progressive Party three decades ago, followed Johannesburg city councillor Hans Strydom in walking out because of the DP's refusal to ban members from belonging to the Broederbond.

It emerged yesterday that a long and allegedly "stormy" debate over the Broederbond issue at a DP regional council meeting on Monday night preceded the resignations.

A motion forbidding joint membership — proposed and seconded by Strydom and Van Nickerk — was defeated by more than 60 votes to 11 after a lengthy debate that lasted until 10.30pm.

Malan argued that Bond membership did not conflict with his party leadership and, according to Strydom, said there were "many other" members in the DP.

Malan told his colleagues that if he was forced to choose between DP and Broederbond membership, he would choose the latter, according to Strydom. He won the vote, then resigned his office two days later.

DP information officer and MP for Johannesburg North Peter Soal yesterday said the debate had been long "but civil and cool".



Wynand Malan

Strydom and Van Nickerk believe the Broederbond issue had a direct bearing on the charismatic Randburg MP's decision. Sources close to Malan yesterday categorically denied any such connection.

They dismissed the claims as "utter rubbish", saying Malan had made his decision before Monday's crucial annual general meeting of the DP's Southern Transvaal Regional Council. "Wynand had made up his mind and Strydom wasn't part of this thinking," said one angry DP official.

Malan's co-leaders, Zach de Beer and Denis Worrall, said they had "no doubt whatsoever" that the personal reasons given for Malan's resignation were genuine.

But Van Nickerk told *The Daily Mail* he and Strydom had exhausted all possible channels within the DP to have Broederbond membership prohibited, and when Malan successfully defeated their motion on Monday night, they had been "forced to resign as a matter of principle".

He said he believed Malan announced his own resignation as a result of the debate.

"At the meeting (before the Broederbond motion) he spoke very positively about the future, and I got the impression he was going for the leadership. Then came Hans' motion."

Strydom said he thought it "naive" to view the debate and timing of Malan's resignation "in isolation".

"During his speech," said Strydom, "he looked very much like a man in the running for the leadership of the DP. Something very dramatic must have happened in the next 24 hours — it was a startling development."

Strydom said he believed Malan "probably decided (after the debate) that it would be damaging to his image and the best tactic would be to contain the damage — to sideline himself now and wait for it to blow over, which it will."

"The reasons he gave (for resigning on Wednesday) somehow don't all ring true. He's a young guy for a politician, aggressive, a political animal with political ambitions. That's very difficult to reconcile with a man on the sidelines. I think we will hear more of him in time to come."

However, sources close to Malan dismissed Strydom's views as "utter rubbish".

"Who suddenly decides to leave having won a

vote hands down?" said one. "The Broederbond issue had nothing to do with the resignation. Strydom must be kicking himself for resigning."

The sources said it was well known that Malan had been waiting for an opportunity to bow out of politics.

Party sources concede that the combined effect of the Malan resignation and the "broedertwis" within the DP is extremely damaging, but express the hope that the ructions will force the party to "get to grips with reality".

Malan's resignations merely "highlighted existing problems", said one. "Too many members think it's business as usual, whereas the DP needs to address itself clearly to limited, finite goals. All of this might do the party good."

Blue Monday' row that

split DP

BY SHAUN JOHNSON

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Parties prepare for the Randburg election battle

By Louise Burgers and Political Staff

The battle for Randburg has begun. All three major parties in white politics look set to contest the expected parliamentary by-election there later this year — with the reputation of all three at stake.

The direction of negotiation politics could be affected by the outcome, and the result could also profoundly influence trends towards new political alignments.

Assault

Following the shock resignation this week of Democratic Party co-leader Wynand Malan, political experts see the DP going into the intensely fought campaign with its back against the wall in its own Reef power base, with both the National Party and the Conservative Party launching a determined assault.

Political pundits seem agreed the CP is set for further progress after its dramatic near-miss in Umlazi, and that the DP will lose ground — and possibly even the seat — to the NP. The DP won Randburg in September's general election by 1714 votes.

DP southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soal last night said the Randburg by-election — expected in October or November — would be discussed as an urgent special item at a regional executive meeting on Monday night. So far, no names had been mentioned as being in the running to defend the seat for the party.

Fighting talk erupted within hours of Mr Malan's withdrawal from party politics. NP Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis claimed the DP had largely lost its political strength. The NP would do everything to win the seat.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer replied: "There was a municipal by-election within the Randburg constituency four weeks ago, and we took the seat off Mr du Plessis's party."

CP national secretary Andries Beyers yesterday confirmed his party would announce its candidate shortly. Mr Beyers admitted Randburg was not the most favourable seat for the CP, as the party had polled only 4.7 percent of the vote in last year's election, but he said support for the CP was increasing dramatically.

Glenn Babb, widely tipped as the NP candidate in Randburg, was on a trip in Africa yesterday and could not be reached for comment.

The stakes are huge for all three parties.

For the DP, it will be a test of relevance. For the NP, it will be a crucial pointer to what voters think of the new South Africa. For the CP, the extent of its support will be seen as a vote of confidence or no confidence in President de Klerk's reforms.

Professor of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town David Welsh said the by-election was bound to be "an unfortunate distraction from the major issues South Africa is facing."

"It is bound to be a messy business which can benefit only the CP. It can't win the seat but

certainly will raise its vote quite significantly."

Political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans said the DP was "finished". The small number of Afrikaners who had joined the party, such as the academics in the Cape, now appeared to be leaving.

"The DP have come to the end of the road because of bad leadership by the troika. When Mr de Klerk started taking the reform initiative, the party undermined its own existence by continually praising what he was doing and encouraging its followers to join the National Party."

Professor Kleynhans said there had been a role for the DP "to see that reforms continued and that a new constitution was implemented", but it had forfeited that role through bad political management. The damage had been done and it was too late to revive the party.

Liberal values

But another political analyst, Professor Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town, disagreed. "The resignation of Wynand Malan is too isolated an event from which to draw conclusions."

"I don't expect the DP to break up or disappear. I believe they have a role to play — and that is to represent liberal values and beliefs. In a national election I believe they will one day attract voters who are drawn neither to the NP nor the ANC."

● De Beer denies split — Page 5.

Mandela must 'win over his supporters'

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13/7/90
384

JOHN CARLIN of the Independent examines the problems of Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk as South Africa moves towards democracy

NELSON Mandela's biggest political problem is not apartheid, it is not the South African government, much less is it President F W de Klerk. His problem is the liberation movement.

The most difficult challenge facing the leaders of the African National Congress is to transform the raw emotions of their supporters into a disciplined political force ready to back the deal that has been struck with the government.

In all the political essentials Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk — who never tire of praising each other's "integrity" — are in agreement.

They agree that white rule must cease by the end of the present parliament, within four years. They agree that apartheid must be abolished and be replaced by a one-person-one vote democracy in which racial discrimination has no place.

They agree that the transition to democracy should be conducted in a climate of peace and political freedom.

They agree that a de facto alliance between the ANC and the government should steer the process.

They agree that the constitution for the "new South Africa" should be arrived at through negotiations.

They have even agreed on the broad outline of what the new political system will look like, a majority rule system with the necessary "checks and balances" — one of Mr De Klerk's favourite phrases — to ensure that the blacks do not do to the whites what the whites have done to the blacks. The negotiations will centre on how to guarantee such safeguards.

The issues over which there is disagreement, notably the ANC's commitment to "armed struggle" and to sanctions, are more noise than substance.

The influence of noise — in this case revolutionary rhetoric — on South African politics should not be underestimated. Much inflammatory potential exists there, much that can scare off the white population and divide the black, complicating the political transition.

Violent response

But noise is what the ANC's freedom struggle has largely been about, noise which has provoked fearful white governments into violent response. When the noise dies, so will the violence. At that point the Mandela/De Klerk plan will be put into action.

When constitutional negotiations formally begin — probably early next year — it will not be as if the two sides are venturing into virgin territory. Mr Mandela had been discussing the shape of post-apartheid South Africa with government ministers for three years before his release from prison on February 11.

The breakthrough came when Mr Mandela conceded, in a letter to former President P W Botha early in 1989, that the essence of any future negotiations would be to find a compromise between the black demand for majority rule and the white demand for constitutional guarantees.

In other words, Mr Mandela recognised the validity of the National Party government's insistence on "protection for minority rights". It was that, as much as anything, that gave Mr De Klerk the green light to try to break the deadlock of revolt, repression and revolt of his predecessor's rule.

Behind the scenes discussions between Mr Mandela and the government, and more recently between ANC and government strategists, have gone beyond identification of the conundrum to seeking solutions. The ANC has called upon able black lawyers who keep a low profile to put its case in the talks with the government, backed by a team of bright, usually young, ministerial technocrats.

These advisers, with the help of academics summoned by ANC leaders and ministers to provide informed input on the nature of transition politics, have confirmed in recent weeks what government officials have been hinting at publicly: that a two-chamber legislature is what is envisaged for the new South Africa.

One chamber will be elected by the entire population on a common voters' roll. The party which wins a majority will be the government. It is on the details of the second chamber, where the checks and balances will come in, where specific agreement has yet to be reached.

In broad terms this is where the various population groups will be able to have their say, but the problem lies in how to define such groups without recourse to racial definitions.

There has been ill-defined talk among government officials of "cultural groups", each of which would somehow accommodate people of different skin colours. Another problem lies in defining the powers of veto that this second chamber would have over government.

Delaying powers

Will these be blocking or delaying powers? A probable solution lies in the arithmetic of the system.

If agreement is reached on requirement of, say, a two-thirds majority in the second chamber before a bill can become law, then, without having to resort to race mechanisms, a way might be found to ensure that the whites — and other minorities — retain a significant degree of power.

A further guarantee, and here solid agreement does exist, will be provided by a bill of individual rights and an independent judiciary.

So far advanced are discussions between the ANC and the government, such is the personal chemistry between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk, such is the awareness of the need to join forces if negotiations are not to fail, that it is tempting to ask: why don't half a dozen leaders from each side get together and sort out the whole thing over dinner?

The fact that this cannot be done is what presents Mr Mandela, and to a slightly lesser extent Mr De Klerk, with their most immediate challenges.

Mr Mandela said upon his release from prison that there was no question of negotiating an agreement behind the backs and above the heads of the people. Not only is this not feasible on moral grounds, as Mr Mandela sees it, but on practical ones. If the new constitution lacks popular legitimacy it is worthless. Mr Mandela, like Mr De Klerk, must deliver his constituency.

When Mr De Klerk promised "drastic change" and an end to racial discrimination during the parliamentary election campaign last year, very few National Party supporters imagined that this was the last time they would be voting for a white parliament.

The increasingly popular Conservative Party, the official opposition, scream that he is acting without a mandate. The president's task is to persuade a previously complacent but now fearful and confused white population that democracy will make their lives better, not worse.

Mr Mandela faces a tougher test because black politics, far from complacent, has been characterised by energetic militancy. While Mr Mandela was writing to P W Botha about the need for compromise, ANC comrades remained locked into the politics of revolution.

Mr Mandela was indeed negotiating — he would say "facilitating" — behind the backs of his people. Now his task is to steer them towards acceptance of his plan to end apartheid by peaceful means, a plan based on the recognition that since the white government is far from weak, its demands must be taken into account.

Tos Wentzel is away. His Presidency column will be resumed on his return.

Pressure mounts for DP to call early congress

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

3044

17/6/90
13/7/90

PRESSURE is mounting on the Democratic Party to hold its national congress as soon as possible to resolve uncertainties about its leadership and future role in South Africa's fast-changing politics.

Several MPs have indicated that they would consider leaving the party if they were not happy with congress decisions.

A sense of urgency has pervaded the party since the retirement of co-leader Mr Wynand Malan and, even though he emphasised that personal reasons was the main factor in his decision, MPs are anxious not to allow the perception to develop that the DP is losing relevance.

At the same time, the party is having to reckon with a number of younger MPs who are openly saying they will reconsider their positions on the basis of decisions taken at the congress.

This adds to the pressure on the party to come up with a revitalised programme.

The DP also has to take stock of the

implications of Mr Malan's retirement. It has still to decide whether it will contest the by-election in Randburg, but that could also pose problems. MPs say the party cannot afford another Umlazi.

All these things, they say, point to the necessity of an early congress.

One said today: "It would be unfortunate if we left the congress until October. We must react now."

"We have to face up to the changes and find a new niche. Political issues of today, such as scrapping the last vestiges of apartheid, fighting the group areas and that sort of thing, remain important, but if we make those the essence of our policy we'll simply be overtaken."

"What we have to do is set out clear, constructive policies on future issues — urbanisation and the economy are key areas."

He added: "This is not a time to be hysterical, but it is imperative we come up with an agenda that shows we are going to play a relevant role."

"We have a lot of talent and we now have to show what we can do."

FM 1317190

IT'S SUPERVAN!

3049

Former Progressive Federal Party opposition leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert may become the chairman of the crucial round-table talks between government, the ANC and other interested parties on a new constitution.

A highly placed government source has told the *FM* that President F W de Klerk and his team of constitutional negotiators may nominate Slabbert and former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo to alternate as chairmen — both, they feel, would be acceptable to the majority of parties at the talks.

After resigning as leader of the official opposition in a dramatic speech during the 1986 No-confidence debate, Slabbert formed the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa). He has been very active in extra-parliamentary politics and was seen to be the major force behind a flow of meetings between the ANC — at the time still banned — and various South African individuals and groups in Lusaka and European countries.

Soon after De Klerk's watershed



speech on February 2, Slabbert paid him a surprise visit in Tuynhuys to congratulate the President on his reform initiatives.

Political observers feel that both Slabbert and Dhlomo could play an important role as facilitators throughout the delicate transitional period.

Right-wing in Walvis Bay

WINDHOEK: A new right-wing group in Walvis Bay, Aksie Vrye Volk, has demanded the right for whites to rule themselves in an independent homeland free from outside interference, according to a statement in Windhoek yesterday.

The statement condemned the concept of a unitary state, as well as black majority government and said the AVV would defend "our continued existence with all means at our disposal".

WIMail 1317190 (304A)

DP MPs may quit party to join Nats

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party is believed to be almost R1,5 million in the red as a result of last year's general election.

Following Mr Wynand Malan's resignation a by-election in Randburg — which both the National Party and the Conservative Party have now promised to contest — is likely to place heavy strain on the party's finances in the Southern Transvaal region.

Party sources also indicated yesterday that some MPs — "a small minority" — were toying with the possibility of joining the National Party.

Sources said a few MPs had earlier considered resigning and later joining the ANC but this option had recently receded in popularity.

The DP's immediate concern after Mr

Malan's resignation was "damage control", DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday.

Admitting that it had caused immense difficulties for the party and had damaged morale, Dr Worrall compared the setback to Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's decision to quit the PFP in 1986.

DP sources said one of the major concerns sparked by Mr Malan's resignation was that it could seriously hamper the cash-strapped party's ability to raise funds.

Both Dr Worrall and the DP parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday that they were not aware of any immediate plans for MPs to leave the party as a result of Mr Malan's decision.

However, two of Mr Malan's former colleagues in the old National Democratic Movement, Greytown MP Mr Pierre Cronje

and Durban Central MP Mr Peter Gastrow, indicated their continued DP membership would depend on the future direction of the party.

Like Mr Malan, the two MPs would like to see the DP become aggressively social democratic in its policies and move rapidly from traditional white electoral politics towards fostering a new brand of politics to prepare for a non-racial future.

Dr De Beer yesterday acknowledged that it was "a strenuous time to be a DP MP because the government is moving towards our territory and people respond in different ways".

He said the likelihood that a new constitution would be in place before the next election also had the effect of making MPs anxious about their future.

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From page 1

Many MPs did not even know whether their constituencies would still exist at the next election. "It's a very difficult time," he said.

Dr De Beer said the central executive of the DP would meet on July 18 to discuss developments in the party.

No date has been set for the Randburg by-election but it is expected to be in November.

Meanwhile, it is reported from Johannesburg that a second DP member has resigned on the Broederbond membership issue.

Sandton councillor Mr Meyer van Niekerk announced his resignation yesterday in protest against the party's willingness to allow Broederbonders to be party members.

On Wednesday Johannesburg city councillor Mr Hans Strydom resigned for the same reason.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that Dr De Beer said yesterday he knew of other DP members who were also members of the Broederbond but he did not name them.

He said the party did not have a policy of dual membership and it was up to members to decide if they wanted to belong to both bodies.

DP leaders denied that Mr Wynand Malan's decision to quit had anything to do with his membership of the Broederbond.

Dr Worrall revealed yesterday that he had a three-hour discussion with Mr Malan about his reasons for resigning. The Broederbond issue was not mentioned, he said. Mr Malan's reasons for leaving were personal.

Mr Malan himself declined to say anything yesterday except to refer reporters to his original statement which cited "changing political circumstances" and the desire to spend more time with his family as the major reasons for his decision.

3044 1/2 13/290

President F W de Klerk's image has been boosted by statements emanating from the recent economic summit attended by the Group of Seven industrialised nations in Houston, Texas, with leaders heralding developments in South Africa as very positive

RAMSAY MILNE of The Star's Foreign Service reports from New York.

Positive gains

"Things are beginning to move in President de Klerk's direction," said a senior South African spokesman. "We are very pleased with the positive tone and content of the statements made at the Houston summit."

discussions we cited Namibia as a positive model for Democratic evolution elsewhere on the African continent. Most of the leaders here have met recently with Nelson Mandela. Some of them have met President de Klerk. The focus of our efforts should be on encouraging negotiations to bring about a non-racial democracy in South Africa."

Transition

Observers attribute much of the group's special focus on South Africa to the influence of President George Bush and to Mr James Baker, US Secretary of State, who has had talks in South Africa with President de Klerk and who advised Mr Bush at the summit conference. The summit ended today.

Mr Baker set the tone of the summit's communiqué with a separate statement welcoming the "historic advance of Democracy" in Europe since the Seven last met in Paris. He then added: "During our

In the communique, the Western leaders welcomed the "positive developments that have taken place in South Africa," and expressed hope that talks between the Government and the black majority would lead to a peaceful transition to a non-racial democracy and dismantling of apartheid.

this process," they said, and in a special plea for moderation called on all parties to the negotiations to "refrain from violence or its advocacy."

The spokesman said he saw this statement as indicating that the Group of Seven leaders had "joined in on a strategy - they are backing the process of peaceful negotiation started by President de Klerk."

Mr de Klerk was given an additional boost when the New York Times said of him today: "Mr de Klerk can count on a warm centre of support in the White House. While Mr. Mandela has been a hero to the masses, Mr de Klerk is officialdom's champion."

The paper, a fierce critic of the South African government, added that while American officials admired Mr. Mandela

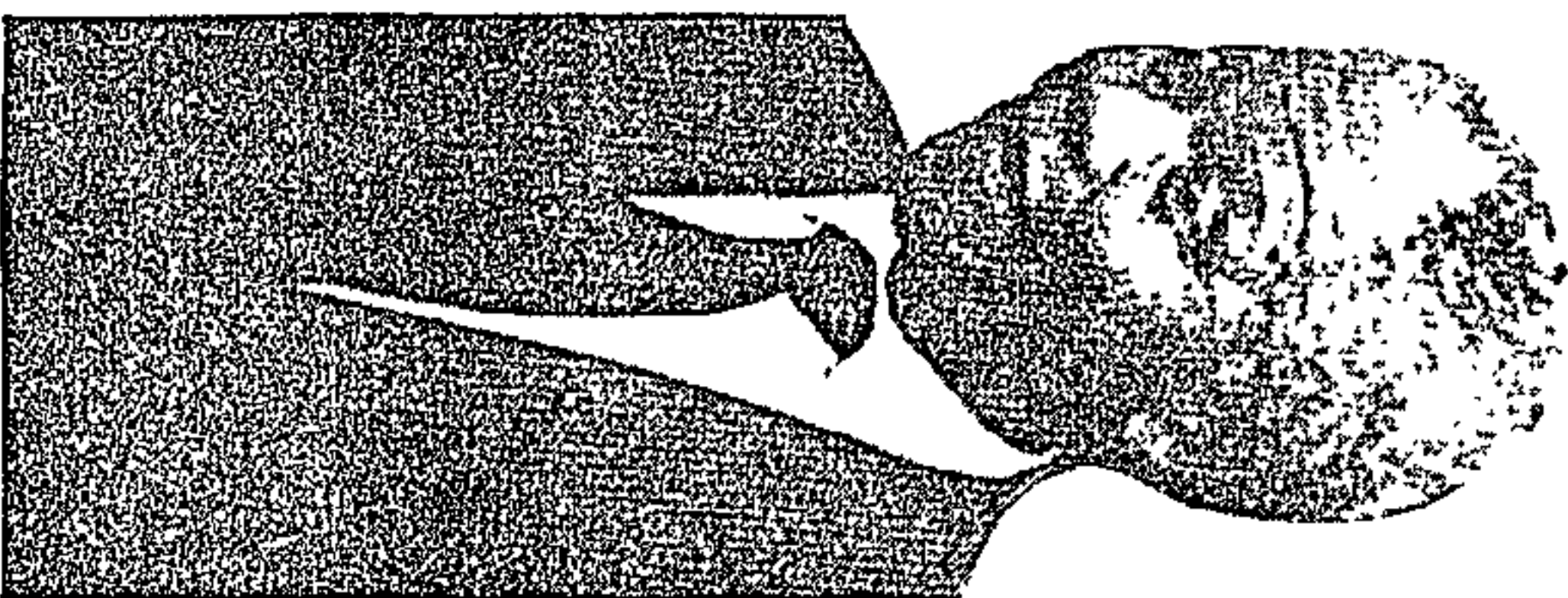
"they believe Mr de Klerk is more important. In this, Bush policy towards South Africa resembles nothing so much as the Administration's policy towards Mikhail Gorbachev - a near-total reliance on the man in power staying in power."

Though saying that no new date had been fixed for Mr de Klerk's visit to the US, a South African spokesman said Mr Bush's invitation had been reaffirmed in the president's recent 'warm' telephone conversations with Mr de Klerk.

"While Americans may still be mindful of their own domestic constraints, it remains an open question whether Mr Mandela shifted the opinion of these substantive players, some of whom, we know, have already had to rethink their strategy."

Unlike, Mr Mandela's visit, he added, President de Klerk, as a head of state, would limit his visit to discussions with President Bush and Administration officials at the White House and with other Congressional leaders in Washington.

Hero to the masses . . . Nelson Mandela is optimistic about the new South Africa.



NEGOTIATIONS

FM 13/7/90

When Nelson comes home

304A



Negotiations between government and the ANC are currently marked by recriminations and suggestions of bad faith on both sides. This is unfortunate: not only does it sour prospects for a workable settlement, it means that opponents of any settlement are daily given more ammunition.

As the *FM* has stressed repeatedly, the belief that there are only two sides in this debate is wrong; taken to its logical conclusion, it would imply some kind of coalition between the ANC and the Nationalists, which would be bad for democracy and hold out no guarantees for a genuinely free-enterprise society.

While some of the stated problems — particularly regarding confidentiality of the agreements reached at Groote Schuur — should be resolved by a meeting scheduled this week, other sources of rancour and mistrust may not be so easily dispelled.

The charge that the new National Co-ordinating Mechanism is merely the old National Security Management System — which fostered death squads — is a serious one. So long as the police continue to behave as they apparently did at Mamelodi Stadium last Sunday — and are exonerated by their superiors — their commitment to the “new SA” must be in grave doubt; and so must all declarations by the leopard that it has changed its spots.

Some fear the rise once more of Magnus Malan and his views — a “total onslaught” once again justifying a “total

strategy.” Even this far down the road to conciliation, such a prospect is not impossible.

As for the ANC, last week’s protests about Natal violence, blaming Inkatha and the security forces for its continuance, must rank as gross cynicism as long as black policemen and local councillors are being killed in the name of liberation.

Arrest of rightwing elements is certainly a sign that Pretoria is moving to defuse the charge that it fosters them — yet firm action appears to have been taken only after the bombing of black commuters in Johannesburg last week. Everyone knows how indiscriminate bombs can be.

There was considerable optimism that Stoffel van der Merwe would this week announce the desegregation of education — at least as a statement of intent. This would suggest that reform would be advanced, whatever the state of negotiations, because it is a moral imperative. In the event, his speech in Welkom gave less than that.

Provision of schoolbooks and an undertaking to keep education going until a new structure is worked out as part of a new constitution amount to no more than government saying it will do the job it is supposed to do.

So the air is becoming murky again. The best way to clear it would be for Nelson Mandela to meet F W de Klerk again, in advance of a formal agenda, and the issue of a joint statement on intent. Or is the ANC leader simply being kept for PR appearances abroad? ■

Why growth is persuasive

(304A)
F/M 13/7/90

The question of sanctions should be cleared away as soon as possible, says Kenneth Costa, a director of a leading City merchant bank who was educated in SA. In the latest publication of the Centre of Policy Studies in London, Costa argues that a new post-sanctions and post-apartheid enterprise is needed.

Apartheid has been dying for some years; it is not dead yet and the speech (on February 2) by President F W de Klerk was, sadly, not its postmortem. The reasons for its break-up are worth considering.

The single most important cause lies in the rapid economic integration of blacks and whites in an indivisible economy. One by one the legislative enactments sustaining apartheid have had to be repealed in response to the demands of a growing economy.

The scrapping of laws reserving certain jobs for whites and the legalisation of trade unions are two examples. The growth of a relatively prosperous black middle class whose wages have risen faster than those of whites, has given rise to a new generation of economically active blacks whose intolerance of apartheid norms is evident. As a result, the substantial increase in black consumer spending has fuelled the growth in the consumer business sector and, in large measure, caused a redirection of retail and financial strategy away from the dominant white consumer to the emergent black.

Sanctions have, if anything, slowed down the growth in their participation in the economy and so may have prolonged apartheid's life. The provision of an apparent remedy, internationally approved, has to some extent distracted attention from widening gaping holes in the apartheid-based economic edifice. Though apartheid could survive for many more years under sanctions, it cannot withstand the inexorable growth in economic mobility of the majority of its own people.

It is prosperity, not sanctions, which has speeded the death of apartheid.

Negotiations are set to begin. Talks will try to formulate a new constitution in which

all South Africans can participate. All issues to do with the new constitutional dispensation have to be resolved by and between South Africans. The principal issue to be addressed is whether the only form of democracy is a one man one vote "winner holds all power" system. The ANC strongly inclines this way.

Within an African context democratic government is not necessarily linked to a Westminster model. There is every reason to believe that a Namibian style power-sharing agreement is more democratic than the universal suffrage, one-party state now prevailing in Zimbabwe. When De Klerk rules out simplistic majority rule he should not be taken as ruling out a democratic constitution. Nor should the agreement by the ANC to a constitution with checks and balances and minority protection to be seen as a failure of majority politics.

The constitutional mechanics will be debated in the negotiations and Britain should be flexible in responding to these proposals. Some principles which need to be affirmed include:

- ☐ The new constitution must not be race-based. Any effort to entrench minority rights by reference to race is indefensible;
- ☐ Power-sharing between the people of SA cannot be a carve-up of influence by political vested interests. If power is to be shared, accountability to the people is a manifest check on the exercise of that power. Universal suffrage is therefore a fundamental, but not the only requirement;
- ☐ The protection of the rights of minorities, whether through an entrenched Bill of Rights, or through an upper-house not elected by the same electoral college, is a legitimate aspiration given SA's plural society; and
- ☐ The eventual constitution is likely to draw upon some of the major federal models (say Swiss cantons, the US constitution and so on) as well as upon Westminster.

Devolution of responsibility and distribution of power are the essential ingredients.

The objective is to bring about a lasting and dynamic dispensation capable of absorbing change, as well as assuring every citizen of an effective voice in government and protection from arbitrary use of power.

Whatever constitution emerges will be little more than a skeleton, the flesh of which will be the nature and vigour of the emergent economy. An enterprise economy which extends ownership, freedom of choice, and economic participation as widely as possible — to levels unimaginable with apartheid in place — is what will give the new SA vitality. The emergence of a market-led, enterprise economy, even more than any constitutional document, will best protect the liberty of individuals.

SA has the potential, unparalleled in Africa, for economic prosperity. Its resources, its efficiency of distribution and transportation, its financial infrastructure and the ingenuity of its people make it fertile ground in which an enterprise economy can flourish. The energy and formidable intellectual capital of its business community are the building blocks for future prosperity. (To take a small example: in 1984, SA filed applications for over 10 000 new patents and ranked 13th in the world. Egypt, the next highest in Africa, filed only 832 applications.)

Eastern Europe, also in the midst of political upheaval, has far less infra-structural support for constitutional and economical changes.

Economists have estimated that the South African economy needs, for its domestic purposes, to grow by at least 5% a year in real terms in order to accommodate the increase in population. It should be able to achieve more growth than this. In a stable political system, with an environment friendly to business, and with the inflow rather than the export of capital, the capacity of the economy to expand and provide increased prosperity to its people (and to benefit neighbouring states) should not be underestimated.

DP's De Beer denies split as another councillor quits

2047 13/7/90

By Louise Burgers,
Municipal Reporter

Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer has denied that a split is looming in the party over the Broederbond issue, following the resignation of another DP city councillor.

Meyer van Niekerk, a member of the Sandton Town Council management committee, announced yesterday he had resigned from the DP to sit as an independent because he found it intolerable to belong to a party which allowed members of a secretive organisation.

Johannesburg councillor Hans Strydom quit the party on Wednesday for the same reasons.

Mr van Niekerk said he had been unhappy with the Broederbond connection for a long time.

Reconsider

Mr van Niekerk seconded a motion put forward by Mr Strydom at the DP southern Transvaal regional council in December asking DP members who were also members of the Bond to reconsider their position. Their motion was accepted.

"Since then there has been no reaction to that decision — the whole thing was watered down," Mr van Niekerk said.

Things came to a head on Monday night at the regional council's annual meeting when Mr Strydom and Mr van Niekerk again put forward the motion and it was again defeated.

Dr de Beer said: "I have

known Meyer for a long time and he is a man of principle."

He said he doubted there would be more resignations.

"This is not an unspeakable tragedy. There is no split looming. Both are men of principle who will continue to support the principles they believe in."

● Mr Strydom has named a DP city councillor in Johannesburg, Sias Reynecke, as a member of the Broederbond and questioned his appointment as chairman of the special committee investigating the "open"-city concept.

Ian Davidson, chairman of the Johannesburg City Council management committee and DP leader in the council, last night expressed his regret at Mr Strydom's decision to resign.

"There is no place for secret organisations based on race in the new South Africa. On the other hand he is throwing the baby out with the bath water, as he is fully committed to the principles of the DP and there are more important issues to be addressed," Mr Davidson said.

He defended Mr Reynecke's position with the DP and said he was a very valued member and dedicated to the party.

"If Mr Mandela can talk to members of the Broederbond and look to work with members of the Broederbond in the future, we can too."

Mr Davidson said the party's position in the city council had not been weakened as Mr Strydom would probably still support the DP on major issues.

Rumblings could mean trouble

Differences over economic issues and conflicting perceptions of the Democratic Party's future role emerged at the party's first national youth congress recently.

PATRICK GOODENOUGH
reports

RUMBLINGS in the youth wing of a political movement usually spell change, disruption or trouble ahead for the broader organisation. Young people are more impetuous, outspoken and perhaps even more honest than their older, more staid counterparts.

At the Democratic Party's first national youth congress held last weekend, representatives of the Eastern Cape region walked out in protest against the election of a hard-line free-marketeer, Mark Heaton, as national youth chairman.

Earlier, Heaton's Southern Transvaal region had proposed a resolution calling on the party "to declare itself unequivocally in favour of the free market system, and require its members to abide by this declaration".

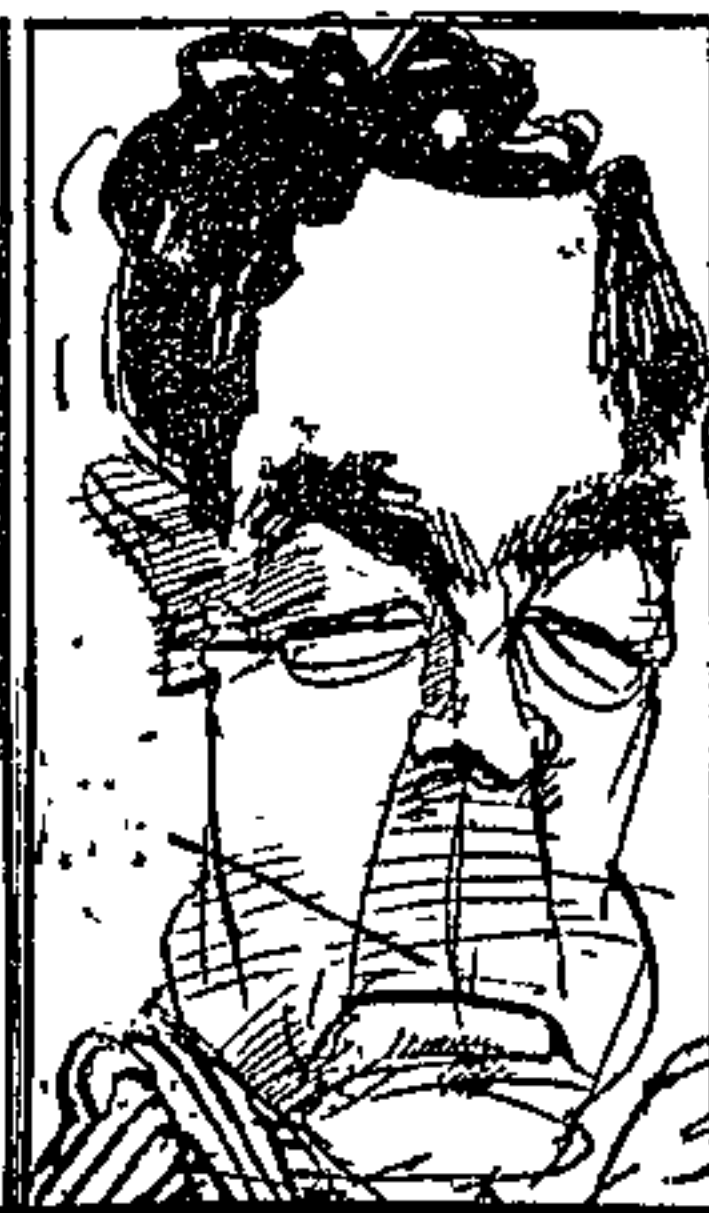
Lengthy haggling over the wording and debate about the implications of the proposal finally saw the motion defeated. But the deep divisions were obvious.

The Eastern Cape's youth chairman, Kevin Wakeford, said pushing a dogmatic free market stance would jeopardise the links the region had forged with community organisations.

Differences among the youth over the importance of those links were evident even before the election flare-up — at a meeting between the delegates and South African Youth Congress activists in kwaZakhele township earlier on the weekend.

While Wakeford spoke then in glowing terms about contacts already made between the Eastern Cape young democrats and Sayco, other delegates appeared less than enthusiastic about the whole exercise.

African National Congress veteran



304A
W/E Mail
13/7-19/7/77
Wooing the youth:
The three
contenders for a
single leadership
position, Tian van
der Merwe, Zach
de Beer and
Denis Worrall

Raymond Mhlaba contributed a short speech to the meeting.

The predictable questions raised by the DP youth on the "armed struggle" and sanctions, and the dissatisfaction of some with the answers he gave, did not stop Mhlaba from expressing his joy afterwards at the "inspiring" encounter.

According to Wakeford, two camps have formed among the youth around differences over economic issues and over conflicting perceptions of the DP's future role with regard to "other democrats".

Support for an unfettered free market came primarily from the Southern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and Natal Inland, while the Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Natal Coast preferred what Wakeford called a "social market economy".

"Certainly a free market is necessary for economic growth, but also with massive state responsibility in social fields, such as health, education, housing ..." he said.

As far as he was aware, the party's given economic policy coincided with this model.

The second point of contention dealt with the party's future role, with Eastern Cape-led camp pushing for a "convergence" of democrats, as opposed to a "confrontational" stance — broadening the DP's base at the expense of other democratic organisations.

Wakeford said this policy of "destructive competition" would leave the DP out in the cold when the major

players sat down to talk.

After the walk-out, the Eastern Cape region suspended all ties with the national youth leadership until clarity was achieved on the party's views on the issues, "and we feel secure that we aren't compromising on principles we have stood for for a long time", he said.

The Western Cape and Natal Coast sympathised and had adopted a "wait and see" approach.

Wakeford said the region's main gripe with Heaton's election was that it did not think the Southern Transvaal chair's views reflected the views of the party. It was not a case of sour grapes — the Eastern Cape had not put forward a nominee, he said.

The congress was also significant in that it provided an opportunity for

two of the party's co-leaders, Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall, and a third contender for a future single leadership position, Tian van der Merwe, to feel out and woo the young

All three candidates stressed the need for the DP's continued existence — at least, De Beer maintained, until broad consensus was achieved on a constitution which embodied the DP's policies and principles.

New approaches and new ideas were called for, and future roles for the DP optimistically examined.

The three speakers had the DP emerging as the one party which could, and should, ensure that the negotiation process succeeded — and included the widest possible spectrum of players.

Resolutions taken by the youth be-

for DP

fore the election drama dispelled some of the earlier optimism apparent at the congress, reflecting the more common debates raging currently and a refreshing determination to put forward issues perhaps overlooked by the party's older members.

For instance, the delegates resolved that mass consumer action should be taken against companies which violated accepted environment-friendly practices. They called on the party to reassess its land reform policy and suggested that kibbutz-type agricultural and industrial collectives be considered in a future South Africa. They voted to outlaw sexist terminology, and came out strongly against sexual violence.

They called for impartial policing in Natal, for the removal of police powers from kwaZulu authorities, and for an end to the use of violence as a political tool. They stressed the importance of individual, rather than group rights. And they resolved to push for an end to damaging, anonymous "leaks" to the media, when in-house "democratic forums" existed for conflict resolution.

Despite the divisions among the youth, many still see the DP as the party which holds the moral high-ground, which is unburdened by the historical baggage of apartheid, which can change people — while the National Party can only change laws — and which can be an agent for national reconciliation. — Eena



OSCAR DHLOMO: Not approached but ready.

Slabbert, Dhlomo to chair NP/ANC talks?

DURBAN — Former Progressive Federal Party opposition leader Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert and former Inkatha secretary-general and KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Oscar Dhlomo have been suggested as joint chairmen for the crucial round-table talks between the National Party Government, the African National Congress and other interested parties on a new constitution.

Government sources have indicated that President F W de Klerk and his team of constitutional negotiators may nominate Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Dhlomo to alternate as chairmen, as they feel both men would be acceptable to the majority of parties at the table.

However, both men are apparently un-

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN

3049 Stead 14/7/90

aware of the rumoured appointments, and said they had not been approached on the matter.

"I have not been approached on this issue," Dr Dhlomo said. "But I have always said that if I am asked to make my perceived skills available for the good of the country, I will do so, provided it is on a non-party political basis."

Dr Dhlomo is currently concentrating on his family and business interests. He resigned from his position as Inkatha secretary-general and from the KwaZulu Cabinet and Assembly on June 30.

As a Cabinet Minister, he was KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's most trusted lieutenant and had a strong moderating influence on KwaZulu politics.

He has played a leading role in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the creation of the Joint Executive Authority, and in discussions between Ullundi and Pretoria on South Africa's political future.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said he had not been approached, and declined to comment.

After resigning as leader of the official Opposition in a dramatic speech during the 1986 no-confidence debate in Parliament, he formed the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).



VAN ZYL SLABBERT: No comment.

Nats, Inkatha break new ground

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14/7/80
DURBAN — The National Party will be officially represented for the first time at Inkatha's national council in Ulundi today when the Zulu-based organisation will open its doors to all races and become a fully fledged political party.

The NP delegation will be led by the chairman of the NP in Natal, Mr Jurie Mentz, and includes the NP's chief

director of information, Mr Renier Schoeman, the MP for Umfolozi, Mr James Schnetler, and the new member of the President's Council, Mr Rudi Redinger.

NP sources said the official representation should be seen as a confirmation of the Government's view that Inkatha was "unquestionably a major player in the negotiations which lie ahead". — Own Correspondent.



Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend Argus.

Mark Perrow just "can't beat the feeling" in the strained hands which helped him paddle to the front of the Berg River Marathon.

Perrow paddles to front of race

From DON HOLLIDAY
Weekend Argus Reporter
ZOUTKLOOF. — Defending champion Graham Monteith emerged victorious after completing the third leg of the KWV Berg River canoe marathon in 4:17:43.

He was followed home yesterday by Natal Springbok Mark Perrow, who has become the new overall leader in the

race, and Bennie Reynders.

Perrow has an overall time of 10:45:44 — just 1:21 less than Monteith.

Confounded critics

Peninsula Canoe Club's Dene Simpson confounded her critics when she romped home more than two minutes ahead of seven-times winner Marinda Hartzenberg.

Simpson now leads overall with a time of 12:39:11, compared with Hartzenberg's 12:43:35.

Simpson was jubilant when she got out of her canoe.

"I heard Marinda was going to teach me how to paddle.

"Well, this was the first lesson and the teacher failed to pitch up.

"I feel great," she said.

Veterans

Veteran Andre Collins dominated the veterans' section, finishing 15th overall.

Richard von Mansberg maintained his lead in the juniors, finishing 30th overall.

Several people were treated for slight dehydration and exhaustion.



Hot-spot winner Bennie Reinders shows the style that won him the R1 000 prize for being the first to cross the line at Misverstand Dam.



Dene Simpson paddles towards a second victory over champion canoeist Marinda Hartzenberg.

DP banks on new economic policy to ensure its future

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party is counting on a new economic policy to be unveiled at its national congress soon to help restore the confidence of doubting MPs and ensure the party a significant role in the future.

In the wake of the Umlazi disaster and the resignation of co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, the unveiling of the new policy is being seen within the party as one of the most important features of the congress, likely to be held before October.

The party believes its strength and relevance will lie in a bold, constructive economic policy, rather than in any contribution it could make to

constitutional developments.

"We are looking beyond a constitutional settlement to a situation where the real issue will be economic policy," said national council chairman Mr David Gant.

Party tension

Details of the policy have to be finalised and circulated to the regions for comment.

Divergent views on economic policy — between those who favour orthodox capitalism and those who prefer free enterprise tempered with greater social spending — are being blamed for at least some of the tension in the party.

While some MPs discount this, saying disagreement is

more about phraseology than fundamental tenets of policy, all agree that a new, challenging and more clearly defined approach is desirable.

It has also emerged that some MPs are worried that in the run-up to the congress a leadership race between Dr Zac de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall could damage the party, with fears that the barely concealed division between the factions supporting the two men could widen.

Some MPs believe a new leader would be desirable and Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe, who is party chairman, is favourably tipped.

One MP said: "What we must avoid is a battle of personal-

ities. We must choose a leader who must spell out clearly where the party is going."

Arrangements for the congress will be finalised on Wednesday when the party's *dag bestuur* meets in Cape Town.

The options

Mr Gant said the party was looking at "six or seven" options for the date and venue of the congress.

MPs want it to be held soon so that uncertainties over leadership and policy can be resolved.

Some have indicated they will reconsider their position in the party on the basis of congress decisions.

WIL ARGUS 14/7/80 (3084)

What started with a bang could end in a whisper

SINCE February we have been experiencing, internally and externally, great enthusiasm — even euphoria — about President F W de Klerk's preparedness to negotiate a transition towards a non-racial democratic constitution for a New South Africa and about his alleged capability to "deliver". I am one of those who remain sceptical.

There are reasons to suspect that he announced his February initiatives under intense international (and especially Thatcherite) pressure and that he and his government have since been trying to maintain South Africa's newly-captured moral high ground in the international arena.

But let us suppose — for the sake of this article — that De Klerk and his inner circle in the Cabinet are indeed committed towards a transition to a non-racial democracy. Given this supposition, we can focus on the NP and its supporters' preparedness to support the transfer of both political power and some (hopefully sufficient) economic wealth to the very poor majority in South Africa.

The NP is undoubtedly no longer the political party of 1948 — both as far as its membership composition and the attitudes of its supporters are concerned. In 1948 only 42 percent of the electorate supported the NP. More than 90 percent of them were Afrikaners. The Afrikaner community was at that stage relatively poor with a per capita-income of less than 50 percent of the English-speaking Whites.

FROM 1961 until 1981 a remarkably high degree of political unity — in spite of mounting tension — was maintained in Afrikaner and NP circles. In the six elections from 1961 to 1981 round about 85 percent of Afrikaners voted for the NP. The split of February 1982 brought an end to this cultural and political unity. The split also ended the NP's one-sided character as an almost exclusive Afrikaner party. Its electoral support of Afrikaners dropped from 85 percent in 1981 to 50 percent in 1987, and only 46 percent in 1989. At the same time the non-Afrikaner support of the NP increased from about 20 percent in 1981 to 55 percent in 1987 and to at least 60 percent in 1989.

Further important shifts in political alliances have taken place since President De Klerk announced his reform initiatives in February. If an election were to be called now, the NP would probably receive less than 40 percent of the Afrikaner vote and at least 70 percent of the non-Afrikaner vote.

If the attitudes of the NP's supporters today are compared with those of 1948, even more drastic changes have taken place. In 1948 the Afrikaners were to a large degree still a rural and traditionally orientated society. Their position of relative poverty and "underdevelopment" vis-a-vis their English-speaking compatriots was experienced as a strong unifying force. After being pampered, privileged and protected for the past 40 years by both the apartheid system and the political monopoly of the NP, the Afrikaners have become *embourgeoisment* in an artificial and partly undeserved manner and at a too rapid pace.



Economist Professor Sampie Terreblanche, of the University of Stellenbosch, warns that expectations are too high on both sides of South Africa's Great Divide and should be scaled down drastically as soon as possible...

THIS process of economic upliftment and enrichment has, however, not affected all Afrikaners equally. This is one of the important reasons for the sharp divisions now existing in Afrikaner ranks. The 50 percent or more of Afrikaners supporting the Conservative Party are to a large degree those Afrikaners that have economically been less successful or have been affected negatively by the creeping poverty of the past 15 years. The attitudes of the Afrikaners supporting the CP can be described as typical of a disgruntled and impoverishing (petit) bourgeoisie (conventional middle-class). They avail themselves with high-sounding ideological rhetoric to conceal their economic grievances.

The less than 40 percent of Afrikaners still supporting the NP could be described as the successful and relatively prosperous bourgeoisie. They remain much attached to the NP because they expect the NP to protect and enhance their relatively large material wealth. The rest of the Afrikaners — a small group of 10 to 15 percent — are those that have not only become detribalised but also disenchanted with the NP. They regard the eventually of a majority (ie a black) government as both inevitable and desirable.

THE English-speaking whites are traditionally a wealthy community with rather strong bourgeoisie and materialistic attitudes. Their increasing support for the NP since the early eighties can be explained in terms of their expectation that only the NP can protect and enhance their large economic interests the way they think they ought to be protected and enhanced.

Last year I described the close co-operation between important sections of the English and Afrikaner establishments in terms of an (unholy) marriage between the English-speaking capitalistic "gentleman" of Johannesburg and the Afrikaans-speaking bureaucratic "lady" of Pretoria. Given the political shifts and new alliances of

1990, the metaphor of a marriage is no longer applicable. As far as the De Klerk NP (or the New National Party) is concerned, language and cultural backgrounds are no longer of any relevance. In sharp contrast to the NP of 1980 — then still the "shelter" of the white tribe of Africa — the New NP of 1990 has become the "Fort Pretoria" for a typically *White Bourgeoisie Society*.

De Klerk's supporting Press is reflecting the depth of this bourgeois-mentality of the New NP quite clearly. As part and parcel of the artificially created De Klerk euphoria the supporters of the NNP are promised an economic Win Country ("Wenland") with a win-win process where everyone will be a winner and nobody will be a loser!

PEOPLE in the "inner circles" of the NNP explained to me that this kind of economic "Wenland"-propaganda was necessary to stem the tide of defection towards the CP. If this is true we have ended up in the unsavoury situation where the CP is promising its disgruntled supporters a completely unattainable "Witland" (White land), while the NNP and its media are trying to outbid the CP by promising its typical bourgeoisie supporters an equally unattainable "Wenland" (Win land).

The NNP plans a broadly based information campaign during the rest of the year to explain the real intention of the De Klerk initiatives to its supporters. Will it be yet another propaganda campaign or an attempt to re-educate the whites for a New South Africa? If the NNP is sincere about the transfer of political power, the attitudes and "mind set" of its supporters will have to be changed in at least three aspects.

Firstly, the supporters of the NNP have become spoiled by its political domination and by the way the political monopoly was misused for sectional favouritism and patronage. This will have to be abandoned.

Secondly, the majority of the whites will also have to abandon

their racial prejudices and their concurrent white superiority complex.

Thirdly, the White Bourgeoisie Society — as the real power base of the NNP — will have to be told in straight language that South Africa cannot be a "Wenland" during the transitional period and that economic sacrifices by Whites are inevitable.

IT will of course be extremely difficult to change the "mind-set" of the typical White Bourgeoisie Society (WBS) about any of these three attitudes. Given the WBS's very strong bourgeois-mentality and the degree to which they have become spoiled (or corrupted?) by living standards that are far too high for a Third World country like South Africa, the third attitude will probably prove to be the most difficult to change. Experience has however proved decisively in other countries that a process of structural change is intrinsically a painful process where some groups (mainly the privileged ones) are losers and others (mainly the deprived ones) are hopefully winners.

I have often been confronted with the argument that it is not possible to mobilise enough electoral support for the De Klerk initiatives by the "negative" arguments about "painful" attitudinal changes and economic sacrifices. I am not convinced by this line of argument. I regard it of paramount importance that the too high expectations on both sides of the Great Divide should be scaled down drastically as soon as possible. It is a dangerous game when a too optimistic economic scenario is deliberately created and maintained.

Instead of promising an unattainable economic "Wenland" for blacks and whites alike, the De Klerk government and its slavish media should rather try to convince and to re-educate every South African about the dire need for a "Beterland" (better land) — that is, a morally better and more human country for all its inhabitants.

Stick with us, DP tells members

CPM 14/7/80 304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC PARTY regional chairmen yesterday urged the embattled party's wavering supporters to stick with the DP and continue fighting for liberal values and against the National Party.

DP Southern Transvaal chairman Mr Peter Soal said members who joined either the NP or the ANC would be "swallowed up" and their liberal voices would become lost.

DP Western Cape chairman Mr Jannie Momberg said it would be "fatal" for DP supporters to join the NP fold at this stage in South Africa's political history.

The effort by the regional chairmen to rally party supporters and boost morale came soon after another two DP MPs — Mr Geoff Engel of Bezuidenhout and Mr Louis de Waal of North Rand — indicated they were considering their future in the party.

Earlier, the MP for Greytown Mr Pieter Cronje and the MP for Durban Central Mr Peter Gastrow, said they were considering their future in the party following the resignation of DP co-leader

Liberals who leave will 'lose voice'

and their former National Democratic Movement colleague, Mr Wynand Malan.

Mr Soal said the DP still had a major role to play in terms of safeguarding liberal values and assisting with the negotiation and reconciliation phase in SA politics.

He said DP members should make up their own minds about remaining with the party but emphasised that Mr Malan's resignation was not sparked by ideological differences with the party.

Mr Momberg, a former Nationalist of 30 years standing, acknowledged that Mr Malan's resignation had left "a great vacuum" in the DP.

But he argued that it was now more important than ever for DP members to fight to keep the party strong and viable.

"To go into the NP camp now will be fatal. It will be a tragic loss if a white parliamentary party to the left of the NP stops pressurising the government.

"The DP must aggressively monitor the NP at the negotiation table — that will be its key role in the future," he said.

Mr Momberg said that talk about whether the DP still had a future was "strange" if one looked at the current political scene in the country.

"One reads of squatter huts being demolished and people being killed which sounds so familiar of NP misrule over 42 years."

Mr Momberg said President F W de Klerk had so far liberalised SA politics but he now had to democratise it.

So far all the so-called irreversible reform is limited to the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act. The rest are words and promises."

The Group Areas Act was still on the statute book and was to be "re-appraised". The Population Registration Act still placed people into race groups.

DP hit by transition nerves

Malan's resignation part of the syndrome, says Slabbert

THE shock resignation this week of Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Wynand Malan was a manifestation of uncertainty during the period of political transition, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

Addressing the 13th AIESEC annual winter school at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr Slabbert said the DP, more than any other political party, was feeling "the pinch of transition far more visibly".

He said now that President F W de Klerk had taken over "the language and principles" of the DP, there was now a "drift away from the DP at the grassroots".

Apocalyptic visions

Dr Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party and founder and co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said most whites who voted for the Conservative Party (CP) during the Umlazi Parliamentary by-election did so out of fear of the political unknown in future.

"One of the hallmarks of transition politics is uncertainty, which tends to make people afraid and reactionary."

"In a period of transition people tend to be very nervous and anxious, and begin to have all kinds of apocalyptic visions."

"The majority of whites who vote for the CP do so because they are scared of the unknown during the period of transition," he added.

However, Dr Slabbert discounted the possibility of a right-wing military coup, saying there were

KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Political Staff

more black policemen and prison warders in the country than there were white ones.

Since whites in South Africa were not colonists with somewhere else to go to, and since it was unlikely that foreign intervention would play a major role in any future settlement in the country, there was an even greater need for democratisation through negotiations.

The democratisation process, said Dr Slabbert, would have to take at least at four levels:

- At the constitutional level where the Namibian Constitution could serve as a shining example. Encouraging in this regard was the fact that political organisations in the country were beginning to talk each other and find each other.
- The civil service would have to be geared towards serving all South Africans equally so that it would not block the normalisation process.
- Since South Africa could not enter into a new phase with an old Budget, the Budget would accordingly have to be democratised.
- The country's economy, which was presently heavily slanted in favour of whites, would also have to be addressed and changed.
- A "few imponderables", Dr Slabbert said, were the need for the security forces in the country to be absolutely non-partisan so that all parties would consider them fair.

In addition there was the need for all political energies to be channelled towards the unskilled and unemployed black youths, and the need for business to become actively involved in addressing historical imbalances during the transitional period.



MAN OF MERCY: Abduli Sattar Edhi chats to children at his orphanage in

Your duty to laugh in the face of power

S/Times 15/7/90 (304A)

THE French Revolution was doomed on November 5 1792 after a bold editor accused Robespierre of being vain-glorious and setting himself up as a demigod and dictator.

In an extraordinarily pompous reply, Robespierre declared that he was striving for power not out of personal ambition but from humble devotion to the Revolution and because he felt himself to be a repository of Historical Truth.

Now the crucial thing was this: nobody laughed. By this time, the mood of irrationalism and violence had so cowed the opposition that they received this ludicrous speech in pious silence.

In South Africa today, the pious silence that meets the silly declarations of the African National Congress, the Government, the bishops, and the businessmen suggests that we are approaching this dangerous state of prostration. We are

Andrew Kenny calls for less adulation and more scepticism when it comes to assessing our national political and business leaders

becoming a nation of sycophants.

Nothing better illustrates this than reaction to the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela. What was disquieting was not so much the worshipping of Mandela by the mass media (after all, once you've created a god, you might as well worship him) as the implicit assumption that not one disrespectful word towards him or the ANC is to be allowed.

Pluck

When Business Day editor Ken Owen wrote some disparaging remarks about events after The Release, he was denounced in letters from people — like Democratic Party MPs — who used to believe in free speech but now obviously feel that there are some beings so saintly that it is sacrilege to criticise them.

The statements on economic policy by ANC leaders show that they still believe in the Garden of Eden theory of economics, by which all wealth has already been created by God and it is only required for man to pluck it from the trees and gather it from the earth.

By this theory, a mine is a hole in the ground from which money appears (in fact, a nationalised mine is more likely to be a hole into which money disappears). Their absurd pronouncements on nationalisation need scornful rebuttal rather than the solemn

deliberations they have been receiving.

Excessive reverence for ANC leaders stifles robust criticism of them. Liberal politicians and commentators disgrace themselves by their failure to confront the ANC on an even more fundamental issue. As ordinary white South Africans contemplate majority rule, their overwhelming fear, their number one issue, is the miserable failure of independent black Africa.

This, the most important concern of the whites, is ignored or glossed over by liberal politicians and commentators when they question the ANC. It is extremely dangerous that the only voices to address these fears come from the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Crime

Traditional African civilisation is in some ways superior to modern Western civilisation, which is becoming trashy and obsessed with self, but the curse of Africa is the refusal to tolerate variety and dissent.

Throughout black Africa, it is a crime to make fun of political leaders and criticism is equated with treason. In South Africa, black people bring these attitudes to the trade unions, the universities, and the political arenas.

But if black Africa is traditionally authoritarian, white South Africa is becoming increasingly so,

despite the liberal traditions of both Afrikaners and English-speakers.

The fiercely independent Boers of previous centuries have been replaced by obedient party functionaries and collectivist civil servants. And the English-speakers, whose power has been in the economy, are turning from the vigorous free enterprise of the past to a deadening corporatism.

Visions

In the business section of the magazine racks, you will see an array of glossy publications. Each looks a bit like Cosmopolitan, but, instead of a gorgeous, pouting dolly-bird, the cover shows a middle-aged man in a suit gazing soulfully at the horizon; instead of stories about housewives having orgasms, there are stories about businessmen having visions.

These magazines, with their pretentious names, regard the big corporations in the same reverential, uncritical way that the so-called alternative Press regards the ANC or UDF. They reflect the mood of capitalism in South Africa today, where individualism has been replaced by corporatism, competition by cartels and questioning by obedience, and where rigid hierarchies enforce conformity.

We are becoming like badly trained dogs who know only how to grovel or bite. At the English-speaking universities, students either howl down outside speakers or kneel before them. Black workers either obey every wish of the local cadre or beat him to death.

White workers listen respectfully to the liberal thoughts of their Anglo-American bosses and then join the AWB. Mandela is either cursed as a devil or adored as a Messiah.

This is infantile and dangerous. If, as some fear, we are sliding toward a sort of deal between the ANC, the NP and big business, which all share collectivist-corporatist-authoritarian view of the world, such attitudes spell doom for the country.

The only cure is to reaffirm and defend the principles of liberty. Free speech means free speech. It means that awkward, unpleasant issues must be addressed as well as nice, comfortable ones. It means that each citizen has the right to pass destructive as well as constructive criticism; he has the right to mock his leaders and ridicule their pretensions to power. To allow only "responsible" criticism is in effect to allow no criticism at all.

Targets

Contrary to some recent judgments, it is a fundamental principle of liberal civilisation that being high and mighty in a free country does not shield you from criticism. Indeed, quite the opposite — in a free society the powerful are considered more deserving targets of critical exposure than the humble.

I make an appeal to everybody who believes in liberty. The next time you hear a defence minister stating that he knows nothing about the death squads or an ANC leader proclaiming the benefits of nationalisation or the chairman of a large corporation announcing his latest vision, do your duty: laugh.

□ Andrew Kenny, a mechanical engineer at a Johannesburg industrial firm, writes for Frontline and The Spectator of London.

DP 'players' line up against 'watchers'

SUPPORTERS of resigned Democratic Party co-leader Wynand Malan are planning to seize the party's forthcoming congress and force the party to reshape its role in politics.

If the group doesn't get its way, there could be substantial desertions from the party.

The division in the party appears to be between those who see themselves as "watchers" (brokers and peacemakers) in negotiations and those who want the party to become "players" by building alliances with the ANC and other groups.

"People are furious," said one member of the group. "There will probably be a major blow-up at the congress — and it could lead to a walk-out."

STimes
15/7/90 Segment

3041
Yesterday, however, Dr Zach de Beer, the man tipped to win the sole leadership vote at the congress, was unperturbed.

He said Mr Malan's resignation this week was a "considerable loss", but it would not disturb the party's balance.

The members of the dissident group either have strong ANC sympathies — or believe that the ANC will eventually emerge from negotiations as the strongest party.

The most prominent of Mr Malan's followers associated with the group are Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central, Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, Louis de Waal, MP for Northrand, and Geoff

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Engel, MP for Bezuidenhout.

The significance of the group is that it represents the "Afrikaans Yuppie" segment of the DP.

The group is likely to delay sympathy resignations until seeing the outcome of the congress.

Should the congress go against the group, a decision by its members to align themselves with the ANC would be a distinct likelihood.

The party has not yet decided on the venue and timing of the congress. Dr De Beer said the delay had been a case of logistics — 800 people have to be accommodated.

The timing, particularly, has become a point of political brinkmanship between the DP and President FW de Klerk, who must call a by-election to fill Mr Malan's Randburg seat.

A trouncing of the DP by the National Party before the congress — and following the recent Umlazi debacle — could have a catastrophic effect on morale and strengthen the "players' hand.

According to law, the President can call a by-election in late September at the earliest — about the time the DP was thinking of holding its congress.

The DP's management committee meets on Wednesday and is expected to decide on a congress date and venue.

Wynand: Why I threw in towel

By DRIES van HEERDEN

TO understand Wynand Malan is not difficult. All it requires is to recall everything you have learnt up till now about politics — and then disregard it.

This week the 47-year-old co-leader of the Democratic Party turned the political scene upside down by announcing his sudden resignation from Parliament and his complete retirement from public life.

It was a decision that shook his party — already in a state of shock after the Umlazi by-election — to the core. But for those who have followed his career closely over the past few years it came as little surprise.

Positions, power, ego-trips and cushy jobs mean nothing to him. He calls himself "a very reluctant politician".

Message

He has always been more of a missionary than a conventional politician. A man trying to sell a vision, an ideal, rather than a policy. A "process politician" as opposed to a "power politician".

And now it seems as if few of his colleagues ever understood him. Not in the National Party, where he vainly tried for more than a decade to change the system from within. Neither in the Democratic Party.

Mr Malan was out to win votes, as any politician worth his salt should do. He wanted to win souls for the new South Africa.

"I have done my duty. I have achieved what I set out to do. Now is the time for me to leave," a relaxed Mr Malan told me this week in his comfortable home in Randburg, the constituency he served since the early 70s — first as town councillor, then mayor and later as MP.

"I have never considered myself to be a career politician. I don't want promotions or an administrative job in the new South Africa. I entered politics to sell a message. The message won. This leaves me free to return to my first love, the law."

Biblical

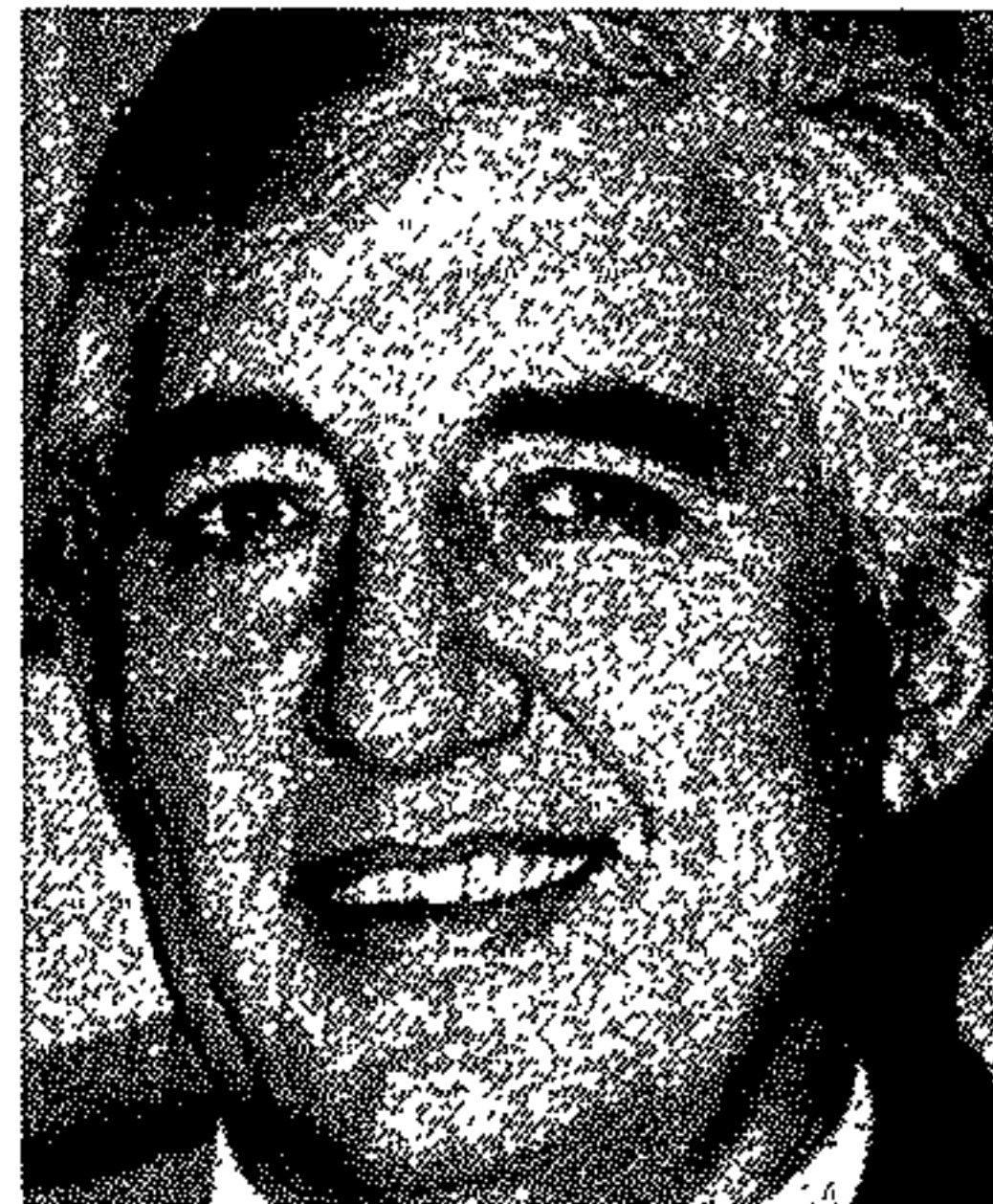
The fundamental change that the political landscape underwent after President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech gave Mr Malan his reason to leave. The process towards a negotiated political settlement is now irreversible, he believes.

"There is no turning back for either the NP or the ANC."

And being a political missionary, he switches to Biblical images. "It is like the kingdom of heaven. It still has to come ... but it is already here."

Politics has always been in Wynand Charl Malan's blood. He was born while his father was serving time for Ossewa-brandwag activities with former Prime Minister John Vorster.

His early career followed a path that should have taken him to the very top of the political heap — leader of the



VISIONARY ... Wynand Malan

National Party youth movement, president of the Junior Rapportryers, president of the Ruiterwag (the youth wing of the Broederbond), city councillor, MP, member of the select committee on constitutional development.

Instead, he chose to become the conscience of his party during the darkest days of Mr P W Botha's rule by séurocrats. This led him to direct confrontation with a leader who tolerated no dissent.

Perhaps he was at his happiest in the short period he led the tiny National Democratic Movement. Here he could be the missionary — spreading the gospel of reconciliation, a just society and a social-democratic economic order — without bothering about organisation, caucuses, structures or even votes.

Trust

Most politicians are like professional boxers. Always ready for one more fight when they hear a bell ringing. Won't he be tempted to make a comeback?

"I am not a betting man but, if I were, I would not put money on it," he says.

"To put me at the negotiating table would be a mistake. I am not interested in working out details of a new constitution. I know the people on all sides who will be involved and I have the utmost trust in their abilities."

Early retirement means more time to spend with his family.

"It was only this week when I came home early that I realised how wonderful it is to spend an evening with your family."

On July 31 Wynand Malan will cut political ties built up over more than two decades. On August 1 he will become a partner in a Randburg law firm.

He has no regrets. "People should realise I did not leave politics out of frustration," he says.

"On the contrary, I do it out of contentment and happiness that I have succeeded in what I set out to accomplish."

51 Times 157790

Simon Barber

3041

WHEN media coverage of Nelson Mandela's US tour was at its height, American pollster Louis Harris asked 1254 of his countrymen what they felt about their visitor.

Most, including 62 percent of self-described conservatives, found him to be a fine fellow. No harm in that.

More disturbing, on the surface at any rate, was that a similar proportion — 66 percent — were persuaded by his message that sanctions should be maintained.

The obvious question is whether that obedient servant of the polls, President George Bush, will find this persuasive when, as is expected to be the case quite shortly, political prisoners are freed to the ANC's satisfaction, the vestigial state of emergency in Natal is lifted and enough of the Anti-Apartheid Act's conditions are thereby met to permit its modification.

My guess is that Bush will seek guidance elsewhere.

For one thing, Harris is a notoriously partisan interpreter of the national entrails. He has a wonderful knack for drawing from his respondents the answers the Democratic Party would most like to hear.

IN 1988 for example he was forever discovering that the party's hapless presidential nominee Michael Dukakis was on the verge of a breakthrough.

On this occasion not even Harris could completely submerge the fact that there is considerable unease abroad both about Mandela and his prescriptions.

Americans are immune neither to hype nor guilt complexes. When they are asked, leadingly, whether they believe Mandela to be "one of the truly outstanding leaders of the world", it is scarcely surprising that

DATELINE WASHINGTON



No blood on SA's horizon!

60 percent should say yes.

He was on television so much, what else could he be? Besides, put a racially weighted question to a complete stranger and chances are you are not going to get a completely honest answer.

Much depends, of course, on the question and whether the subject is sufficiently at ease to bare his or her soul.

When, having evinced the positive responses, Harris asked whether Mandela's "history of having co-operated with radical or revolutionary groups makes you wonder ...", 50 percent agreed that it did.

Confronted with the possibility that sanctions might imperil State President F W de Klerk from the right, 54 percent confessed unease.

Naturally, these results

did not make it to the top of Harris' analysis. They did not figure at all in a press release put out by the American Committee on Africa, a sanctions lobby which hailed the poll as a vindication of its crusade.

Also, nobody thought to comment on what was perhaps the most interesting finding of all, namely that 61 percent of Americans do not believe that apartheid can be ended without bloodshed.

CONSIDERING their own experience of racial conflict and the fact that what little they know of South Africa comes from media coverage that emphasises the daily body count, this is not surprising. As a result, its significance is regularly overlooked.

So long as Americans and their politicians remain stuck in the mindset that there can be no peaceful settlement in South Africa, they are unlikely to make any useful contribution.

To the contrary, they will tend to write the place off and take whatever happens to be the line of least resistance at home.

Why go through the agonies of arguing with Mandela or the likes of Jesse Jackson and the Congressional Black Caucus if, in your heart of hearts, you don't believe that winning the argument will do much to alter the outcome on the ground?

For that reason, it might perhaps be wiser for De Klerk and his government to forget about the sanctions issue for a while and try instead to bring down the percentage of those who believe that there is no bloodless solution.

Convince them that the future is bright. Excite them from their idle despair.

'Readiness' to accept change

WHITE South Africans were becoming less anxious about domestic social change and seemed more willing to come to terms with the inevitable, according to a survey of white opinion by the SA Institute of International Affairs.

The survey was conducted among 1 600 white South Africans from all four provinces in January this year. More than 60% of the respondents were Afrikaans-speaking; nearly 80% were older than 25 years of age and 65% earned more than R2 000 a month.

Over 50% of white respondents — of whom 76% were English-speaking — agreed the Group Areas Act should be scrapped.

Afrikaans-speakers and those in the lower income groups were far less enthusiastic on the subject.

Over 40% of the respondents agreed that SABC TV

EDYTH BULBRING

adequately informed the public on domestic and international political developments.

Over 30% of the respondents believed blacks had reason to take up arms.

Analyst Andre du Pisani said he suspected the violence in Natal had resulted in a hardening of white opinions.

Nearly 65% believed whites could not depend on the loyalty of blacks in the case of war against SA.

Parliament

This response reflected pervasive distrust between white and black South Africans and did not augur well for negotiations, Du Pisani said.

Over 60% of the respondents believed blacks should serve with whites, coloureds and Indians in the same Parliament and over 50% agreed the gov-

ernment should negotiate with the ANC. Afrikaans-speakers were far less inclined to share this view than their English-speaking counterparts (38% as opposed to 73%).

Only 30% of the respondents believed the SA economy was strong enough to prevent economic sanctions hurting the country. Afrikaans-speakers and those under the age of 25 had the greatest faith in the economy's ability to withstand the harmful effects of sanctions.

Over 54% of the respondents agreed that the only way in which SA could in the long run avoid tougher economic sanctions was by granting equal political rights to blacks.

These figures indicated there was a softening of opinion on socio-economic issues as well on reform, Du Pisani said.

The legacies of the doctrine of "total onslaught" seemed to live on in the minds of many white South Africans and a high level of distrust was prevalent when it came to the loyalty of fellow black South Africans, he said.

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989.....	668
February 1989 — July 12 1990:.....	1 103
Past 72 hours' official toll:.....	11
TOTAL:.....	1 782

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Mompoti and Cheryl Carolous.

"Women of all races have made vital contributions to society while also fulfilling their traditional role as bearers and nurturers of children and obeying and loving wives to their husbands.

The South African Government, she said, had left out women in their talks with the ANC, who had two women in their team in Ruth

ment (Aiesec) conference held at Wits University.

This was said by the co-chairman of Women for Peace, Irina Xenopolous, at an International Association for students interested in Economics and Manage-

This was said by the co-chairman of Women for Peace, Irina Xenopolous, at an International Association for students interested in Economics and Manage-

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Argument for the maximum devolution of power in SA

GAIL DAY

IN A genuine democracy checks and balances are written into the constitution to ensure that the people are sovereign and to prevent the domination of minorities. Nowhere are these checks more effective than in a devolved federal system — especially where such a system includes the right to vote directly on issues through the referendum.

The advantages guaranteed by maximum devolution of power, a limited central government and the referendum are particularly important in a diverse and conflict-ridden society such as ours.

In a devolved federation most decisions are made in second- and third-tier governments (states, cantons, counties and communities) and the federal government has no right to interfere in local politics — unless the states attempt to override fundamental rights detailed in a bill of rights.

No racial lines

SA is divided into 266 magisterial districts. For two reasons these would be an ideal starting point for determining future state borders.

Firstly, the borders of the magisterial districts were not drawn along racial lines, but along administrative lines so federal units based on these areas would be non-racial.

Secondly, each district already contains the administrative infrastructure for most government functions. They could simply be handed legislative powers over the functions they already administer.

Ideally the federal borders should not be imposed. The people (of all races) living in each district should determine their own borders democratically through a series of referendums.

An important benefit of federalism is that it allows the expression of ideological diversity.

Local governments can experiment with, among other things, different labour, educational and tax policies. People can vote with their feet and their hands for the local government they prefer, in effect creating a marketplace in politics.

The independent homelands should be given a choice of remaining separate or becoming federal states.

If a homeland government refuses to offer its people this choice — as is likely in Bophuthatswana — the citizens should be granted SA citizenship anyway. They would then be free to move into SA, forcing their homeland government to govern well in an effort to prevent a mass exodus.

Subsidies to the homelands should stop to ensure better economic policies are practised in them.

The federal government's primary task should be to protect individual rights with the help of an independent judiciary. We recommend that central government otherwise be limited to five areas of control: foreign affairs, national finance, national defence, the provision of national roads and railways and the maintenance of a central appeal court.

The federal government should constitute two houses, as in the US, with equal representation from each state in one house, and representation based on the numbers of people in each federal unit in the second house. In addition, there should be proportional representation along party lines in each house.

This is a prerequisite in any participative democracy and is especially important in a diverse society such as ours where a simple winner-takes-all majority could in effect be created by less than 30% of the people.

Five Cabinet Ministers, one representing each federal portfolio, should be elected by

both houses. Each Minister should come from a different state and should represent the major political parties in the country, with not more than two from the same political party.

The Ministers should take it in turn to spend one year only as chairman of the Cabinet and president of the country.

There is no more effective check against government abuse than the referendum which is used extensively in the US, Switzerland and Australia. The referendum guarantees that people are sovereign, prevents undue centralisation and ensures accountable leadership.

Unpopular

Through the referendum the people can:

☐ Vote on changes to the constitution. This has the dual effect of preventing politicians from centralising power and yet allowing the people to amend the constitution to reflect changes in societal attitudes;

☐ Vote on new legislation which proves unpopular. Provided 1% of the registered voters sign a petition within six months of the introduction of a new law, that new law must be put to the vote. A majority vote against the law would mean its removal from the statute books;

☐ Introduce legislation. Provided 2% of the registered voters sign a petition requesting it, any issue must be put to the vote. A majority vote in favour of the issue would mean that a new law be included on the statute books; and

☐ Recall unpopular politicians.

A devolved, participatory democracy would encourage all South Africans to become actively involved in decisions affecting their lives and would prevent domination by one interest group.

It would encourage accountable leadership, sensible, low tax policies, reasonable welfare provisions and general peace and prosperity.

☐ Day is a member of Groundswell, a group lobbying for a federal political system.

July 16 1990

Star

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DP meetings to decide on party future

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party this week holds two meetings which will be crucial to its future.

Tonight the Southern Transvaal executive committee meets to decide whether or not to fight the Randburg by-election, following the retirement from politics of Randburg MP and party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan last week.

Obliged

Co-leader Zach de Beer and South Transvaal chairman Peter Soal have made it clear they believe the DP will in fact fight Randburg.

Although the party is obliged to defend a seat that it already holds, there are real fears inside the party that it will lose it.

If it loses badly, the result could underscore perceptions that the party's role is played out and seriously jeopardise its future existence.

On Wednesday the management committee of the national council executive meets in Cape Town to decide on a date for a national congress to determine the leadership issue and set the party's future direction.

It is highly likely the congress will choose one leader and Dr de Beer seems to be emerging as the favourite.

Mr Malan's decision to quit the leadership has sharpened the debate in the party about its relevance.

Some MPs sympathetic to Mr Malan — such as Peter Gastrow, Pierre Cronje and Louis de Waal — have openly stated they are re-considering their positions in the party.

Some feel that unless the congress can determine a definite role for the party to ensure its relevance, they will leave.

There is a strong feeling in the Malan camp that the party should now play the role of championing a social democratic economic system for South Africa.

Mr van der Merwe said last night that three possible dates were being investigated for the congress — early September, October and November.

No likely candidates have yet emerged to stand for the DP in Randburg.

Offer

The National Party and Conservative Party have confirmed they will fight the Randburg by-election.

Party sources said it was likely the candidature would be offered to indirectly-elected MP Glenn Babb, who lost by just over 1 700 votes against Mr Malan in the general election last September.

Mandela-De Klerk: early talks expected

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela returns to South Africa this week after a gruelling international tour to resume peace talks with the Government.

He is expected to have an early meeting with President de Klerk, who returns to his office in Pretoria this week after a brief leave.

The crucial issue to be tackled by both leaders is the ending of the ANC's armed struggle and the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

Logical

A joint ANC/Government working group has been discussing this problem and is expected to report to both leaders soon.

Government sources said last night no dates had been set for the completion of the working group's discussions.

And no date had been set for a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela, although it was logical that this would take place as soon as possible.

Uncertainty about the seriousness of Mr Mandela's pneumonia is making it impossible to predict when the meeting will take place or when broader negotiations on the prisoners issue will resume.

Some Government sources said last night a full meeting between the Government and the ANC, on the scale of the May Groote Schuur summit, was unlikely before later this year.

The joint working group reached agreement in May on a phased release of political prisoners, synchronised with a phasing out of the ANC's armed struggle.

The Government accepted the group's recommendation, but the ANC has raised certain objections which have been returned to the working group for further discussion.

It is understood the disagreements centre on the timing and wording of the commitments the ANC is expected to make on the armed struggle.

The Government expects the ANC to renounce or suspend the armed struggle as soon as guerillas begin to be released, arguing that it cannot be expected to release them to return to fight.

The ANC is understood to be arguing instead for a "mutual ceasefire" in the first place, with a more formal suspension of the armed struggle later.

The Government does not favour this arrangement as it places doubts on the role of the security forces during the interim period.

Mozambique is thanked

By Esmaré van der Merwe and Sapa
MAPUTO — Nelson Mandela yesterday thanked President Joaquim Chissano for Mozambique's sacrifices in the struggle against apartheid.

Mr Mandela, on the last leg of his tour, also paid tribute to his ANC colleagues who died in Mozambique.

Accompanied by his wife Winnie, Mr Mandela visited the Lhanguene cemetery, burial site of 13 ANC members killed when South African commandos raided Mozambique in 1981.

Mr Mandela assured Frelimo of the ANC's firm support and said the ANC was committed to bringing stability to the entire southern African region.

"Some of the most serious problems facing your country will never be solved as long as apartheid is in place," he said.

Mr Chissano reiterated Frelimo's support for the anti-apartheid struggle and hailed Mr Mandela as a respected leader.

Mr Mandela attended a state banquet last night and will address a rally in Maputo today. He will travel to Beira tomorrow and is expected in South Africa on Wednesday.

● Yesterday, the 12-man ANC delegation and hundreds of people dressed in ANC colours gathered at Lhanguene cemetery to pay tribute to fellow activists who had not lived to witness the birth of a new South Africa. Rows of graves bear witness to the ANC's struggle against oppression.

Mr Mandela laid a wreath at the grave of Ruth First, the wife of SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo, who died in Maputo in a letter bomb explosion in 1982.

Mr Mandela said the graves put an obligation on all South Africans to reach a peaceful political settlement.

Earlier, Mr Mandela, accompanied by Mozambican Minister of Security, Mariano Matsinhe, laid a wreath at Heroes' Square as a tribute to President Samora Machel who died in a air-crash in South African territory in 1987, and leaders of the country's struggle against colonialism.

● ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki has denied reports that Mr Mandela will soon visit Cuba to recover from pneumonia and exhaustion. He said Mr Mandela would visit Cuba and several other countries during the course of the year.

Secret talks may have influenced FW, says Cosatu

By DREW FORREST

"CLANDESTINE" talks with union and business representatives may have influenced State President FW de Klerk during last month's Labour Relations Act crisis, claims the Congress of SA Trade Unions.

Cosatu's Geoff Schreiner said the federation had hard information that public service unions and businessmen on the Economic Advisory Council had urged De Klerk in secret meetings last month to delay LRA amendments based on the "Saccola accord".

At the first meeting this week of the "joint working party" on the LRA, proposed at the recent union-employer encounter with De Klerk, Cosatu demanded an end to secret talks between the state, business and unions.

Comment from the president's office could not be obtained yesterday. But a Public Service Association source confirmed that the LRA was raised at a meeting between recognised public service unions and De Klerk on June 12.

"The meeting was mainly about wages, and was public knowledge," he said. "But we did ask the President for more time to consult members on the proposed Bill." De Klerk announced three days later that Parliament would not pass the Bill during the current session.

Cosatu has reacted by intensifying its LRA demands. At the "working party" talks this week, it demanded the enactment of two Bills by no later than early next year: the original Bill, based on the Saccola accord, and further legislation extending the LRA to all workers and creating a "proper" Labour Appeal Court system.

Other demands were that the state immediately grant basic worker rights in the public sector and secure the backing of Cosatu, Saccola and Nactu for any further changes to the LRA.

At the talks, Cosatu demanded the other parties accept that the working group complete its work in 30 days and formulate a settlement for consideration by their constituencies. It added that its programme of mass protest on the LRA could be assessed in the light of an acceptable solution.

It also called on Saccola to agree on measures giving force to the Saccola accord in advance of legislation.

Yesterday Nactu, which did not attend the working party talks, said it would decide whether to participate at a national council meeting later this month.

UN Presses F.W.

NEW YORK. — United Nations Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday praised President F.W. de Klerk for "bold and courageous" policies but said the government urgently needed to tackle right-wing and other violence.

Introducing a report prepared by a UN team, Mr Perez de Cuellar also complimented black leaders for "vision and forbearance" and said South Africa had reached "the threshold of a new era".

"The political process on which he (Mr De Klerk) has embarked holds encouraging prospect of leading to the dismantlement of apartheid," the report said.

He fell far short, however, of finding that "profound and irrevocable changes" had occurred — the requirement set by the declaration for the easing of international pressure.

Last December the General Assembly met in a special session against apartheid, calling for the people of South Africa to negotiate an end to the system and transform their country into a non-racial democracy. It

also called on the secretary-general to make a report on progress toward ending apartheid.

Mr Perez de Cuellar sent a team to South Africa from June 9 to 19, led by Mr Abdulrahim Farah, undersecretary-general for special political questions.

The report indirectly rebuked government leaders for failing to handle right-wing violence and violence between blacks in Natal, saying these needed to be "addressed at the highest level".

More dangerous

Citing an interview with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, the report said Mr Vlok had indicated that the extreme right "could be even more dangerous than the left" and said he was considering prohibiting members of the police force from joining any political parties.

But in contrast to some previous UN reports condemning South Africa, the latest, authorised by the General Assembly, strikes a balance between the government's reforms and existing discriminatory measures.

However, despite the mild tone of the report's conclusions, Foreign Minister Mr P.W. Botha in a statement released in New York immediately condemned it, saying the General Assembly had no right to interfere in South African affairs and should refrain from further action.

But he added: "It is probably the first time since the inception of the United Nations that a report on South Africa has been submitted to the UN containing the views of all parties and acknowledging the intense complexity of the South African situation."

"South Africa has reached the threshold of a new era," Mr Farah said, in his conclusion, to the secretary-general. "The political process on which it has embarked holds encouraging prospects of leading to the dismantlement of apartheid."

But he added: "So long as racial attitudes persist and apartheid structures at the local level remain, the process for change will encounter difficulties."

The report did not address the issue of economic sanctions, which are in force until South Africa meets certain conditions in dismantling apartheid.

In his comments, Mr Perez de Cuellar said that "apartheid laws, repressive security regulations and

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persistent violence, including that prevailing in Natal, continue to adversely affect domestic tranquility as well as a sense of security and well-being of the people".

"So long as racial attitudes persist and apartheid structures at the local level remain, the process for change will encounter difficulties," the report concluded. "These issues need to be addressed as a matter of urgency," it said.

Early stage

The report also spelled out views of human rights and anti-apartheid groups detailing censorship and security legislation that hindered free political activity, despite the release of leading political figures and the unbanning of such groups as the ANC.

The secretary-general added, however, that the process of dismantling apartheid "is still at an early stage" and emphasized that the system had inflicted grave social injustice on blacks.

Mr Perez de Cuellar said he had reached "an understanding" with Mr De Klerk that the mission's visit was "without prejudice" to the government's opposition to UN interference in the country's affairs. — Sapa-Reuter

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New school ruling defended

By Janet Heard,
Education Reporter

The Department of Education and Culture (House of Assembly) has defended the widely-criticised new regulation which stipulates that at least half the pupils at a private school registered with the department must be white.

The regulation is an amendment to the Private Schools Act which appeared in the Government Gazette at the end of last month.

Private schools have expressed outrage at the amendment and say it makes no sense in the light of Government reform.

The Department said in a statement that the amendment clarified existing departmental policy and was a significant improvement on the previous one in that it provided greater clarity and latitude.

It said the amendment expressly stated that the Head of Education could deviate from the regulation in special cases if he deemed it necessary.

The headmaster of Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg, Brother Neil McGurk, said last week that private schools had rejected the idea of a racial quota.

Conservative whites

He accused the department of pandering to conservative whites and of refusing to accept responsibility for the overall national situation.

He asked who would take responsibility for schools in the inner city suburbs which were predominantly black.

He said while the Act applied only to private schools, it was an indication of how States schools may operate if the privatisation model on the opening of schools to all races were implemented next year.

National director of the Independent Schools' Council, Mark Henning, condemned the new regulation and said it was just one manifestation of the many problems in education which would only be resolved when there was a single ministry of education.

"Until that time, we are pleased to hear that the department has explained that the amendment is an improvement and look forward to seeing it being shown in concrete action."



Johan van Staden and JP van der Merwe stop for a closer look at the Winnie Mandela doll.

Picture by David Sandison.

Winnie-the-Pooh, now Winnie the doll

By Adam Gordon

Winnie Mandela: you've read the book, seen the movie, now buy the doll.

She can be found in African curio stores in Johannesburg, and costs about R100.

Winnie comes complete with headband, jewellery and flashy earrings but she has (alas) only one dress. On her back she carries the label "hand made in South Africa".

The dolls are made by Annalie Botha and Coleen Cambell, clothing design students at

Leggats, a fashion design school in Johannesburg.

Annalie and Coleen have made about 40 dolls so far, in their spare time.

She said there was probably not much demand for the dolls in SA because of the price, but she expected Americans to be a large potential market.

Janine Tichauer, co-owner of "Africa Collection" in the Cresta Centre said the dolls have been selling fairly well.

Blom 18/7/90 304A

JCC chairman refuses to name local members

LINDEN BIRNS

WITWATERSRAND joint co-ordinating centre (JCC) chairman J H Opperman has refused to name local members nominated by their government departments but says some JCC meetings will be open to the media.

In an interview yesterday, Opperman would not name Witwatersrand JCC representatives, despite confirmation from the President's Office on Monday that 20 government departments were represented, including the Bureau for Information, the SAP, SADF, Prisons, the Department of National Education and the Department of Education and Training (DET).

"We are treating this in a very sensitive light, and the Press will be invited to some of the meetings. Not all of them though, because there are some confidential things which could be discussed."

Opperman said the SAP and SADF were still involved in the National Co-ordinating Mechanism (NCM), serving as "consulting advisers" on the security aspects of welfare operations carried out by the 11 JCCs.

"For example, if they feel that we're not sensitive enough in our handling of shack dwellers, then they'll tell us. They are there in a supportive role," explained Opperman.

He said neither the SAP nor the SADF served as "line functionaries" even though they were represented as government departments on the JCC.

"In the old National Management

System (NMS), the police and defence force were in control of every aspect except for the welfare committees, and they also formed part of the whole national executive, but this has changed under the new system," he emphasised.

Opperman said the directors-general of the various government departments in each region were responsible for nominating representatives to the JCC.

"These nominated JCC representatives then elect the chairman and vice-chairman, although most of the functions are controlled by the provincial administration," he said.

Smoothly

Opperman said the Witwatersrand JCC executive met fortnightly while the entire JCC met once every second month, and reported to the Cabinet secretariat every three months.

"As a JCC we only have welfare operations, and we manage the co-ordination of action between the different government departments on a local level," said Opperman.

He cited two examples of JCC welfare operations:

"When the TPA got into trouble with the different hospitals, we pooled our staff together to give support in the form of relief administration staff, who kept the administration of the hospitals running smoothly throughout the strike," he said.

They were also involved in education at Orange Farm — a black resettlement area about 40km south of Johannesburg close to the N1 toll road.

"We arranged with the DET to put up a prefabricated school for black pupils, but with the influx of people, we ran out of space and had to convert old farm buildings to use as interface school buildings.

"But the DET didn't have enough teacher posts, furniture or books, so in support we pooled together spare furniture from the different departments," Opperman said.

The JCC also canvassed help from the private sector in renovating the school buildings, and secured a recommendation from the secretariat of the President's Office who set aside money to get basic schooling at Orange Farm off the ground.

"So you can see the various government bodies pool their resources to solve local problems," he said.

Opperman said a major problem facing the JCC was a shortage of staff. "In the old system we had SAP and SADF people available to do the work, and it was totally security orientated, but now these people are no longer available, so it will take some time for us to get out of the implementation phase."

He said work studies were being done to ascertain how many staff members were needed, but added that the shortage was not likely to be solved before the end of the year.

● Comment: Page 8

2. Cape Times, Wednesday, July 18 1990

3044

DP to meet on Randburg

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party's executive is meeting today to decide whether or not to contest the Randburg by-election.

Still rocked by its trouncing in the Umlazi election and the resignation of one of its three leaders, Mr Wynand Malan, from the party and from the Randburg seat, the party faces a difficult decision.

Now Helen Suzman praises FW

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — After 36 years in Parliament opposing the National Party as it implemented apartheid, Mrs Helen Suzman yesterday came out firmly in support of President F W de Klerk's initiatives.

Writing in the Times, the former MP for Houghton again called on the West to assist the "irreversible process" now under way, by lifting sanctions and boosting new investment.

"A process of irreversible change is under way in South Africa. It must be assisted, not hindered. Maintenance of sanctions, disinvestment and deprivation of investment capital will delay and inhibit reform."

She said the NP was now implementing the constitutional proposals which were first advanced by the Progressive Federal Party several years ago, a claim that will add to the beleaguered Democratic Party's identity crisis.

She warned that a failure to achieve rapid economic growth would result in uncontrollable violence as half-a-million young blacks enter the labour market each year with little prospect of employment. This would be accompanied by a massive backlash of white militants.

Responding to an article by Mr De Klerk which appeared in the same newspaper a week ago, Mrs Suzman said: "Mr De Klerk gave details of the new South Africa that he aims to build,

in partnership with other leaders, and the message that comes across loud and clear is: 'We have to try democracy and show that it will work'.

"All the ingredients Mr De Klerk mentions are essential for this fundamental change: Universal adult franchise; constitutional checks and balances against abuse of power by the majority; devolution of centralised power; replacement of a 'winner takes all' electoral system by one that ensures representation of minorities in the political power structure; an independent judiciary, and a bill of rights."

She added: "The recipe for the new South Africa was, ironically enough, contained in constitutional proposals advanced several years ago by the Pro-

gressive Federal Party to which I belonged: They were then dubbed subversive by the government.

"But none of that matters if the man in power is determined to implement the proposals and carry out in the near future his commitment to remove the remaining foundation stones of apartheid: The Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Act.

"That Mr De Klerk has recognised the need to go some way to meet the expectations already raised is shown by his setting aside of R3 billion to provide housing for the estimated seven million people who now live in appalling conditions in squatter camps."

Buthelezi warns on 'bi-polar' negotiations

C/11c 7/11/90

Political Staff

(10) (10) (30/11)

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned against bi-polar negotiations in which the ANC and the government would be the only contending forces.

Addressing the Centre for Policy Studies in London, Chief Buthelezi said if negotiations were allowed to become bi-polar, the ANC would get everything it wanted.

The ANC would then have the powerful advantage of being able to withdraw from the negotiations at any point it chose to, and to return to create the kind of difficulties in confrontation politics which would hold the whole negotiation process to ransom.

He said "all-or-nothing" politics was sought in South Africa only by those who wanted to use the transitory period to establish the sole right to form a government after apartheid.

"Inkatha says very bluntly there will be no democracy if there is not a multiple input to the politics of negotiation, and there will be no democracy unless South Africans really do have a multiple choice in elections after negotiation," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said there would be no Lancaster House-type negotiations and no one-off negotiation event would finally settle the SA problem.

Court stops protest against law firm

THE SA Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union was yesterday stopped by a Supreme Court order from staging a protest campaign against law firm Deneys Reitz, which represents OK Bazaars and Southern Sun/Holiday Inn in the current strikes.

Saccawu passed a resolution at its national congress at Wits last week to conduct the campaign against Deneys Reitz, which it claimed had been responsible for "union-bashing tactics" and "disruption of established collective bargaining processes".

Deneys Reitz was granted an interim order against the union after an urgent application before Mr Justice Strydom in the Rand Supreme Court.

In terms of the interim order, Saccawu, its national organiser Jeremy Daphne and general secretary Vivian Mtwa were interdicted from implementing the resolutions passed at the congress to institute the campaign to pressure and embarrass Deneys Reitz.

The union was also interdicted from staging pickets outside the law firm's Sandton office.

Saccawu must show cause on July 24 why the interim order should not be made final.

Deneys Reitz senior partner Peter Simkins said in an affidavit in support of the application that his firm had acted for OK Bazaars and South-

SUSAN RUSSELL

ern Suns/Holiday Inns in of court applications arising from the strikes.

The suggestion that the firm was responsible for union bashing was without foundation, amounting to an attack on the propriety and integrity of Deneys Reitz and the legal profession as a whole, said Simkins.

"The suggestion that the (firm) is responsible for 'the disruption of established collective bargaining processes' is equally unfounded.

"The bargaining processes take place directly between the (union) representing the employees, and the (firm's) clients and 'their industrial relations consultants'."

Deneys Reitz played no part in the negotiating process as such or in defining employer's bargaining and industrial relations strategy.

"The role of (Deneys Reitz) has been confined to the giving of legal advice and, on instructions, acting as attorney in applications to this Honourable court or in opposing applications in the Industrial Court."

Simkins said the union's programme of action against Deneys Reitz was an attempt to interfere with the administration of justice.

The threatened action would cause considerable and irreparable harm to the firm's practice, reputation and business, he said.

Support for FW from Suzman

KIM BENTLEY

LONDON — After 36 years spent opposing the National Party as it implemented apartheid in Parliament, Helen Suzman yesterday came out firmly in support of President F W de Klerk's initiatives. 210M 1417/90

She said the NP was now implementing the constitutional proposals which were first advanced by the Progressive Federal Party years ago, a claim that could add to the beleaguered DP's identity crisis.

Writing in The Times, the former MP for Houghton again called on the West to assist the "irreversible process" now under way, by lifting sanctions and boosting new investment.

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Responding to an article by De Klerk which appeared in the same newspaper a week ago, Suzman said he "gave details of the new SA he aims to build, in partnership with other leaders, and the message that comes across loud and clear is: 'We have to try democracy and show that it will work'."

SCHWARZ

18/07/90

340A

resources are limited. But what is needed are formulae and time tables, which are realistic and acceptable to the victims, to right the wrong.

On all these, and many other topics there can and must be not only discussion and debate but negotiation. But even these cannot provide safeguards because an economic system cannot effectively be entrenched in a constitution. No one can, for example, effectively entrench a provision to prevent an unjust tax system. What is unjust is often a subjective opinion. What, in my view, is needed is a culture which accepts certain norms in society, in terms of which objectives and methods can become generally accepted.

Lastly, let us have a debate on the term "democracy". I believe we will both agree a universal franchise is an essential ingredient, but it also needs free and fair elections without intimidation and duress. I am not at all certain that in present conditions there can be free and fair elections for all of SA, as there is not a society free from intimidation.

Is a unitary system the only form of democracy? Is majoritarianism the only form of democracy? Is the US a democracy? Are Belgium, Switzerland and West Germany democracies? Is a federal structure not as democratic as a unitary system and perhaps more so? Is a winner-take-all system based on constituencies the only form of democracy? What about proportional representation, multi-party systems, rigid constitutions, bills of rights? Are they not ingredients of democracy?

I have opposed minority rule, I have opposed the disenfranchisement of the majority of the people. But we both know that there can be also be tyrannies of the majority.

I look forward to what might have seemed impossible only a short while ago — that, by discussion and debate, people like you and I, who were, and may still be, poles apart, might find each other at least on some issues to solve the vast economic problems, as well as the political ones we face, and do so, not by destroying what exists, but preserving it for the benefit of all and using it to build a better SA.

Congress plans discussed by DP

18/7/90 Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Plans for a Democratic Party congress later this year are being discussed at a meeting of the party's management executive in Cape Town today.

Dates in September, October and November will be considered.

One of the main points on the agenda at the congress will be the election of a single leader after the decision to scrap the "troika" leadership.

Tian van der Merwe, MP and national chairman of the party, said today the meeting could also take an overview of the party's situation following the announcement by one of the leaders, Wynand Malan, that he was resigning as MP for Randburg.

On way back to playing 'international role'

Light at end of the tunnel — Thatcher

Apr 18/1/90

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Richard Steyn, Editor-in-Chief of The Star, meets British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at No 10 Downing Street. Picture by AP.

RICHARD STEYN, Editor-in-Chief of The Star, was granted an interview with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher this week.

London

South Africa is now on the way back to international acceptance and to playing its full part both in Africa and the world community, according to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

She said she could now see light at the end of the tunnel where she could not see it before.

In her first major interview on South Africa since her recent meetings with President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, Mrs Thatcher told the Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Richard Steyn, at No 10 Downing Street, that there was an enormous fund of goodwill towards a new South Africa, not least in Britain.

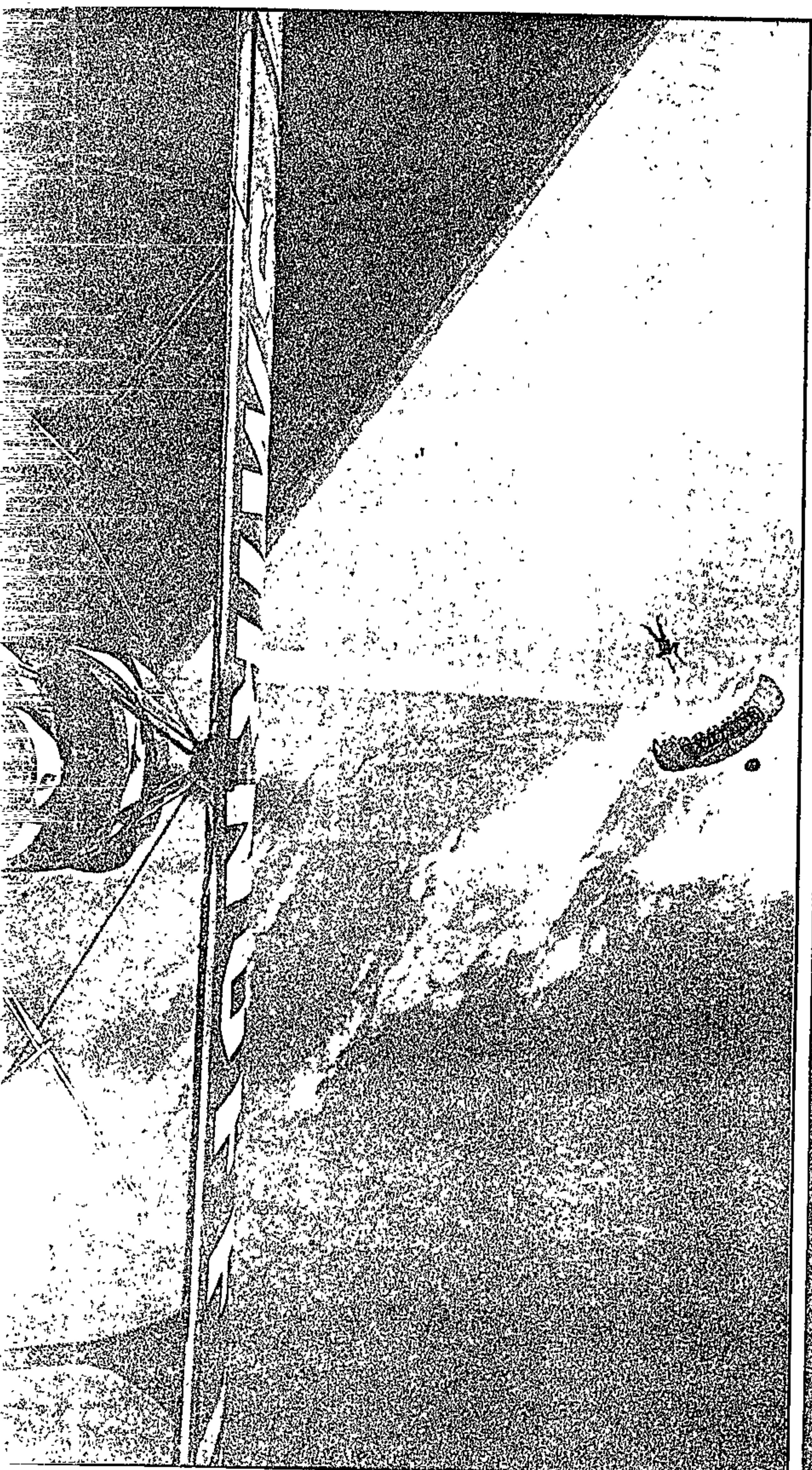
However, she cautioned against expectations of an early visit to South

Why South Africans should trust Mandela — Page 17.

Africa, saying she would not come as long as people felt they would have to demonstrate against her.

Questioned on whether Mr Mandela was a leader in whom white South Africans could put their trust, Mrs

Junkers to Jumboos at great Star Airshow



18/07/90
304A

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Why South Africans should trust Mandela — Page 17.

Africa, saying she would not come as long as people felt they would have to demonstrate against her.

Questioned on whether Mr Mandela was a leader in whom white South Africans could put their trust, Mrs Thatcher replied that both Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk were absolutely vital to the negotiating process.

Nevertheless, she had put her views on nationalisation and the armed struggle very forcefully to Mr Mandela at their recent meeting. "I think that if you want a bright future for South Africa, it is absurd to talk about nationalisation," she said.

She warmly endorsed Mr de Klerk's initiatives. "He has created an entirely new situation in South Africa... I think that is a remarkable achievement."

While she disagreed with Mr Mandela on sanctions and the armed struggle, she said he had shown great courage and dignity as well as a remarkable lack of bitterness.

"We are agreed, absolutely, on the need to end apartheid in all its forms and to achieve a fully democratic constitution."

On nationalisation, Mrs Thatcher said the entire world was crying out for foreign investment, and if South Africa pursued a policy of "extensive nationalisation or State participation" this would not create a climate in which foreign investment would be welcome.

She was critical of Mr Mandela's advice to the British government to talk to the Irish Republican Army. "That was absolutely and utterly appalling, a great mistake. I think perhaps he did not realise the enormity of what he was saying."

Asked about growing white opposition to Mr de Klerk, she said there was no future in supporting Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservatives. "That is a dead end which would lead to conflict and injustice."

In response to the growing campaign to marginalise Mangosuthu Buthelezi because of the violence in Natal, Mrs Thatcher said Chief Buthelezi had been "absolutely outstanding" in the way he had stood out against sanctions.

She urged Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to resolve their political differences in the interests of a non-racial democracy.

Asked whether she had any special message for the people of South Africa, Mrs Thatcher said there was great hope for the country's future.

"The period ahead will be very difficult, there will be all sorts of problems and setbacks. But I do now see light at the end of the tunnel in a way I certainly could not before."

All-white parties heading for oblivion

304 A
South 19/7-25/7/90

THE problems facing the Democratic Party (DP) are symptomatic of what all too narrowly-based groupings will be facing soon.

They will sink into oblivion unless they go out into the marketplace and broaden their base.

To put it more bluntly, a party based on whites only — as is the case with the DP, in fact if not in theory — is sunk.

Changes

In a one-man, one-vote election, the DP can expect to get only two percent of the votes, the Conservative Party (CP) about four percent and the National Party (NP) about six percent.

To get a higher percentage vote, these parties would have to look at a wider audience and make the necessary changes.

For the DP, this truth came just too early.

It went into its first general election last year barely five months after it was started. It had not yet become set with a loyal following.

Then the NP under State President FW de Klerk went ahead and implemented almost everything the DP stands for.

What does a DP canvasser say to a potential voter if asked what the difference between the DP and the NP is? The explanation would have to be very

The Democratic Party is feeling the consequences of being an all-white party. The National Party and Conservative Party are also threatened with oblivion — unless they broaden their base, argues HARALD PAKENDORF, former editor of the Vaderland:

long and, even then, it would be difficult to explain.

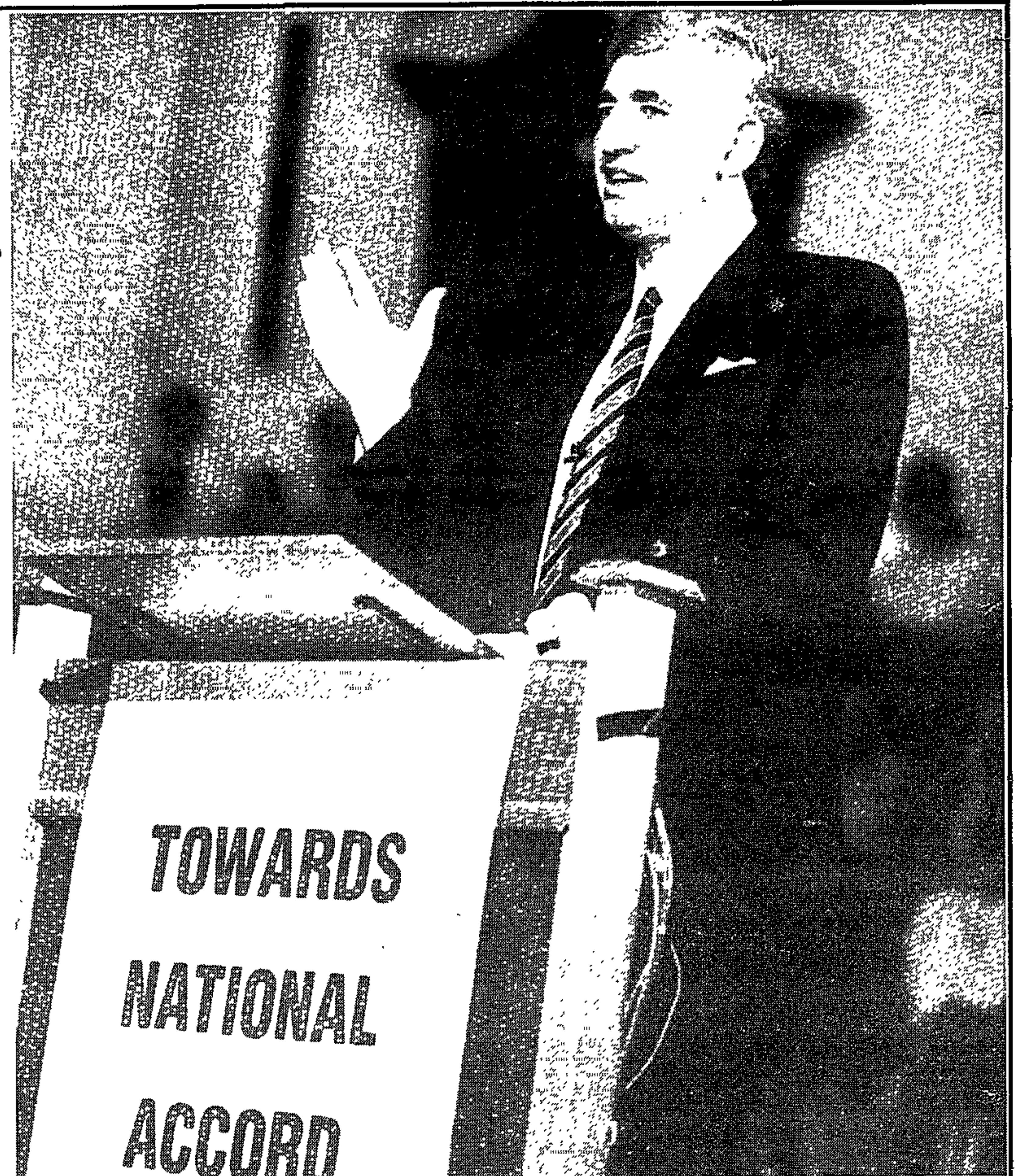
The fact is that the political platform of the DP has been hijacked by the NP. What remains is what economic policies are to be followed.

Socialism

The NP is now an adherent of relative free marketing, but with a history of ethnic socialism.

The DP is stronger on free marketeering, but strong elements in the party and on its fringes are more prone to social democracy — which is bound to be the next pressure point the DP will have to watch out for.

What makes matters worse for the DP is that it was soundly beaten into a sad third place in Umlazi — where it came comfortably second during last year's general election.



NATIONAL DISCORD?: Former DP co-leader Wynand Malan

And within two weeks, parliament rose and MPs went home.

This means they will be less in contact with one another and leadership, thus increasing inner tension and the possibility of more resignations following on that of Randburg MP and DP co-leader Wynand Malan last week.

Already a substantial section of its voting support has gone over to the NP. This will again manifest itself in the coming by-election in Randburg, which the DP had won with a handsome majority of some 1 700 votes last year.

The chances are very real this time around that it might lose — which will

set it back even further.

Clearly, the DP is now going to be little more than the PFP at its weakest, a moral judge of our political game but not a player itself.

The NP has learnt the lesson already and is looking to widening its support base among all racial groups — first through alliances.

But the party itself is prepared to open its ranks to all races. This might come later this year. It is looking to a kind of DTA-option with variations.

The CP, which refuses to follow the same course and — by definition — cannot, has a very serious problem: it

faces oblivion.

It will probably scale down its demands and join the negotiations process later this year.

This, however, will bring tension in party ranks because of the magnitude of the step which is implied by sitting down and talking to the ANC and other political groupings which, for the CP, are still the enemy.

The DP is ahead of the game. It is facing the reality of the new South Africa first among the white political parties.

But the others will not be far behind.

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Boshoff ready to negotiate for volk state

304A EDYTH BULBRING

CAREL Boshoff, chairman of the Afrikanervolkswag and architect of the proposed north-western Cape Afrikaner homeland, said yesterday he was prepared to negotiate his concept of an Afrikaner state with "anybody involved in the development of a new SA constitution".

He said in an interview he was working on the finer details of the proposal.

Meanwhile, a Broederbond document acquired by Business Day this week calls for an Afrikaner summit to settle differences on the question of partition before national negotiations begin.

Boshoff is the first leader in the right-wing camp to state that the future of the Afrikaner nation could form part of a negotiated settlement. Such negotiations are expected to include government, the ANC and other black liberation movements.

The Broederbond document, dated April this year, discusses partition as a possible solution to SA's constitutional problems.

Although not endorsing any partition proposals put forward by right-wing groups, the document states that partitionist groups agree that no volk can maintain its own values without a geographic power base.

Aid offer

The document states that before the Afrikaner sits at the negotiating table, he owes it to his fellow Afrikaner to hold an Afrikaner summit on partition.

Boshoff said he, too, did not believe it would be possible to preserve Afrikaner values in a unitary state ruled by a black majority.

He said that in return for an Afrikaner state with internationally recognised boundaries, he would offer good neighbourliness, peaceful co-existence and aid to the "new Azania".

An Afrikaner state could diffuse right-wing frustration over any erosion of their freedoms in a black-ruled SA, Boshoff said.

The state Boshoff envisages would ultimately house 2-million Afrikaners and be larger than the OFS.

It is situated south of Namibia, bordered by the Orange River in the north, stretching to approximately the area of Saldanha Bay, east as far as the eastern banks of the H F Verwoerd Dam and running in a straight line back up to the Botswana-Namibia border.

Boshoff stressed these borders were negotiable.

Mandela hopes to see De Klerk soon

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday he hoped to see President F W de Klerk in the next few days to arrange a date for a second meeting between government and the ANC.

Mandela, who turned 72 yesterday, was speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after returning from a six-week tour of 14 nations in Africa, North America and Europe.

His return was delayed for almost three hours because of bomb scares both on his plane and at the airport.

Sapa reports that an anonymous statement faxed to the ANC regional office in Johannesburg stated that: "We have arranged a few surprises for you at some of your offices. But the best ones will be on your leaders (sic) aeroplane and at the airport where your members will be waiting to welcome him."

Mandela told journalists he proposed to see De Klerk as soon as possible.

Much progress had been made at the first meeting between the two. He was confident similar progress could be achieved at the next meeting. There was a sense of urgency on the part of both the ANC and government to find solutions.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said no meeting had been arranged because De Klerk had been on holiday until yesterday and Mandela had only just arrived back.

Mandela was asked to comment on reports which stated that the government-ANC political offences working group had proposed a phased return of exiles and

MIKE ROBERTSON

release of political prisoners in return for the ANC abandoning the armed struggle.

He replied: "Our position is that as soon as government removes obstacles to negotiations we are prepared to consider the question of the suspension of hostilities, not ending the armed struggle."

In a statement read out before the Press conference, ANC international head Thabo Mbeki said the organisation was highly satisfied with what it had accomplished on the tour.

He listed as achievements:

- ☐ The mobilising of support in countries visited for the process of negotiating a just settlement in SA;
- ☐ The raising of finance to pay for the repatriation of exiles and establishing legal ANC structures in SA; and
- ☐ Securing agreements from countries visited and international organisations that, until there was evidence of irreversible change in SA, sanctions and other forms of pressure should be maintained.

Mandela said sanctions would only be lifted once there was a fundamental and irreversible change in SA. The ANC would decide when that had taken place.

He added, however, that in the process of holding discussions with government a sense of trust was being established.

Government and the ANC could come to an arrangement to examine the sanctions issue before approving a new constitution.

● Picture: Page 3

Star 19/7/90

DP congress venue a plus for De Beer

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party's decision to hold its national congress in Johannesburg has slightly favoured co-leader Dr Zach de Beer in the race for the sole leadership.

The DP's national executive decided in Cape Town yesterday to hold the congress in the World Trade Centre Johannesburg on September 6 and 7.

Choosing a single leader will be the main business of the congress.

Dr de Beer and co-leader Dr Denis Worrall are the main contenders.

But national chairman Tian van der Merwe is emerging as a strong third runner, filling the shoes of the third co-leader Mr Wynand Malan who quit politics this month.

His chances have been slightly damaged by the choice of a venue on Parktown MP Dr de Beer's home turf, party sources said.

By rights the congress should have been held in the Cape on the rotation principle, but the Cape party was unable to find a venue at short notice.

Home-turf edge for DP's De Beer

Political Staff 19/7/90 304A

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SLIGHTLY DAMAGED

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By rights the congress should have been held in the Cape on the rotation principle, but the Cape party was unable to find a venue at short notice.

Meanwhile, Transvaal MEC Mr Olaus van Zyl has emerged as a possible candidate for the National Party in the Randburg by-election, which is necessary because of Mr Malan's retirement.

The other strong possibility is Mr Glenn Babb, the indirectly elected MP.

Arbit 19/7/90 3047

Cabinet set for special session

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has called a special planning session of the Cabinet for July 30 and July 31.

A statement issued by his office today said it would be an occasion similar to a number of meetings in the past when the Cabinet went into "retreat" outside Pretoria or Cape Town.

Earlier this year, during the session of parliament, the Cabinet met for a few days in the De Hoop nature reserve.

It then started planning a policy package the government intends presenting at future constitutional negotiations. This was discussed at a special National Party caucus afterwards and suggestions made by MPs were referred back to the Cabinet.

The coming Cabinet meeting will continue the planning of the government approach at future negotiations and another caucus meeting is to be held later in the year.

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Gift

Peace pact soon

Agreement on political prisoners likely

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

At 11:15 AM

AN agreement on the release of political prisoners and the suspension of the African National Congress's "armed struggle" is expected soon.

Details will be thrashed out at a meeting between President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela in the next few days.

This was confirmed today by top government sources in Pretoria after a statement by Mr Mandela that he was keen to meet President De Klerk soon.

A meeting of a ministerial committee on negotiations was chaired by Mr De Klerk yesterday. The ANC's national executive will meet in Johannesburg early next week.

While top ANC sources today speculated about another Groote Schuur-type of meeting with full delegations from both sides, government spokes-

men played down this possibility.

They expected the talks to be on a smaller scale and that remaining obstacles to negotiations could be eliminated soon.

The meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk is expected to be held before Mr Mandela takes a break in mid-August.

On this meeting will depend the nature and scope of further talks.

Some ANC leaders felt today Mr Mandela should press for a "Groote Schuur 2".

Mandela's trip — page 17

The movement wants to discuss the question of the lifting of the state of emergency and the remaining security legislation. The government has undertaken to review security legislation.

From the government side the feeling is that obstacles are surmountable without another full-blown conference.

There are some sticking points in an agreement on the phased release of security prisoners which has been reached by a working group of government and ANC officials.

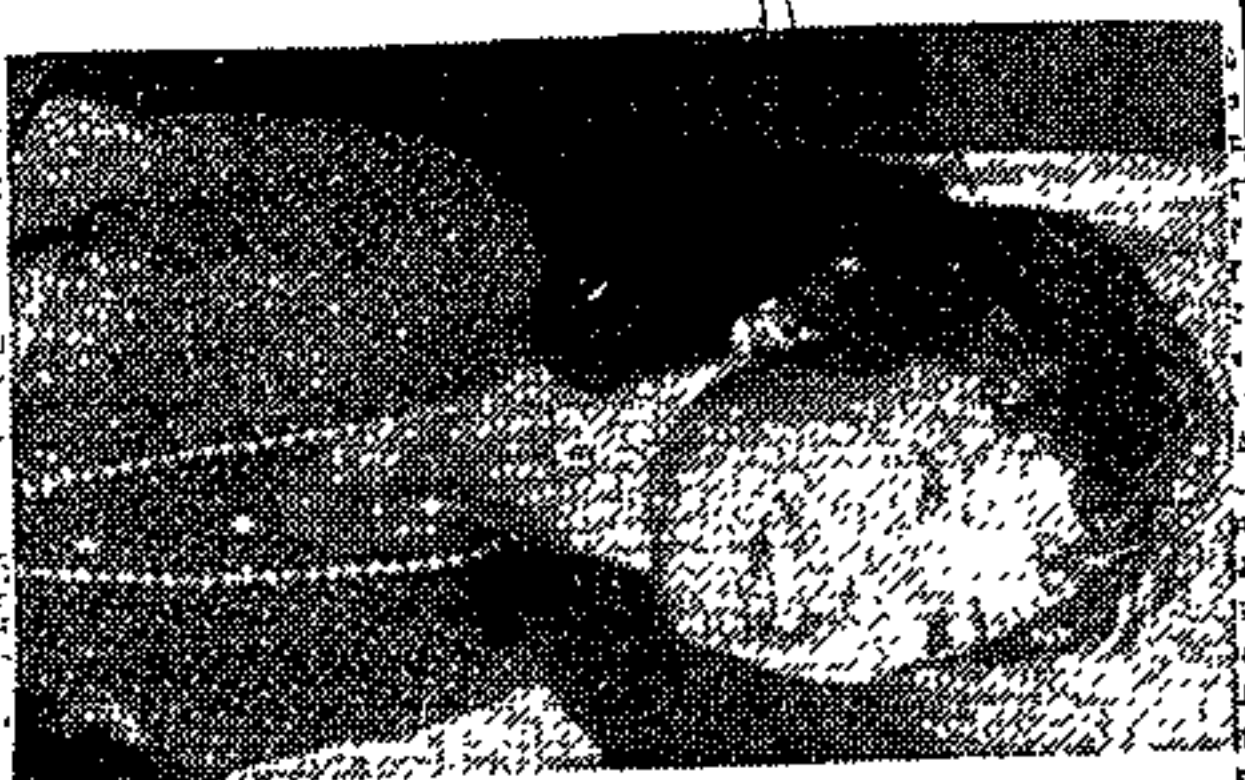
One of these is the form of arbitration that must be used in some cases. The ANC may press for overseas representation on a panel of arbitrators.

In terms of the agreement there will be a case-by-case review for some political prisoners. There will also be immunity for thousands of exiles.

If agreement on the political prisoners is reached the two sides are expected to agree to "cease hostilities", meaning the ANC will suspend its armed struggle while the government will undertake to review and drastically change security legislation, especially the Internal Security Act.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk's office said today no appointment had yet been made with Mr Mandela.

SOWETAN Thursday July 19 1990



ROBERTA JOHNSON

New groups may be accepted, says prof

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

THE rearrangement of the status of different groups in a post-apartheid South Africa will be met with more public acceptance as there has been better argument for its need in the country.

This was said by visiting American Professor Roberta Johnson at a meeting at the Wits Centre of Policy Studies.

Johnson said con-

trovery on affirmative action, otherwise known as positive discrimination, will be on the groups that will benefit from the action.

"The various institutions can decide which group will benefit from their affirmative action programme,"

"They can choose certain ethnic tribes while excluding others, or benefit all blacks but cut out foreign ones," she said.

The stage at which groups should be eliminated from the programme would also be a

problem as there would be conflict on whether the status of a group had been satisfactorily raised to match that of the privileged one.

Action

In America, Johnson said, courts, leaders and the public were divided on affirmative action. While some agreed

with it and accepted its thrust on redistribution, others thought it was opposed to merit.

There were also mixed reactions on the inclusion of women, left out until 1972, who have benefited more than the minorities whom the programme was geared at.

"It would be a problem to include white women in the affirmative

action programme in South Africa because they are more skilled and better qualified than their black counterparts. Racial discrimination would still continue.

"The programme has helped women more than any minority group in America but there are still not enough black women in certain professions," she said.

Sizakele Kooma
19/7/90

304th



Afrikanervolkswag chairman Carel Boshoff.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Boshoff ready to negotiate for volk state

304A EDYTH BULBRING

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DP unrest monitoring group to be upgraded

304A TIM COHEN

THE DP monitoring committee on Natal unrest is to overhaul and upgrade itself into a major non-political partisan organisation called Peace in Natal (Pin).

Its first campaign will be to raffle a cow. DP Natal Midlands chairman Ryan Scholz said yesterday that, however peculiar the raffle might seem, it would achieve several crucial goals.

He said the telephone number of the 24-hour monitoring group would be printed on the tickets.

"We feel that if residents of the area pay R1 each for tickets they won't throw them away."

The raffle would also provide the new organisation with sorely needed funds, he said.

Incidents

In addition to the cow, a sheep and chickens would also be given away.

The co-ordinator of the DP's current monitoring group, Radley Keys, said that since the organisation's establishment in March, the group had dealt with at least six incidents per day which had placed him under extreme pressure.

Some were major confrontations. Others included requests for escorts in and out of the townships.

Scholz said the group's work had gone far beyond simple monitoring activities. On many occasions it had been successful in encouraging negotiations between warring parties.

He said the monitoring group had been seen to have taken an unbiased position. This and the structures it had established would allow it to expand outside the political arena.

"When people come here, they can at least be sure of being heard by an honest and unbiased ear," he said.

But it was necessary to free it from the DP so that certain organisations, which had in the past refused to participate, would be able to take part.

Some organisations could not co-operate with a group that was seen by their constituencies as a white political party. Other parliamentary groups could not participate because of party affiliations, he said.

Scholz hoped the new organisation would be able to support two full time members, two part time members and an administrative staff of two.

It would have the dual functions of trying to restore the rule of law while attempting to teach political tolerance, he said.

To these ends, it would monitor the activities of the groups involved to ensure that their leaders maintained discipline over their members. It would monitor the security forces to ensure that they acted effectively and impartially.

It would also publicise incidents that indicated a breakdown in the rule of law and expose incidents where civil liberties were not protected.

CM-7.7+5
19/7/90 304A
**DP are
ready for
Randburg
and say
we'll win**

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's executive yesterday announced that the party planned to contest "vigorously" the Randburg by-election and pronounced the seat "winnable".

The chairman of the DP's "Dagbestuur", Mr David Gant, said the party was being placed on an immediate election footing for the three-cornered poll which the DP anticipated would be held between the middle and end of October.

Addressing a press conference in Parliament yesterday, Mr Gant said the DP's executive had decided to hold the party's federal congress in Johannesburg on September 7-8.

The congress, the most crucial in the party's short history, would not only elect a new leader but also settle on the policies and tactics that will make or break the party as a political force in the new SA.

The Dagbestuur's decision to hold the congress in Johannesburg was seen in political circles as strengthening the chances of Dr Zach de Beer, the DP's parliamentary leader and MP for Parktown, of becoming sole leader of the party.

However, Dr De Beer appears to be shedding some support in the region and there has been growing speculation in party ranks that delegates might be tempted to opt for Mr Tian van der Merwe as a way of unifying some of the diverse interest groups in the party.

Mr Gant said the Dagbestuur felt that the DP should continue as a wholly independent political party for the foreseeable future, but would reassess its position during the post-negotiation period.

Optimism over talks hurdles

Mandela and FW to meet 'within days'

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk are likely to meet within days amid growing optimism that the ANC will suspend its armed struggle soon to clear the way for constitutional negotiations.

Informed sources say the ANC and Government have reached agreement on the thorniest problem of releasing political prisoners and allowing thousands of ANC exiles to come home.

Mr Mandela said on his return from abroad yesterday that he would try to meet Mr de Klerk immediately to arrange a full meeting of the ANC and the Government.

Government sources are convinced Mr de Klerk will be keen to see him as soon as possible.

The aim of such an ANC-Government meeting — in effect a second Groote Schuur summit — would be to clear the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

The main obstacle is the issue of prisoners and exiles which ANC and Government officials have been quietly thrashing out behind the scenes for the last few weeks.

Both sides have now indicated that the problem has been solved in essence.

The remaining obstacles, as defined by the ANC, are principally security legislation and the continued state of emergency in Natal.

Mr Mandela made it clear on his return yesterday that the ANC would not "suspend hostilities" before all the obstacles were removed.

But Government sources are nevertheless optimistic that the remaining obstacles are not insurmountable.

They point out that Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has already stated that some security laws will be scrapped and the most controversial Internal Security Act will be amended during the next session of Parliament. They also believe pragmatic understanding can be reached on the Natal emergency.

However they cautioned that reports that the armed struggle could be suspended "within weeks" might be too optimistic.

There may still be difficulties ahead. For one thing the Government does not seem to be keen on another full-scale meeting on the scale of the Groote Schuur summit.

It would prefer Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to deal with the issue in broad terms and leave the detail to the low-profile joint steering committee and working group which have been doing much of the negotiation spadework behind the scenes.

The ANC seems to be pushing instead for a high-profile meeting — partly perhaps to counter the impression that it is dragging its feet on the issue of prisoners and exiles.

ANC sources suggested yesterday that the ANC had already accepted the joint ANC-Government working group's recommendations on the prisoner-exile issue — and was now awaiting the Government's response.

But Government sources have said that the recommendations have been accepted in principle.

The Government's ministerial negotiation committee met in Pretoria yesterday and is likely to have considered the working group report.

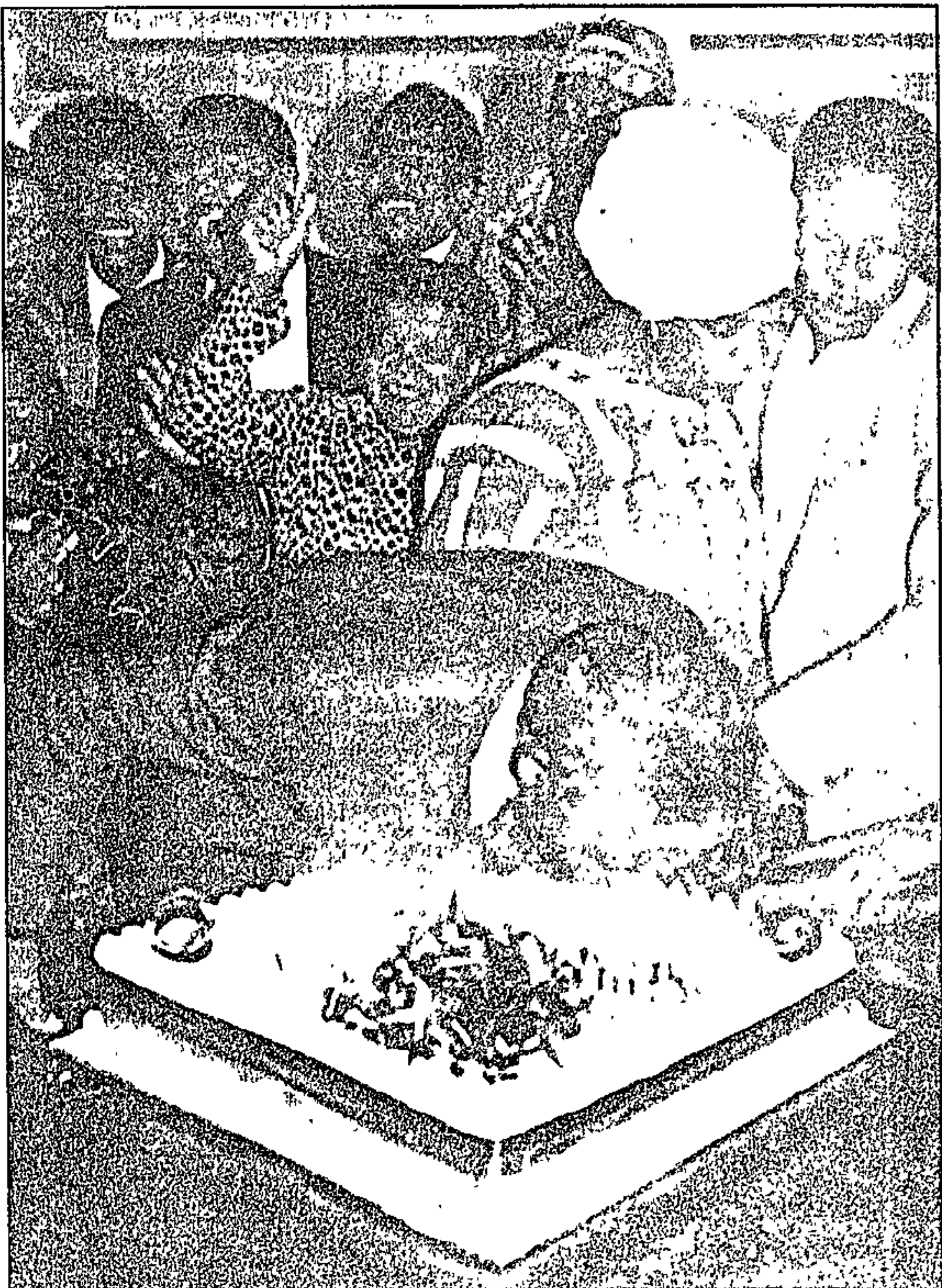
● Airport security graphic — Page 2; Mandela's triumph — Page 17.

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent



Bewildered ... Nadia Holt (5) is instructed to put down her birthday poster after police at Jan Smuts Airport acted against others holding birthday greetings posters.

© Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.



Getting down to it ... African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela blows out the candles on his 72nd birthday cake yesterday, watched by his wife, Winnie, and friends, at his first birthday as a free man in 27 years.

© Picture by Router.

'We are full of hope for the future'

Political Staff

The tour was an astounding success and the ANC had managed to get undertakings from foreign governments, Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

These included an agreement to retain pressure on South Africa,

including sanctions, until the ANC gave an indication that "fundamental and irreversible political changes" had taken place in the country.

The countries he visited committed themselves to investing in a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

"My delegation and I, my wife and I, return home more proud of being South Africans," he said, greeting hundreds of ANC supporters who had gathered at the airport to welcome him.

"We return home full of hope for the future of our country," said Mr Mandela.

Spate of attacks on W Rand

19/7/90 West Rand Bureau 3044
A woman was hijacked on Ontdekters Road in broad daylight yesterday and two people were robbed and had their cars stolen in separate incidents on the West Rand.

A West Rand police spokesman said Christina Susanna Evans (63) of Burgershoop was sitting in her car at the Gordon Street traffic light at 8.30 am when a man walked towards her, pulled out a gun and climbed into the back of her car.

He ordered her to drive off. In Trezona Avenue he told her to stop. He took R250 and disappeared in the wooded area next to the road.

At about 5.00 pm, Cornelius Kruger (30) of Oberholzer was

robbed of his car near Kloof Mine in Westonaria. In the car was a briefcase containing about R10 000 in cash and a pistol.

The spokesman said Mr Kruger had stopped to pick up an order when four armed men held him up.

In the third incident, Vivian Theresa de Mata (26) arrived at her home in Ravine Street, Randfontein, at about 7.15 pm. She was confronted by four armed men who ransacked her house. They took her car, a Toyota Corolla, several household appliances and valuables and a CZ 7.65mm pistol. The value of the stolen property is about R90 000.

None of the victims was injured.

Gary and Wayne do battle

LONDON — Gary Player, the last South African golfer to win the British Open, took son Wayne on a tour of the St Andrews course yesterday.

It will be the first time father and son will compete in the contest.

"It's a great thrill to have him alongside me," said Gary, who has won the title three times.

Wayne led for three rounds in the South African championship this year, but when asked if he might finish ahead of his famous father in this year's Open, he said: "The way he's hitting the ball right now, I'd have to play some to do that." — Sapa.

DJ 'Boogie' Cohen dies

Radio Metro deejay "Boogie" Harry Cohen died yesterday at the Johannesburg Hospital.

His brother, Godfrey, said yesterday that Harry would not have died if he had been attended to in time.

He was taken to hospital at 11 am but was not attended to until 5.30 pm, he said.

By 7 pm, Harry had kidney and heart failure and died at 4.30 am, said another brother, Barney.

Dr Clive Willis and Dr Harry Kilmarney would not comment.

Dr Kilmarney said he would respond to allegations of negligence after an investigation.

Gengold plans to lay off 2 700

19/7/90 Finance Staff

Gengold, Genmin's gold mining arm, yesterday announced that it planned to trim its labour force by a further 2 700 workers because working profit at its 11 gold mines had plunged by 29 percent in the June quarter in the wake of the fall in the gold price.

The renewed lay-offs follow massive retrenchments within the company's mines over the past few years.

Gengold's MD Gary Maude disclosed that the group's total number of employees had dropped by more than 20 000 — from 93 775 in June 1988 to 81 359 in June last year, and to 71 078 at the end of June this year.

The hardest hit in numerical terms will be Gengold's largest mine, Buffelsfontein.

Phasing-out operations at its Pioneer shaft could affect 1 300 workers over the next three weeks.

● Gengold quarterly results — Page 19.

WHAT SAW

CH
FRESH MEAT MARKET
Tenderised Steak Super to B1

ela back

Calls for urgent talks with FW

Cap T-15
19/7/90
(304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.

— Mr Nelson Mandela returned home yesterday, on his 72nd birthday, and said he hoped to see President FW de Klerk "as soon as possible" to arrange a date for a second meeting between the government and the ANC.

The meeting could take place within the next few days.

Mr Mandela, who has been out of the country for 45 days visiting 14 countries, also said he might review his call for sanctions even before a non-racial constitution is in place.

Mr Mandela addressed a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after his return was delayed

for almost three hours because of bomb scares, both on his aircraft and at the airport.

Sapa reports that an anonymous statement faxed to the ANC regional office in Johannesburg stated that: "We have arranged a few surprises for you at some of your offices. But the best ones will be on your leader's aeroplane and at the airport, where your members will be waiting to welcome him."

Mr Mandela told the press conference he would almost immediately try to contact the State President. The ANC, he said, was very keen to meet the government.

Much progress had been made in the first meeting between the two. He was confident similar progress could be achieved at the next meeting. There was a sense of urgency on the part of both the ANC and the government to find solutions.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk's office said no meeting



MANY HAPPY RETURNS ... Mr Nelson Mandela shakes hands with well-wishers who congratulated him on both his 72nd birthday and his return from overseas yesterday.

had been arranged because Mr De Klerk had been on holiday until yesterday and Mandela had only just arrived back in the country.

If it became necessary the meeting would be announced.

Asked to comment on reports which stated that the joint government-ANC political of fences working group had proposed a phased return of exiles and release of political prisoners in return for the ANC abandoning the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said: "Our position is that as soon as the government removes obstacles to negotiations we are prepared to consider the question of the suspension of hostilities, not ending the armed struggle."

In a statement read out before the conference, ANC spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki said the organisation was highly satisfied with what it had accomplished on the tour.

From page 1

He listed as achievements: CAP T-15 19/7/90
304A

- The mobilising of support in countries visited for the process of negotiating a just settlement in South Africa;

- The raising of finance to pay for the repatriation of exiles and establishing legal ANC structures in South Africa, and

- Securing agreements from countries visited and international organisations that, until there was evidence of irreversible change in South Africa, sanctions and other forms of pressure should be maintained.

Mr Mandela said sanctions would be lifted once there was a fundamental and irreversible change in South Africa. "We will decide when such change will take place."

He added, however, that in the process of holding discussions with the government a sense of trust was being established.

Once this had been accomplished it might be possible "to take decisions we have never thought of", he said.

The government and the ANC could come to an arrangement to examine the sanctions issue before a new constitution was approved.



... This rainbow appeared over Capetown yesterday. The Weather Bureau predicted it.

To page 2

Transfer of power: 1

New Nation
(Leamington)
20/7-26/7/91

304A

South African society needs to change and this change is based on objective necessity. The state and the bourgeoisie are trying to drag out the life of capitalism through reformism.

The masses' experience tells them that capitalism cannot give them the basics like food, clothing, shelter, education and employment. The masses and their political organisations want to build a new society. In this series we are going to look at the role a Constituent Assembly can play in that process. The Constituent Assembly is the most democratic means of shaping a new South Africa and so it is important to understand how this call has arisen in South Africa. It is also important to understand the international history of the working class in relation to the Constituent Assembly.

On February 2 De Klerk announced the unbanning of organisations like the ANC, SACP, PAC amongst others and the release of Mandela. He also declared that the government was prepared to engage in a 'new dispensation' through a process of negotiations. These announcements have assisted in the development of a new-found confidence amongst the masses in SA.

The self-confidence of the masses has expressed itself in the increase and intensity of mass struggle throughout the country. Militant strikes have taken place, some of them unknown before in the history of SA. These include strikes by hospital workers, teachers and police and prison-wardens. In the bantustans people have raised themselves against the undemocratic SA puppet governments and in some of these struggles they have been joined by sections of the army and the police. In small towns, villages and cities there has been mass marches and demonstrations over issues of rent, education and housing. Once again we are seeing the rise of civic, student, youth and community organisations.

The spread of militant mass struggles has raised the question of the seizure of power. In organisations, on busses and trains people are engaging in political debate and discussions. One of the important issues to come out of this debate has been the call for a constituent assembly.

All organisations, amongst others the ANC, the PAC, AZAPO and COSATU are united in their call for the formation of a democratic Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution for a future SA. All organisations are agreed that the constitution for a new SA should be drawn up by delegates elected by all South Africans, including people in the bantustans.

At various times in the history of the struggle different positions on how the transfer of power should happen were adopted. A look at some of these strategies in the past will help us understand the meaning and significance of the call for a constituent assembly.

The national convention of 1908

After the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) the four provinces - the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange River Colony - had become British colonies. The basis of the present constitution of SA was laid at the National Convention of 1908. This convention was a result of talks between

representatives of the four provinces to discuss the unification of SA into a single state.

The process of forming the unified state excluded the majority of South Africans. Only the white section of the population was represented at these conventions. Delegates to the convention were appointed from the four provincial parliaments. Even for the whites representation in the four parliaments was based on property and earnings. This was known as the qualified franchise. Delegates to the Convention were fixed. There were twelve delegates from the Cape, eight from the Transvaal, and five each for the Natal and the Orange River Colony. Natal tried to re-open the question of state representatives to make it more proportional but with no success.

The formation of the ANC in 1912 was partly a response to the exclusion of the majority of South Africans in the National Convention. When the new state was formed in 1910 Africans were excluded from the vote except in the Cape. Even in the Cape only Africans with property were allowed to vote. At this stage of the struggle, the ANC's main call was for the extension of the franchise to all provinces. This was also the beginning of the ANC's call for a representative national convention.

We can see that the basis of the present South African constitution was drawn up in an undemocratic way. Not only were

the blacks excluded from the Convention, but amongst the white population not all people voted for these parliaments.

The Congress of the People

In the 1940's workers in the cities and peasants in the countryside engaged in militant mass struggle. These struggles culminated in the big Mine Workers' Strike in 1946. As a result of these struggles the ANC Youth League adopted its radical Programme of Action in 1949. This programme of action laid the basis for the mass struggles of the 1950's. One of the well-known forms of this mass action was the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

In 1953 at the Cape Provincial Congress of the ANC, Professor Z.K. Mathews called for a national convention of all the people of SA. The aim of this convention was to draw up a Freedom Charter for a future democratic SA. This call was in line with the ANC's earlier position of convening a representative national convention. All political parties, including the National Party, were invited to attend. The ANC called this meeting held in 1955, the Congress of the People (CoP).

Although the idea of calling a representative national convention was in line with old ANC policies there were some differences this time. The Freedom Charter (FC), which was adopted at the CoP, said that every man and woman would have the right to vote. This was different from the earlier period when the ANC had called for the extension of the qualified franchise for Africans in the other provinces of the Union. But at this stage the ANC still said that all national and racial groups would have equal status. It was not clear whether the call was for a common voters' roll or not.

Armed struggle and the national convention

In 1960 after the Sharpeville massacre the ANC and the PAC were banned. Both

organisations went underground and turned to armed struggle. In December 1961 MK was formed. During this period Nelson Mandela operated from the underground. He called on Verwoerd to convene a national convention. The demand for a national convention was also listed in the MK Manifesto as one of the objectives of the armed struggle.

The Harare Declaration

After long years of silence, the mass movement re-emerged in 1973 and 1976. This militancy and the organisations that were born out of it laid the basis for the insurrection of the mid-1980s. It was this militant mass struggle that forced the South African state to undertake reforms as a way of preventing revolution. It was this pressure of the masses and the changes in Eastern Europe that led De Klerk to call for negotiations as a way of resolving problems. The ANC responded to the government's initiative by drawing up the Harare Declaration (HD). The HD set down the conditions which must be met before negotiations for a future SA could begin. These included the release of all political prisoners, the lifting of the State of Emergency, and other conditions. The HD also set down guidelines to the process of negotiations. It said that after the conditions have been met mechanisms for drawing up the new constitution would be negotiated. The HD itself did not call for a Constituent Assembly. Since the HD was adopted by the OAU, Non-Aligned countries and the UN, the ANC and other mass organisations have put the question of the Constituent Assembly on the agenda. According to the ANC only an assembly elected on a non-racial basis and on a common voters' roll can have a mandate to draw up a constitution. The ANC has also called for an interim government to oversee the elections to Constituent Assembly. The task of the Constituent Assembly would be to draw up a new constitution for SA.

The Constituent Assembly

From this history of struggle we can see that there is a big difference between the National Convention of 1908 and the idea of a Constituent Assembly. The delegates to the National Convention were appointed by the "whites-only" parliaments in the four provinces of SA. The people who drew up the constitution were not elected specifically for this purpose. According to the proposals for a Constituent Assembly, the new constitution will be drawn up by delegates elected specifically for this purpose. All people and all political parties will be allowed to participate in these elections on the basis of one person one vote.

The idea of a Constituent Assembly first emerged in France in 1789. In the following articles in this series we will look at various examples of how the transfer of power was achieved in other countries. We will look at examples in France, Russia, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe and Namibia.



Delegates at the CDF where the call for a Constituent Assembly was raised.

In a poignant epitaph yesterday, the rival gangs, who have clashed ed a private pathologist to attend. Youths detained along with allege that when he was returned to their cell he was unconscious be

'Verlig' Babb mooted for Randburg

W/Mail 2017190

304A

By SHAUN JOHNSON

NATIONAL PARTY "wunderkind" Glen Babb is the hot favourite to be nominated as the party's candidate in the crucial Randburg by-election resulting from Wynand Malan's resignation.

Babb, who lost by 1 714 votes to Malan in the 1989 elections, is currently in parliament as a nominated NP MP. But he told *The Mail* yesterday he would "certainly" consider resigning his seat and taking his chances in Randburg if the NP decides he is the best choice. "Then I would be available," he said.

Responding to the strong speculation in NP circles that Babb will be chosen, Democratic Party national organiser Neil Ross said yesterday: "That's fine by us. Babb got a hiding to nothing last time

1989, with the NP throwing massive resources behind Babb's campaign. Babb, formerly a high-profile official in the Department of Foreign Affairs, has a "verlig" image and was considered a major drawcard for English-speakers.

Sources close to him say he would relish returning to parliament as a constituency MP rather than continuing in the nominated slot, and that he was fully prepared for another gruelling fight in Randburg.

The NP candidate's committee is expected to sit fairly shortly after Malan's formal resignation, scheduled for the end of this month.

The DP's Ross says his party will also name a candidate "sooner rather than later", and says he expects the election to take place on October 24 or 31. *Rw*

holidays during the period.

Ross points out, however, that it could possibly take place later, if the vacancy is not announced in the Government Gazette timeously. In terms of the Electoral Act, a six-month period could elapse.

Nevertheless, notices to the DP's candidates' committee are expected to be sent out on Monday.

Speculation that the DP's national council chairman, David Gant, was likely to fight the seat was "news to me", said Ross.

The Conservative Party director of finance and organisation, Paul Fouche, told *The Mail* yesterday there was "no doubt whatsoever" that his party would contest Randburg. The CP drew 755 votes in 1989, compared to the NP's 6 767 and the DP's 8 481.

FW's reforms bring foreign tourists flocking to visit

8 May 2017 190
THERE has been a 16,8% increase in the number of foreign visitors to SA during the first five months of the year compared with the same period last year. (304 A) (304 A)

A Satour spokesman said yesterday the increase could be attributed mainly to the changing political climate brought about by reform initiatives announced by President F W de Klerk in February.

Satour was expecting the number

EDYTH BULBRING

of foreign visitors to top the one-million mark by the end of the year, the spokesman said.

According to figures put out by the Central Statistical Service this week, 424 832 foreigners visited SA from January to May compared with 363 837 last year.

The majority came from Africa (213 216), of whom nearly half were

from Zimbabwe.

The second highest number came from Europe (152 801), with 60% of them from the UK.

Statistics also show that 1 601 more people immigrated to SA during the first five months of the year compared with the same period last year.

And immigrants in those five months (5 721) showed a gain of 3 744 over emigrants (1 977), compared with a gain of 1 842 last year.

Mandela, FW talks likely soon

30418

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk are likely to meet within days amid growing optimism that the ANC will suspend its armed struggle soon to clear the way for constitutional negotiations.

Informed sources say the ANC and the Government have reached agree-

ment on the most thorny problem of releasing political prisoners and allowing thousands of exiles to come home.

Meeting

Mandela said on his return from abroad on Wednesday that he would try to meet De Klerk immediately to arrange a full meeting of the ANC and the Government.

Government sources are convinced De Klerk will be keen to see him as soon as possible.

The aim of such a Government/ANC meeting - in effect a second Groote Schuur summit - would be to clear the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

The main obstacle is the issue of prisoners and exiles which ANC and Government officials

have been thrashing out behind the scenes for the past few weeks.

Both sides have now indicated the problem has in essence been solved.

The remaining obstacles - as defined by the ANC - are chiefly the Government's security legislation and the continued State of Emergency in Natal.

Mandela made it clear on his return that the

ANC would not "suspend hostilities", as he put it, before all the obstacles were removed.

But Government sources are optimistic the remaining obstacles are "not insurmountable".

They point out that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen has already stated that some security laws will be scrapped. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

where many former Nats are back in the fold. Thousands of them flocked to left-of-centre groups after Malan and Denis Worrall turned their backs on the NP early in 1987. But many of the reasons for abandoning the ruling party no longer exist, and the threat to its position from the Right is serious enough to warrant what Schrire terms strategic voting. This was seen in the recent Umlazi by-election and is inevitable in the by-election to fill the Randburg seat vacated by Malan. The DP can only lose out badly.

The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* says a meeting three weeks ago between De Klerk and the three DP co-leaders played a key role in Malan's decision to quit. While not disclosing details of the talks, the newspaper concludes that after three years of political differences, Malan and De Klerk now "understood each other well."

The issue of Afrikaner Broederbond membership among DP office-bearers is not regarded as serious by the party's leaders — though it led to the resignation from the DP last week of Johannesburg city councillor Hans Strydom, who objected to Malan's membership of the Broederbond.

election, which will be a "tough fight."

Many experts believe the DP has little hope of holding Randburg, which Malan won narrowly from the NP's Glenn Babb in September's general election. Soal says the DP is likely to appeal to the NP not to contest the seat, in return for not contesting by-elections the Nats can win against the CP — which suggests there is already a morale problem in the DP over Malan's departure.

Such tactical problems still do not address the central question: now that De Klerk has agreed apartheid must end, what is the DP for? ■



Wynand Malan . . . back to the future

DP southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soal says the Broederbond is not a big issue in the party and merely "bubbles to the surface now and then." Strydom's motion at a DP executive meeting last week, aiming to force members to quit either the DP or Broederbond, was soundly defeated.

Now the DP's priority is to limit the damage done by Malan's resignation and to consolidate. It hopes to achieve this at a national congress within the next few weeks. A date and venue were due to be decided this week.

The congress will elect a single leader and approve policy standpoints on a number of issues, including the economy. It will also consider strategies for contesting by-elections.

Soal says it's important for the congress to be held before the Randburg by-election, which he expects in the second half of October. His regional executive has recommended that the party should contest the by-

DEMOCRATIC PARTY FIM 207190

Into the wind (304A)

The crumbling of the DP shouldn't come as a surprise. It's the inevitable consequence of "being right at the wrong time," as UCT political scientist Robert Schrire puts it.

Wynand Malan's resignation last week was an acknowledgement that the NP under President F W de Klerk has reached a point



FW popular with blacks, poll shows

TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has a high popularity rating, particularly among blacks, according to an opinion survey.

Among blacks 87 percent said he was leading the country very well or fairly well.

Among whites the percentage was 70.

Blacks were also more optimistic than whites about the future as a result of changes made by Mr De Klerk and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Very well"

These were the findings in a survey conducted by Gallup, an affiliate of the Markinor research group. The poll, conducted in May, was among 800 white women in urban and rural areas and 1 500 black men and women in metropolitan areas.

Among blacks 43 percent said Mr De Klerk was doing "very well" while 27 percent of the whites thought so. The percentage who thought he was doing "fairly well" was 44 among blacks and 43 among whites.

Eight percent of blacks thought he was not doing very well and four percent not at all well. Thirteen percent

of the whites thought he was not doing very well and 13 percent not at all well.

Asked how they or their families were off in terms of money compared to a year ago, 27 percent of blacks said they were better off, 26 that they were worse off and 47 percent said their position was the same. Among whites the percentages were 31, 46 and 20.

Fifty-three percent of blacks thought relations between blacks and whites were improving, 22 percent thought they were getting worse while 25 felt they had remained the same. Among whites the percentages were 31, 46 and 20.

Markinor director Christine Woessner said today the survey showed that blacks felt more confident than whites about the future.

While whites saw an end to apartheid in sight they feared what they might lose. This white pessimism was most prevalent in the platteland, the Free State and the PWV area.

The optimistic attitude among blacks could be attributed to the confidence they had in President De Klerk, his recent political changes and to the release of Mr Mandela.

Blacks supported Mr De Klerk's and Mr Mandela's attempts to bring about change.

F/M 20/7/90

(304A)

ideological confusion, revolt and reaction."

The end of the Eighties signalled another fundamental shift, this time from the policy of deadlock to the policy of transition.

"The Nineties will be a decade in transition away from domination. The vast majority of South Africans have accepted that they have to become one country. Even the Right knows it cannot go back to Verwoerdian apartheid," said Slabbert.

He distinguished between a phase of nationalisation and one of democratisation.

"The nationalisation phase refers to the unbanning of banned organisations, the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles. President F W de Klerk has created the political space for the normalising of SA and this will have a profound effect on existing organisations. I see a period of adjustment and realignment.

"The democratisation phase refers to the actual involvement of these new parties and



Slabbert ... a period of adjustment, realignment

organisations in decision-making."

There are several levels on which democratisation operates: "The constitution itself is one level. I personally don't think constitutional democratisation will be as difficult as we think. I think the Namibian constitution is one of the most democratic, if not the most, on the African continent.

"The State is yet another. That enormous civil service will have to be transformed and made serviceable to the new SA. Whites thought it would disappear in partition, blacks thought it would disappear in revolution. Both sides now accept that the State structure won't disappear.

"At Budget level I foresee a multiplication of commissions of inquiry into a new health system, a new education system, and so on.

"Finally, the economy is riddled with structural inequalities from apartheid which must be got rid of."

Slabbert concluded with a brief look at several "imponderable" questions.

"What is to happen to the security system? You can't go through an effective transition with a security system that's partisan.

"What of the unchannelled political energy of largely unskilled, unemployed urban black youth? It's very important that they see light at the end of the tunnel.

"And will business take the positive role it should in the transition process?" ■

TRANSITION F/M 20/7/90

Whither the Nineties?

Do developments over the past few years indeed hold the promise of a just and unified SA? The question was addressed by Idasa director Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert at a student conference at Wits last week.

From 1948 (when the Nats came to power) to 1983 the prevailing view was that SA could *not* be a unified country, observed Slabbert. "It was precisely the opposite, a segregated country achieved through massive social engineering. (304A)

"The first significant shift was the introduction of the tricameral constitution in 1983. This was a fundamental departure for the regime. But the Eighties was a decade of

NP to elect candidate for Tvl by-election

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The National Party Randburg divisional council is to meet next week to start the process of choosing a candidate to fight the Randburg parliamentary by-election.

Springs MP and Transvaal spokesman Piet Coetzer confirmed that the NP would definitely be fighting the seat, despite a call from the Democratic Party for the NP to pull out.

The seat will become vacant at the end of this month, following the decision by Randburg MP and DP co-leader Wynand Malan to quit party politics.

The Conservative Party has also decided to contest the seat and the DP has appealed to the NP to stay out of the fight to avoid splitting the reform vote.

The DP believes it is pointless for the DP and NP to be fighting each other in a three-cornered contest.

Congress

The name of Transvaal MEC Olaus van Zyl has emerged as a possible candidate for the NP.

The other strong possibility is Glenn Babb, the indirectly-elected MP and former deputy director-general of foreign affairs who fought the seat for the NP in the 1989 General Election.

Meanwhile, the DP's decision to hold its national congress in Johannesburg has slightly favoured co-leader Zach de Beer in the race for the sole leadership.

The DP's national executive decided in Cape Town yesterday to hold the congress in the World Trade Centre on September 6 and 7.

Choosing a single leader will be the main business of the congress. Dr de Beer and co-leader Denis Worrall are the main contenders. But national chairman Tian van der Merwe is emerging as a strong third runner to fill Mr Malan's shoes.

De Klerk responds to ANC military leader

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Sta 20/7/90

'Seize power' threat slated

By Peter Fabricius,

Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has criticised ANC military chief Chris Hani for breaching the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute, the document aimed at removing obstacles to negotiation between the Government and the ANC.

Mr de Klerk last night stepped into the growing rumour over a speech made in Umtata on Wednesday by Mr Hani in which he said the ANC might have to seize power if the Government did not shift or share it.

Indicating the serious light in which the Government views Mr Hani's remarks, Mr de Klerk promised to take the matter further "in imminent discussions with the ANC leadership".

Mr de Klerk said in a statement Mr Hani's remarks "militated against the words and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute". The joint minute drawn up after the ANC and the Government met in May committed both sides to seek a political solution peacefully.

'Power game'

The President's statement is the first official acknowledgment he will meet the ANC leadership soon.

Nelson Mandela said on Wednesday he would seek a meeting with Mr de Klerk within days to arrange a fuller meeting between the Government and the ANC.

Mr Hani's remark in Umtata — coming on the eve of talks with the Government about the possibility of the ANC suspending the armed stru-

Bus man Joe is Joeys' triple king 'o the road



20/07/90

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Mr Hani's remark in Umtata — coming on the eve of talks with the Government about the possibility of the ANC suspending the armed struggle — has cast some doubts on the ANC's negotiating credibility.

In an earlier reaction, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said Mr Hani's comments were most unfortunate. His statement "seems to confirm they are not trying to get a democracy going, but are playing a power game".

Addressing about 3 000 students at the University of Transkei, Mr Hani said the unbanning of several political organisations and the release of certain political detainees was victory on the part of the struggle, not goodwill on the Government's part.

He said it was because of the wars his military wing had waged against the Government. He attributed the Sasol 2, Church Street (Pretoria) and Voortrekkerhoogte bombings, among others, to the ANC.

Sabre-rattling

"The struggle still goes on. We are still deploying our cadres inside South Africa and that's no secret."

Though the Government is showing concern at the tone of Mr Hani's comments, some political observers believe his remarks may just be sabre-rattling to reassure ANC militants before the ANC formally suspends hostilities — in exchange for the release of prisoners, the return of exiles and other concessions.

Dr van der Merwe said: "It is a most unfortunate statement to make because what is needed now is that each party should make an act of faith in negotiations. Until such time as we get real commitment to a democratic and peaceful future, we won't really make any progress."

He said it was difficult to say whether Mr Hani's statement was out of line. So many conflicting ANC statements had been made lately that it was impossible to discern the ANC line, he added.

Nevertheless, the Minister said he was — on balance — still optimistic about the success of negotiations.

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They broke the mould

VALUES ALIVE: A Tribute to Helen Suzman edited by Robin Lee (Jonathan Ball, 235pp, R79,95).

Helen Suzman has said of her political career: "It's hard to say that one has achieved anything except, I think, to keep certain values alive in this country — certain democratic values." That statement is the source of the title of this excellent book — which, in addition to paying tribute to a remarkable woman, is an important political document. The collective stature of the 18 contributors is itself a rare tribute: they include Harry Oppenheimer, Sir Robin Renwick and Nadine Gordimer.

Helen Suzman was MP for Houghton from 1953 until her retirement before the September 1989 general election. That's 36 successive years in parliament, 14 of them as the lone Prog MP. She not only represented the voters of Houghton, but took it upon herself to speak for the voteless millions, and to intercede on behalf of individual victims of apartheid and repressive legislation.

Several contributors pay particular homage to Suzman's ceaseless and formidable defences of individual freedom and the Rule of Law. Wits law professor John Dugard points out what may come as a surprise to many of Suzman's admirers: "Although Helen holds several honorary doctorates in law, she has no formal qualifications in this field... it is appropriate to inquire whether her numerous parliamentary interventions on the law disclose a philosophy of law."

Dugard continues (and this makes his contribution perhaps the most interesting in the book): "If Helen Suzman had a philosophy of law, it was this: the rule of law is a measurement for good government... her approach may have lacked subtlety and nuance, but it was what was required in the days of Verwoerd, Vorster and Kruger."

But there are few amusing anecdotes, and they are mainly to be found in the chapters by her old friend Colin Eglin and the American writer E J Kahn. This is disappointing in a book about a woman whose wit and force of personality are legendary. In fact, the general tone is rather too serious at times: none of the contributors really manages, for instance, to capture the thrilling atmosphere of a Suzman report-back meeting at the Houghton Primary School. However, as compensation there are many excellent, well-produced photographs and a few classic Bob Connolly cartoons.

No one could have fought as long and hard as Suzman did without a certain relish for the fray. She delighted in turning the tables on vicious or ponderous Cabinet ministers — and in gaining the respect of many Nats without herself giving an inch. Kahn, the American, provides the most lively chap-

ter in the book and he gives us glimpses of this quality:

"She had an ally of sorts in the Speaker of the House, Henning Klopper, who would inform her at the outset of every annual session that, though he expected to disagree with every word she uttered, he believed in certain minority rights. 'I am going to see to it that you get time to speak whenever you want to,' he told her." And Klopper was no liberal: he was later to become a staunch and founding supporter of the Conservative Party.

VALUES ALIVE



A Tribute to Helen Suzman

As the Democratic Party struggles to adapt to F W de Klerk, whose reforms echo the vocabulary of Suzman's long fight, it is tempting to say her work is done.

But it is not, of course; it never will be. It may even need to be started all over again. There will always be those seeking to reduce freedom and individual rights — but will anyone ever match Suzman's defiance?

She has that rare essence of a democrat: one who knows that the fight can be an end in itself.

David Williams

No guarantees

CRASHES: WHY THEY HAPPEN — WHAT TO DO by Robert Beckman (Griffon paperback, 416pp, R26,95).

This book was written in the immediate aftermath of the 1987 "Crash" when Beckman could properly be dismissive of Nigel Lawson's remark that the Crash was the "non-event of the year." In fact, look at the major indices on log-scale graphs and Law-

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Key planning talks ahead

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government is to meet separately from the ANC and the SA Communist Party later this month to discuss negotiations and plan strategies for the crucial months ahead.

No date has yet been set for the resumption of joint talks to remove obstacles to negotiation, although Mr Nelson Mandela said on his return to South Africa on Wednesday that he wanted to contact Mr De Klerk as soon as possible about another formal round of talks.

A spokesman for the President's office in Pretoria said yesterday: "If and when arrangements are made for another meeting, the media will be in-

formed if it is decided that the parties want publicity for the event."

The ANC announced yesterday that Mr Mandela would take a three-day break with his family after his exhausting six-week overseas tour.

He would travel to Bisho on Sunday to be presented with keys to a Mercedes Benz by workers, yesterday's statement said.

However, it will be back to business for the ANC deputy president next week when the national executive committee of the party meets in Johannesburg on July 23-24 to discuss a variety of issues.

Topics on the agenda would include Mr Mandela's 14-nation tour and "various burning questions facing the people of South Africa, including the question of negotiations", the ANC said yesterday.

A press statement on decisions taken at the NEC meeting would be issued on July 25.

The ANC's political ally, the SA Communist Party, will hold its "coming out" congress in Johannesburg on July 29.

The congress will be used to introduce the SACP's internal leadership corps — a process that could produce some surprises.

The SACP is also expected to clarify its stand on negotiations and several key policy issues at its first public congress in almost four decades.

On July 30-31 it will be the turn of the government to grapple with the burning political questions of the day when the cabinet and "certain other political functionaries" hold a special planning session at a secret venue outside Pretoria.

Mandela, F W meet 2 days after touchdown

Sta 21/7/90

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POLITICAL STAFF

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC deputy leader-Nelson Mandela have met, within 48 hours of the Mr Mandela's return to South Africa.

The speed of their encounter, which lasted two hours yesterday at Mr de Klerk's office at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, put an air of immediacy and momentum back into the Government-ANC talks.

A statement issued by the State President's office said they had met at Mr Mandela's request.

Mr Mandela said on his arrival back at Jan Smuts Airport on Wednesday from a 14-nation, six-week tour that he wanted to see Mr de Klerk "within days". It is also known that he communicated his wish directly for such a meeting while still abroad.

"During the discussion it was decided that the next meeting between representatives of the ANC and Government would be on August 6 in Pretoria," said a statement issued last night.

Prisoners

"The main purpose of the meeting will be to discuss the report of the working group established at the Groote Schuur meeting, and the progress in attaining the goals agreed upon then," the statement said.

It was referring to a joint working group assigned at the Government/ANC meeting in Cape Town on May 2 to 4 to tackle the issue of political prisoners. The group was instructed to define these prisoners and establish time scales for their release.

When the working group first produced its report in late May, the Government promptly accepted it.

But the ANC said it needed time for its National Executive Committee to consult. Mr Mandela then left, after seeing Mr de Klerk, on his tour. While he was overseas, certain objections to the report arose

● TO PAGE 2.

the time and venue of the August 6 meeting, would be announced later.

It is understood Mr de Klerk was alone yesterday when he met Mr Mandela. Government sources said he had been eager to see the ANC leader to discuss the misunderstandings and confusion that had arisen over the political prisoners issue since Mr Mandela went abroad.

Settlement of the political prisoners issue and their release, will move the two parties considerably closer to negotiations which the Government hopes to get underway early next year.

At issue now, and since the ANC's unbanning on February 2, are "talks about talks" — discussions on obstacles to negotiation that the movement wants eradicated before it enters talks proper on a constitutional model for South Africa.

Hitches in talks

● FROM PAGE 1.

from the ANC side.

It is understood the hitches centred on the appointment of an impartial arbitrator to preside over the freeing process, and the linking of releases to definite phases of the ANC distancing itself from its "armed struggle".

Government and ANC officials met again to iron them out, and produced proposals for the consideration of their respective principals. Both Government and ANC sources have signalled that neither side has any problems with the amendments — the report now seems to enjoy general agreement.

Mr de Klerk's office said details on the composition of the delegations,

Sta 24/7/90

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SA is heading for a nervous breakdown

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IN politics it is better perhaps to write from the head than plead from the heart. But sometimes the primal scream overwhelms the carefully rationalised and calibrated head games in which politicians indulge.

Such a time is now.

We are demonstrating the classic signs of a country on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Everywhere I encounter a free floating desperation — an inchoate palpable fear that disaster is just around the corner — and a paralysing fatigue as well, a sense that the problems are too enormous to resolve and beyond individual effort to engage.

Despairing of resolution and bereft of vision, many in the white community simply pack up and head for more tranquil climes or transform their homes into fortresses and clean their shotguns.

Flames are fanned by fas-



Tony Leon, Democratic Party MP for Houghton, urges South Africans to return to basic democratic principles

cist fear-merchants, who are unelected and unaccountable.

Many, equally, in the black community join the army of the fed-up and vent a fury and frustration with dispossession and degradation.

And then there are the problems beyond race — the burdens of local residents everywhere who struggle to scrape by as they cope with a shortage of housing, bond repayments and the constant battering of violence and crime which remains unchecked.

Hothouse

And our politics? Is William Butler Yeats's prophecy of the Beast slouching towards Bethlehem soon to be realised in South Africa, on a terrain where "The best lack all conviction and the worst are filled with passionate intensity"?

But South African politics has become a rhetorical hothouse in which poisonous weeds are encouraged to flourish.

And, in a real sense, the AWB and SA Communist Party thrive on each other; they fulfill their respective constituencies' worst fantasies.

It is therefore not surprising that a political movement such as the Democratic Party, born in a spirit of hope and optimism, should now be buffeted by the

winds of uncertainty and angst.

There was a time when the progressive opposition blazed a trail of ideas and policies and had the guts to take unconventional and sometimes unpopular stands on issues of the day.

It was never necessary then to strike a series of Faustian bargains, trading bits of the soul for the presumptively higher end of getting elected or remaining relevant. Of course times change and we change with them.

The playing field is now crowded with far more forceful actors — and larger teams. The good guys don't wear white hats any more and the black-hatted baddie is to be found in many teams.

Illusion

Clearly the DP is not a church fulfilling a facilitator's role. Nor should it be a bazaar of dickering interests. It has a unique selling point — liberal democracy — and its focus must sharpen in that light.

Liddell Hart's theory of warfare suggests that victory dating back to the days of the Greeks had rarely been won by the conventional rules, pitting army against army in main-force confrontation; history instead has favoured commanders with the skill and the audacity to find the enemy's

weakness and exploit them.

The best form and manner of opposing a reformist NP and a resurgent ANC is by slipping around their 'Maginot lines' instead of flinging ourselves upon them.

Therefore we must again be the party of new ideas, the intellectual advance guard of the new South Africa. It is no good to simply chant the anti-apartheid mantra, since segregation is disappearing from the Government's programme.

Equally, the ANC has been content thus far to perpetuate what the Spectator magazine refers to as "illusion politics" — that for every evil such as apartheid there has to be an equal and opposite good.

By implication they enjoy a monopoly of virtue in this regard, and since their platform is dictated by "the people" it is shrouded in some kind of mystical armour beyond reproach.

Yet now, more than ever, a political movement which punctures such balloons, speaks plainly, which promotes the interests of its constituents, and which articulates an alternative vision of a "kinder, gentler" South Africa is needed.

A party pugnacious in defence of commonsense and implacable in opposition to tyranny, collectivisation, social engineering and mob rule has an assured and growing role in the new

South Africa.

In the past session of Parliament the DP promoted such reality. We updated Alan Paton's premise "that there can be no true liberty without order" and applied it to the killing fields of his beloved Natal.

Colleagues articulated, for the first time, the collapse of the "social contract" where rents go unpaid and services are demanded free. We sketched the new South Africa based on a culture of rights in a climate of liberty and we questioned whether new style SA-communism was a change of heart or an alternation of tactics.

The challenge now is to take the message outside and inspan a movement around it. And there is a large constituency for such a movement.

Chains

History does not require of us, as it does of President De Klerk and Mr Slovo, to apologise for our past or to talk our way past our face.

We do not have to explain our violence as being "spontaneous" or "disciplined" since we have never practised or participated in any violence.

We have no "culture desks" to order cultural obedience, nor pickets to intimidate attorneys who wish to legitimately act for their clients.

President De Klerk and Mr Mandela's places in history are secure.

But someone else, and some other movement, will have to lead us into the new South Africa, to make us, at last and forever, a true part of a free country. Only liberal democracy encompasses that opportunity.

De Klerk's standing soars among blacks

THE popularity of President F W de Klerk may be waning among whites — but it is soaring among blacks.

A startling new national opinion poll shows that 85 percent of blacks think Mr De Klerk is doing a good job.

And the same poll indicates that ANC leader Nelson Mandela now enjoys unprecedented high support among a broad band of black South Africans.

Over 96 percent support Mr Mandela outright or with only a few qualifications. The surveys were conducted by Research Surveys of Cape Town — an organisation that has been doing monthly checks on the popularity of various political figures.

Its sample comprises 3 735 adults of both sexes and all races in both metropolitan and rural areas.



F W DE KLERK

In an earlier national survey, conducted after his release from prison, 66 percent of urban blacks said they immediately accepted Mr Mandela as "leader of the black people", while a further 30 percent conditionally accepted his leadership.

In a survey conducted two years ago, only 18 percent of black South Africans thought P W Botha was doing a good job as President — which did not bode well for a negotiated solution to the country's political problems.

Now Mr De Klerk appears to have achieved what was thought impossible in view of Mr Botha's abysmal ratings.

In several identical surveys conducted by RS between November last year and May this year, over 85 percent of urban black South Africans thought Mr De Klerk was doing a good job as President of the country.

Confidential national surveys conducted over the past

By MARTIN WELZ

three years by RS for various commercial clients — and publicly released for the first time this week — tell the story of the extraordinary shifts in political opinion that have been taking place in South Africa in recent times.

Perhaps most dramatic has been the change in black attitudes towards the South African Government.

Performance

As white male support for Mr De Klerk in the PWV area dropped from 52 percent to 40 percent, so it has risen in the Cape Peninsula from 56 percent to 70 percent.

In the early months of this year, Afrikaner opinion of Mr De Klerk's performance plummeted. In a poll conducted by RS in April, only 27 percent of white Afrikaner men thought Mr De Klerk was "doing a good job", while 61 percent thought he was not.

But by May, with his successful overseas tour having an impact, Mr De Klerk's rating by Afrikaner men improved dramatically, with 44 percent thinking he was doing a good job.

And, as Afrikaner confidence in Mr De Klerk's leadership has wavered, the confidence of English-speaking whites has grown.

Over 60 percent of English-speaking whites now think he is doing a good job. Thus, by last month, just over half of all white South Africans expressed confidence in his leadership — up from 46 percent of all whites in April to 54 percent in June.

● Earlier this week, Markinor released the results of a national poll which showed that 43 percent of black South Africans thought Mr De Klerk was doing a good job. White opinion, conversely, showed only 27 percent thought he was doing a good job.

New poll boost for

FW

Bombs 'easy to steal' warns blaster

By DOMINIC JONES

A QUARRY blaster has warned President F W de Klerk that ineffective laws on the use of commercial explosives could lead to massive bloodshed by right-wing fanatics.

In a letter sent to President De Klerk two months ago, Derrick Foreman of King William's Town said it was easier to steal commercial explosives than a chocolate bar.

This week, in the wake of suspected right-wing bomb attacks that have killed two people and injured 49, the former Dale College pupil spoke out against "gross irregularities" that could have lethal results.

Mr Foreman, 44, has battled for three years to get regulations on explosives tightened up.

Drastic

"People don't know that it's easier to steal explosives than sweets. If they knew the government was partly responsible there would be an outcry.

"Unless something drastic is done about this soon, more people will die."

Mr Foreman alleges that inefficiency in the Department of Minerals and Energy Affairs has made it easy for right-wingers to obtain explosives.

"Somebody who gets a blasting ticket illegally can put the lives of those who work with him in danger.

"If he wanted to, he could steal enough explosives to kill thousands of people.

(304A) Hurt

"I've written to everybody from the Attorney General of the Eastern Cape to President P W Botha and President De Klerk.

"I believe they don't want this to get to the courts."

In his May 3 letter to President De Klerk, Mr Foreman warned: "It will be too late to take action when somebody is hurt or killed because of these irregularities ..."

His letter was referred to Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Dr Wim de Villiers, who said there was "no evidence of any irregular practice".

Despite growing evidence that explosives are being stolen from mines, no tightening up of security has been recommended by the Chamber of Mines.

The Chamber was satisfied that "everything possible is done to control the use of explosives in the mining industry," a spokesman said.

Cabinet plans two-day bush retreat

By SHAUN JOHNSON

THE Cabinet will go on a "bush retreat" for two days at the end of this month, the State President's Office announced yesterday.

The special planning meeting — known as a *bosberaad* — was "nothing out of the ordinary", presidential spokesman Casper Venter said.

"There was a similar informal cabinet session this February, and one late last

year. "It is simply a way of getting the cabinet together for uninterrupted discussions."

The meeting, to be held somewhere "outside Pretoria", will be attended by "certain other political functionaries".

These are likely to be state officials rather than private individuals, Venter said.

The *bosberaad* was instituted under former president PW Botha's rule.

Urgent call for De Klerk to resume talks

NELSON Mandela, returning home from a 14-nation tour on a day which saw one of the worst incidents of violence in Natal, said he wanted to continue talks with President F.W. de Klerk.

Mandela told reporters when he returned on Wednesday from a six-week tour of Africa, Europe and North America that the ANC was eager to continue the search for peace in South Africa.

"I propose to see Mr De Klerk as soon as possible. I will be making an effort to contact him almost immediately," said Mandela, who arrived home on his 72nd birthday.

His return was marred by a right-wing white death threat sent to an ANC office in Johannesburg and new ferocity in the long-running war between rival

political groups in Natal.

The threat received this week warned the ANC: "You had better bring a lot of first aid kits and even more body bags... He (Mandela) is going to arrive with a bang."

The message said the ANC should prepare for a new Blood River.

At least 26 black people were killed when gunmen ambushed a bus in one of the worst incidents of strife in Natal, where supporters of the ANC and Inkatha are locked in a power struggle.

Police said the bus veered off the road and overturned.

Spokesmen for the ANC and Inkatha denied responsibility.

Though Mandela's trip was gruelling and his health failed briefly, political

commentators said he now faced the toughest task since his release in February after 27 years in jail.

"The reality of his mission still lies ahead, at the negotiating table right here in South Africa, where his presence is earnestly sought," said *The Argus* in an editorial.

Nine people who waved placards saying "Welcome home Nelson. Happy birthday" were arrested briefly by police who said it was an offence to demonstrate on airport property.

ANC officials said Mandela switched planes before flying home from Mozambique, the last stop of a tour that included talks with 14 heads of state including US President George Bush and British

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Thatcher, the only European Community leader to ease anti-apartheid sanctions after Mandela's release from prison in February, urged white South Africans on Wednesday to trust him.

"I think it is absolutely vital because he is a reasonable person and can see the force of argument," she said in an interview with *The Star*.

Mandela said he had persuaded the West that De Klerk had not yet done enough to justify the lifting of economic sanctions.

The armed struggle would be suspended when all political prisoners were released. — Sapa-Reuter.

Strategy for a new world

THE search for a new South Africa has affected the country's foreign standing profoundly. At no time since 15 March 1961 — the day Hendrik Verwoerd walked out of the Commonwealth — have the prospects for South Africa's international relations looked so promising.

There is no clearer indication of this than to assess the recent travels of President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The latter was a veritable Cook's tour which, appropriately perhaps, began and ended in Africa. It is difficult to remember when — if ever — a South African was so fêted, so pored over by the international media.

Nelson Mandela has returned as one of the commanding figures of our time. If this sounds high-flown, consider this appraisal of the US leg of his journey by an American historian: "No foreigner since Winston Churchill has ... (so) ... seized the imagination of the American people".

True, there were gaffes: particularly (and unnecessarily) damaging were those on Libya and the Irish Republican Army. But the intense attention paid to the man and his life seemed to amplify the controversy.

Although many, especially older folk, will flinch at this suggestion, Mandela has emerged as a larger world figure than that other great South African, Jan Smuts.

The De Klerk visit was a low-key affair, confined to Europe alone. In many ways it reflected the man himself: controlled, composed, almost modest. Considering that the major struts of apartheid — the Population Registration Act, for example — are still intact, it is extraordinary that a South African President was received with such genuine openness.

There is little doubt that De Klerk was able to convey to those with

Peter Vale of the University of Western Cape's Centre of Southern African Studies offers some pointers on a new foreign policy for SA

whom he spoke a resolve to move towards a negotiated solution. As importantly, the message was not restricted to governments alone; a wider public audience was engaged — for the first time — by a South African President.

How will South Africa secure the international advantages it now so plainly enjoys? There are no ready answers.

Aftermath

Unquestionably, the country needs a new order, not simply to slake world opinion but to secure its own future. Equally so, a settlement without the engagement of the international community will be hollow, almost meaningless. For instance, the economy desperately needs investment which can only be generated externally.

The ANC and the Government are sure to rechart their international strategies in the aftermath of the two journeys. Perhaps these three suggestions will help them hold the interest of the international community:

● Move expeditiously on negotiations. The community of nations is

experiencing an exhilarating time. If SA dithers, interest will wane and our damaging isolation will compound an already messy internal predicament.

● Draw closer on common foreign policy goals. In so doing, become less adversarial, more complementary in the conduct of the country's international relations. Seek out areas — Southern Africa is a helpful place to start — where parallel statements of intent, from the ANC and the Government, can signal consistency, now and in the post-apartheid period.

● Explore ways in which the Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and the ANC's Department of International Affairs can be recast to serve the new South Africa.

Understand that this will not be easy but recognise that other countries, too, are exploring ways of blending together formerly antagonist diplomatic services. Right now, for example, a discussion of this kind is under way in Germany.

In many ways, our predicament may be easier than Germany's: isolation has made South Africa's formal foreign relations, relatively-speaking, uncomplicated. It is unlikely that they will remain so. The truly historical changes at the end of the 80s have transformed the traditional rules of international relations.

While the future course of world affairs is uncertain, two things stand out. First, that competition for market share will be the central source of international conflict in the 90s.

Secondly — sooner rather than later — SA will emerge as a significant middle player with specific regional, African and Third World responsibilities. The quicker the country is able to adapt to its new role, the better for ourselves and the international community.

Sta 23/7/90

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Bomb rocks NP offices in Bloemfontein

Crime Reporter

A bomb made of 5 kg of commercial explosives detonated outside the National Party headquarters in Bloemfontein early yesterday, causing damage estimated at about R40 000, police said.

The explosion was the third at an NP office in recent weeks. NP offices in Roodepoort and Johannesburg were also targeted by suspected right-wing bombers.

No-one was injured in the latest blast.

The explosion was the second in the Free State in recent weeks. A massive explosion, also caused by a bomb made of commercial explosives, caused damage estimated at R250 000 to the Welkom headquarters of the National Union of Mine-workers recently.

Suspects

No one has claimed responsibility for the latest blast. However, it is understood that right-wing extremists are suspected.

Security police have launched an intensive investigation into the 1.15 am blast, said Free State police chief Major-General Tom Erasmus.

"We want results soon, especially in the light of allegations from certain quarters that we are reluctant to act against certain people."

The explosion ripped out a window, the front door, part of the veranda roof and a portion of the front wall of the offices, which are in a house in Victoria Road.

Free State NP leader and Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee yesterday condemned the act of terror, saying whoever was responsible had chosen the most cowardly method possible to make a statement.

Disorganised right-wings at war with itself

From **STEVE McQUILLAN**
Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

THE burgeoning right-wing movement in South Africa appears to be at war with itself, unable to effectively take on the government amid growing dissension in its racial white ranks.

Politics

But there are indications that another force — potentially the most explosive yet seen — will eventually emerge from the fragmented and disorganised splinter groups that make up today's Right resistance.

It is suggested that this dynamic group, a highly sophisticated elite that is as yet unknown, is likely to provide the leadership required to unify the scores of splinter groups and launch a cohesive, revolutionary threat.

Political observers have pointed to several important developments that illustrate the mounting infighting.

Among them is the fact that 70 right-wing groupings — most of them classified extremist — can already be identified, points to the dis-sent. On top of this, the ma-

jority of these organisations have been created during the past 18 months.

Mr Wim Booysse, a Pretoria-based political risk consultant who has recently spent months studying the right-wing, said of the 70 groupings he had identified, there were 15 cultural/political organisations, two women's groups, seven churches, four political parties, eight para-military groups, 28 fundamentalist groups, four trade unions and two dormant organisations.

He said right-wing extremists could be broadly divided into three categories.

The first, loosely termed "the brandy and coke set", emerges from social circumstances, such as the weekend braai. Guidance from the Bible plays a prominent role in this group.

Brandy-and-Coke

It's more a case of talking revolution and violence than getting getting to grips with a cohesive plot. It's a group without ideology, aims or objectives, other than a desire to simply sent a message to government.

The second category, the "transitional group", consists of activists such as Rudolph "and his clones".

"This group has components of the 'brandy-and-coke' category, but also has ideology, structure, logistics, aims, objectives — in fact a political programme with a specific agenda," said Mr Booysse. The first and second groups were linked.

But it is the third group that holds the most interest.

As yet unidentified, it is a highly sophisticated grouping of strategists who have not found cause to expose themselves so far. Because the government is already receiving a clear message from the previous two groups, this one sees no reason at this stage to emerge.

"These are the people with the skills to provide superb organisation and logistics — it's the cream of the crop academically and possibly violent," said Mr Booysse. "This latent force is plotting the revolution and is potentially explosive. It's people cannot be identified with one singular component of society — it's all encompassing."

It is from this group that a new ring-wing leadership, with the ability to unite all the fractious forces, is likely to emerge.

Mr Booysse said that as a result of his investigations, he

believed the third force existed and was by far the most dangerous, because of its perceived ability to unite the Right.

"And don't forget," he said. "We're talking about a fully-trained army. Because all whites have to do national service, there is no need to have to send people elsewhere for training, an additional complication sometimes faced by other revolutionary groups around the world."

But the right was not yet a revolutionary threat to national security, it was merely a threat to law and order.

Before the anger of the Right could become a threat to government, its power would have to be harnessed. "Hence, the importance of the third category."

Grassroots

He said this group awaited a trigger. "Something like the ANC reneging on an agreement or being showed to be insincere in its dealings with government."

Such an unleashing of forces would reach grassroots level. "The right-wing's seizure of neighbourhood watches etc should not be seen in a vacuum. Grassroots organisations could be powerful forces

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in future if activated.

"And remember, it's not just Afrikaners we're talking about. There is a large element of English-speakers on the Right. Evidence of that can be found in the names of the people already questioned or detained by police."

Said a police spokesman: "The fact that there are so many groups makes it more difficult for the SA Police than... if there was only one group and acts of terror were committed on instructions of such a group."

"On the other hand, many splinter groups make co-ordination, training etc difficult."

Further evidence of dissension emerged with the news that infighting had broken out within the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), with former members Leonard Veenendal and Darryl Stopforth breaking away.

It is known that before he was detained recently Veenendal accused AWB leaders of committing treachery and treason.

Such is the dissatisfaction that the AWB leadership appears to have lost control of the activities of its more than 300 Burgerade (citizen's councils) around the country. According to AWB leader

Eugene Terre'Blanche and informed police sources, the Conservative Party and established right-wing movements, such as the AWB, are clearly distancing themselves from the spate of right-wing violence.

Former AWB members Cornelis Lottering and Fanie Goosen, who escaped custody in Johannesburg on March 8, are now wanted for questioning in connection with explosions at the homes of Hendrik Binneman in Randburg and Italian rightwinger Enrico Francocci in Cyrildene.

These blais have strengthened suspicions that rightwingers angered by the alleged betrayal to police of accomplices have embarked on a civil war within their ranks.

The Order of the Boere People has as offered rewards of up to R100 000 for the "head" of the person who betrayed Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, the deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, compared with R50 000 offered by the authorities for information leading to his arrest.

Rudolph has admitted to bombing Melrose House and claims he was among a group of 11 Sebokeng protesters at a march this year. Also, he admits to masterminding the

Good Friday weapons heist at Air Force headquarters in Pretoria.

Police say the net is closing in on him after the arrest of a prominent Johannesburg advocate, Mr Andries Albertus Smith, in connection with the illegal possession of hand grenades.

Committed

Mr Booysse said the rumour component of right-wing politics was most important. "They want to frighten off any would-be informant. But the chances of getting good intelligence on these groups are limited. These people are committed. And any informant who did get close would have to turn on his own."

"The fact that Rudolph is still on the run, assisted by the volk, is an indication of this. He's become a major embarrassment to police."

A spate of new right-wing groups have been identified recently. They include the Order of the Boere People, the Order of Death (which allegedly planned to assassinate the State President and three Cabinet ministers), the Transvaal Separatists, the World Apartheid Movement, the White Freedom Army and the West Rand White Community Guard.

Black opinion favours ANC

From PATRICK LAURENCE
Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

THE African National Congress is by far the best known and most popular of the political organisations vying for support in the black community.

Its high popularity rating stretches across divisions of ethnicity, age and gender, straddles the urban-rural divide and reaches from South Africa's bustling cities into the remote settlements of its rural hinterland.

These findings are contained in a major survey of black attitudes conducted at the President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech unbanning the ANC and its allied organisation — the South African Communist Party (SACP), Umkhonto we Sizwe and the United Democratic Front (UDF) — and its challenger for three decades, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

Instability

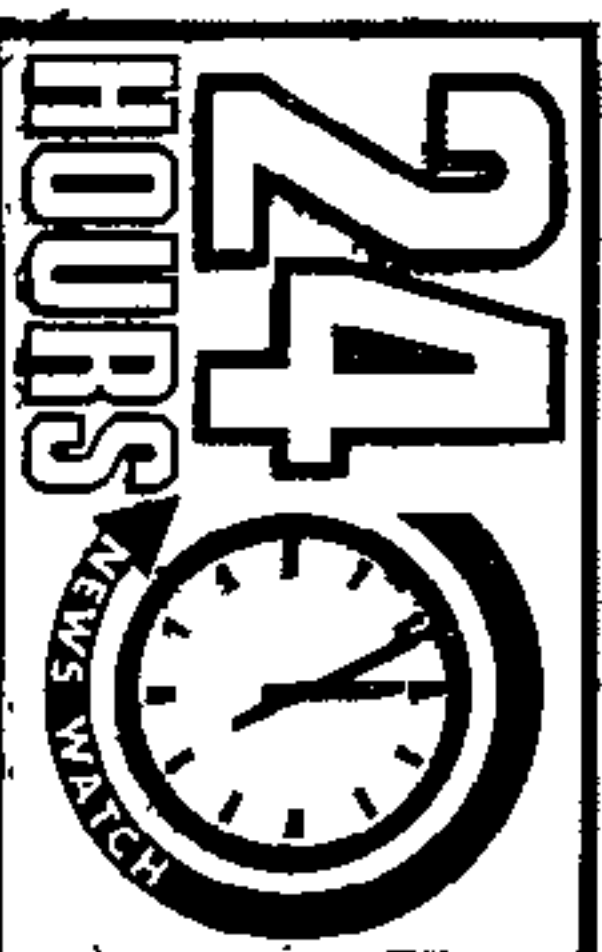
The survey, conducted by Market Research Africa (MRA) in April, May and June, was based on sample of 2 281 black adults, 1 181 men and 1 100 women. The sample was selected according to a method which gave every adult an equal chance of being interviewed.

Political instability in Natal, however, made it impossible to poll attitudes there or in neighbouring KwaZulu. MRA estimates that blacks in Natal-KwaZulu constitute about a fifth of the total black population.

The exclusion of Natal-KwaZulu, traditionally a strong area of support for Inkatha, has to be borne in mind in assessing the results of the MRA survey.

The skewing affect, however, may not be as great as it might have been, say, in 1978, when — according to the Hanf survey — support for Inkatha was high in South Africa generally and Natal-KwaZulu particularly.

A separate contemporary



survey, conducted by Markinor in April 1990 in the main metropolitan areas, including Durban points to the same phenomenon: the rise of ANC's appeal and a corresponding decline in Inkatha's.

A salient feature of the MRA survey is the low appeal of Inkatha outside Natal-KwaZulu, even in areas like the Witwatersrand where there is a sizeable Zulu population and where Inkatha once enjoyed substantial support.

Fear

There is high-level of awareness of Inkatha, it is as well known as the UDF. But, judging from the survey's findings, it is awareness of an organisation which most people dislike and/or fear.

One of the attitudes explored by MRA was how close black people feel to — or how distant from — the various organisations.

Three central points emerge:

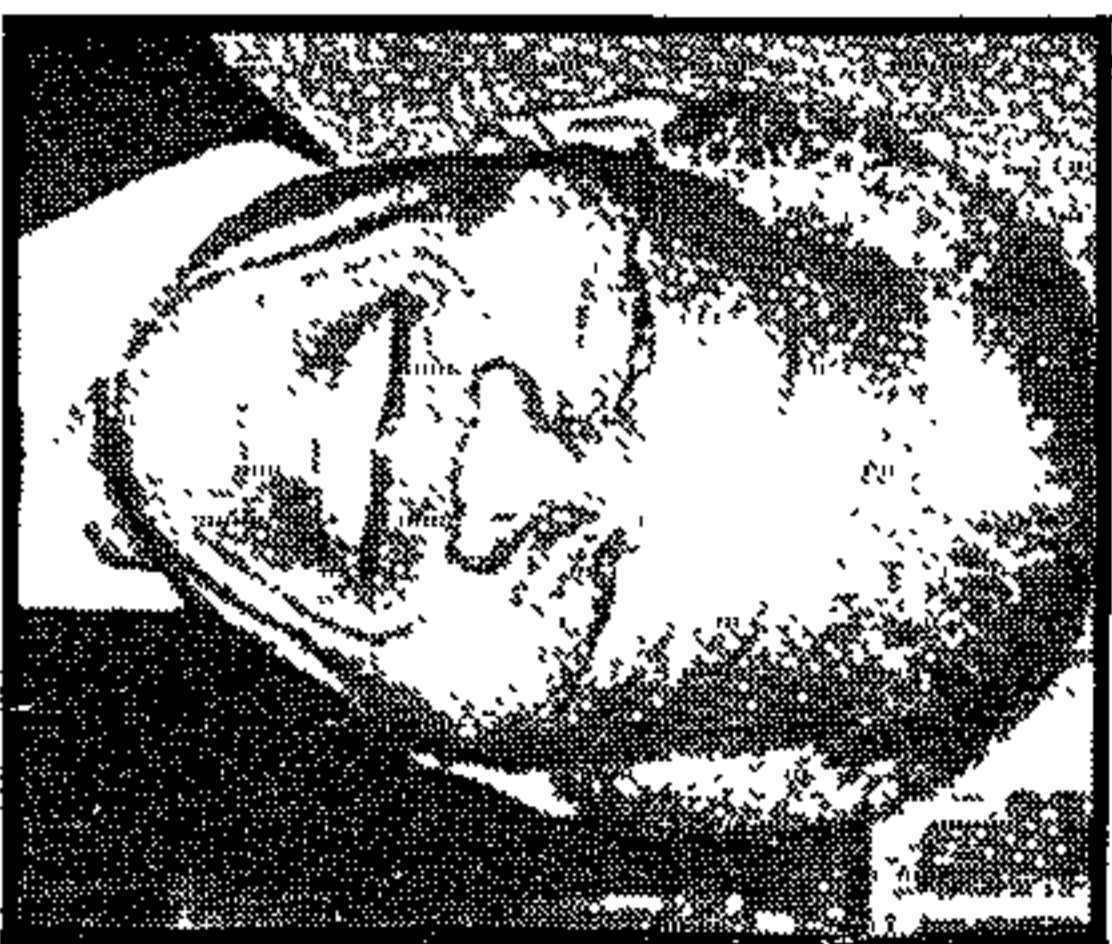
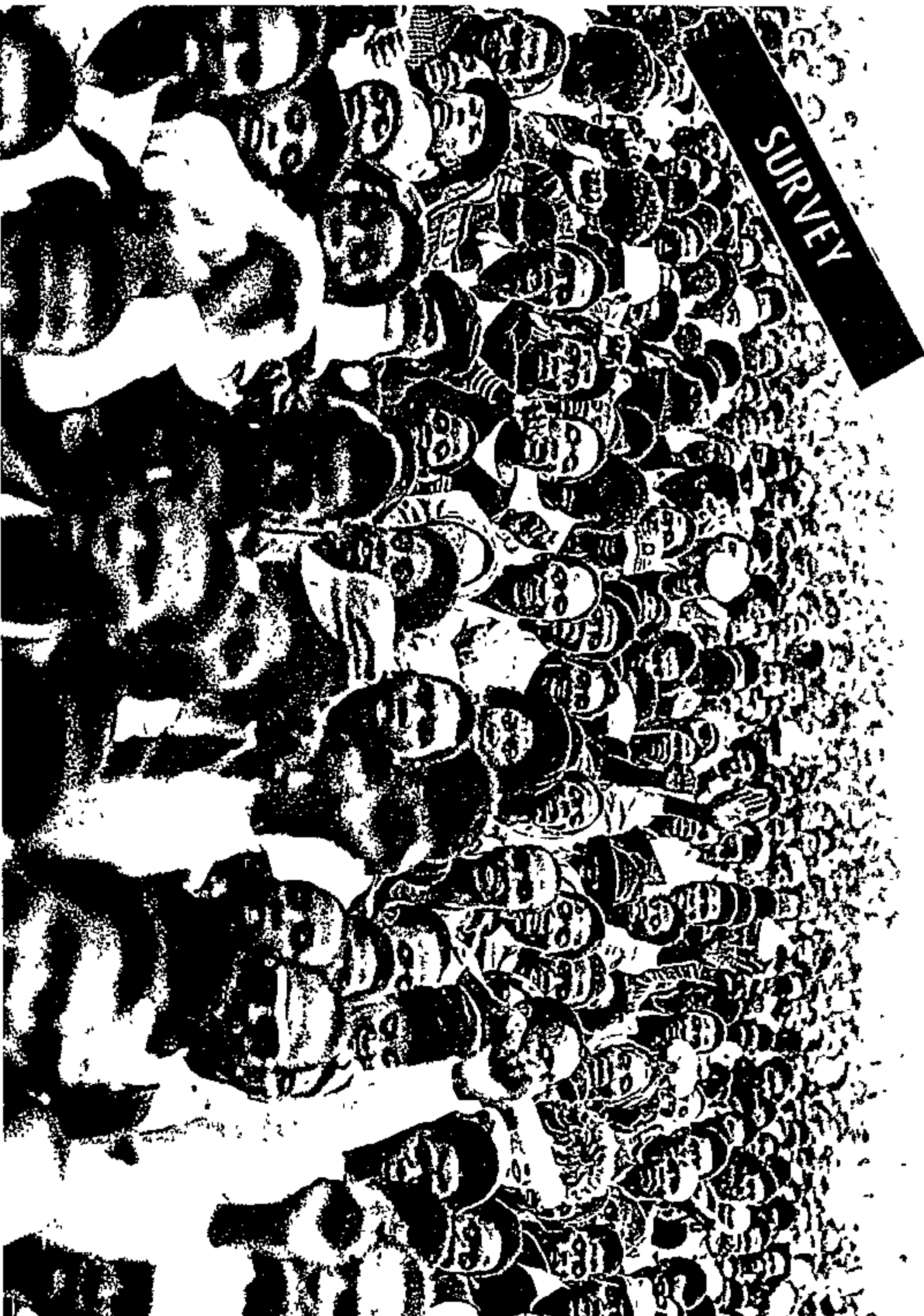
● Blacks feel distant from Inkatha.

● They feel closer to President De Klerk's National Party and the Democratic Party than they do to Inkatha.

● The degree of distance from — and presumably antipathy towards — Inkatha is only marginally smaller than that shown to the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging on the far Right of the political spectrum.

The same patterns prevail among Zulus outside Natal-KwaZulu. Distance from Inkatha among these Zulus contrasts with a much higher degree of closeness towards the ANC.

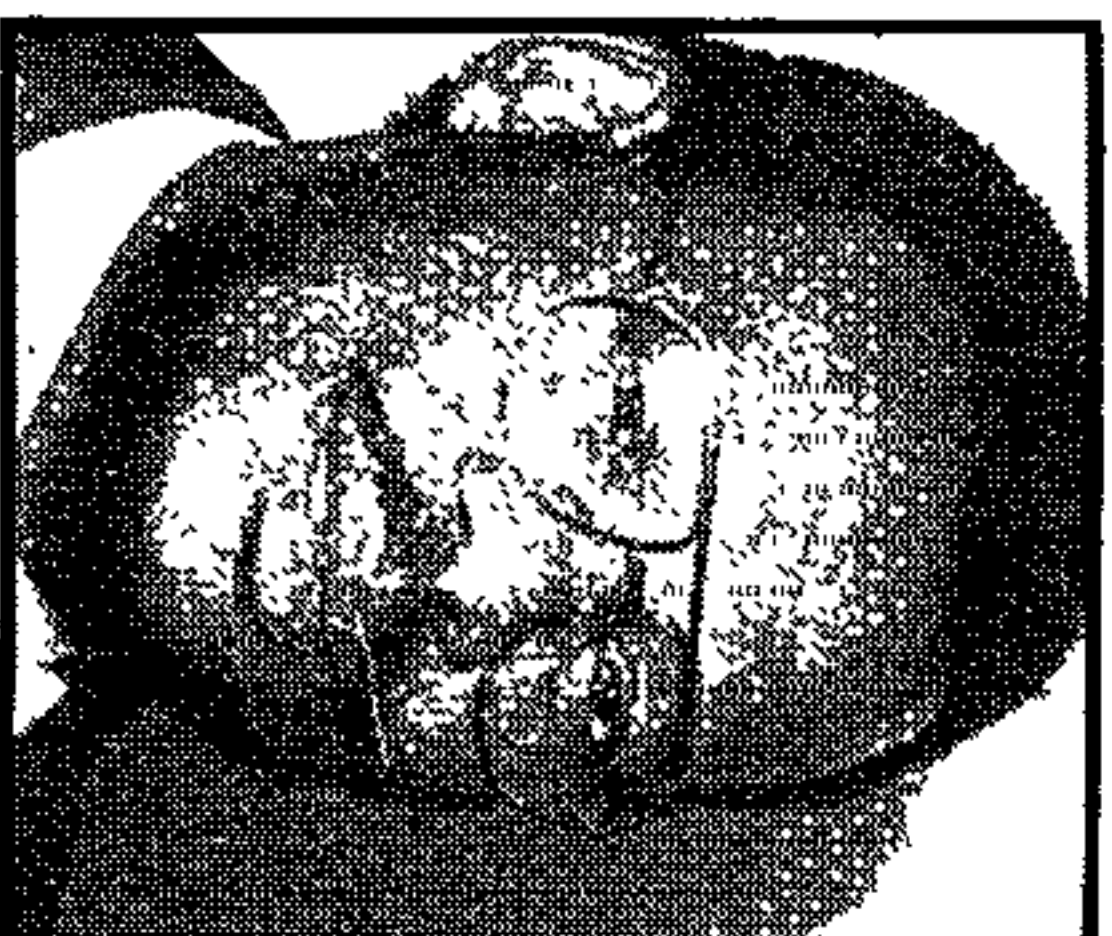
The PAC, SACP and UDF fall between the ANC and In-



Nelson Mandela



F W de Klerk



Chief Buthelezi

katha, with the UDF slightly ahead of the PAC and SACP. Blacks feel closer to these organisations — although not much closer — than they do to either the NP and the DP.

A striking point is the degree of distance — and, with it, possible scepticism and suspicion — which blacks feel, on the average, toward all political organisations, even the ANC.

The degree of closeness or distance is reflected on a scale ranging from plus-four (very close) to minus-four (very far), with zero signifying a state of neutrality (neither close nor far).

The ANC's overall rating was 1.2, indicating what can perhaps be characterised as tepid or qualified support.

The UDF attains a zero rating, while the PAC SACP level-peg with ratings of 0.9

each. All three ratings point to a measure of doubt.

Seen in that context Inkatha's minus 2.8 rating is perhaps not quite so bad. But it is clearly bad enough to be cause of grave concern to its leaders, especially in light of its once undoubted popular appeal.

The absence of strong, positive identification with the main political forces may be

due to any of several factors. It may mirror inner insecurity about the future, a reluctance by blacks to commit themselves fully in a rapidly shifting political terrain. It may simply be a reflex reaction after years of repression, in which it was dangerous to express approval of outlawed organisations.

From the perspective of organisations which have been overshadowed by the ANC there is, perhaps, a mite of consolation.

The still relatively high degree of distance from the ANC and its allies may mean that attitudes are as yet unfixed, that there may still be a relatively high degree of mobility in black political preferences.

These are, however, averages scores. They are people who feel very close to organisations. Again it is the ANC which emerges with, from its point of view, the best results: 38 of blacks feel very close to the ANC against 10 for the PAC and two for Inkatha.

From the PAC's perspective the survey highlights a pattern which is likely to be of concern to its leaders.

Nearly 80 of those blacks who feel very close to the PAC also feel very close to the ANC. There is no reciprocal tendency among people who feel very close to the PAC: only 11 of blacks who feel very close to the PAC feel very close to the PAC as well.

These findings infer that many PAC supporters would be just as comfortable in ANC ranks, thus raising, theoretically at any rate, the prospect of defections to the ANC.

By contrast ANC supporters do not have the same potential loyalty to the PAC. Where dual loyalty exists among ANC supporters it is directed at the UDF, a strong ANC ally and even a surrogate ANC.

The a high correlation between support for the ANC and the UDF in unsurprising.

They are two sides of the same political coin. Sympathy for the ANC implies sympathy the UDF and vice versa. These attitudes are mutually supporting.

From the ANC's viewpoint, there is one very gratifying result: most of its strongest supporters are drawn from the 16-24 year-old category, the youngest and fastest growing group.

Nearly half (47) of blacks in age cohort 16-24 feel very close to the ANC, against one tenth (9.9) for the PAC and minuscule proportion (1.8) for Inkatha. The same pattern is found in the next age cohort of 25-34.

In general the proportion of people who feel very close to an organisation decreases with age, indicating, perhaps, that scepticism with strengthens with age.

Dominance

There is one exception: in the 25-34 cohort, the proportion of people who feel very close to the PAC increases, rising from just under 10 to a little over 12. In the ANC the comparative figures are 47 and 40.

The Markinor survey, conducted in April among 900 black women and 600 black women in the main metropolitan areas, provides confirmation of the ANC's clear dominance at present.

Thus a clear majority, 64, of blacks nominate the ANC as their favourite organisation. The NP does relatively well, attaining 10 of the vote. Mr De Klerk does even better, winning 22 of the vote against 58 for Mr Mandela.

These results, coupled with strong support for the NP in the white community (46 against 22 for the CP), may mean that the NP has a future even under a system of universal adult suffrage, provided its leaders show the necessary skill and nerve in the transitional phase ahead.

● The MRA survey did not poll attitudes towards Azapo, the main black consciousness organisation.

Negotiations are under attack

PRETORIA — People were following a deliberate strategy to disrupt or prejudice efforts to promote the negotiation process, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said at the weekend.

Speaking at the opening of the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly, Van der Merwe said it was clear, too, that at the beginning of the year there were people who set out deliberately to do everything possible to disrupt education.

They had decided long ago to sacrifice the interest of students, teachers and the entire community on the political altar. In some areas they had prevented tuition.

They had been given a fair hearing and all demands were investigated.

Other demands concerned political issues outside the ambit of education.

The first half of the year had been marked by extensive disruptions in the schools of most education departments.

The impression had been created that the entire education system had come to a standstill. This was untrue as the majority of teachers and students were going about the business of preparing for the future.

The time had arrived, he said, for educators, parents and communities to communicate the message that education could not be reconciled with deliberate and con-

GERALD REILLY

sistent disruption of schooling.

Van der Merwe said government had stated that the present constitution was not the final blueprint. It served merely as a departure point to reform.

SA had been put on a course of change, which was irrevocable. It would never be the same again. The move was to a new, democratic SA. (304A)

"The reasons put forward in the past, by organisations such as the ANC, for violence and the armed struggle have lost their justification. Violence will bring no solution," he said.

What was needed was negotiations, acceptable agreements and compromises, Van der Merwe said.

He appealed to all organisations to abandon the violence option and to commit themselves to negotiations.

"Half hearted methods will not work for any of us — we need a joint commitment."

He said there was a need for stable government at all levels until a new constitution had been agreed on. Government institutions would have to remain effectively functional.

"And it should be remembered that politics have never fed empty stomachs."

Call for unity in attack on AIDS

TRACY MELASS

THE National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has called for co-operation between employers and unions in combating AIDS.

NUM health and safety spokesman Hazy Sibanyoni said on Friday: "This is the ideal situation needed to solve the problem, but as yet nothing has been formalised."

He stressed the need for private sector intervention in providing housing for miners and their families so that AIDS could in some way be controlled.

Chamber of Mines spokesman Peter Bunkell agreed that the mining industry was well positioned to play a significant role in combating AIDS.

"The industry looks forward to co-operating with all parties involved. It is obvious there is much common ground between the NUM and the employers on the issues of HIV infection and AIDS," he said. (304A)

"The chamber has already spent a large sum of money on activities aimed at contributing to general knowledge of AIDS and at preventing the spread of the disease in southern Africa, and in the mining industry in particular."

It had made donations to the SA Institute for Medical Research for AIDS-related research and for setting up counselling training courses and offering HIV testing to patients attending clinics for sexually transmittable diseases.

Transport and General Workers Union spokesman Cally Forest said that from September the union would employ an officer to provide education on AIDS. It would be the first union to do so.

EC 'economic overhaul' team is to visit Soviet Union next month

MOSCOW — The EC is to send a special team to Moscow next month to find ways of hauling the Soviet Union from its economic quagmire.

EC president Jacques Delors said after talks with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Friday that the Kremlin leadership was committed to a market economy and that Gorbachev "knows what he is talking about".

The report to be made by the EC's team of analysts by the end of October will assess the worth of Soviet reforms and the usefulness of aid.

Gorbachev has asked for economic assistance from the West, saying his reforms have reached their "critical moment".

His taming of hardliners at the recent 28th Communist Party congress put him in a stronger position to push ahead with reform. (304A)

The EC summit in Dublin last month

Own Correspondent

agreed that Soviet reforms should have financial backing. Delors said on Friday that the country needed, at the very least, technical assistance.

The EC is planning to establish an office in Moscow.

Delors would make no comment about the Soviet economy, except to say that monetary policy should be guided by central government.

He expressed concern that some Soviet republics might introduce their own currencies as they moved towards autonomy.

He told the Kremlin: "We hope to create a big Europe that could be a great arena of peace and prosperity. EC countries can make their contribution to restructuring in the Soviet Union. We can co-operate with you on the road that should lead to well-being and peace." — Daily Telegraph.

Needles to be made in SA

ACHMED KARIEM
JOHANNESBURG housewife turned entrepreneur

Gun

FIFTEEN rifling ex three gun occupying nesburg E

Blast rocks NP offices

By SY MAKARINGE

THE Bloemfontein offices of the National Party were extensively damaged in a powerful explosion early yesterday morning in what could be the work of rightwing movements.

Major Mike Lombard, a spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria, said yesterday 5kg of commercial explosives were used in the attack, which occurred about 1.15am, causing damage estimated at more than R40 000.

Considerable damage was caused to office equipment. The blast left a gaping hole in the front wall after a window was ripped off. Part of the roof of the veranda was also ripped off.

No one was inside the offices at the time of the explosion.

Lombard could not speculate on who was involved and no-one has claimed responsibility for the explosion.

However, the use of commercial explosives has in

recent weeks been linked to a spate of rightwing terror attacks.

The Bloemfontein blast is the third aimed at the reformist National Party under the leadership of State President FW de Klerk.

They are probably aimed at derailing the peace process between the ANC and the Government.

Last month two offices of the NP in Johannesburg and Roodepoort were extensively damaged in explosions which took place within 30 minutes of each other.

Commercial explosives were used in both instances.

Reacting to the explosion, the Minister of Justice and NP leader in the Free State, Mr Kobie Coetsee, told SABC's radio news that whoever was responsible had made use of the "most cowardly method possible to make a statement".

304A

Sowetan
23/7/90

A party for 'the silent masses'

A NEW multi-racial political party which aims to unite all races was officially launched in Pretoria on Saturday night.

The All Races Alliance Party (ARAP) was formed to bring the "silent masses" together and advocate the fact that blacks and whites in this country needed each other and must therefore be all represented in Parliament," co-leader of

By MONK NKOMO

the party Mr Frik van Schalkwyk, a former magistrate and commissioner, said.

About 50 people attended the launching of the party, whose interim executive members also include former community councillor Mr Joe Mahoi, Mr T J Rafadi, Mr George Masiuana and Mr John Makhaya, all of

Atteridgeville.

Van Schalkwyk said the party's first priority was to uplift the standards of the under-privileged masses by offering them housing.

Explaining the party's educational policy, Van Schalkwyk said their aim was to ensure that all children develop their talents fully. Teachers and educationalists who were not satisfied with their salaries and other benefits

would be enticed back into the teaching field.

Makhaya said their party rejected the principle of nationalisation. He said that they believed in the system of free enterprise.

"Our aim is also to protect the minority. We cannot chase our Boer colleagues into the sea. We are going to stay here with them and determine our future together."

Political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans, who attended the launch, said the formation of the party was imperative to educate blacks about politics. He said although he was not in favour of many political parties, he believed that a country became stable if there was a strong political opposition party.

He warned, however, that it would take many years to form a viable and successful political party. "Blacks must get into gear and start forming political parties now," Kleynhans said.

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DP needs to design system to bridge economy choices

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party had to take the lead again to arrest economic deprivation and establish a just economic dispensation in South Africa, the MP for Pinelands, Mr Jasper Walsh, said at the weekend.

"South Africa reflects economic affluence for the few and relative deprivation for the majority," he told the DP's Free State congress in Bloemfontein on Saturday.

"This in turn is reflected in the choice of economic systems: The whites prefer unfettered free enterprise or capitalism; the blacks, a greater degree of socialism."

Mr Walsh said the role of the DP was to design an economic system which bridged this position.

Essential elements of such a system

included political freedom, equality of opportunity and an effective market system within the constraints of a social conscience and a healthy environment.

The state's role should be limited to its developmental and regulatory responsibilities and the provision of services not found in the private sector.

"The DP recognises that the current paltry economic growth rate is largely a result of National Party economic mismanagement.

"Additional social expenditure can be financed, not by increasing taxation, but by achieving levels of economic growth of which this country is capable," Mr Walsh said.

The DP had established a committee to develop an economics policy for ratification at its September congress.

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06/11/32
21/7/19
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Sabre-rattling, white fears and black impatience pressure peace plan

Reform under strain

By TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

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PEACE in South Africa is creeping forward under more pressure now than any time since the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute in May.

As the government and the ANC prepare for the next round of talks on August 6, the process is coming under pressure from white fears and black impatience.

The alleged ANC plot to infiltrate armed guerrillas into the country — coupled with Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani's sabre-rattling rhetoric in the Transkei — has caused deep concern, though government and ANC sources are confident these factors will not upset the negotiation process.

At the same time, recent opinion polls suggest that white support for President De Klerk could be waning.

Far-reaching changes

Observers say this could be because there have been no apparent rewards for the far-reaching changes, and that apprehension has grown as a result.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer noted today that there was widespread apprehension among whites.

"Most sensible white people do not believe the clock can, or should, be turned back, but while everything seems so uncertain, they are apprehensive about what lies down the road. There's a feeling that we should get on with job of negotiating."

Dr De Beer also felt there was a "maverick" element in the ANC emphasising the armed struggle as a means of making gains, while the leadership kept emphasising the organisation's commitment to peaceful negotiations.

The detention of African National Congress insurgents is not likely to derail talks between the government and the ANC.

This was the impression in circles close to President De Klerk today.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela strengthened the impression that negotiation efforts remained on track when he said in Mdantsane, near East London, that the ANC's goal of engaging all political forces in the peace process could not be based on the number of guns they carried.

The ANC was proud to be the architects of the peace process, and had always sought a peaceful settlement to the South African conflict.

"We shall feel honoured if we can contribute even a little to the struggle to end violence. As the initiators of the peace process we are determined to see it through to the end.

"In mustering maximum support for negotiations, we threaten nobody. All we threaten is the criminal system of apartheid."

Detentions

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela are likely to have discussed the detentions when they met in Pretoria on Friday. A spokesman at Mr De Klerk's office today would not comment.

Government sources said the detentions would not derail the talks, but that the outbursts of Mr Hani could cloud the issues.

Some government sources are inclined to dismiss Mr Hani as a "loudmouth" whose standing is not all that high among the rest of the ANC leadership. They maintain he is sabre-rattling after failing to get further weapons from Russia.

It is not yet clear what form the conference between the government and the ANC will take, and whether it will be a full-blown "Groote Schuur 2."

The alleged ANC plot to infiltrate armed guerrillas into the country was expected to be discussed by the State Security Council today. It is clear the government is taking the alleged plot seriously.

ANC immunity limited, says FW

Insurgency row will not derail talks

TALKS between government and the ANC would go ahead despite the recent spate of infiltrations of the country by armed insurgents, President F W de Klerk said yesterday after a meeting of the State Security Council.

De Klerk warned that the laws in the country had to be respected, and disorder and terrorism would not be tolerated.

He said temporary immunity for members of the ANC applied only to actions committed before the immunity was granted.

Government viewed the infiltrations in an extremely serious light. If police investigations pointed to criminal offences, accusations would be heard in open court.

However, government remained committed to the objective of finding a solution to intimidation and violence, as well as a commitment to stability and a peaceful negotiation process and would continue the discussions with the ANC on August 6.

The ANC announced at the weekend it would proceed with the talks. The ANC's National Executive Committee met yesterday and the police crackdown on cadres was expected to be high on the agenda. The organisation will issue a statement tomorrow on its deliberations.

De Klerk's statement did not refer to recent statements by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani that the ANC might be forced to seize power.

However, CP leader Andries Treurnicht announced yesterday that the party had brought a charge of high treason against Hani and he urged government to cancel its planned talks with the ANC.

PETER DELMAR

WILSON ZWANE reports that an Umkhonto we Sizwe member yesterday sought refuge in the US Consulate in Durban.

Embassy spokesman Brooke Spectre said Bhekumusa Jabulani Ximba said he was seeking political asylum.

It was not clear yesterday whether Ximba would be granted asylum.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Alayne Reesburg said her department was in contact with the US embassy.

Sapa reports Ximba said he had been in

THE arrests of ANC insurgents and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani's militaristic speeches could signal the start of a battle for the soul of the ANC/SACP alliance. On Page 6 MIKE ROBERTSON and ALAN FINE examine the potential for the emergence of dissident forces in the liberation movement.

hiding since his house in Umlazi was raided last week, ANC sources said it was believed that a large cache of weapons was confiscated by a joint task force of Kwa-Zulu police and the SAP.

Yesterday Law and Order spokesman Capt Peet Bothma confirmed most of the approximately 40 Umkhonto members detained recently were SACP members. Further arrests could not be ruled out.

Bothma also disclosed details of the arms seized around the country. They included "dozens" of mines, hand grenades, rifles, pistols and an RPG-7 missile launch-

□ To Page 2

Talks

er, as well as missiles and a large assortment of ammunition.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said yesterday the party had never concealed the fact that many of its members were active Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers. As such they were subject to strict ANC discipline and did not fall under any separate SACP command.

The SACP, he said, categorically denied government allegations of "some sinister red plot".

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada yesterday dismissed the row surrounding the arrests as a media creation.

The ANC had never deviated from its

support for the armed struggle until pre-conditions for negotiations were met.

Sapa reports SAP public relations directorate head Maj-Gen Herman Stadler said the SACP appeared to have played a prominent role in assisting ANC insurgents enter SA in recent months.

Stadler said it was difficult to determine whether the SACP had hoped to derail negotiations between government and the ANC through such actions.

He hoped the investigation into the case of the 40 insurgents would be completed within days.

● Comment: Page 6

□ From Page 1

SHORTLY before the leaders of the seven most powerful industrial democracies met in Houston earlier this month for their annual summit, Secretary of State James Baker urgently asked Foreign Minister P. W. Botha to have breakfast with him at the US Embassy in Rome.

Botha was too busy. Some with a sarcastic turn of mind think he had a hunting trip planned. Officially, he was helping get ready for the resumption of talks with the ANC on its deputy president's return.

It was not a frivolous invitation. Baker does not, as a rule, do breakfasts. He was fully aware the Foreign Minister would have to take at least 72 hours out of his schedule to make it up to Europe. And one might have thought that what with the reunification of Germany and the shape of the Western alliance post-communism to occupy him, SA would be the least of the Secretary's concerns.

That it was not had a great deal to do with Mandela's visit to the White House on June 25. As previously noted in this space, President George Bush and his senior advisers were less than impressed. They found Mandela stiff-necked on a number of issues and curiously out of step with the trend towards pluralism and free markets elsewhere in the world. Far from persuading them to let the ANC effectively dictate US policy, he convinced them that the US must now begin to pay more serious attention.

As a result, the Fabulous Bush and Baker Boys — as they were recently dubbed by the New York Times — decided it was time to move beyond blandly reiterating their support for negotiation and start focusing on ways to foster a desirable outcome. An outcome, in other words, rather more in tune with America's liberal ideals than that which many in the ANC, Mandela for all his soothing rhetoric among them, appear to have in mind.

No doubt, there were many in the SA government and outside who cringed at Bush's suggestion last week that he was anxious for President F. W. de Klerk to follow Mandela into the Oval Office because he

De Klerk must talk to Bush

3044

SIMON BARBER in Washington

8/24/90 2417190

wished the US to be a "catalyst" for change in SA.

It has been evident for some months that a certain paranoia about American machinations is stalking the corridors of the Union Buildings. People who should know better have got into their heads that Washington is concocting some devilish initiative to get involved in the negotiations. Mirages of a new "Camp David" process hang in the air.

Bush's use of the word "catalyst" can scarcely have helped dispel this fantasy, far less his assertion that the US was "uniquely qualified" to act as one.

The US, said the President, was much better placed than the Europeans to act as an interlocutor because it had no colonial history (take that, Mrs Thatcher) but also because of its large "African-American" population which made SA "a gut issue" here. This, he added, was a good thing.

Flattery

A "catalyst" with next to no historical experience in the region and driven instead by its "gut"? The very walls recoil.

Fortunately, there is no need to panic. The Bush administration, it scarcely needs saying, has considerably more pressing matters on its agenda than getting into the thick of a negotiating process that already seems to be working tolerably well under its own steam.

If the President's statement sounded dangerously activist, bear in mind that it was made in response to a question by the publisher of Essence Magazine, one of America's premier black publications. It was intended, in a roundabout way, to flatter the questioner and reassure him that the invitation to De Klerk

did not imply a return to former President Reagan's version of constructive engagement.

Bear in mind, too, that Bush was in the same breath thoroughly dismissive of the protests and picket lines a De Klerk visit would be certain to generate. Those who opposed the invitation — and by inference those who effectively aborted De Klerk's plans to take it up on June 18 — were "wrong".

Bush has a high regard for De Klerk. He wants the SA leader here for the latter's own good. The development of an American policy in the interests of all South Africans and not simply in the interests of those of the storm troopers of the SA Youth Congress requires that De Klerk be assessed first hand by the powers that be in Washington, especially on Capitol Hill. The longer he stays away, the longer the yahoos of the left will continue to stymie Bush on the ANC's behalf.

Of course, there will be angry voices back home who will argue that such a trip is merely further proof that De Klerk is pandering to the outside world over the heads of his own constituents. Their case will be strengthened by the fact that there is no guarantee that, even if he does come here and impress as expected, he will go home bearing concrete concessions in the form of lifted sanctions.

Part of the problem is time. The 101st Congress has very little left. It will rise next month for the August recess and to prepare for November's elections, and may not sit again. The easing of sanctions takes two, the President to recommend once the conditions are met (as very soon they will be), and the Congress to approve. That it cannot do if it is not there. Faced with elections, it

would also probably be less than eager to be presented with the opportunity.

Sanctions, however, are a canard. Let Mandela have them for a little while longer if it makes him feel and look better. Their value as a bargaining chip is only what the government assigns them. Far more important is whether the SA that emerges as negotiations progress is going to belong in the closing decade of the twentieth century or whether the Utopians who aspire to rule it are going to waste a generation or more learning the lessons of the past 50 years.

Since the prosperity not only of SA itself but of much of its continent hangs on the answer, Bush and his allies wish to do all they can to ensure South Africans get it right. Apartheid now assumed to be history, their emphasis will be on what replaces it and not on guiltily acquiescing in the demands of an elite which calls itself "the masses".

Punishment

The administration thus proposes that there should be a tilt in US policy, not, as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen carelessly said, towards the ANC, but towards authentic multiparty democracy and an economy driven by market realities rather than power-hungry and possibly inept bureaucrats.

This is an idea around which a new consensus can be built. Once built — and De Klerk's presence here can only hasten that day — the logic behind sanctions will start to fall away. Indeed, it may even be deemed necessary to remove them as a means of showing the ANC that the West is serious about its objectives.

As Bush's chief of staff John Sununu told Mandela at the White House, he must not think the US will lift sanctions merely to "reward" De Klerk. Come next year, the purpose might well be to punish the ANC.

Meeting with ANC is still on, confirms De Klerk

Political Correspondent

President de Klerk confirmed last night that the Government would go ahead with planned talks with the African National Congress on August 8 — despite the police discovery of an alleged ANC/SA Communist Party plot to seize power if negotiations failed.

He issued a statement confirming the scheduled talks following a call by Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging for the talks to be cancelled in view of the infiltration of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres and the "blatant declaration of war" by MK chief of staff, Chris Hani.

Mr de Klerk said that although the Government regarded the alleged ANC action in "an extremely serious light", it remained committed to a peaceful negotiation process — as agreed at the Groote Schuur talks in May.

However, the basic rules of the negotiation process "do not provide for any political organisation to stockpile arms to force its will at the negotiation table".

"The Government insists that the laws of the country have to be respected.

"As I have often said publicly, it is imperative that good government be maintained at all times.

"Change in whatever area must be orderly and should follow peaceful negotiation and discussion.

"The nature of Government action since February 2 this year (when the ANC was unbanned) was to achieve exactly that and was directed at normalising the political process."

Mr de Klerk also seemed to hint that top ANC leaders could be involved in the alleged plot.

Immunity

He pointed out that in the joint Groote Schuur Minute agreed to by the ANC and the Government after talks early in May, temporary immunity was granted to people who would otherwise have faced prosecution.

"In the light of the latest developments, it is necessary to emphasise that such immunity applies only in respect of actions before the date on which the temporary immunity came into operation. Consequently the peace and immunity processes do not provide room for anybody to sneak in through the back door and try to seize power by force."

These remarks could be construed as a warning aimed at the upper echelons of the ANC because under the Groote Schuur Minute, temporary immunity was granted only to members of the ANC national executive committee "and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country" to help establish the party inside the country and help end violence.

He called on all who desired the extension of the democratic process and the attainment of a peaceful solution to refrain from undermining the economy and from intimidation and violence.

● CP lays charge against Hani — Page 8.

A lurch backward in time

PART ONE
Special Report
by
Graham Linscott

SOUTH Africa seems suddenly to have lurched backward in time — either to 1914 or 1939. Armed men are at large, threatening insurrection. Bombs explode, uniformed para-military units parade.

As in 1914 and 1939, they are white right-wingers. The issue this time though is not participation in an overseas war. It is the prospect of constitutional negotiations involving the African National Congress and the Communist Party.

The hackles of the right wing have been raised in union. Exclusive rule by whites is seen to be slipping away. The process has to be stopped.

The unanimous clamour in right-wing quarters is for a General Election, on the grounds that the government does not have a mandate for its present course. The favourable Umlazi by-election result has sent a frisson of anticipation through right-wing ranks.

They are just as unanimous that a referendum on a constitution already negotiated would be no acceptable substitute for an election prior to negotiations.

Home guards

If constitutional avenues are blocked, extra-parliamentary options will have to be explored, the right-wingers say darkly.

Young men are being recruited into private commandos. There are the Wenkommandos (Victory Commandos) of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the MAN (Magsaskie Afrikaner Nasionalisme) commandos of a major-erick Heristigte Nasionale Party figure in the Pretoria district. The Conservative Party is quietly encouraging the formation of "tuiswagte" (home guards), rural and urban, to operate with a low political profile.

All are formed expressly for protection of life and property. But they operate independently of official security structures and in a country where every young white man has military training



and many have actual combat experience — they have an unmistakable potential.

However, the right-wing mobilisation has to be put into perspective.

The extremists and activists come from a fringe representing less than one percent of the white electorate. This an estimate by the police, supported by analyst Wim Booysse, director of a political and labour risk consultancy.

By far the largest para-military right-wing organisation within that one percent — the AWB — has had no part in the recent pattern of violent incidents. According to its leadership, it will not be deployed unless the police and army are no longer able to protect whites.

Fragmented

The extremists are highly fragmented. At least 46 different right-wing organisations have been identified overall, which makes it difficult for the police to keep tabs on them. But it also rules out concerted action.

And — critically important — there are serious doubts as to whether the CP, which forms the huge bulk of the political right wing, would ever abandon its respectable, middle class, parliamentary character to become a party of freedom fighters.



Armed guard: Heavily armed members swap stories outside an AWB meeting in Pretoria.

CP Secretary-in-chief Mr Andries Beyers says the party is having difficulty containing the anger and impatience of some of its supporters. But so long as the government leaves the door open to parliamentary action, the CP will not opt for violence.

He warns that if President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela should between them close the avenue of the ballot box for the Afrikaners to regain their freedom in their own farmland, they would regard themselves as an oppressed people.

"And if we become an oppressed people, at that stage we will have no choice other than to use basically the same methods that oppressed peoples normally use to regain their freedom."

However, he adds that this

point has not been reached.

"We are of the opinion that the constitutional way has not been closed altogether at this stage. This is not the time for war talk."

The CP's dilemma also has parallels with 1914 and 1939.

"I think you have to look at history," says Professor Albert Venter, of the Political Science Department at Rand Afrikaans University.

"There can be no doubt that when the 1914 Rebellion broke out, General Hertzog and his Nationalists were deeply sympathetic. But they stayed out of it because they were a respectable, parliamentary political party and wanted to stay that way."

"When the Ossewa Brandwag mobilised against the war effort in 1939, Malan and his Nationalists were in an

identical position. They were also against the war, but they were a respectable, parliamentary political party and could not go along with the OB's violence.

"Today it's the CP who are in that position. I just cannot see these middle class, respectable people becoming anything else."

In the words of a senior police officer: "We've been through all this before in South Africa. We'll handle it."

The 1914 Rebellion was put down, while the Ossewa Brandwag campaign failed with the arrest and internment of large numbers of its activists. Neither attracted support in numbers large enough to succeed.

But they certainly caused a great deal of trouble.

'We have a mandate'

THE government has no intention of calling a special general election, according to Mr Renier Schoeman MP, chief information officer of the National Party.

He says former State President Mr P W Botha met Nelson Mandela on July 5 last year. On July 22 Mr F W de Klerk, newly elected national leader of the party, addressed the Cape Congress on the question of achieving a peaceful settlement with the ANC.

During the September election campaign the party put out documents seeking a mandate for a programme, over the next five years, to provide democratic participation for all, along with certain safeguards.

"We totally reject any suggestion that we do not have a mandate. We stand firm on this. All this demand for another election is pointless bravado. We don't give it a minute's consideration."

He says the government is committed — as it has been from the outset — to a referendum among voters before any new dispensation is implemented.

Now there are 46 ultra right organisations

POLITICAL and labour risk consultant Wim Booysse has produced a checklist of 45 right-wing organisations which range from churches and political parties to trade unions, para-military organisations and what he terms "fundamentalists".

At least one more has since formed, bringing the total to 46. They are:

Cultural/political organisations: Afrikaner Volkswag (Afrikaner People's Guard), South African Bureau for Racial Affairs, Orange Workers' Union (Orange Workers' Union), Boere Vryheidbeweging (Boer Freedom Movement), Afrikaner Front, Afrikaner National Socialist Movement, World Apartheid Movement, Afrikaner Freedom Foundation.

Political parties: Conservative Party, Heristigte Nasionale Party, White People's Party.

Para-military organisations: Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), Kommandoer (Commando Army), Brandwag Volksleier (Sentinel People's Army), White Front, Aquila Defence

Unit, Stormvalke (Storm Falcons), Magsaskie Afrikaner Nasionalisme (Power-action Afrikaner Nationalism).

Fundamentalist organisations: Boerevaat Party (Boer State Party), White Security, Boer Resistance Movement, National Manpower Action, Action Self-defence, Wit Wolwe (White Wolves), Flamingoes, Order of Death, The Israelites, Cape Rebels, White National Movement, White Resistance Movement, Patriotic Front, Boer Army, White Commando, Orde Boerevolk (Order of the Boer People), Purified Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Transvaal Separatists, White Liberation Movement.

Trade unions: White Mineworkers' Union, White Construction Workers' Union, Transvaal Municipal Workers Union, South African Iron and Steel Workers' Union.

Women's movements: Kaiplekommendo (Bonnet Commando), Afrikaner Vroue Kenkrag (Afrikaner Women Knowledge Power).

Churches: Afrikaner Protestant Church, Evangelical Reformed Church, Afrikaner Reformed Church, Church of the Israelites.

Threats marred nation-wide survey

ANC's popularity spans divisions

THE African National Congress and its political allies have the support of 84 percent of the country's blacks, according to the results of a survey by Market Research Africa.

This conclusion is based on a sample of 2 281 black adults interviewed throughout South Africa.

However, 22 percent of the population was excluded because attempts to ask political questions in Natal, KwaZulu and parts of Transkei were abandoned when interviewers were threatened physically.

Of those interviewed - there were 1 181 males and 1 100 females - 38 percent expressed support for the ANC, 19 percent for the United Democratic Front, 15 percent for the Mass Democratic Movement and 12 percent for the South African Communist Party.

Support

The remaining support went to the Pan Africanist Congress (10 percent), National Party (7 percent), Democratic Party (5 percent), Inkatha (2 percent) and, with one percent each, the Conservative Party and the AWB.

The survey was conducted between April 1 and June 11 and involved face-to-face interviews with all the subjects.

The ANC's high popularity rating stretches across divisions of ethnicity, age and gender, straddles the urban-rural divide and reaches from South Africa's cities into the remote settlements of the rural hinterland.

The exclusion of Natal-KwaZulu, traditionally a strong area of support for Inkatha, has to be borne in mind in assessing the results of the MRA survey.

The skewing effect, however, may not be as great as it might have been until the mid-1980s, when, according to various early surveys, Inkatha support was unquestionably still high in Natal-KwaZulu.

A separate contemporary survey, conducted by Markinor in April this year in the main metropolitan areas, including Durban, provides indirect confirmation of the MRA's central finding: the rise of the ANC's appeal and a corresponding decline in Inkathas.

Low appeal

A salient feature of the MRA survey is the low appeal of Inkatha outside Natal-KwaZulu, even in areas like the Witwatersrand where there is a sizeable Zulu population and where Inkatha once enjoyed substantial support.

There is high-level of awareness of Inkatha - it is as well known as the UDF. But, judging from the survey's findings, it is awareness of an organisation which is disliked and/or feared.

One of the attitudes explored by MRA was how close black people feel, to, or how distant from, the various organisations.

Three central points emerge.

* Blacks feel distant from Inkatha;
* They feel closer to President FW de Klerk's National Party and the Democratic Party than they do to Inkatha;

'More blacks favour FW than Inkatha'



* The degree of distance from, and presumably antipathy towards, Inkatha is only marginally smaller than that shown to the CP and the AWB on the far right of the political spectrum.

The same patterns prevail among Zulus outside Natal-KwaZulu.

Contrasts

Distance from Inkatha among these Zulus contrasts with a much higher degree of closeness towards the ANC.

The PAC, SACP and UDF fall between the ANC and Inkatha, with the UDF slightly ahead of the PAC and SACP.

Blacks feel closer to these organisations, although not much closer, than they do to either the NP and the DP.

A striking point is the degree of distance - and, with it, possible scepticism and suspicion - which on average blacks feel toward all political organisations, even the ANC.

The degree of closeness or distance is reflected on a scale ranging from plus-four (very close) to minus-four (very far), with zero signifying a state of neutrality (neither close nor far).

The ANC's overall rating was 1.2, indicating what can perhaps be characterised as tepid or qualified support.

The UDF attains a zero rating, while the PAC and SACP levelpeg with ratings of 0.9 each. All three ratings point to a measure of doubt.

Seen in that context Inkatha's minus 2.8 rating is perhaps not quite so bad. But it is clearly bad enough to be cause of grave concern to its leaders, especially in light of its once undoubted popular appeal.

The absence of strong, positive identification with the main political forces may be due to any of several factors.

Insecurity

It may mirror inner insecurity about the future, a reluctance by blacks to commit themselves fully in a rapidly shifting political terrain.

It may simply be a reflex reaction after years of repression, in which it was dangerous to express approval of outlawed organisations.

From the perspective of organisations which have been overshadowed by the ANC there is, perhaps, some slight consolation.

The still relatively high degree of distance from the ANC and its allies may mean that attitudes are as yet unfixed, that there may still be a relatively high degree of mobility in black political preferences.

However, from the PAC's perspective the survey highlights a pattern which is likely to be of concern to its leaders.

Nearly 80 of those blacks who feel very close to the PAC also feel very close to the ANC.

There is no reciprocal tendency among people who feel very close to the PAC: only 11 of blacks who feel very close to the ANC feel very close to the PAC as well.

These findings infer that many PAC supporters would be just as comfortable in ANC ranks, thus raising, theoretically at any rate, the prospect of defections to the ANC.

Supporters

By contrast ANC supporters do not have the same potential loyalty to the PAC. Where dual loyalty exists among ANC supporters it is directed at the UDF, a strong ANC ally and even a surrogate ANC.

The high correlation between support for the ANC and the UDF is not surprising. They are two sides of the same political coin.

Sympathy for the ANC implies sympathy for the UDF and vice versa. These attitudes are mutually supporting.

From the ANC's viewpoint, there is one very gratifying result: most of its strongest supporters are drawn from the 16 to 24-year-old category, the youngest and fastest growing group.

Nearly half (47) of blacks in the 16-24 age group feel very close to the ANC, against one tenth (9.9) for the PAC and a minuscule proportion (1.8) for Inkatha.

The same pattern is found in the next age group of 25-34.

In general the proportion of people who feel very close to an organisation decreases with age, indicating, perhaps, that scepticism strengthens with age.

There is one exception: in the 25-34 group, the proportion of people who feel very close to the PAC increases, rising from just under 10 to a little over 12.

In the ANC the comparative figures are 47 and 40.

The Makinor survey, conducted in April among 900 black women and 600 black women in the main metropolitan areas provides confirmation of the ANC's clear dominance at present.

Majority

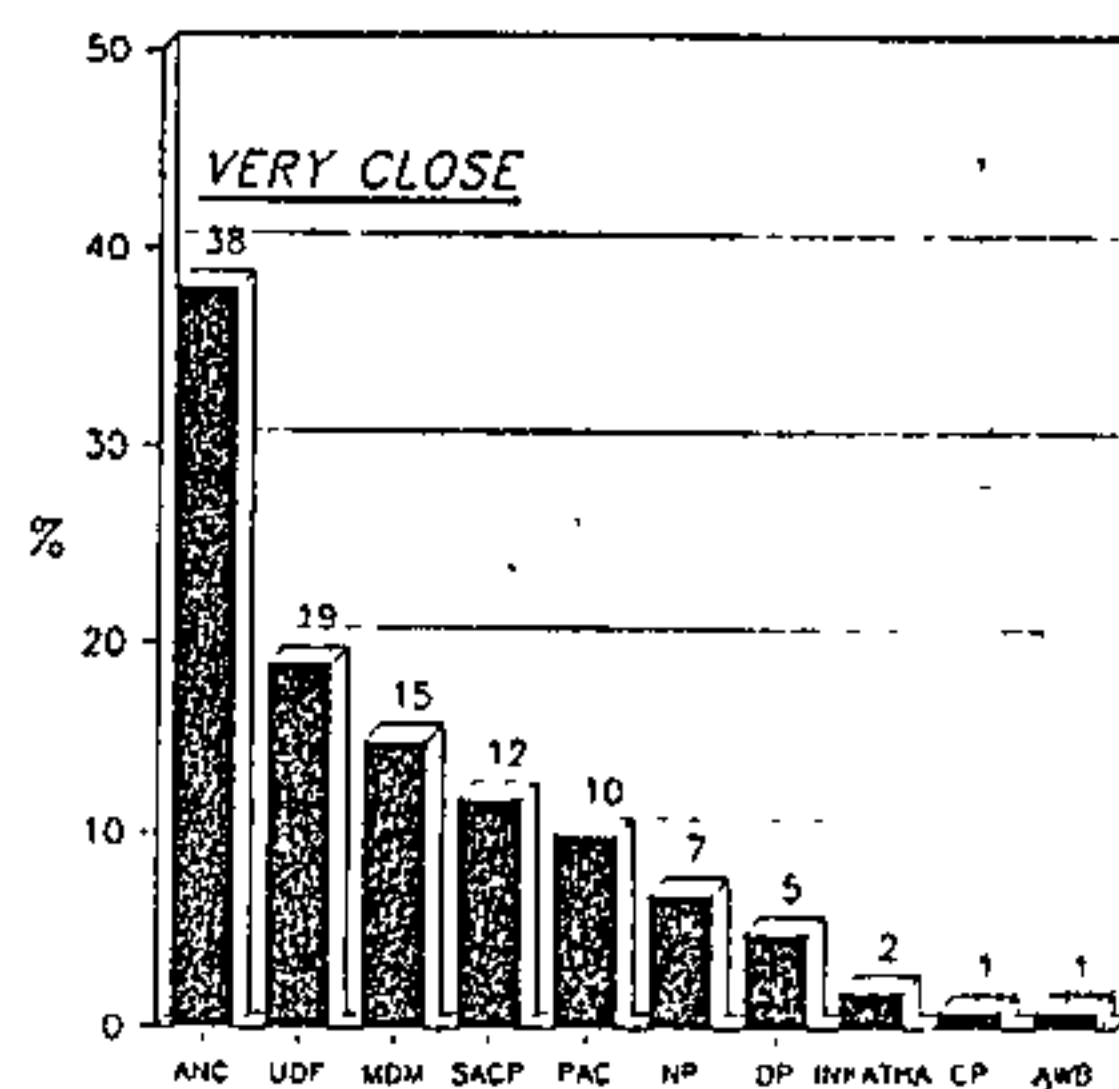
Thus a clear majority, 64, of blacks nominate the ANC as their favourite organisation.

The NP does relatively well, attaining 8 of the vote. De Klerk does even better, winning 22 of the vote against 58 for Mandela.

These results, coupled with strong support for the NP in the white community (46 against 22 for the CP), may mean that the NP has a future even under a system of universal adult suffrage, provided its leaders show the necessary skill and nerve in the transitional phase ahead.

Footnote: The MRA survey did not poll attitudes towards Azapo, the main black consciousness organisation.

'PERCEIVED CLOSNESS TO ORGANISATIONS (excluding Natal)



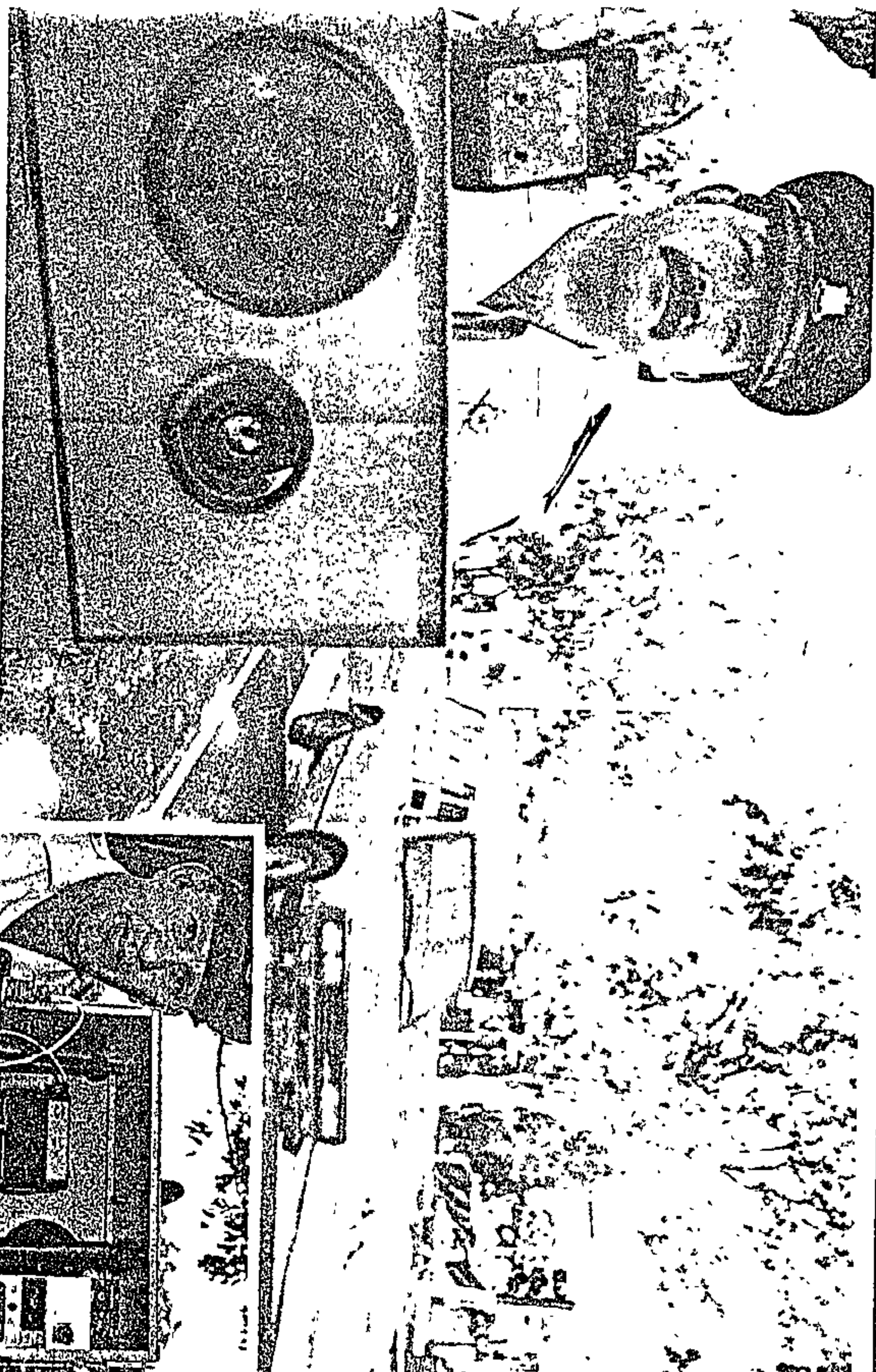
BASED ON 2281 RESPONDENTS

'No to the seizing of power through the back door'

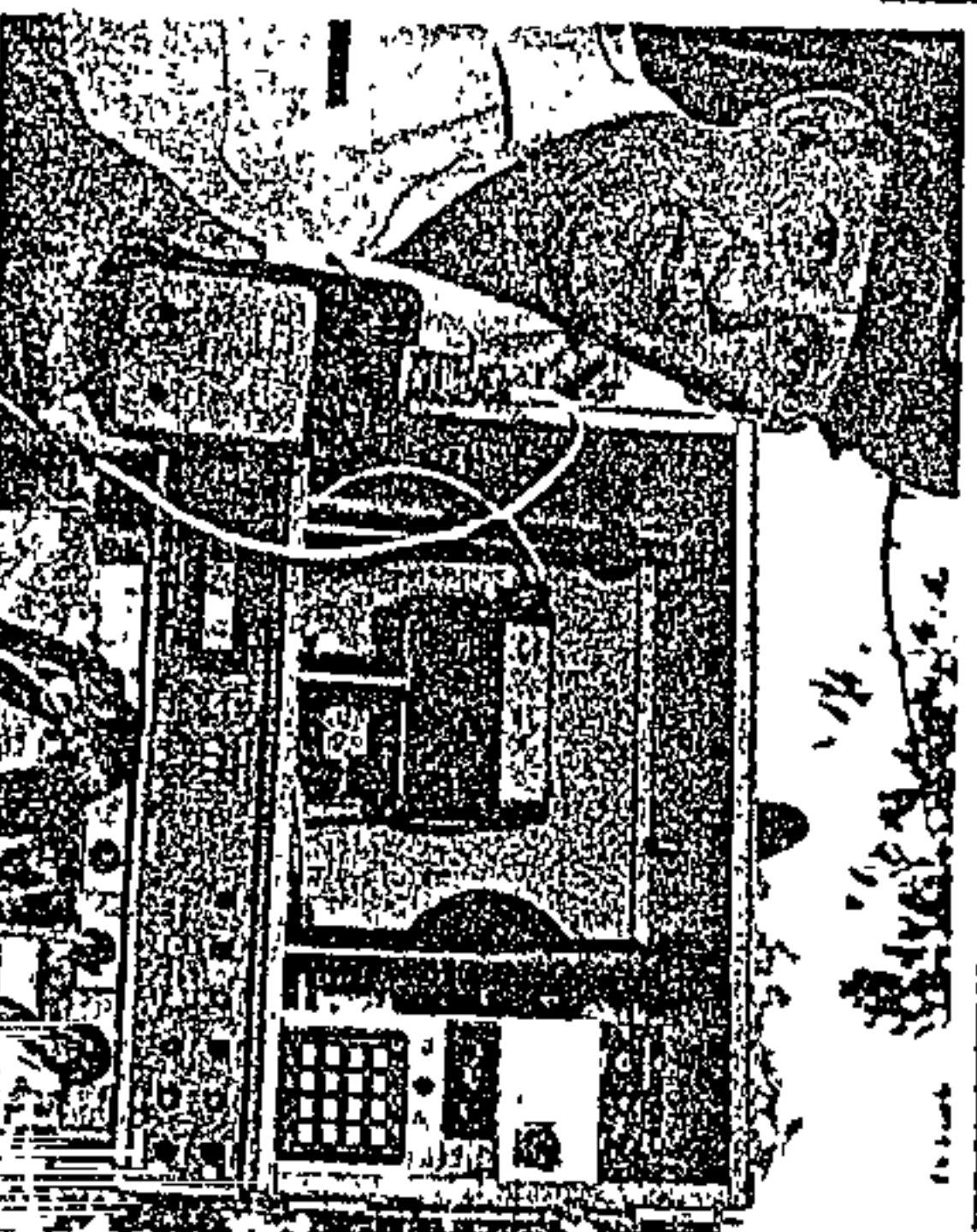
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Watch it! Big Brother is watching you



SEEING EYE... Inspector James Kitching (above) with the magenta-
ayed speed trap camera which is being brought into commission for
he first time today. **RIGHT:** Senior traffic officer Frank van Aswegen
shows the insides of the new speed-trapping camera box. The camera
s connected to the equipment which records the time and place of the
incident, and the speed of the car.



Political Staff
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk in a headline statement last night
warned the African National Congress that "disorder, anarchy
and terrorism" would not be tolerated.

No one would be al-
lowed "to sneak in
through the back door
and try to seize power in
the country by force".

Mr De Klerk's state-
ment came after police
had arrested at least 40
ANC insurgents in the
past weeks in a crack-
down on the organisa-
tion's military wing,
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Police also seized
arms caches consisting of
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Referring to the ar-
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Police investigations
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But he made it clear
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Mr De Klerk said:
"The government insists
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spected. Therefore disorder, anarchy and
terrorism will not be tolerated."

Change must be orderly and follow peace-
ful negotiation and discussion.
Since February 2 this year...

ANC 'activist' seeks US asylum

CMT T14H 247/90

DURBAN. — A man alleged to
be a member of the military
wing of the ANC, Mr Bhek-
musa Jabulani Ximba, took
refuge in the American con-
sulate here at 11am yesterday,
seeking political asylum.

The 38-year-old senior labo-
ratory technician at the Uni-
versity of Zululand walked
into the consulate office and
told the United States Infor-
mation Services director Mr
John Dickson: "I am seeking
political asylum."

Mr Dickson said he had
been in contact with the
government and the US em-
bassy in Pretoria.

ANC sources said Mr Xim-
ba's girlfriend, Miss Zandile
Cele, had been detained for
two hours last Monday at C R
Swart Square here by four
policemen who questioned
her about explosives.

ANC convenor for southern
Natal Mr Patrick Lekota con-
firmed yesterday Mr Ximba
was an ANC "activist".

Mr Dickson said he would
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ing whether Mr Ximba would
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Mr Ximba said he chose the
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dent FW de Klerk "until the
whole question of detention
and the treatment of political
prisoners — while the ANC is
committed to negotiations —
is resolved".

A spokesman for Foreign
Affairs in Pretoria confirmed
that a man, allegedly a mem-
ber of MK, took refuge in the
American consulate in Dur-
ban and that the department
was in contact with American
embassy officials.

A US embassy spokesman in
Pretoria said Mr Ximba was
holding discussions with US
consulate officials. He said Mr
Ximba had some "legal prob-
lems" and US officials were
determining whether they
could help him. — Sapa

security forces are thoroughly mindful of
this.
After Mr De Klerk's statement, police, who
earlier had said they expected more arrests
of insurgents, directed all questions con-
cerning the...

power through the back door'

arms ANC

CAT 7/19/90
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Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk in a hardline statement last night warned the African National Congress that "disorder, anarchy and terrorism" would not be tolerated.

No one would be allowed "to sneak in through the back door and try to seize power in the country by force".

Mr De Klerk's statement came after police had arrested at least 40 ANC insurgents in the past weeks in a crack-down on the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Siswe.

Police also seized arms caches consisting of limpet mines, handgrenades, AK-47 rifles and ammunition and information material.

Referring to the arrests, Mr De Klerk said the government viewed the matter in an extremely serious light.

Police investigations would continue "and, should evidence point to criminal offences, the accused will be heard in open court, as is customary".

But he made it clear that the government remained committed to peaceful negotiations and that its discussions with the ANC on August 6 would continue as planned.

Mr De Klerk said: "The government insists that the laws of the country have to be respected. Therefore disorder, anarchy and terrorism will not be tolerated."

Change must be orderly and follow peaceful negotiation and discussion.

Since February 2 this year no one has been prosecuted merely for belonging to a political organisation or for promoting its aims.

"There are, however, certain basic rules attached to this process. They do not provide for any political organisation to stockpile arms in order to force its will at the negotiation table or in any other way to prevent the political process taking its normal course."

The State President emphasised that the temporary immunity granted to people who otherwise would have faced prosecution applied only in respect of actions before the date on which the immunity came into operation.

"Consequently the peace and immunity processes do not provide room for anybody to sneak in through the back door and try to seize power in the country by force."

"The government and the South African

ANC 'activist' seeks US asylum

CAT 7/19/90
24/7/90

DURBAN. — A man alleged to be a member of the military wing of the ANC, Mr Bhukumusa Jabulani Ximba, took refuge in the American consulate here at 11am yesterday, seeking political asylum.

The 38-year-old senior laboratory technician at the University of Zululand walked into the consulate office and told the United States Information Services director Mr John Dickson: "I am seeking political asylum."

Mr Dickson said he had been in contact with the government and the US embassy in Pretoria.

ANC sources said Mr Ximba's girlfriend, Miss Zandile Cele, had been detained for two hours last Monday at C R Swart Square here by four policemen who questioned her about explosives.

ANC convener for southern Natal Mr Patrick Lekota confirmed yesterday Mr Ximba was an ANC "activist".

Mr Dickson said he would know definitely by this morning whether Mr Ximba would be granted asylum.

Mr Ximba said he chose the American consulate to pressure US President George Bush into not meeting President FW de Klerk "until the whole question of detention and the treatment of political prisoners — while the ANC is committed to negotiations — is resolved".

A spokesman for Foreign Affairs in Pretoria confirmed that a man, allegedly a member of MK, took refuge in the American consulate in Durban and that the department was in contact with American embassy officials.

A US embassy spokesman in Pretoria said Mr Ximba was holding discussions with US consulate officials. He said Mr Ximba had some "legal problems" and US officials were determining whether they could help him. — Sapa

security forces are thoroughly mindful of this."

After Mr De Klerk's statement, police, who earlier had said they expected more arrests of insurgents, directed all questions concerning the recent arrests to the Office of the State President, saying that police would not be releasing any more information.

In London ANC spokesman Mr Lawson Naidoo said the arrests of the ANC guerrillas were likely to feature on the agenda when talks resume with the government.

He said that a general amnesty allowing for the return of soldiers in Umkhonto we Sizwe should generate much discussion when the talks focus on a general amnesty for exiles.

A permanent, general amnesty will also enable ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is still convalescing in London, to return permanently to the country he left 30 years ago.

Meanwhile, in South Africa, ANC threats to "seize power" and claims of a "red plot" to derail negotiations yesterday heightened

Top page 2

Watching you



motorists involved — to carry out normal enforcement on multi-lane freeways," Mr Smit said.

Once a picture is taken, the registered owner of the vehicle can expect a notification of the fine in the post "within two weeks".

The driver does not get a picture in the car but is given an opportunity to see it at traffic headquarters.

Asked where the trapping camera would be used, Mr Smit named De Waal Drive, Rombom Freeway, Union Avenue past CT, Table Bay Boulevard "and all expressways and multi-lane roads".

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From page 1

FW warns

political tensions and placed the far right wing on the offensive.

Both the Conservative Party and the AWB said they regarded Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Chris Hani's claims about taking power and continuing to deploy ANC cadres as a blatant "declaration of war" against the government.

● CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement that the party's spokesman on justice, Mr Chris de Jager, had filed charges of treason against Mr Hani with the police.

Hani

Dr Treurnicht said he was "dumbfounded" that Mr Hani had not been arrested yet. "While the government places a ransom of R50 000 on the head of Piet Rudolph, it allows Chris Hani to freely plan and promote the ANC's violence against white South Africa."

● In a thinly veiled call to arms, the AWB said last night: "Hani is warned: The AWB accepts his provocative challenges in the same spirit in which he made them."

"If the ANC want to take over our armed forces or want to maintain law and order in their place, all hell will break loose in the Republic and the Boers will root them out."

"Tactics"

● SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo yesterday accused the government of reverting to "red-scare tactics" in a bid to interfere with the formal launching of the party this weekend.

The head of the SA Police public relations directorate, Major-General Herman Stadler, said yesterday that the SACP appeared to have played a prominent role in assisting ANC insurgents to enter South Africa in recent months.

● The Democratic Party said yesterday that those detained in connection with bringing arms into the country for revolutionary purposes should be charged with specific offences and brought to trial without further delay.

DP law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe said the use of security legislation which gave unlimited powers to the government would only create suspicion of unfair treatment in this case.

Explain

"If the ANC operatives have indeed brought arms into the country during this delicate stage of negotiations, then the leadership of that organisation must waste no time in giving a public explanation of what is going on." The ANC should also take action against those responsible to "stop this development".

● Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday lashed out at Mr Hani for calling for his (Chief Buthelezi's) "isolation".

Chief Buthelezi noted that last year Mr Hani had publicly stated that Inkatha central committee members were "targets for assassination".

'Local experts should make decision on political offender status'

A GOVERNMENT/ANC working group has recommended that a committee of local experts be appointed to decide whether prisoners found guilty of serious offences should qualify as political offenders. Government and ANC sources say the political offences working group has recommended that in cases where there is no agreement on whether a particular prisoner qualifies as a "political offender" (and therefore for release) the case should be passed on to a group of experts to make a decision. The sources say the working group has

also recommended that should the committee of experts find a "hard case" prisoner qualifies as a political offender, it should also decide on the timing of the release of the person. The committee, they say, will also decide on when exiles suspected of committing serious crimes should be allowed to return. At one point the idea of appointing an international jurist to perform this task was mooted, but both sides have agreed that local people should fill the role. According to the sources, the working

MIKE ROBERTSON

group has recommended a very broad definition of what constitutes a political offence. However, it is understood that the definition covers crimes carried out against the state and excludes, for example, those people convicted of crimes in the continuing violence between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu in Natal. Government has already accepted the working group report. The ANC national executive committee (NEC) discussed the working group report

at its two-day meeting this week and it is expected there will be agreement on a definition of a political offence when government and the ANC meet on August 6. The NEC is expected to release a statement on its meeting today. The statement is expected to refer to the recent uncovering of Umkhonto we Sizwe cells. An ANC source said prior to the meeting that if the working group report was accepted it should result in the release of about 90% of those people it regarded as political offenders. Decisions on the timing of their release

would have to be taken by the experts. However, when details of the report are released this could prove to be an optimistic assessment as government believes the number of political offenders to number about 300, while the ANC has quoted figures of up to 1 500. It has been reported that the working group report is expected to propose a phased release of prisoners and return of exiles in return for the ANC "ceasing hostilities".

Offender status

But Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said in an interview yesterday that was not correct.

The working group, he said, had been instructed to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence. In addition it had been asked to propose agreed guidelines to be followed in determining who was a political prisoner, to suggest mechanisms for dealing with their release as well as time frames.

Meyer said that in accordance with the Groote Schuur Minute the working group had used the model devised for releasing political prisoners in Namibia as a starting

point.

While the working group report did not link the release of prisoners and return of exiles to ceasing hostilities or ending violence, government regarded this as an integral part of all attempts to remove obstacles to negotiations.

ANC sources have suggested that the August 6 meeting will include fewer participants than at Groote Schuur.

Meyer yesterday agreed with that. It was likely, he said, that the delegations would consist of President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and a few key advisers.

☐ From Page 1

☐ To Page 2

'I promise... there will be war'

PART TWO

Special Report
by
Graham Linscott

EUGENE Terre'blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, says his para-military organisation has not ordered any of the explosions or other recent incidents of violence in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

However, he says the government has put the country on a course for war and revolution. He personally will not cause it — "the government is causing it."

The government could defuse matters by bringing right-wing activists held in terms of the Internal Security Act before the courts — "granting them the rights a murderer has" — and calling a general election to seek a mandate.

He says if there is no election, right-wing activities can be expected to escalate, with unpredictable results.

'Make war'

According to his information there are about 60 right-wing organisations in the country — of which the AWB is by far the largest — which makes it difficult for the government to keep track.

He warns that the government must on no account attempt to foist an ANC government on the volk.

"The volk will not accept an ANC government. If that is forced on us, the volk will make war — man, woman and child."

"I promise this miserable government war if they hand us over to the ANC. I will urge my entire movement to this — man, woman and child."

Put to him that the government might be seeking some sort of power-sharing formula rather than a hand-over, he says the proposition is irrelevant.

"The ANC don't have the slightest interest in power-sharing. The ANC will seek the power that the government gives them and use that to force the powers they want."

He says the government is doomed for having turned against its volk with intimidation and force. He draws a parallel with the 1914 Rebellion and the activities of the Ossewa Brandwag during World War 2.



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Mr Terre'blanche says his *Wenkommendos* (Victory Commandos) are being organised to protect life and property in the event of a breakdown in law and order. Unless that happens they will not act.

"The white man's experience in Africa is that once governments capitulate, the white population are left over to murderers and terrorists. More whites have been killed in Rhodesia since independence than during the war."

"The commandos' task is to see that people are not murdered by communists nor their property destroyed. Their task is to protect the people when the police and the army are not there to do it."

Recruiting

Mr Terre'blanche has been recruiting young men to the commandos at meetings across the country. He says a commando has been formed at every gathering. But he declines to give numbers — "Volk wants to know as much as you do."

Mr Terre'blanche also has a message for the Jews:



AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, above, in full cry at a public meeting.



In search of Boerestaat

THE AWB runs in tandem with the Blanke Volkstaat Party, a registered party which (along with others) seeks a restoration of the independence of the former Boer republics — Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Northern Natal (including the Richards Bay to Kosi Bay coastal strip) — as a Boerestaat.

However, Mr Terre'blanche says he would support a referendum (among whites) in which, constituency by constituency, other parts of South Africa would be able to decide whether they wished to link up with the Boerestaat, and parts of the Boerestaat would be allowed to decide whether to secede. Blacks and others would be allowed to live and work in the Boerestaat, so long as they recognised whose territory it was.



A rightwinger gives an angry Nazi-type salute.

'FW has no mandate' — CP demands election

MR ANDRIES Beyers, Secretary-in-Chief of the Conservative Party, says the government has no mandate to represent the whites of South Africa in constitutional negotiations. (His leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was not available to be interviewed.)

The CP therefore demands a general election. A referendum on an already negotiated constitutional plan is not acceptable.

Mr Beyers says the CP is committed to constitutionalism but the government is not making it easy to keep its supporters in check — "our arms are being chopped off."

The Umlazi by-election result shows a tremendous swing against the government and it would be wise to hold an election, otherwise it is merely exchanging white terrorism for black terrorism.

"So long as the government holds open the constitutional path, we will not opt for violence. As long as the constitutional path is open to us,

"And if we become an oppressed people, at that stage we will have no other choice but to use basically the same methods which oppressed people normally use to regain their freedom."

Mr Beyers says the CP does not condone the actions of individuals such as Mr Piet Rudolph, of the Boerestaat Party, who has "declared war" on the government.

"Also, we are of the opinion that the constitutional way has not been closed altogether at this stage. This is not the time for war talk."

He says there is no point in the CP participating in round-table discussions which include the ANC because the ANC is committed to armed struggle and is communist anyway.

However, the CP is available for discussions with legitimate leaders, on condition that the right of whites to self-determination is accepted.

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He draws a parallel with the 1914 Rebellion and the activities of the Ossewa Brandwag during World War 2.

"In 1914 the Boers would not accept even a white British authority. In 1939 they wanted to back out of the war and they saw a chance, by violence, to win back their freedom - even from the civilised, white British who had brought in such vast funds and contributed so much to development."

"It is unthinkable that the Boers should now accept a government whose leaders have already declared war on them and said they are going to take over their farms and possessions and nationalise

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Mr Terreblanche also has a message for the Jewish community. He says those of them who supported the ANC's "freedom struggle" and contributed funds to it have been misused by the supporters of Yasser Arafat. They stand to lose a great deal in confiscated capital.

He is tough and uncompromising. Yet one notes that his apocalyptic warnings are based on certain assumptions - that there will be a wholesale hand-over to communism, there will be confiscations and nationalisations and there will be a breakdown in law and order.



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"So long as the government holds open the constitutional path, we will not opt for violence. As long as the constitutional path is open to us, which means as long as we can regain our freedom - the right to govern ourselves in our own fatherland - by means of a white election, we will not change our strategy to regain our freedom through victory at the ballot box."

"But we must always consider the possibility that Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela may decide to close that road to us, to close the constitutional way. And if that happens, if we cannot any more regain our freedom through victory at the ballot box, then we will regard ourselves as an oppressed people."

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The party is also prepared to negotiate a fair partitioning of the country, he says.

If people accept our right to self-determination, we are willing to negotiate the final boundaries because we realise that the country must be partitioned in a fair way that will meet the aspirations of our people as well as others. So we are prepared to make sacrifices as far as territory is concerned.

"But we will never withdraw our claim to meaningful, real self-determination - the right to govern ourselves in our own fatherland."

TOMORROW: Focus on Robert van Tonder and Jaap Marais.

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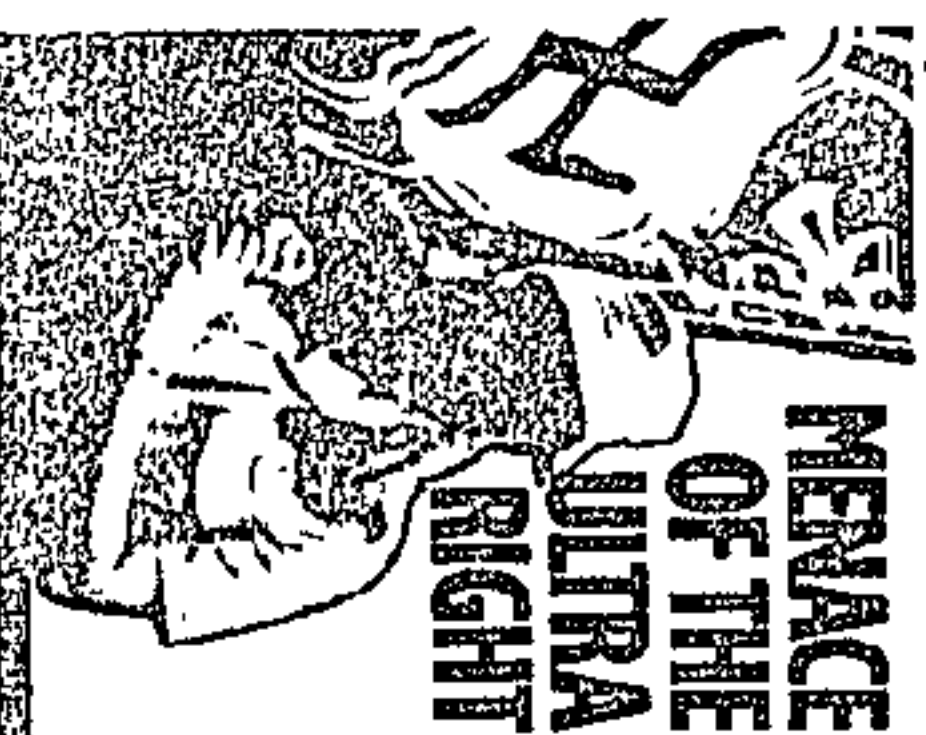
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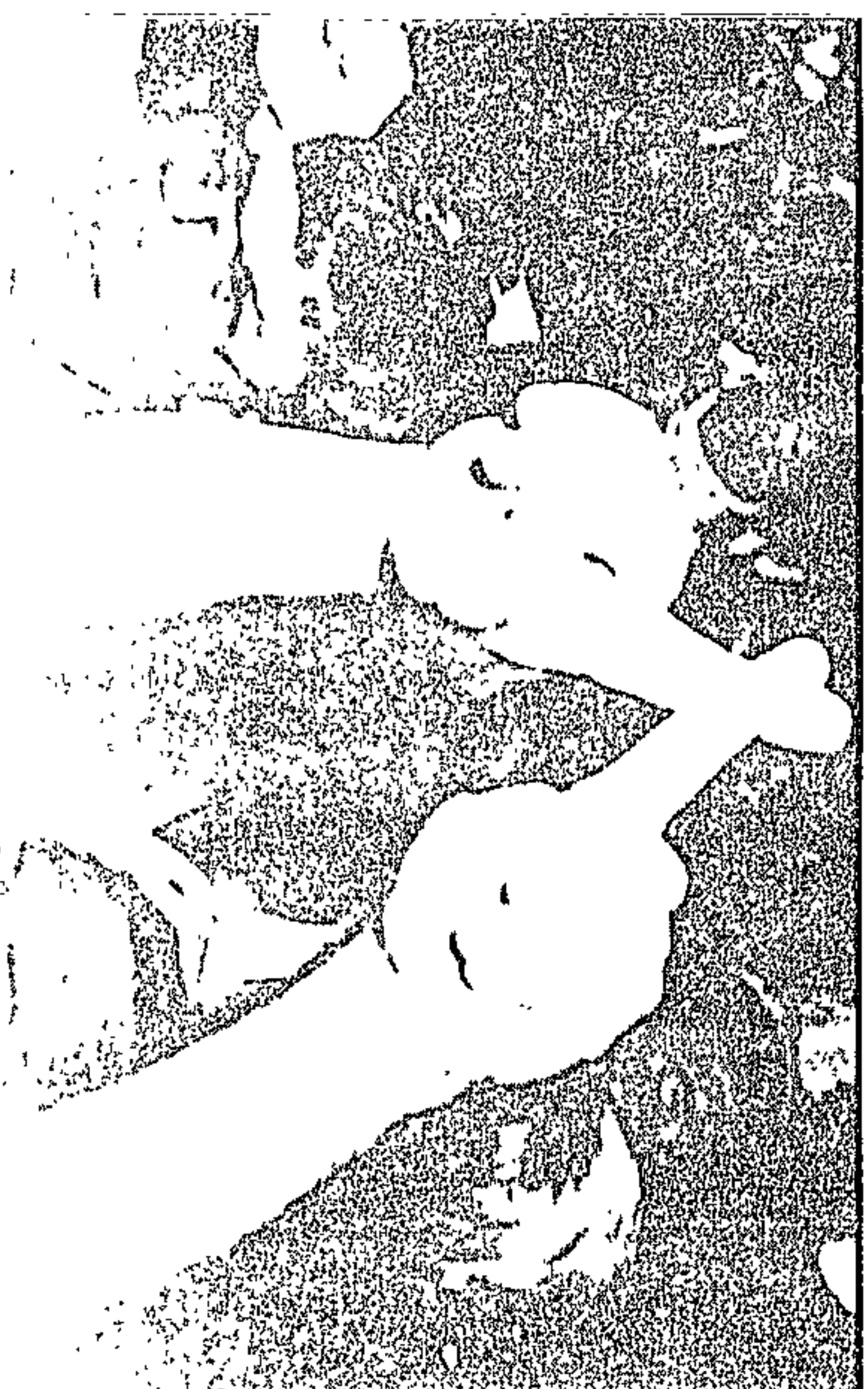
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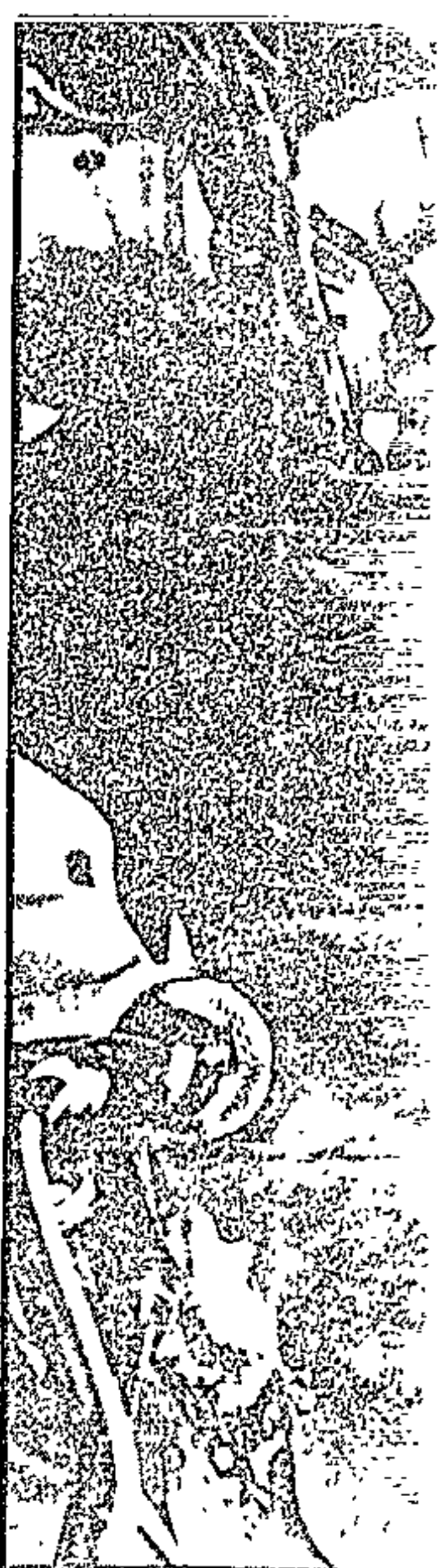
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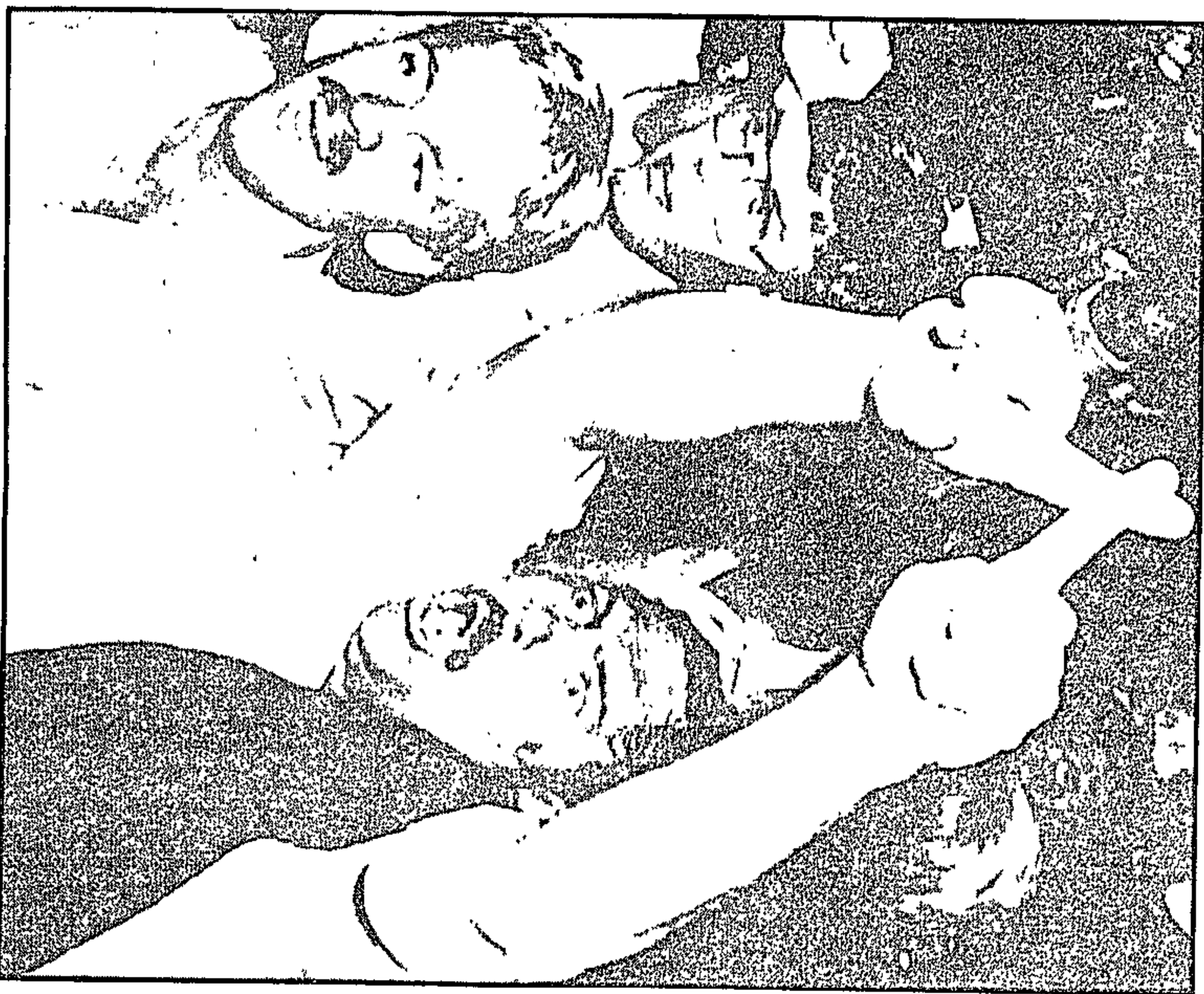
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TOMORROW, Focus on Rob-
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WE ARE now nearly six months into the changing South Africa which President F W de Klerk ushered in on February 2. Much has happened in this period, but for the business community it is the debate on the nature and form of the post-apartheid economy which is perhaps the most urgent of all issues.

While there is doubtless a long way to go before a political settlement is in sight, we have witnessed fairly rapid progress in that area, with hitherto sworn enemies apparently finding that they do have much in common after all.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the economic debate, which has been characterised by sloganeering and rhetoric that has clouded the real issue, done nothing for the confidence of business people, and left black political organisations wondering whether the free enterprise system has the capacity to meet this country's unique challenges.

The emergence into public life of left-of-centre political organisations with their own economic agendas — with nationalisation apparently at the heart — has been met with quiet rejection at best, utter disbelief at worst. While the business community's reactions are perhaps understandable, they do not reflect a full appreciation of this country's history nor of the challenges which lie ahead.

The opening shots from the ANC and other black political organisations signal only the beginning of the debate on the post-apartheid economy and not its end. We need to be careful that rejection of failed centrally-planned solutions is coupled with creative proposals on how best we can build a post-apartheid economy that has a material relevance for all South Africans.

To start with, we in business must accept the interdependence between political and economic freedom and enfranchisement, and the implication that, unless the economic challenges are effectively addressed, the stability of any future political settlement could be at stake.

If we acknowledge that political change alone will not lead to socio-economic justice overnight, we must commit ourselves to addressing soci-

Business must be sensitive to black economic priorities

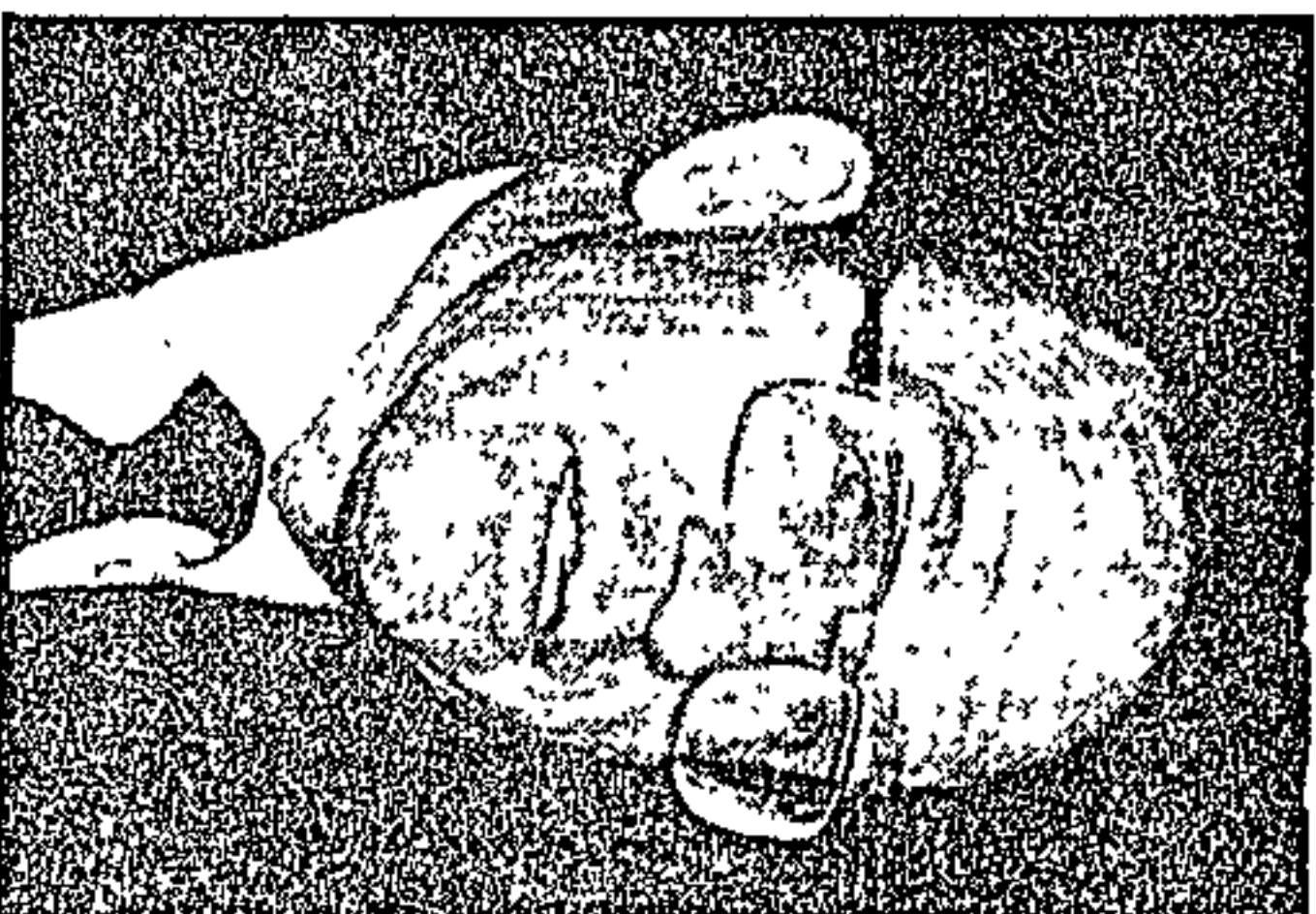
PETER WRIGHTON

ety's imbalances. It is true that business would have to play a broader role than many think ideal, but the reality is such that if we fail, the future of SA can only be one of economic stagnation, if not deprivation.

Perhaps it would be useful to approach the issue by reviewing some of the facts against which the ANC and others have based their economic proposals. For instance:

- Some 83% of whites earn more than R16 000 a year, while only 5% of blacks are in the same position;
- As little as 5% of South Africans own 88% of the wealth, and the vast majority of the 5% are white;
- Blacks own less than 2% of assets;
- Depending on the region, between 30% and 70% of black children are under weight;
- Some 7,4 million blacks occupy only 400 000 home units, with an average of 16 people per unit;
- Up to 40% of the employable community is unemployed or underemployed and more than 95% of the unemployed are black;
- About 65% of black households earn incomes below the breadline; and
- More than 80% of the population has been allocated less than 15% of the land.

It is against this background that statements on the economy made by political leaders within the ANC, PAC and other organisations — including the DP — should be seen.



□ WRIGHTON

This is the reality with which those organisations have to contend. Their support comes from disadvantaged communities isolated from the political and economic mainstream.

The solution to the apparent imbalance is not to get locked into a directionless debate which exacerbates the polarisation through the adoption of crude capitalist versus socialist positions, but rather to seek common ground from which a more constructive debate might follow.

The interdependence of the

various interest groups, from government and business to community and labour, provides an ideal starting point. This interdependence stretches across every aspect of life and must enable us to develop an economy which assures maximum growth, while at the same time distributing wealth and income fairly.

We need to understand that black political organisations will be expected to deliver economically in a post-apartheid SA, while business needs a post-apartheid government to create the economic freedom necessary for it to fulfil its role as a creator of wealth. Somewhere between the two positions is a community of interest which we have to develop and nurture.

Thus the creative challenge to business and government becomes one of understanding the context and motivation for nationalisation and then of exploring and offering alternative means and methodologies for redressing the imbalances.

There are encouraging signs that the middle road, of seeking to understand the other's point of view, is the one that more and more of us are starting to travel on. Business Day has become an important vehicle for the debate.

However, it is important that the debate seeks to open doors rather than keep them closed; it must create an environment in which we can all overcome past prejudices rather

than reinforce them.

Compensators, particularly those who are highly regarded by the business community, therefore have the weighty responsibility of not inhibiting the process of change by painting unnecessarily pessimistic scenarios or by quoting outdated statements made during an earlier phase.

On a more practical level, the recent business/ANC Carlton conference convened by the Consultative Business Movement was a successful start to exploring common objectives of a post-apartheid economy.

The issue of black management demonstrates the importance of developing consensus with those who are affected by the creation of a new economic order. The management/worker ratio in 1988 stood at 1:60 and is expected to rise to 1:110 by 2000, while the desired ratio is 1:25.

In general, business has not devoted sufficient attention to the question of black management advancement. Where it has, black managers have often found themselves in the invidious position of being caught between fulfilling management functions and satisfying black community demands. While business must move boldly to address the question of black management advancement, this can happen only if the black community supports such an initiative.

The development of black managers and entrepreneurs can succeed only if they are perceived in their communities as role models rather than as sellouts.

O

ne of the challenges business must accept is that it cannot underestimate the role it can play in restructuring the economy. Companies can influence events internally and business generally can play a role through a commitment to socio-economic initiatives in the community.

The workplace brings together the full spectrum of SA society and is, therefore, an ideal forum for sensitising people to change. Opportunities for reaching each other occur every day — on the shop floor, in board rooms, in staff canteens. All of us must seize these opportunities if we are to attain a future that has something for everyone.

□ Wrighton is Premier Group chairman and Transvaal regional chairman of the Consultative Business Movement.

Are whites less anxious?

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

Six months ago white South Africans were less anxious about domestic social change and were willing to come to terms with "the inevitable", according to a survey conducted in January by the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).

The survey was carried out while the national state of emergency was still in place, political organisations such as the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress were still banned, Nelson Mandela was still in jail and Namibia was still under South African rule.

Entitled "What Do We Think?", it surveyed white opinion on foreign policy issues and found that "the misguided and dangerous legacies" of the Government's doctrine of "total onslaught" lived on in many white South Africans' minds.

For the first time since its inception in 1982, the survey found that the majority of white South Africans (51 percent) were in favour of the total scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

Declined

The survey, the fifth in a biennial series of similar surveys, was conducted for the institute among 2 000 white households countrywide.

Survey respondents' belief in the capacity of the South African Police and the South African Defence Force to control internal unrest indefinitely has declined significantly compared to the 1986 and 1988 surveys.

Anti-communism, the survey found, remained the Government's most effective weapon in domestic and regional policy, designed to discredit enemies and legitimise the

use of coercive State power.

Twenty percent of the respondents thought the communist threat against South Africa was exaggerated, corresponding to 20 percent in 1988.

While an overwhelming 63 percent of the respondents in 1988 were in favour of South Africa staging across-the-border raids in the neighbouring countries to scare away the ANC, this year 58 percent approved of such tactics.

The number of people who thought Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe's government constituted a threat to South Africa's safety (57 percent), and that Mozambi-

que could not be trusted to carry out the terms of the Nkomati non-aggression treaty with South Africa (65 percent), was slightly lower than in 1988.

Only 21 percent of the respondents thought the Government was not yet spending enough on defence, as opposed to 27 percent two years ago.

Most of the respondents did not think the South African economy was strong enough to withstand sanctions (69 percent as opposed to 52 percent in 1988), and 55 percent of them agreed that the only way the country could avoid

sanctions was by granting equal political rights to blacks.

Those who thought granting rights to blacks would do away with sanctions made up 54 percent of the respondents in 1986 and 42 percent in 1988.

When it came to foreign leaders believed to be favourably disposed towards South Africa, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came out at the top (88 percent), followed by US President George Bush (73 percent) and West German President Chancellor Helmut Kohl (59 percent).

Obstacles likely to be swept away

Govt, ANC confident of breakthrough

11/04/26/7790

304A

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are anticipating a decisive breakthrough in eliminating obstacles to negotiations at their meeting on August 6.

Agreement on a definition of a political offence and mechanisms for the release of political prisoners, drawn up by the joint working group, is almost certain.

It is expected there will also be a trade-off as the ANC gives substantial ground on its commitment to the armed struggle, while government makes firm undertakings on the repeal of security legislation and the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal.

Agreement on eliminating these obstacles would open the way to the next phase of the negotiating process — talks about the shape of the table and the type of forum. Despite the apparently irreconcilable views on the role of a constituent assembly, sources on both sides are quietly confident this can be fairly easily resolved.

An ANC executive statement yesterday said the ANC delegation to the talks would "present proposals concerning the removal of the remaining obstacles to negotiations, the suspension of armed actions and steps that should be taken to initiate the process leading to the elaboration and adoption of a democratic constitution".

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said: "We are hopeful that (the elimination of obstacles) will be effected in the forthcoming meeting with government."

Other ANC and government sources said they could see no reason why the August 6

ALAN FINE, MIKE ROBERTSON
and PETER DELMAR

meeting should not resolve all these issues.

Each party has chosen five delegates for the meeting — fewer than half the number sent to the Groote Schuur gathering.

Government's delegation is expected to comprise President F W de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Foreign Minister Pk Botha.

The ANC executive said yesterday Mandela, secretary general Alfred Nzo, Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Joe Modise would represent the organisation.

Government sources indicated the question of timing of the release of prisoners and, even more importantly, the return of exiles was an important part of the working committee document, and would be linked to the levels of violence around SA.

The return of exiles was, because of their relatively large number — between 20 000 and 50 000 — far more difficult to resolve than the release of prisoners.

Government was conscious of the need that they should be resettled into the community on their return. For this reason government accepted partial responsibility for resettling exiles, sources said.

This could be done through using existing social welfare facilities. While in Germany with De Klerk, Botha also secured a promised of financial assistance in this

□ To Page 2

Breakthrough

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regard from Economic Co-operation Minister Jurgen Warnke.

Mandela said at a Press conference yesterday the ANC would consider the suspension of hostilities once obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

Government spokesmen said the term "suspension of hostilities" would not be acceptable to it in any joint agreement. But only the semantics were in question. If the ANC chose in subsequent statements to categorise any agreement in these terms, it was welcome to.

The ANC deputy leader said yesterday De Klerk should give the movement more time to contact its cadres in the field to

inform them about the decisions, including agreements reached at Groote Schuur.

Mandela said one did not enter negotiations unless one was prepared to compromise. "What we may agree with the government is a different matter. That will depend on the discussions," he added.

While the ANC would never compromise on issues such as a one-man, one-vote electoral system there were many issues "on which we feel very strongly on which we may have to compromise".

The NEC and membership were "unanimous" in their support for negotiations.

● Comment: Page 8

□ From Page 1

Agreement likely on August 6

5/2- 26/7/90
304A
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government and the ANC are "very near" to agreement on clearing the obstacles to negotiation.

Government sources said today the two parties were likely to reach agreement at their meeting on August 6.

They said a joint ANC/Government working group had reached agreement on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

The ANC has accepted that the armed struggle should be suspended for the duration of negotiations.

And it is understood that the ANC is ready to accept an undertaking by the Government to deal with the repeal or amendment of security legislation and the partial state of emergency in Natal.

The Government has already said that security laws will be amended or repealed during next year's session of parliament.

White support for De Klerk 'wavering' — poll

Political Staff

CAUTION should be exercised in reading over-optimistic interpretations of opinion polls showing substantial white support for President F W de Klerk, a market research company, Research Surveys, warned yesterday.

It said its monthly polls, which are conducted door-to-door among 800 adult women and 500 adult men, show that white support for President De Klerk is divided and wavering, and that it is also sensitive to events.

They show that Mr De Klerk's

standing among Afrikaans-speaking whites plummeted in the early months of 1990, but in May and June he recovered enough Afrikaner support to enjoy the confidence of more than half the white population.

They also indicate increasing support for the CP — 27% of women and 33% of men in May this year — and a sharp drop in DP support — 6% of women and 5% of men.

While 34% of white women and 42% of white men said in May they would vote for the NP if an

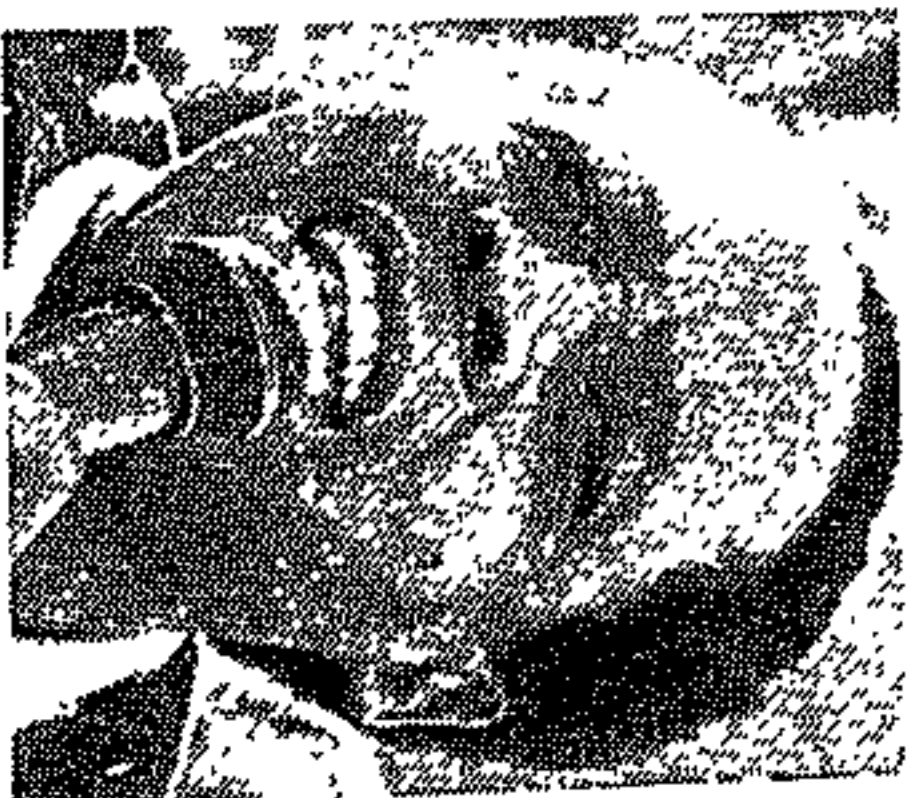
election were called, 26% of the women and 11% of the men said they did not know, and 5% of both men and women said they would not vote.

The polls indicate significant regional differences. In the PWV area, male support for Mr De Klerk dropped from 52% to 40% but in the Cape it rose from 56% to 70%.

The April poll indicated that Mr De Klerk had more support among Afrikaans-speakers in the rural areas than in the cities.

Govt, ANC look for breakthrough

CH 7418 26/7/90 30011



Mr Chris Hani

Hani sticks to his guns

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the ANC believe a decisive breakthrough in eliminating obstacles to negotiations will be made at their meeting on August 6.

Agreement on a definition of a political offence and mechanisms for the release of political prisoners is almost certain.

It is expected the remainder will involve a trade-off as the ANC gives substantial ground on its commitment to the armed struggle, while the government makes firm undertakings on the repeal of security legislation and the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal.

An ANC executive statement yesterday said the ANC delegation to the talks would "present proposals concerning the removal of the remaining obstacles to negotiations, the suspension of armed actions and steps that should be taken to initiate the process leading to the elaboration and adoption of a democratic constitution". Each party has chosen five delegates for

the meeting. The government delegation is expected to comprise President F W de Klerk, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Representing the ANC will be Mr Nelson Mandela, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Joe Modise.

The deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in an interview: "I don't think a real 'groot beraad' is necessary because the obstacles can be removed without much difficulty."

Government sources indicated the question of timing of the release of prisoners and, even more importantly, the return of exiles was an important part of the working committee document.

The government has estimated the cost of bringing exiles home at about R60m, compared to the R80m figure used recently by the ANC.

Mr Mandela said yesterday that the ANC

would consider the suspension of hostilities once obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

A government spokesman said the term "suspension of hostilities" would not be acceptable to it in any joint agreement.

The ANC deputy president said yesterday Mr De Klerk should give the movement more time to contact its cadres in the field to inform them about the decisions.

He said one did not enter negotiations unless one was prepared to compromise. "What we may agree to with the government is a different matter. That will depend on the discussions."

The ANC would never compromise on issues such as a one-person one-vote electoral system. However, there were many issues "about which we feel very strongly and on which we may have to compromise".

The ANC's national executive council and its membership, Mr Mandela said, were unanimous in their support for negotiations with the government.

Own Correspondent

CALA, Transkei. — Controversial Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani again carried an AK-47 here last night while repeating that the armed struggle would cease only when obstacles to negotiation had been removed.

He addressed about 2 000 people in the Catholic hall here.

The ANC was the only liberation organisation that could bring about freedom, he said. Its leaders had been prepared to make sacrifices for the freedom of their people and Mr Nelson Mandela had been ready to die in jail rather than accept a conditional release.

"We cannot abandon the armed struggle until the people are completely free," he said. Mr Hani, at one stage carrying an AK-47 and displaying it to the crowd, said the ANC was prepared to pay the price of liberation.

Mr Hani said youths had played a major role in bringing about changes in South Africa. "Right now the oppressors have sleepless night because of the activities of the youths," he added.

He thanked the Transkei military government for opening up avenues for people to express their views.

Tension over detention of national executive's Maharaj

Top ANC

member

detained

ARGUS 26/7/90

308A

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
and TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

RELATIONS between the African National Congress and the government are strained today over the arrest of national executive committee member Mr Mac Maharaj under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

While stopping short of saying the arrest could jeopardise the talks, ANC internal spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said: "This does not make things easier".

Police have yet to officially confirm the arrest, but sources said early today Mr Maharaj was being held in connection with a probe into an alleged ANC/South African Communist Party insurrection plot.

Meanwhile the government and the ANC were "very near" to an agreement to the remaining obstacles to negotiation, according to top government sources.

They said the talks remained on track, in spite of the insurrection plot. There were political "market forces" which had gathered such momentum that neither side could now stop them.

An agreement on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles was now possible and the political manoeuvrings could then move on to "talks about negotiations".

The ANC has remained committed to negotiations in spite of recent detentions but the matter will feature prominently in the August 6 talks.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela maintained that some Umkhonto we Sizwe members were still acting in terms of instructions issued before the Groote Schuur meeting.

Mr Mandela is likely to have been told about the detentions when he met Mr De Klerk last Friday and there is the growing impression in political circles that most of the ANC leadership disapproved of, and may not have known about, the underground moves.

The talks will not be a full-blown "Groote Schuur 2".

Only Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela and four key advisers from each side will be present.

The ANC team will include secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo.

The government delegation is likely to include Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

From Johannesburg The Argus Correspondent reports that only the government and the ANC, not the SACP, would be bound by a ceasefire, according to the minutes of a secret SACP conference held to allegedly plan insurrection.

This emerged from information provided by the government to foreign embassies at a briefing.

The conference was held in Tongaat in May.

The SACP is to be launched as an independent party on Sunday.

Some of the Tongaat conference delegates were smuggled into the country, while others were already inside in terms of the amnesty granted for pre-negotiation talks.

Mr Mandela was not among the delegates. Mr Slovo was.

Diplomats were told that the alleged plotters had asked SACP suppliers for even more weaponry, including highly sophisticated Soviet Strela ground-to-air missiles and components for car-bombs.

ANC talks with Government are still on course

Sowetan 26/7/90
By SY MAKARINGE

THE meeting between the Government and the ANC, scheduled for August 6, is still on course despite reports of an alleged plot by communists within the ANC to overthrow the State.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, which followed a two-day plenary session of its national executive committee, the ANC reaffirmed the "urgent necessity to move forward as speedily as possible towards a negotiated transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy".

The ANC's delegation to meet State President FW de Klerk consists of Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Joe Modise and Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC said it would, among others, present proposals concerning the removal of the remaining obstacles to negotiations and the suspension of the armed struggle.

Mandela said reports that there was a rebellion within the ANC and an ANC/SACP plot to overthrow the Government were "totally unfounded".

"The entire membership of the NEC is unanimous on the question of working together with the Government to bring about a peaceful democratic settlement. I don't know of any person (in the organisation) who does not subscribe to that view," Mandela said in reply to a question.

He said there was no conflict on the policy of the ANC and over a statement by Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, in Umtata a week ago.

He said Hani's statement was taken out of context by the Press.

Teachers to meet De Klerk today

PRETORIA — The Federal Teachers' Council (TFC) will raise the "arbitrary action" of National Education Minister Gene Louw in negotiating with an unrecognised teachers' organisation at a meeting with President F W de Klerk in Pretoria today. *31 Dec 26/77*

Louw angered the TFC recently when he had discussions with the National Teachers' Unity Forum (NTUF) on a number of "critical" issues, including salaries, job security and equal education opportunities for all race groups.

The organisation says it represents 150 000 teachers and has 13 affiliates.

The TFC said the Minister had no right to negotiate with an unrecognised teachers' organisation, particularly on issues which fell outside his ambit. Because he did, the TFC severed all relations with

GERALD REILLY

him.

The TFC said that the NTUF at times used unacceptable tactics — including protest marches — to support demands.

Scheduled to attend today's meeting are Louw, Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase and heads of their departments.

The TFC delegation will be led by its president, Hennie Maree.

Meanwhile, about 50 black teachers at northern Transvaal schools have been dismissed after a defiance campaign in which they attempted to follow the same school calendar as white Transvaal schools.

Sapa quoted a DET spokesman as saying they had "dismissed themselves" for being absent from duty without proper authorisation for more than 14 days.

Big SACP crowd expected

PETER DELMAR

THE SA Communist Party expects some 80 000 supporters to attend its launch meeting at Soweto's Soccer City stadium on Sunday — more than double the national membership party leaders have projected for this year.

SACP leader Mac Maharaj said yesterday that members of the ANC's National Executive Committee and Cosatu would occupy special seats.

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela and Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo will address the launch, which will officially end the SACP's 30 years as an underground party. The ANC's internal leadership will also be announced for the first time. *31 Dec 26/77*

Maharaj declined to be drawn on which names would be announced or to confirm that there were no members of the SA Youth Congress (Sayco) on the internal leadership core. The SACP leadership would, however, include members of a broad number of organisations within the mass democratic movement, the youth and trade unions.

Mandela tell guerr

PETER DELMAR

UMKHONTO we Sizwe guerrillas were still operating according to instructions issued before the May 61 summit between the ANC and the organisation should be to inform them about decisions the meeting, ANC deputy leader Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, Mandela said he had met F W de Klerk at their meeting last week that a distinction had to be made between the NP, always a legal

third of the world's population lives in federal states. The root idea of federalism lies in Montesquieu's classical assertion that power can be checked only by power.

In other words, if the federal society can create and entrench countervailing sites of authority, then the danger of the omnipotent centre can be checked and curtailed.

It is precisely the abuse of absolute power by an untrammelled parliament which has brought SA to its present impasse. Equally, it is the fear and uncertainty of a transfer of absolute power from a minority to a majority which causes the hesitation and resistance to negotiating a new constitutional dispensation for SA.

A territorial or geographic federation for the new SA is the most likely compromise between a specific system of racial checks and balances on the one hand and the demand for majoritarian rule within a unitary state on the other.

However, if the federal concept was to be floated as some sort of glorified Bantustanisation of SA then the concept will be dead in the water. It is specifically the fear that a federation could result in the reinforcement, rather than the reconciliation, of the existing racial divide which has led to its prima facie rejection by many major players in the liberation struggle.

Assuring that a departure point for a realistic federal arrangement for SA is one of limiting the power of the dominant group without invoking ethnicity, then the starting point must be a redelimitation of existing boundaries within the country. If a federation is to succeed, the federal units should ideally be of roughly equal population, geographic size, wealth and power.

John Dugard, in a recent study, noted that if substantial parity is to be achieved in a federal SA, it will be necessary to reduce the power of the Transvaal, hence his suggestion of a new province of the Witwatersrand area. In terms of population the redelimitation of provinces would result (on 1986 population estimates) in the following divisions:

□ Cape Province (including Trans-

A federation would mean new powers and new boundaries

TONY LEON

kei, Ciskei and part of Bophuthatswana) — 9-million people;
□ Natal (including KwaZulu) — 6-million;
□ Free State (including QwaQwa and part of Bophuthatswana) — 2-million;

□ Transvaal (excluding Witwatersrand but including Venda, part of Bophuthatswana, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane) — 10-million; and
□ Witwatersrand — 2-million.

Dugard notes that although the Witwatersrand, Natal and Free State would have much smaller populations than the Cape Province and the Transvaal, they would probably compare with the larger provinces in economic terms.

Many would contend that the existing provincial boundaries, which Dugard moots, are far too large for the closer and more dynamic relationship between public representatives and constituents which federalism should engender.

There is nothing magical about the existing provincial boundaries. They reflect the division of power pre-1910 and enjoy little emotional support.

Perhaps a better delimitation of federal units would be the nine or 10 economic regions into which SA is divided for planning purposes. The problem is that there are only four major areas of industrial concentra-

tion: the PWV triangle, the Durban-Pinetown-Maritzburg conurbation, the Cape Town metropole and the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area. It is here that the other devices of a federal arrangement become critical.

While the US and Australia have no special arrangements for the allocation of revenue and loan capital between the various states comprising their federations, other federal countries do. Canada allows for the pooling of national resources and the distribution of them between provinces on the basis of need.

A fiscal commission should investigate the reasonable cost, to each federal state and to the Republic, of administering the various subjects assigned to each state in terms of the constitution on the basis of no discrimination as between the states.

The PFP's constitutional proposals suggested a Federal Finance Council comprising representatives of the federal and state governments and expert bureaucrats. It would examine state and federal budgets to determine the amount of revenue and loan funds which each state could claim from the federal treasury. Its decisions would be subject

only to the combined veto of both majorities in the federal assembly and the affected state assembly.

Other equalisation devices could ensure that each state, pro rata, got its rightful share of resources.

There are few federations in the world which do not make concessions to important unitary principles. Federalism in Germany, for example, has drastically changed over the past 20 years. People in the various "lander" (or federal states) are unwilling to tolerate major differences in living conditions as an effect of living in different regions. Therefore there is a greater pressure for uniformity. This has impacted on major areas.

Generally federal constitutions specifically enumerate the powers granted to national government and leave the residue of powers to the various units comprising the federation.

Certain functions are by their very nature federal or national: foreign relations, citizenship, currency, interstate commerce, defence, internal security, borrowing on the credit of the government, immigration and emigration, foreign trade, customs and excise, national transportation, mineral and energy affairs.

Even in a state as unitary as SA, certain powers have always been

exercised at a local or provincial level. These include aspects of health, local government, licensing, town planning, taxation and education. A new dispensation in a federal SA should ensure that all the latter powers are exercised in the fullest sense by each federal unit. Other powers should always have been exercised at a local or regional level, namely law and order, prisons and land settlement.

By multiplying the sites of political power and competition, new and transcending alliances based on regional or common interests can be forged which will lead to the resolution of problems and issues at a localised level.

The precise institutions which will serve at both the federal and at a local level will have to be determined in a process of negotiation. This equally applies to the question of federal boundaries and government competencies.

Underpinning any federal arrangement will be other institutions of crucial significance, namely the constitutional court which will have to reconcile the claims of feuding states against each other and in their disputes with the central state. The composition and appointment of the federal constitutional court will, in turn, be a delicate and problematic matter. Precedents from other federal jurisdictions are readily available.

do not know whether the federal argument will cause mass conversions to its point of view, or whether it will persuade South Africans to relinquish current demands in favour of this principled middle way. But those who reject the federal argument must offer a more viable set of proposals which will bring peace and unity to SA.

The most significant difference in our constitutional debate is the division between the expedient democrats, who support democracy only because a general election in a unitary SA will almost definitely bring them to power, and the genuine democrats who are committed to something more durable.

□ Tony Leon, DP MP for Houghton, was formerly a lecturer in constitutional law at Wits.

Hit squad debate challenge to FW^{STC}_{26/7/90}

CAPE TOWN — State President F W de Klerk has been challenged to a television debate over the continued existence of security force death squads.

Mr de Klerk has been given until 5 pm tomorrow to react to the challenge by the Campaign for a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Hit-squads, a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking organisation.

The invitation to Mr de Klerk is the latest challenge made to the Government by the campaign, which intends staging a protest march to security branch headquarters in Cape Town on Saturday.

Petitions calling on security policemen and soldiers to refuse to take part in alleged murders and intimidation will be handed over by the marchers to security police and to military authorities at the Castle, headquarters of Western Province Command.

Protest theatre

A protest march will also take place in Bloemfontein on Saturday, and members of the Black Sash will stage lunchtime pickets on Cape Town's Greenmarket Square today and tomorrow.

Actor Andrew Buckland, and his troupe, have also agreed to stage anti-hit squad protest theatre on Greenmarket Square, a campaign organiser said yesterday.

The campaign has insisted that the debate on the SABC television be held before August 1, when the Harms Commission of Inquiry into allegedly politically-motivated murders reconvenes in Pretoria. — Sapa.

Team to meet Govt named

By Esmaré van der Merwe
and Peter Fabricius

The ANC yesterday announced its five-man team for the August 6 meeting with the Government to discuss ways of removing the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

They are — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, secretary general and acting president Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise and SACP secretary general Joe Slovo.

In a statement, the organisation's National Executive Committee said the five had been designated to present the ANC at the meeting after an agreement with the Government on the size of the respective delegations. Government sources said the agreement had been reached between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk last Friday.

Although the Government has not announced its delegation, Government sources believe it is

likely to be Mr de Klerk, his chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The five ANC negotiators present an interesting mix of "hardliners" and "moderates". Although SACP chief Mr Slovo could have been expected to be included by reason of his seniority, his presence also suggests that the ANC is not bowing to current pressure to distance itself from the SACP.

The expected Government team — as well of that of the ANC — combines seniority, negotiating expertise and line-function relevance to the agenda of the talks.

Government sources have also made it clear that they intend to use the occasion of the August 6 talks to raise the issue of alleged efforts by ANC/SACP elements to continue revolutionary activity during negotiations.

Star
26/7/90

300A

Dreaming of a 'white homeland'

26/7/90

Angus

PROFESSOR Carel Boshoff wears a vooortrekker beard, relic of the Afrikaner Volkswag Great Trek celebrations of two years ago, which so eclipsed the "official" trek.

He looks the part: the craggy dominee, one hand on the Bible, the other on the trusty vooiraer.

In fact he is the intellectual of right-wing Afrikanerdom. He wants to take his folk on another trek which would amount to a secession from greater South Africa, the establishment of a Volksstaat in the arid West Coast region of the Cape Province.

It is also worth recalling that he is the son-in-law of Verwoerd, that he was chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs — the think tank of Grand Apartheid — and that he was also chairman of the Broederbond. These are good credentials for a partitionist.

Dominance

Prof Boshoff's point, in arguing the Volksstaat, is that the Afrikaner has no hope whatever of maintaining his position in greater South Africa, especially as his birthrate is declining to a point where Afrikaners could make up only 0.02 percent of the total population in 150 years' time. Nor, he maintains, can there be any moral justification for attempting to maintain Afrikaner dominance.

If the Afrikaner wishes to retain his language, culture and identity, he has to withdraw into an area small enough to be controlled by his relatively small numbers, an area which is only thinly settled and in which Afrikaners (and other assimilable whites) would dominate without any need for population removals.

In this territory they should provide their own labour and entrepreneurship so that they are entirely self-reliant.

The territory he and a working group have selected — after 20 years' research, he emphasises — stretches from Saldanha Bay (the country's largest natural harbour) on the West Coast, through the Great Karroo to Colesberg, then through Kuruman to take in a section of southern Namibia. (The plan was drawn up before Namibian independence, in the belief that Namibian Afrikaners might trek south to join up with the Volksstaat).

It is a dry, desolate and inhospitable stretch of territory. But Prof Boshoff says it was chosen not just for lack of human population but because it is here that the desert will bloom.

The Orange River development scheme (not yet complete) will produce present-day South Africa's fifth economic growth point, he says. About 260 000 hectares of fertile land will come under irrigation. These will produce lucerne, cotton, maize, wheat, delicious fruit, vegetables, citrus and other crops, as well as wool and meat.

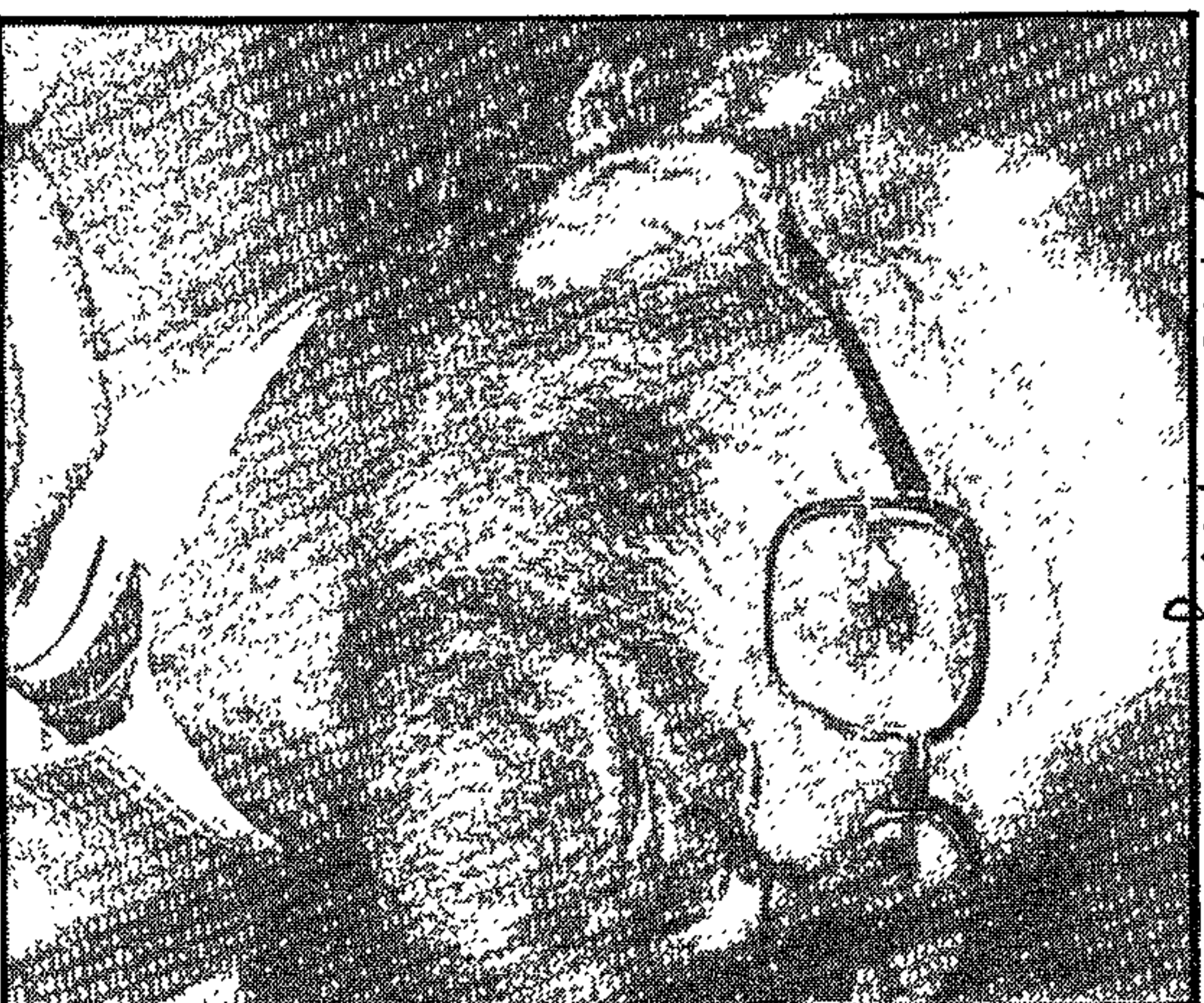
Abandon PWV

The territory has infrastructure and a capacity to absorb dense settlement, he says. It has no known mineral resources, which is a benefit. Mines only attract vast numbers of unskilled labourers. The most prosperous nations of the world do not rely on mineral resources either, they rely on their people's skill and productivity.

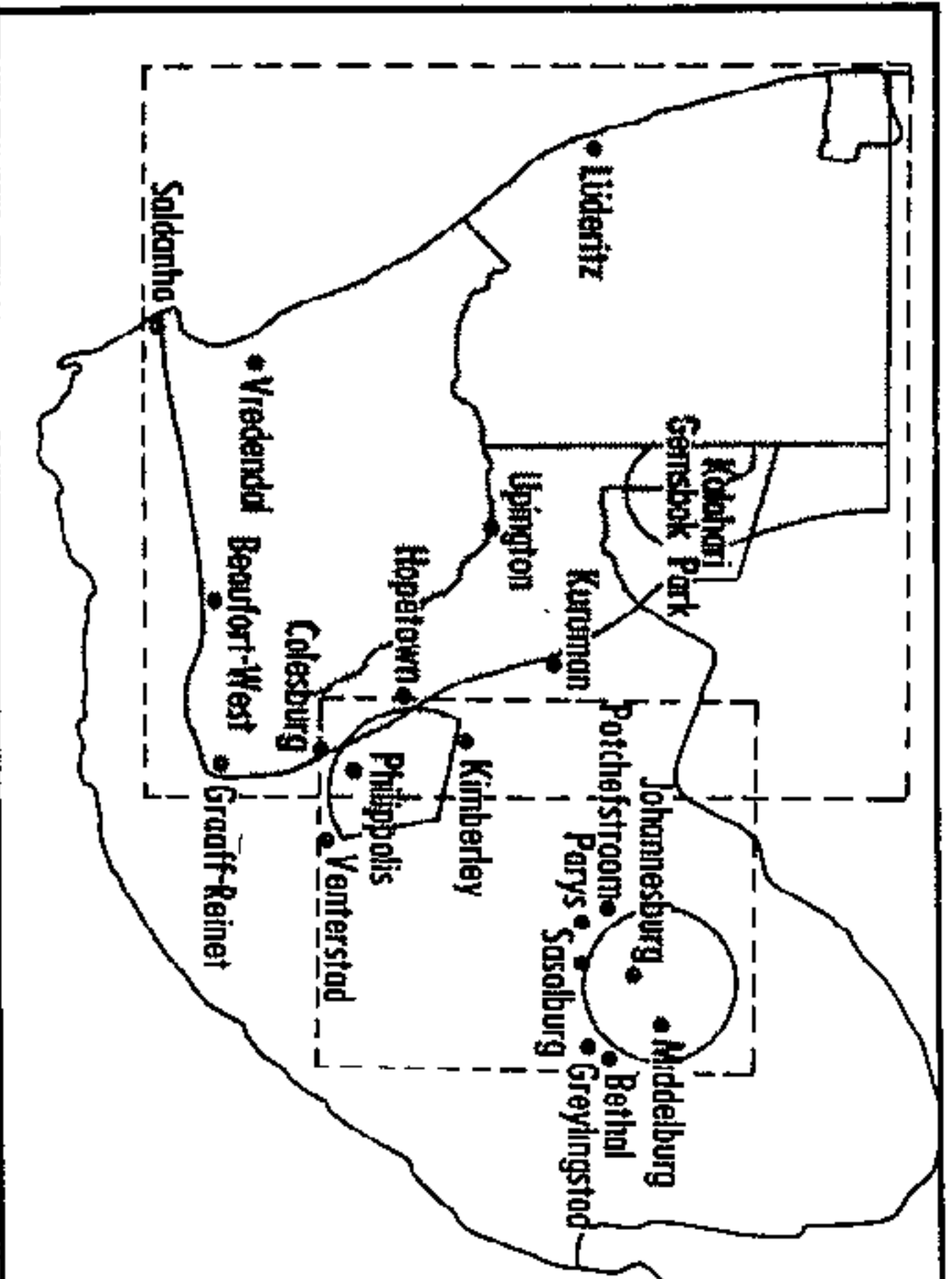
Prof Boshoff says the Afrikaner has to abandon the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging industrial complex, Southern Africa's powerhouse.

"One would rather have the best and be rich, but the PWV is not compatible with a Volksstaat. There would either be a continual power struggle or domination or a combination of both."

He says he realises not all Afrikaners would trek to the Volksstaat, but they would always have that option which would make them more secure, wherever they were in



Professor Carel Boshoff



Carel Boshoff's chosen area for a Volksstaat in the arid West Coast region of the Cape Province.

South Africa. It would be analogous to the sentiment of Jews world-wide for Israel.

Prof Boshoff is a member of the Conservative Party, though his plan is not party policy. He hopes it will be adopted in something approximating its present form.

"I'm concerned that it should be a workable partition plan, otherwise we merely inherit the dilemma of the National Party."

He would be willing to put his plan to a constitutional conference (unlike the CP

Campaigning for a Boerestaat

ROBERT van Tonder is not an Afrikaner, he is a Boer. The Boers, he says, inhabit the territories of the old republics of Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Vryheid (Northern Natal) which were wrongfully seized by the English in 1902 after the "English War" and forcefully incorporated with the Union of South Africa.

The fact that he speaks the same language as the "Cape Dutch" is immaterial he says. The Cape Dutch are not Boers. They did not fight in the Frontier Wars, they did not go on the Great Trek, they did not fight the Matabele and the Zulus, they did not fight the English.

He makes it clear that he regards the Cape Dutch as being in collusion with the English in subjugating the Boer language, tradition and culture.

As leader of the Boerestaat Party, it is his cause to secure once again the independence of the old republics. He has petitioned the United Nations — most recently when a UN delegation visited this country to examine political developments first-hand. He was received.

He maintains that a Boer state based on the three former republics would be a viable proposition. It would have access to the sea at Richards Bay, St Lucia and Kosi Bay (which he calls Krugerhaven) because this coastal strip was illegally seized from the Vryheid Republic by the British in the late nineteenth century.

He says the word "Afrikaner" is an artificial one invented after Union in 1910 and is as meaningless as the expression "South African". There is no nation of either. He says the "so-called Nationalists" made a fatal mistake after the Versailles peace conference in 1919.

A delegation under General Hertzog went to argue the case for restoration of the independence of the Boer republics, in terms of the expressed policy of the victorious allies toward subject nationalities. When they were rebuffed, the Nationalists opted instead to work for

political power within the framework of the Union.

It was fatal for the Boer people. We were drawn into a huge conglomerate — English, Cape Dutch, Zulus, Xhosa, Indians, all kinds of people. We don't want to rule them and we don't want them to rule us.

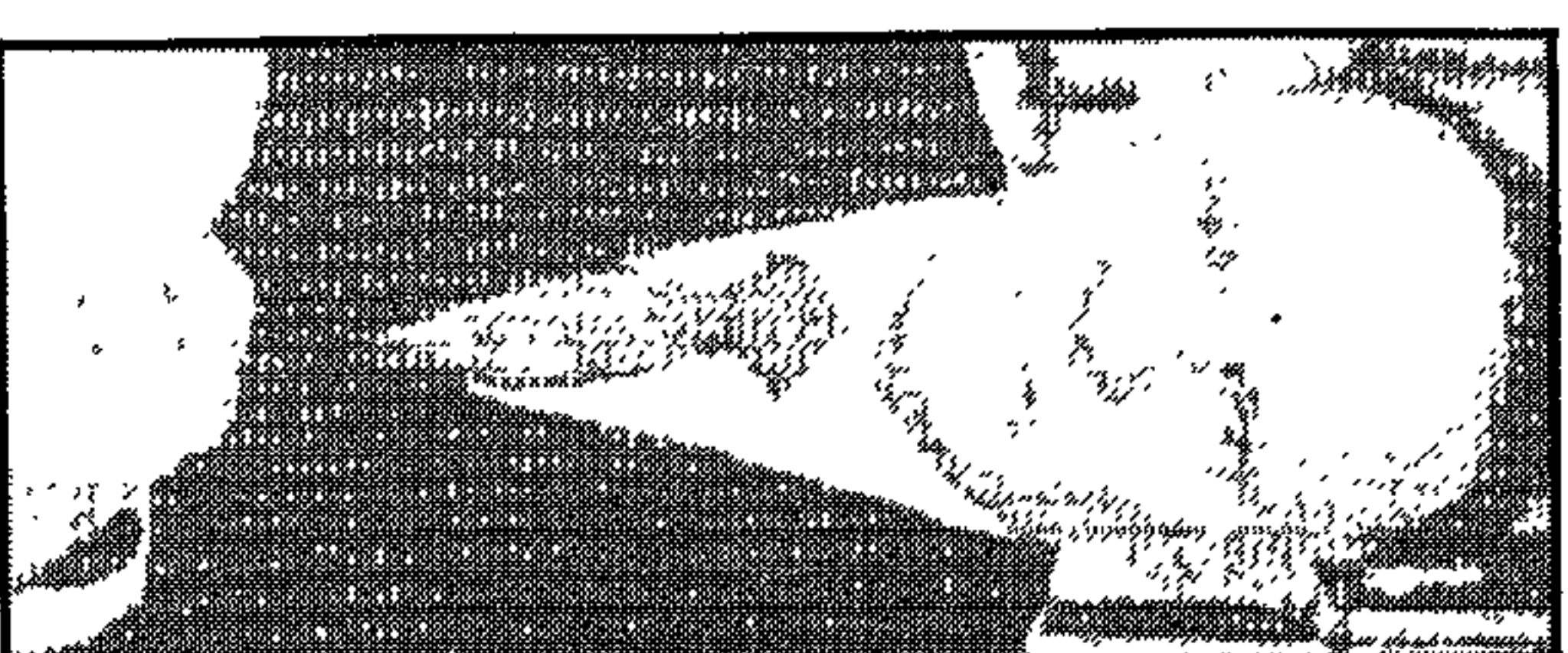
He argues that the Boers are a distinct African nation who happen to be white. They are not colonial settlers and, left to themselves in their own territory, would be accepted by the rest of Africa which has also rejected colonial rule.

Instead they have been dragged into an unwanted role as political rulers.

"Not only are they trapped in the framework of enslavement of their British conquerors, the stinking record of oppression of the colonial British has reflected on them and, during the same freedom struggle of Africa, they have become the polecat of the world."

Mr Van Tonder agrees that his Boerestaat would include the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging industrial complex, which has become the powerhouse of southern Africa. But this presents no problem because the case for the Boer State rests on international legal principles.

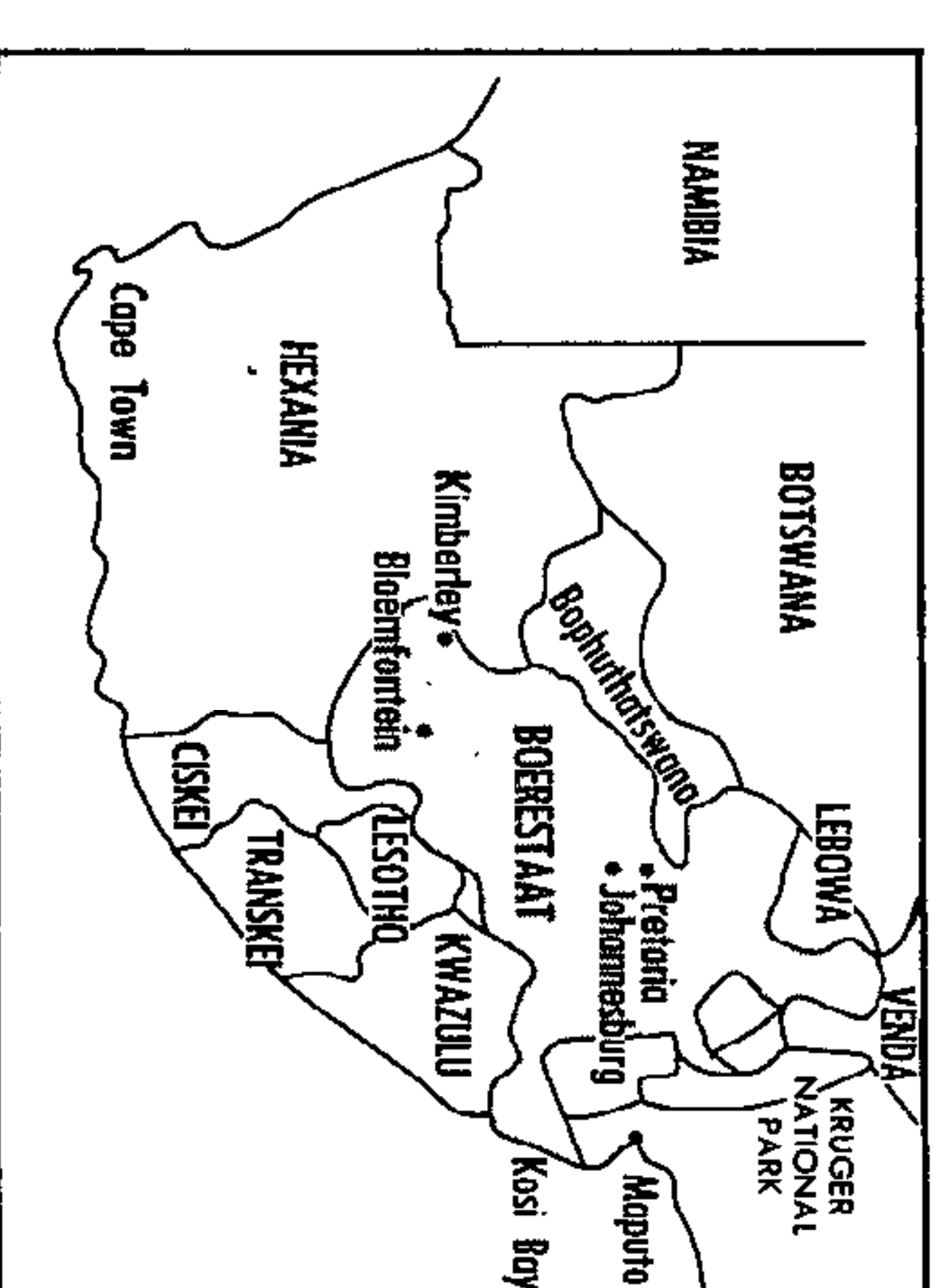
"We were legally recognised by the world. We did not come here for gold, it was open, empty country. Everything here belongs to us."



Robert van Tonder

To many, Mr Van Tonder's cause might sound so forlorn it is hardly worth canvassing.

Yet his deputy, 'Piet Skiet' Rudolph, is on the run from the police. He has 'declared war' on the Government having, on his own admission, stolen weaponry from an Air Force armory. Shots have been fired at the British Embassy. Melrose House (scene of the signing of the Boer surrender) has been bombed. For some the struggle continues.



This is the way Robert van Tonder visualises the boundaries of a Boerestaat.

26/01/90

304A

Jaap's 'Verwoerdian dream'

JAAP Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, is a weathervane in right-wing politics, as well as a survivor against all the odds.

An uncompromising protagonist of Verwoerdian apartheid carved in granite, he has seen the fortunes of his party swing from ignominious defeat in 1977 to winning one third of the Transvaal vote in 1981, then back again to ignominious defeat as right-wingers flocked to the newly-formed Conservative Party.

Yet he hangs in. Today he shares a political platform with Eugene Terre'blanche, of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, in spite of having distanced himself in the past because of the AWB's extra-parliamentary programme.

Mr Marais has always been a parliamentarian. He justifies shifting closer to the AWB by the fact that the government has changed the rules, narrowing the gap between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary action.

He warns that by refusing to call a general election to seek a mandate for negotiations with the African National Congress and others, the government is closing the door to normal, constitutional political activity.

The alternative is not necessarily violence — mass mobilisation is another option. He has urged the CP to resign all the seats it holds on local councils so that a series of by-elections could humiliate the government and prove conclusively that whites do not support negotiations with the ANC. But the CP has re-



Jaap Marais

fused to go along with it.

Mr Marais says the present situation is fraught with danger and warns that the fugitive Piet Rudolph should be handled very cautiously.

"In an unstable political situation the slightest thing can have great consequences. For example, in 1914 the great events of the Rebellion had less influence than the shooting of Jopie Fourie.

"In the present unstable situation a trigger pulled somewhere can have very serious consequences."

He says the commandos being jointly organised by the HNP and the AWB are for de-

fence of life and property in the event of a breakdown in law and order. He concedes though that in a fluid political situation their role could change.

He maintains that, whether it realises or not, the government has already abdicated to the ANC. He predicts that the ANC will have elected its own unofficial "people's parliament" to make an input to constitutional negotiations.

One demand would be the removal of security forces from black townships, which would be followed by wide-scale intimidation, which would lead to the creation of a state of general ungovernability as the final lever to make the government accede to ANC demands.

Although Mr Marais joins other right-wingers in demanding a general election, he does not believe a CP victory would be the answer.

"They are not tough enough. We would just have a replay of the Vorster era — ambiguity and vacillation. Some of them are prepared to negotiate, others not."

He rejects CP notions of a radical territorial partitioning.

"Verwoerd spoke of a 'smaller' South Africa, not a 'small' South Africa. We want to hold and control South Africa as it is, minus the black homelands."

He says the HNP will stay in the field because, as the CP attempts to build a moderate image to attract votes, true conservatives will swing back to him. The country needs a principled opposition party of the right.

Warning on rising expectations

GERALD REILLY

3041

PRETORIA — One of the greatest problems, not only for Nelson Mandela and the ANC, but for the entire country was to ensure that expectations aroused should not boomerang. Human Sciences Research Council president Tjaart van der Walt said yesterday.

Speaking at an Afrikaanse Sakekamer function he said the danger of revolution was at its greatest not when a population was totally oppressed but when expectations went unfulfilled. 8104 271790

The revolutionary danger in SA was not from ideology or military takeover, but from frustration resulting from stagnation.

Expectations had been raised and prospects opened up by reform moves, and if the development process was delayed or halted, a setback was likely.

Drop Slovo from talks team — FW

blow 21/7/90 304A

MIKE ROBERTSON, PETER DELMAR,
LINDEN BIRNS and ALAN FINE

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk held urgent talks with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela last night to tell him that SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo's presence in the ANC delegation to meet government on August 6 was unacceptable.

This came after the arrest of senior SACP member Mac Maharaj in connection with an alleged insurrection plot.

De Klerk said after the meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, which lasted more than two hours. "I met Nelson Mandela this evening. At his request, we will meet again next week and consequently I have nothing further to say at this stage."

Senior government sources said De Klerk would insist that Slovo be withdrawn from the ANC delegation as a police investigation had uncovered evidence that he had no intention of abiding by the Groote Schuur agreement, which committed government and the ANC to "a resolution of the existing climate of violence".

Diplomatic sources said Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who briefed them on Tuesday on the uncovering of the alleged plot, had indicated government would insist that Slovo be excluded from the ANC delegation. He appealed for understanding from foreign governments.

ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi indicated last night that other ANC leaders were anxiously awaiting the outcome of the meeting.

He said ANC officials were seeking clarification on the reason for Maharaj's arrest.

"It seems an out-of-proportion response. But I cannot see government just arresting someone like him, given the process we are involved in."

"As far as we are concerned at this point, the August 6 talks are still on because we want to begin resolving the political problems," Nkobi said.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said the ANC had no idea why Maharaj was arrested, or whether he was involved in any military activities.

Sapa-Reuter reports that ANC national executive member Ronnie Kharills said yesterday Mandela and the ANC were "hopping mad" about Maharaj's arrest, and Mandela would protest strongly to De Klerk.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani described the arrest as "an act of provocation".

Nkobi, asked how the ANC would respond to a government demand that Slovo be excluded from the ANC delegation, said:



● MANDELA



● SLOVO



● DE KLERK

Talks may now be in jeopardy

MIKE ROBERTSON

NEXT week's talks between government and the ANC must now be in serious doubt despite the fact that both sides still desperately want them to go ahead.

Government, after reviewing more than 4 000 pages of evidence uncovered by police in relation to a so-called "insurrectionary plot" wants SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo removed from the ANC delegation to the talks planned for August 6.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who met President F W de Klerk last night to discuss the matter, will no doubt staunchly resist any such move.

At this stage Slovo would not appear to be one of those people against whom police believe they can make stick charges of arms smuggling, illegal possession of arms and fraud.

Nor, at this stage, is it likely that government will attempt to link Slovo to any conspiracy charge.

What government is perturbed about are minutes of an SACP meeting in Tongaat at which Slovo was reported to have said that the party would not be bound by any cease-

fire agreement between government and the ANC.

The Tongaat meeting was held just over two weeks after the Groote Schuur talks at which Slovo signed a Minute which committed government and the ANC to resolving "the existing climate of violence".

Government believes Slovo has seriously harmed whatever basis of mutual trust had been built up between it and the ANC and that he is not genuine in his commitment to a negotiated settlement.

Prior to the Groote Schuur meeting, government attempted to remove Slovo from the ANC delegation.

However, if government does have the evidence it says it has, it would appear to have good reasons for saying it is futile to try and negotiate with Slovo.

Mandela is now faced with the difficult choice of continuing to stand by Slovo and put next week's talks at risk, or to put the talks first, which will inevitably lead to tensions in his own ranks.

"We would have to examine the gravity of the situation."

ANC sources said Slovo was ill in bed yesterday with flu.

Mbeki said it should come as no surprise that police had uncovered a unit which had been operating for two years, as the ANC had not yet agreed to suspend its armed struggle.

While realising that the ANC might have to take up arms again in the event of negotiations breaking down, the organisation was at pains to dispel the belief that it was not firmly committed to making the negotiation process work, said Mbeki.

In an earlier statement yesterday, De Klerk said the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) had not appreciated the seriousness of the uncovering of armed cells.

He added that "government will determine its further action with due regard to the course of the meeting" — an indication that if the Slovo issue was not resolved next week's talks could be in jeopardy.

As recently as Wednesday, senior sources on both sides expected that a decisive breakthrough in removing obstacles to negotiations would be made on August 6.

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

Slovo ^{blp am} 27/7/90

After the normal Cabinet meeting on Wednesday the State Security Council and members of the Cabinet negotiating committee met for several hours to review evidence uncovered by police during the probe into the underground cells.

Government sources said that what perturbed them most was that the police had uncovered minutes of a meeting held in Tongaat on May 19 or 20, just over two weeks after the Groote Schuur meeting.

In the minutes, Slovo was reported to have said that whatever agreement was signed between government and the ANC relating to a ceasefire would not apply to the SACP.

A senior government member said yesterday: "The basis of talks with the ANC is the building up of a mutual trust. How can you continue to have confidence in someone who signed the Groote Schuur Minute when only a few weeks later he says to his people that this will not change the fact they want to overthrow government?"

Senior police sources said because the ANC and the SACP described their relationship as an alliance, and because Slovo participated in the Groote Schuur meetings, he and inter alia the SACP were

bound just as much as the ANC and government to observing the clauses in the agreed minute.

Police said yesterday they had seized rocket launchers, machine guns, anti-personnel mines and explosives in an SACP arms cache in Durban recently.

The cache was one of many believed to have been established under the SACP plan to overthrow government should the outcome of negotiations not be to its liking, they said.

The alleged SACP plot, codenamed Operation Vula, was reputedly drawn up as long ago as 1987 and involved the establishment of an elaborate underground cell network with safe houses.

Police said they were looking for more caches, adding that SAM-7 "Strela" ground-to-air missiles were included on the SACP weapons requirement list.

They said the fact that the plot was not shelved meant the SACP plan was a deliberate misuse of the negotiation process, and that the SACP would use this "breathing time" to organise a national uprising.

SACP members allegedly infiltrated SA for several months at a time from 1987.

© Comment: Page 6

3049  ☐ From Page 1

RADICAL decentralisation of government — the options, advantages and potential pitfalls — is the topic of a high-level investigation spearheaded by the Finance Department and affecting a host of government departments.

Government has already indicated its support for a move towards some devolution of power, of which the degree and nature has yet to be decided. But finance officials are tight-lipped about the brief of the Committee of Investigation into Fiscal Relations in SA — chaired by Finance director general Gerhard Croeser, who is the architect of the Regional Services Councils (RSCs). They stress much research remains to be done and their work is nowhere near report-back stage.

Against the background of the Finance investigation, an urgent effort to solve the financial and other problems of black local government has begun. At the same time, the Planning and Provincial Affairs Ministry has put forward five models of local government for discussion. There is a growing recognition, in the words of Development Bank CE Simon Brand, that black and white "twin cities" share a common economic base and that management of urban areas should reflect this.

In the debate on the future political economy of SA, the focus could increasingly be on local option. To what extent could and should a system of decentralised government serve as a mechanism to resolve wealth inequalities in SA? Will government counter proposals for central planning with a model for decentralised government? How will it sell such a model? Is it viable, especially from a tax and financing viewpoint? It will be the task of the fiscal relations committee to examine the pros and cons — with special emphasis on whether it makes good economic sense. So far indications are that Finance Ministry and department officials believe it will make both political and economic sense.

Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais raised the issue in a speech in Parliament this year, when he called for the implementation of "fiscal decentralisation".

Government looks at how to get closer to the people

GRETA STEYN



□ CROESER

local government spends more than three times as much public money as central government.

"Yet these nations and others with comparably strong local government — for instance the other Nordic countries, the Netherlands, Austria, and states of the German Federal Republic, New England and California — enjoy strong economies and standards of living that are second to none in the world. It seems

"Fiscal decentralisation must in future receive more attention not only because it fits in with the concept of democracy, but also because it promotes more effective government spending."

Central government could eventually become "a residue", he said. In his view, not enough attention had been paid in SA to federal approaches such as the Swiss canton system and the US system.

He and other government spokesmen stress that different levels of government should not function as "agents" for central government. Instead of seeing the process as one in which power is devolved from central government down, it should be regarded as one in which power starts at the lowest level of local government and works its way up to central government.

That approach implies that many functions currently performed by central government could eventually be taken over by lower levels of administration. To what extent could and should functions and services be the responsibility of communities? A recent World Bank report, Decentralisation for Development, notes that Switzerland has never had a national Education or Health Ministry. These matters are locally controlled, mainly by very small local authorities.

The report also notes that Swedish

unlikely that this is a mere coincidence," the report says.

The reasons given by economists for less central government and more local government include a growing belief that central government provides services inefficiently and ineffectively. Central government is focused on macro questions, often to the detriment of individuals more worried by problems of local infrastructure. It focuses on large-scale projects, the effects of which are often badly distributed and not sensitive to popular demands.

The World Bank report notes that people do not observe the immediate connection between taxes they pay and the services which "the remote government" provides. The opposite is the case with local authorities.

"The people themselves become concerned about what is being done with their tax money and how it is being administered."

The issue of local taxes and overall financing requirements of government's lower levels will probably become the most debated aspect of a move towards bigger local government. The general principle is that as far as possible, local governments should be self-financing.

Marais noted that in Switzerland most taxes were collected at municipal and canton level. The confederation's finances rested on indirect taxes. Marais noted the principle

that a sub-national authority should be able to "live within its means". That is, however, a highly controversial and probably impractical principle in a SA context. Not many taxes, apart from user charges and RSC levies, are easily collected at lower levels of government. In addition, the revenue bases of communities differ radically because of massive wealth disparities.

Revenue collection by central government and transfers to local government, or revenue sharing, will be inevitable. This is in line with the international experience, notably in West Germany and in a number of developing countries.

Marais recognises the problem: "Fiscal decentralisation cannot take place without the gradual removal of disparities between the fiscal capacities of self-governing communities. That is why government will not shy away from admitting that a redistribution of income is essential in the process of democratisation to find a political solution for SA."

A system of sharing income tax will have to be worked out. Who gets what? A region's percentage of the total slice of the cake will probably be determined by taking into account a number of factors including poverty, population density and gross geographical product.

Income redistribution on a more micro-economic level will also be necessary. The reality is that areas with large backlogs and an inadequate financial base will be incorporated into more wealthy areas; this would mean the amalgamation of Soweto and Johannesburg, and other similar areas.

The Development Bank's Brand said: "Clear arrangements for inter-nal transfers and cross-subsidisation within such newly constituted jurisdictions would therefore have to be made, as well as for budgetary assistance from other levels of government for such development purposes."

Sources stress, however, that income redistribution is not the main reason for a system of decentralised government. The point of departure is that government should be brought closer to the people. Exactly how that will be done will depend in large measure on the findings of Croeser and his committee.

'We'll keep process on track'

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The African National Congress last night committed the organisation to do everything in its power to keep the negotiation process on track — despite the detention of executive member Mac Maharaj, the recent arrests of Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers and renewed Government allegations of an ANC/SACP insurgency plot.

At an impromptu news briefing yesterday in Johannesburg, members of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) maintained the latest events would not jeopardise the peace talks with the Government.

But they appeared to be despondent about Mr Maharaj's detention, saying they "simply don't know" why he was detained and were waiting for a Government explanation.

They said they failed to understand the Government's strategy in making public allegations of an ANC/SACP insurgency plan, and re-emphasised the ANC's commitment to peace.

Thabo Mbeki said: "We have a responsibility to do everything in our power to end the system of white minority rule as speedily as possible."

"It could never be a first instinct of the ANC to stop that process."

2 Bid to prevent talks collapsing

FW puts Mandela under pressure

304A
Sta 27/11/90

The Government is putting pressure on ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela to accept that legal action may have to be taken against senior communists in the ANC high command — possibly including SACP chief Joe Slovo — for their involvement in an alleged ANC-SACP insurrection plot codenamed Operation Vula.

Senior Government sources said today that when President de Klerk met Mr Mandela last night he would not have presented him with an ultimatum to drop Mr Slovo from the ANC delegation for talks with the Government on August 6.

But it is clear the Government requires some acknowledgement by Mr Mandela of what it regards as the gravity of Operation Vula and some effort to distance himself from the communists allegedly involved in it.

"We have a crisis of confidence and of mutual trust jeopardising further talks — not only those on August 6 — but careful handling and cool heads could still save the situation," an authoritative Government source said today.

Large dossier

"The talks are not off — it is for the ANC to decide how to handle the crisis of confidence. I don't believe Mr de Klerk would have put an ultimatum to Mr Mandela. That's not his style."

Mr de Klerk met Mr Mandela for 2½ hours last night after indicating that he was not happy with the ANC national executive committee's (NEC) outright denial of Operation Vula on Wednesday.

It is understood he presented Mr Mandela with a large dossier of police evidence detailing Operation Vula, gleaned largely from captured computer files.

The dossier allegedly indi-

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

cates that Mr Slovo arranged a meeting of a group in the SACP/ANC alliance in Tongaat, Natal, where it was stated that the SACP would not be bound by any agreement reached between the ANC and the Government.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed to meet again next week, probably on Wednesday.

The Government realises the predicament Mr Mandela is in. Having announced Mr Slovo's presence in its delegation, he would lose face if he had to drop him now.

But Government sources believe a way out might be for the ANC to state it is not opposed to legal steps being taken against those implicated in Operation Vula for common crimes such as bringing arms into the country.

This might include Mr Slovo. Government sources have suggested that if he is arrested he could be granted bail to attend talks with the Government.

Already the police have detained senior SACP executive and ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj for alleged involvement in the plot and another senior executive member of both the SACP and ANC, Ronnie Kasrils, was reported today as saying he feared he would be next.

The Government is also hoping Western leaders will exert pressure on Mr Mandela to distance himself from Mr Slovo and other SACP executives on the ANC's NEC.

FW puts squeeze on ANC

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE government is pressing the African National Congress to accept that there may be a need for prosecutions and further detentions following allegations of an insurrection plot.

Government sources said today that a serious crisis of mutual trust and confidence now existed in the efforts to get negotiations going but said that the meeting planned for August 6 was still on.

The ANC has also vowed to do everything possible to keep the talks on track but expressed despondency about the detentions.

According to government sources President De Klerk last night presented ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela with further evidence of the plot when they met in Pretoria. Mr Mandela was first told of the plot last Friday.

HOPING FOR CONCESSIONS

Mr De Klerk was hoping that the ANC would be willing to concede that legal steps might be necessary with the evidence available.

Mr Mandela did not know about the underground moves and the government maintained that it was essentially communist elements in the ANC that were involved.

This raised questions about the position of the secretary-general of the SACP, Mr Joe Slovo, who was said to have attended an underground conference at Tongaat.

The government was unhappy about Mr Slovo's inclusion in the ANC's delegation for next month's talks, but sources close to Mr De Klerk today denied that he had demanded that Mr Slovo should be excluded. They said it was not the President's style to put ultimatums.

It was in any case not believed that Mr Mandela would be prepared to ditch Mr Slovo at this stage. The ANC deputy leader is to speak in Johannesburg on Sunday at the first SACP rally since its unbanning in February.

The government remained deeply suspicious of the motives of the SACP.

Another meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, at the request of the latter, is due to be held by Wednesday.

On Monday and Tuesday the Cabinet will be at a special "retreat" outside Pretoria. Future relations with the ANC and plans for negotiations including the government's policy package will be discussed.

COOL HEADS

In Pretoria a government source said today that, while the talks had been jeopardised, careful handling and cool heads could resolve the serious problem which had arisen.

Moves for the meeting yesterday appeared to have come from both sides. Mr Mandela was said to be upset about the detentions of ANC members including national executive committee member Mr Mac Maharaj who is also a Communist Party leader.

Announcing yesterday's meeting Mr De Klerk said that the ANC did not appreciate the seriousness of the facts which were brought to light by the police investigation.

An ANC spokesman said that Mr Mandela was likely to consult colleagues before saying anything.

Political Correspondent Michael Morris reports that more arrests are likely, possibly today, in the top-priority police investigation into the alleged insurrection plot.

● Meanwhile The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Anti-Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston has written to Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd urging him to intervene to secure the release of Mr Maharaj.

The Archbishop's letter warned of "the dangers to the prospects for negotiations unless Mr Maharaj and other detainees are released immediately".

Archbishop Huddleston has also written to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku urging similar pressure from them.

Patient De Klerk shows he too can snarl

ANC 5
27/7/90

PRESIDENT De Klerk has shown that he is not just long-suffering when it comes to the efforts to get negotiations going.

He has lately moved swiftly to challenge the African National Congress, more than once on the question of the armed struggle and most pointedly after allegations of an insurrection plot by Umkhonto we Sizwe elements which Mr Nelson Mandela and some other ANC leaders may not have known about.

While he hit out against the militancy of some in the ANC, he also had a long meeting with Mr Mandela which by all accounts went off well.

Soon afterwards there was another meeting, perhaps not quite as congenial, where the insurrection plot allegations were again discussed. The two are to meet yet again.

Their meetings again showed how swiftly political events are developing.

At their meeting on the day after Mr Mandela's return from overseas it was decided that the two sides would meet again on August 6. It will be a scaled-down meeting compared to the original Groote Schuur one with Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela each being assisted by four key advisers. In spite of Nationalist attacks on the links between the ANC and the Communist Party the SACP general secretary, Mr

Joe Slovo, will again be present.

The most immediate purpose of the talks will be to come to an agreement on the question of political prisoners and immunity to provide for the return of exiles.

Mr De Klerk has also served notice that he will be raising the sabre-rattling of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani as this, according to him, militates against the word and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute in which both sides committed themselves to the search for peaceful solutions.

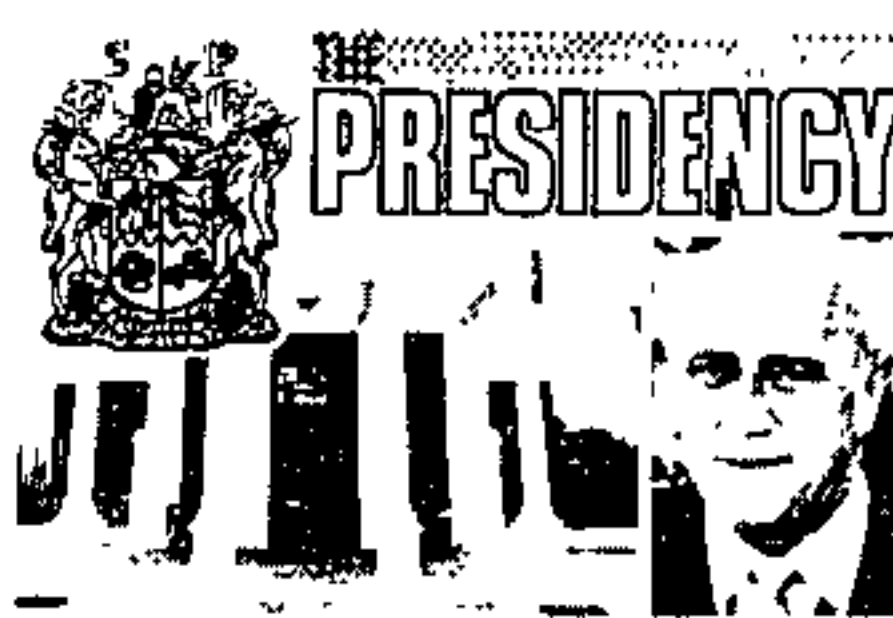
Mr Hani was reported as having said that the ANC might have to "seize power" if the government appeared not to be prepared to share or shift power.

Detentions

Mr Mandela now maintains that Mr Hani's remarks were taken out of context — how familiar this remark sounds to journalists who have had to deal with politicians — and that what Mr Hani had actually said was that if the government unilaterally withdrew from the talks, the ANC would be forced to continue with the armed struggle.

After this came allegations of the discovery of a large-scale insurrection plan to overthrow the government.

This issue is bound to have arisen at last Friday's two-hour meeting between the



COMMENTARY BY
TOS WENTZEL

two leaders. Mr De Klerk had by then been informed of the first detentions.

This week, after the ANC's national executive meeting, Mr Mandela also let slip that he had discussed the matter with Mr De Klerk.

After his press conference he said he had put it to Mr De Klerk that there was a difference between the ANC and the National Party. The latter had been underground for thirty years and it still took time before decisions taken at the top percolated through to members on the ground. He maintained that some MK members were still acting in terms of instructions issued before the Groote Schuur talks. It was not easy to reach them and, Mr Mandela said, the ANC had asked Mr De Klerk to give it time.

According to sources close to Mr De Klerk it appeared as if Mr Mandela had not known about the insurrection plans. The impression also is that he was not opposed to steps against actions which went against the Groote Schuur Minute, having strongly committed himself to it in May. It is suggested that in his talk with Mr De Klerk he may have adopted the attitude of "you have to do what you have to do."

Ground rules

A few days after their talk in Pretoria Mr De Klerk came with a strong statement in which he said that government action since February 2 had been to normalise the political process and no-one had been prosecuted merely for belonging to or promoting any political organisation.

There were, however, certain ground rules. These did not provide for any political organisation to stockpile arms in order to force its will at the negotiating table or in any other way to prevent a normal political process.

Mr Mandela has now made it clear that the row over the infiltration of ANC cadres and Mr Hani's remarks will not affect the process of dialogue between the government and the ANC.

Both sides feel that there is an urgent need to move forward with the negotiations.

The main purpose of the August 6 talks will be to discuss the report of a joint working committee on the freeing of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

First priority

The meeting will also discuss the progress made towards attaining the goals agreed on at the Groote Schuur talks.

The working group's first priority was to define those offences that could be termed "political" in the South African context.

Against that definition the following categories could then be dealt with: those serving sentences for such offences; those liable to prose-

cution or already under prosecution for such offences; and those who were outside the country and who were liable to be prosecuted for those offences should they return.

Time scales were also discussed, including time scales relevant to the phasing out of violence as a political instrument.

The working group also had to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with individual cases.

Armed struggle

President De Klerk is clearly determined to press the ANC hard on the question of its continued commitment to violence through the armed struggle. The movement has also been under pressure from overseas on this issue.

There will not be a mass release of prisoners. But some ANC leaders feel that tied to an agreement on a phased release there could be an ANC commitment to suspend the armed struggle.

In some ANC quarters there is talk about the "cessation of hostilities" by both sides, a term Mr De Klerk apparently abhors. He is said to be firm on the point that the maintenance of law and order cannot be deemed to be State "violence".

In his statement earlier this week he said the government insisted that the laws of the country had to be respected. It was imperative that good order be maintained at all times. Therefore disorder, anarchy and terrorism would not be tolerated.

He announced some time ago that the government accepted the report and was prepared to implement it. As a gesture, some prisoners were released.

The joint committee of officials in the meantime continued its work on the finer details of the report and this has now reached a stage where the feeling in government circles is that the two sides are very close to an agreement on the last major stumbling block to the start of real negotiations.

One of the last snags was removed with an agreement that a committee of local experts should be appointed to decide whether prisoners found guilty of serious offences should qualify as political offenders. At one stage the possibility of foreign arbiters was considered.

Will to negotiate

While some tensions have been caused by allegations about ANC underground activities and the detention of ANC people the strong will to negotiate remains on both sides and there is the feeling that all obstacles must be "negotiated away", as a Minister put it this week.

The moves towards negotiation has gathered such momentum that no one side can now stop this process.

In addition to the issue of political prisoners the government side is giving attention to the review of security legislation, especially the Internal Security Act, which can inhibit the normal political processes Mr De Klerk has tried to restore since February.

Mandela meets FW

304A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday met Mr Nelson Mandela after police detained a senior ANC official who had entered the country under presidential indemnity.

Neither De Klerk's office nor the ANC would confirm the meeting had taken place in Pretoria.

But a reliable and well-informed source said it had occurred.

The President's office said De Klerk wanted to meet with Mandela because it appeared the ANC "does not appreciate the seriousness of facts brought to light" by a recent police investigation into an alleged plot by communist members of the ANC to seize power if negotiations with the Government broke down. - Sapa-AP.

FOCUS

With the spotlight on the re-emergence of the South African Communist Party, the question arises: Are the AWB manoeuvres and threats of violence not covered by the Internal Security Act?

Justice must be seen to be done

3049
Soweto
27/7/90

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

A WEEK ago the announcement of the inaugural rally of the recently unbanned South African Communist Party bore testimony to the anomalous period the country was going through.

This weekend's launch at Soccer City was going to bring all the laundry - clean and dirty - of communists to the front. The country could at last see it for what it is and not what Government propaganda wanted to make of it through its media.

It was too good to be true: communism, socialism, nationalism, Marxism, a new lexicon had emerged - and a glittering vision of openness, too, had set into the psyche of South Africa.

Debate

Through the pages of *Business Day*, the debate between big business and the grey-haired, bespectacled general secretary of the Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, had, under the baton of editor Ken Owen, been developing into a rich and almost benign gnashing of teeth and rattling of sabres.

It was as if South Africa had in one swoop been turned into a country of adults.

On another level, literacy projects were frantically publishing booklets explaining (to workers) arcane concepts that have, during the absence of democracy in Africa south of the equator, been associated with others - never at home.

It was all thanks to the political aplomb of State President FW de Klerk and his historic speech of February 2 when he unbanned all

extra-parliamentary opposition making it easier for communists, socialists, black (or African) nationalists, black supremacists, white supremacists, African supremacists, democrats and, alas, fascists to breathe and dance.

The idea of a legal Communist Party in South Africa was, for millions of (vaguely progressive) people who were born in the '50s, a novel one to say the least.

For the rightists and the older generation - those who chose to remember the scourge of Stalin

and not the classical communism of Trotsky - it was as if God had emigrated from South Africa and Mephistopheles had applied for citizenship.

But something (besides right-wing backlashes) happened during this much desired process of alchemy.

The security establishment appeared unhappy. Memories of not too long ago, when they had the all the communists under control, either in prison or beyond the borders, came flooding in and a wolfish cry went out: "The commies are amassing, let's catch 'em while we can."

Supporters

Forthwith last Sunday the headlines rang: "Crackdown on Communists" *The Sunday Star* was told by "Government sources" that members of the ANC and supporters of the South African Communist Party were arrested for allegedly planning an insurrection.

It was reported that "they" had taken advantage of the climate of negotiations "to pursue their own agenda".

The ANC's Mr Ahmed Kathrada confirmed the arrests but denied "most emphatically", according to *The Sunday Star*, that his organisation was involved in covert activities to scuttle the peace negotiations.

Elsewhere in the same edition of *The Sunday Star*, in a report on



particular area in the country or to induce the said public or such population group of inhabitants to abstain from doing any act in the country or elsewhere:

- * Commit an act of violence or threatens or attempts to do so;
- * Performs any act which is

rightwing militancy on the boil, the South African Police are quoted as saying: "The SAP is fully aware of various far-rightwing groups and individuals who propagate violence. The SAP view all incidents of political violence in a very serious light and full attention is given to them."

Are AWB para-military manoeuvres and threats of violence and talk of an insurrection covered by the Internal Security Act?

Statutes

The Act is as clear as statutes go and says that a commissioned officer of, or above, the rank of lieutenant-colonel may, "if he has reason to believe that any person who happens to be at any place" in the Republic (of South Africa) has "committed or intends or intended to commit an offence" referred to in Section 54.

Section 54 of the same Act is unequivocal, any person who with intent to:

- * Overthrow or endanger the State authority in the country;
- * Achieve, bring about or promote any constitutional, political, industrial, social or economic aim or change on the country;
- * Induce the Government to do or to abstain from doing any act or to adopt or to abandon any particular standpoint; or
- * Put in fear or demoralise the general public, a particular population group or the inhabitants of a

aimed at causing, bringing about, promoting or contributing towards such an act or threat of violence ...

"shall be guilty of the offence of terrorism".

Can the Act not be applied to the rightwing vigilantes in Welkom and AWB military manoeuvres?

There is a remarkable passage in Charles Villa-Vicencio's book *Civil Disobedience and Beyond* (David Phillip 1990) with regard to violence: "South Africa is not likely to escape the cycles of repressive and revolutionary violence before it learns to live in peace."

Police

"Military and police spokespersons have repeatedly warned the oppressed people who resist apartheid that they have experienced only the beginning of what the South African Police and military are capable."

The discrepancies become frightening when the above are juxtaposed to a remark by the extreme rightist interviewed by *The Sunday Star*: "I know for a fact that the majority of the army and the police are not loyal to the Government. If it came to a choice between the ANC and us, they would be on our side."

There is an ominous shadow of the shape of a jackboot over the chrysalis which has already been swept into the gutter.

It's only a matter of time before something happens on the way to peace.

Internal Security Act (X) could be big obstacle Somerset 27/7/90 304A

THE Internal Security Act could become the biggest obstruction to a negotiated settlement, says the Human Rights Commission.

At a media briefing outlining the history and

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

effect of the Act, the HRC's Dr Max Coleman said the Act embodied virtually all of the elements perceived as negat-

ing and stultifying free expression.

He said it denied and limited the universal rights of freedom to speak or be heard, freedom to organise, persuade or influence, freedom to publish views.

At the same time it permitted and encouraged punitive practices such as detention without trial, political imprisonment and heavy police action against peaceful assembly.

"The Act has become an anachronism riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions and completely out of step with the times and with both the spirit and the letter of the Groote Schuur Minute of May 4," Coleman said.

Teachers row settled

By Janet Heard
Education Reporter

The dispute between the Teachers' Federal Council (TFC) and National Education Minister Gene Louw has been resolved after the intervention yesterday of President de Klerk.

Mr de Klerk held a lengthy meeting with the standing committee of the TFC in Pretoria yesterday afternoon. Mr Louw and Education and Culture Minister (House of Assembly) Piet Clase were also present.

Differences between the powerful body representing white teachers and Mr Louw were patched up and relations restored, a statement from Mr de Klerk's office said last night.

It was agreed that follow-up discussions between the two education departments and the TFC would take place soon.

In a dramatic move more than six months ago, the TFC cut ties with Mr Louw following his decision to meet a delegation

from the non-racial and "unrecognised" National Teacher Unity Forum (NTUF).

There was talk of a threatened split in the TFC after a row developed among affiliates over the TFC's decision.

The Natal Teachers' Society and the Transvaal Teachers' Association said any attempt by Mr Louw to resolve the crisis in black education was welcomed.

TFC chairman, Professor Hennie Maree, said in a statement that the meeting, which took place at their request, was conducted in a good spirit and the standing committee was satisfied with the understanding that was reached.

"Certain problems which require urgent attention were identified and will within weeks be dealt with further with the Ministers and the departments concerned."

The TFC thanked Mr de Klerk for the manner in which he handled the dispute.

Former Nigerian head visits SA to see changes 'first hand'

24/71-29/7/90
THE former head of state of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, said yesterday he came to South Africa to learn first hand about changes taking place.

Obasanjo, who yesterday held talks with State President FW de Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, said since he left South Africa as member of the Eminent Persons Group in May 1986, "a lot of water has passed under the bridge". (304A)

"We listened and kept close watch on the events happening in South Africa", Obasanjo, who was dressed in traditional Nigerian garb, said at a photo session at the Union Buildings.

Obasanjo, visiting South Africa privately as well as on behalf of Nigeria, said events in South Africa were of great concern to the Nigerian government.

He said he was impressed with the courage shown by the state president.

During the photo session Botha said Nigeria was, because of its vast potential, one of the most important countries in Africa, for South Africa.

"General Obasanjo is a moderate balanced man and really a friend. South Africa feels honoured by his visit."

During the photo session, Obasanjo said: "The white South African and the black South African have nowhere to go, so we might as well work together in seeking a solution. To move forward as one people, one continent".

De Klerk said he was glad Obasanjo was here in a positive spirit.

Obasanjo, who will return home at the weekend, is still to meet the Deputy President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela.

Obasanjo was head of state from 1976 to 1979 and became a member of the EPG during the 1980s. — Sapa

NR6us 27/7/80 (89A)

'F W has taken most of the risks'

ONE of the strongest arguments of the right wing in its rejection of the government's progress toward constitutional negotiations is the continued adherence (if only in rhetoric) of the African National Congress to the strategy of armed struggle.

It is also one of the strongest justifications for counter-violence on the part of right wing extremists.

Until the ANC unequivocally renounces the armed struggle,

gle, militant right-wingers will be able to argue that they are doing no more than defend themselves and their own.

And until the ANC drops its campaign for sanctions and its doctrinaire demands for nationalisation and radical redistribution of wealth, right-wingers will be able to accuse the government of being in collusion with economic saboteurs who are also bent on depriving people of their possessions and savings.

"Both President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela have to take risks with their constituencies," says Professor Albert Venter, a political scientist at Rand Afrikaans University.

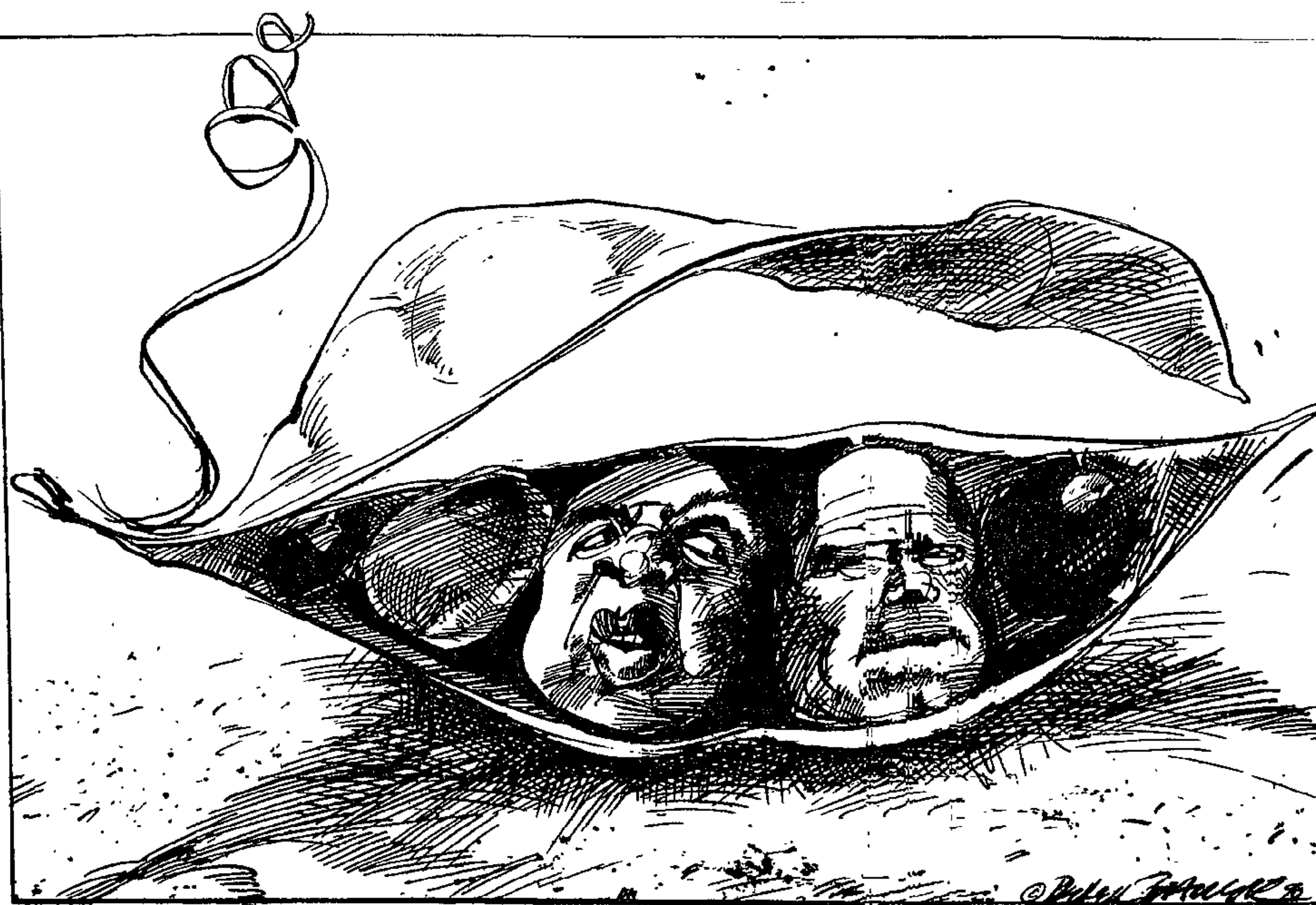
"Mr De Klerk has taken most of the risks so far. Now that Mr Mandela's overseas tour is over, he has to address questions at home, show statesmanship and be prepared to offend some of his constituency by reassuring whites as to their future."

When I left the National Party in February 1987, it was probably the most



traumatic decision of my life, writes JANNIE MOMBERG, MP for Simon's

Town. People don't always understand what it means to be a member of the National Party. It is not just another political party. It is a way of life.



NP 'won't survive new South Africa'

W/L - ARKUS 28/7/90 3084

HAVING been a member of the National Party for 30 years, having been a member of the constituency executive for so many years and having been a delegate to congress for so many years, I knew what it was to be an insider of the party. I will never forget the morning in Somerset West in 1987 at the nomination court when, for the first time in all these years, I was on the other side of the National Party.

Since the unbanning of a number of movements on February 2 this year, many people have come to me and asked me whether I am not sorry I left the National Party now it is doing everything that I had fought for all my life. My answers to these questions are very clear. First, I have not regretted leaving the National Party for one second. Second, I do not intend to go back to the National Party, for a number of reasons.

First, the National Party cannot be the party-political vehicle to take the country into a new South Africa. If one looks at the happenings in Eastern Europe, we can learn one lesson — namely, that not a single party of the old regime has survived in the new situation.

All the parties in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, even Russia today, have fallen by the wayside and have been replaced by new parties. That is why I believe the National Party will have to disappear and be replaced by something new consisting of all those people who believe in the same values. But the National Party itself cannot survive the new South Africa.

Second, the National Party and its members have not yet come to grips with one very crucial decision — namely, to accept responsibility for 42 years of apartheid and to say to the world, and to the victims of apartheid, that not only was apartheid not successful, but also that it caused hardship and sorrow, for which the party apologises and asks for forgiveness.

ONLY when the National Party is willing to accept responsibility for its deeds, and to declare itself openly willing to settle the debt of apartheid, will it have a chance to become a credible political party on its way to the new South Africa.

I fear the National Party has already missed the bus. If the State President, in his momentous speech of February 2, had added only this one important paragraph about accepting responsibility for the misdeeds of apartheid and begged forgiveness from the people of this country, he would have given the National Party the "moral power base" which an Afrikaans daily writes about.

As somebody who fought in the elec-

tion in 1989 and felt the fury of the National Party, I still have a bitterness inside me for what the party did to us, and for which it has not apologised. When the spectre of a hung parliament started to become a nightmare to the National Party, it fought like a wild tiger in a cage with teeth and nails, and on February 2 we were handed the olive branch by the dove of peace.

We only have to page through the newspapers of August and September last year to see to what levels the NP sank in trying to discredit the Democratic Party, to see how its Afrikaans Press mauled the DP and its candidates over its contacts with the African National Congress, and how we were told in the Press and in NP pamphlets not to vote for the DP because it was a dangerous party that was talking to the ANC etc, etc. These things have not changed.

The NP has moved from this to the post-February 2 position with hardly a double step. We are now told that the NP is the only party which can be trusted by the white voters of this country to lead them into a new, fair and just South Africa.

For 42 years the NP was part of an unjust South Africa.

For 42 years the NP rode roughshod over people's lives. One need only read the biography of Dr Beyers Naude to see how he was treated by the Broederbond, the NP, the Press and the government to understand the lengths to which the NP went to keep their rule intact.

One can only look back on the death of

a man like Steve Biko and all the others to understand the depth of despair the NP caused among black voters and to understand why the NP could never have credibility in the eyes of the majority of the people of this country.

I still believe that the crucial thing the NP must do is to apologise for the sins of apartheid. As sociologist Heribert Adam said so well: "It is one thing to admit that apartheid has failed. It is a totally different thing to ask for forgiveness for what apartheid has done."

I have stood up in parliament and apologised for my share of apartheid. I feel clean and relieved because I did that.

The NP and its people believe that by the changes that they have promised they, by implication, have admitted that apartheid has been wrong.

If can never be the party of the future when it is the NP that has kicked the people out of District Six, that has put people into jail because of the Immorality Act, that has put millions more people in jail because of the influx control measures and that has put people into squatter camps because of group areas.

All these things that we see around us today were instituted by the NP. Therefore the NP, I believe, is the party of apartheid and should disappear to make way for a new party with new principles around which all the people of this country can rally.

That is the reason why I do not believe the NP will survive the new South Africa and that is the reason I could never contemplate rejoining the party.

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The Afrikaner desert

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political
Correspondent

PROFESSOR Carel Boshoff hopes to be one of the first to move to an isolated desert region which he envisages as an Afrikaner homeland.

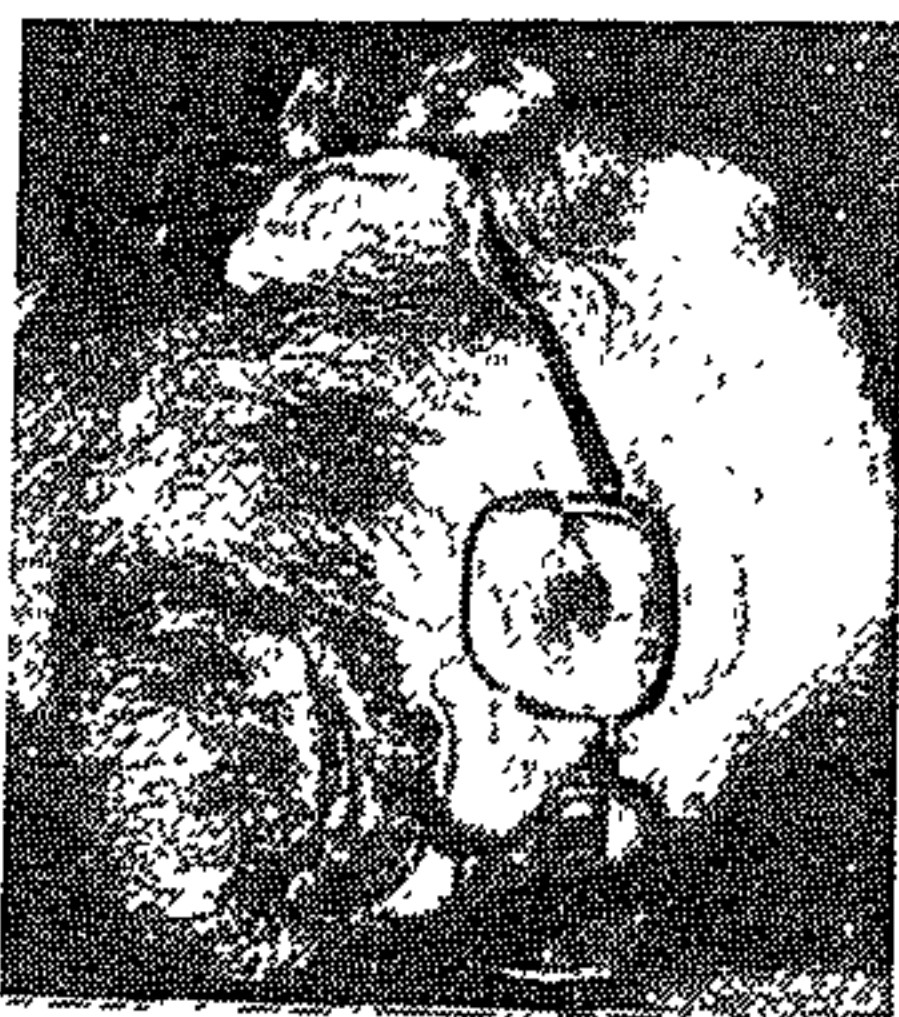
Although his "promised land" has shrunk since Namibia's independence, he is eyeing Upington as a place to settle and as a potential capital.

The former theology professor and leader of the rightwing Afrikaner Volkswag (AV) confirmed in an interview this week he was considering such a "trek" and was now working on the final details of his proposals for an Afrikaner homeland, to be made available for future negotiations.

Exclusive

Professor Boshoff believes the boundaries and establishment of an Afrikaner homeland should be negotiated. He has remarked that he chose one of Southern Africa's most desolate and arid regions "because nobody wants it."

He wants to trek to the de-

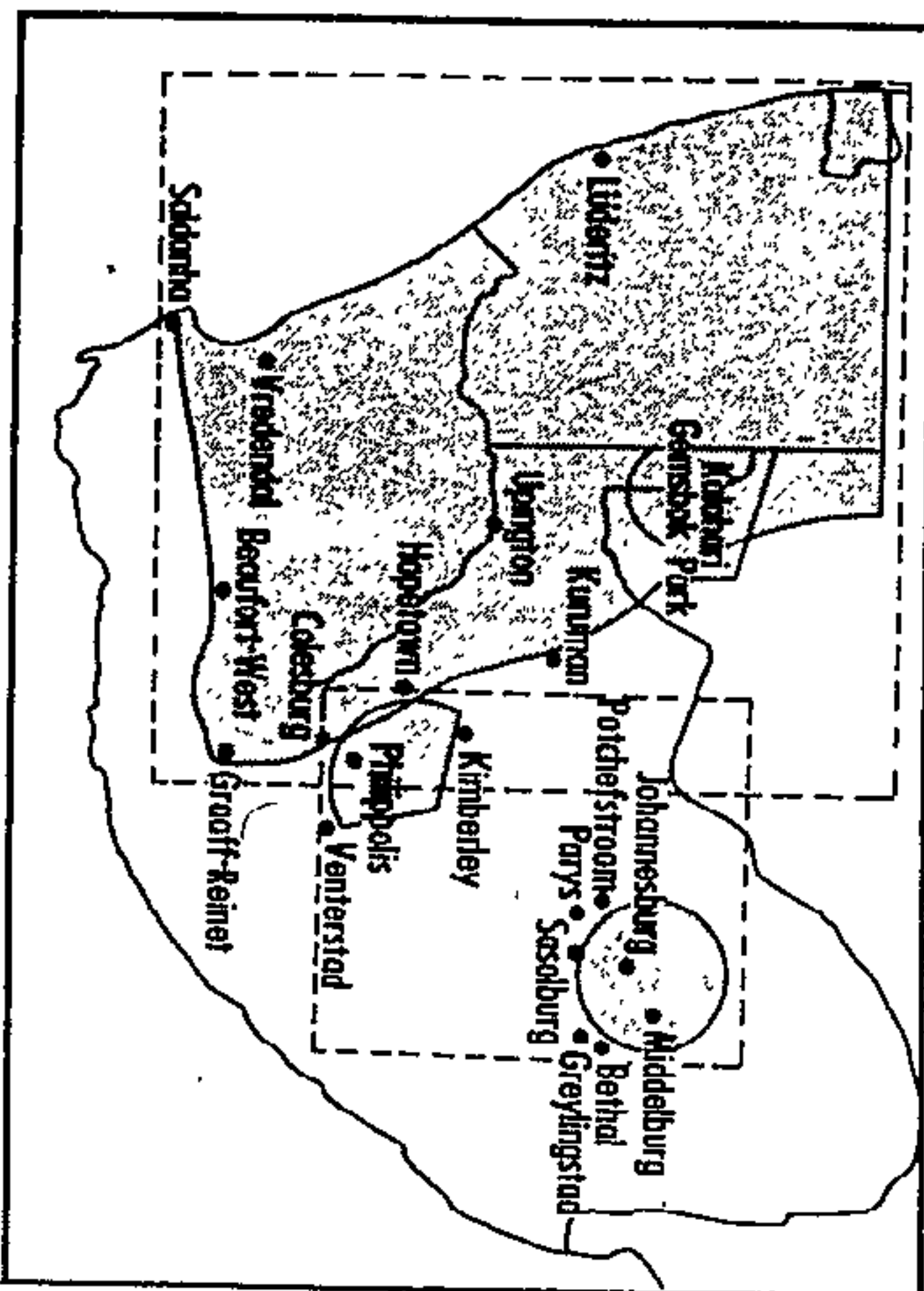


Professor Boshoff

sert regions of the "Orange-Karoo Basin" which includes the Kalahari desert, Namaqualand, Gordonia, the Hantam region and the Northern Karoo.

Originally Professor Boshoff's homeland would also have included the southern part of Namibia, but he had to abandon that part of it when Namibia became independent.

However, Professor Boshoff has not resigned himself altogether to the idea of settling for a smaller homeland. He said this week a proposal worth considering was that South Africa should negotiate a land exchange deal with Namibia.



Carel Boshoff's chosen area for a Volkstaat in the arid West Coast region of the Cape Province.

The homeland Professor Boshoff envisages would be larger than the Free State, and would ultimately house 2-million Afrikaners.

Key towns will include Upington, Beaufort West, Colesberg, De Aar, Graaff-Reinet, and Kuruman.

A Broederbond document, dated April this year, discusses partition as a possible solution to South Africa's constitutional problems.

Professor Boshoff, a former head of the Broederbond, confirmed this week that such a document had been in circulation.

tion. He said he saw a copy of it and believed it could put the concept of an Afrikaner homeland in the forefront of the political debate.

Economically viable

The Afrikaner state will be an independent *volkstaat*. Professor Boshoff does not want it to be part of a future federation of states. He believes it can be economically viable, totally independent and politically sovereign, while maintaining good relations with its neighbour states. It could even supply technological aid and food to its neighbours.

Professor Boshoff is serious about his vision for the Afrikaner's future. He believes his plan is possible and will be viable — more so than existing government and National Party schemes. He flatly dismisses criticism from sceptics that he is dreaming of a "cloud cuckoo land".

"People often say to me they thought at first it was the craziest idea imaginable, but all of a sudden they have come to realise that little else remains but this proposal."

Squatters: Cape Town on the edge

CAPE TOWN — In the future, Cape Town will look more like a Third World city as waves of squatters continue to thrust themselves cityward into the fragile, limited triangle of land between the mountain chains of the Peninsula and the sea.

In toughest decade in its 338-year-old history.

Even purely official figures bear this out. In the squatter camp and fledgling township of Crossroads, there is a population of more than 67 000, with, to date, only 1 669 formal houses available.

Iceberg

In Khayelitsha there are more than 370 000 people with just over 9 500 formal houses to go around. Guguletu has a population of more than 100 000 served by some 7 800 formal houses, while Langa and Nyanga have populations of over 48 000 and 66 000, with just over 2 900 and 4 100 houses respectively.

Unofficial figures put the influx much higher, at somewhere between 8 000 and 10 000 a month. What is clear, however, is that because of its unique geographical situation, Cape Town is strapped for land to accommodate such large numbers; more so than any other city in South Africa.

Add to this the fact that the bulk of the squatter population has no formal income — an Urban Foundation report states that the basic economy of Crossroads is centred on dagga-processing and distribution — and the scene is set for a momentous social struggle around houses and jobs.

Integration

He remained hopeful, however, that integration would occur as the squatter camps gradually developed into "long-term suburbs", bringing in their wake "a bigger labour pool and greater buying power".

A crucial element for such development was the ability of such fledgling communities to take root economically, and Mr van der Ross called on "business and the ordinary citizen" to get involved.

"You can't redistribute wealth, but you can redistribute opportunity. Then people can create wealth for themselves, can pay for their own way and be treated with dignity," he said.

Precedent

To house the stream of squatters, 4,6 million units would have to be built by 2 000 — some 400 000 units a year.

"If we don't do it now, it will get out of control. The Government should set a target and make it a priority, and should have a policy through which many institutions should be used to build homes," he said.

There had been a precedent for the building of mass housing in the 1930s when the government of the day had built such housing for poor whites, he added. He also said unions could play a role, for example through their provident funds. — Sapa.

Town-planner and development specialist for the Urban Foundation, Gavin Wyngaard, who runs a physical upgrading programme at the Masi-phatisane Centre in Crossroads, says Capetonians "must learn to be comfortable with the situation".

"Our cities are going to look more and more like what we see here. South Africa hasn't got the resources to provide for all its people, and by the turn of the century we'll see squatter settlements doubling in size," he said.

According to him, the root of the problem is low incomes and a scarcity of jobs, which have virtually forced people into the cities. This was he said, also attributable to the abolition of the pass laws and influx control.

"More and more people are going to come to the cities. People have to get comfortable with that fact. They will come because they've identified life in the city as a way of improving their lot, and we must help them address their income situation," he said.

He warned that "unless programmes to upgrade squatter communities are looked at a lot more seriously, we can expect the situation to get out of hand".

Already the situation is a political hot potato, even though there is a remarkable similarity of purpose underlying the squatter issue from groups as diverse as the UDF, Government, civic bodies and provincial authorities.

This week, as the Administrator of the Cape, Kobus Meiring, is due to meet the UDF in an attempt to defuse the District Six situation, the UDF's vice-president in the Western Cape, Dullah Omar, warned that "the Western Cape is in for a big shock".

CAPE TOWN
28/7/90

FW and Mandela to hold crunch meeting on talks

30/8/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela will hold a "crunch" meeting on Wednesday to try to narrow the gulf of suspicion and distrust sparked by the latest swoop on ANC members and ongoing police claims about a "red plot".

Both the government and the ANC were hopeful yesterday that the next round of full-blown talks scheduled for August 6 would go ahead — but said that much depended on the outcome of the meeting between the two leaders.

However, the already strained relations between the two sides could be severely tested by further arrests which police said yesterday could go to the top of the ANC/SACP alliance.

4 000 documents

The spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Peet Bothma, said it was not clear yet if SACP chief Mr Joe Slovo would be arrested in connection with the alleged insurrection plot.

However, Mr Slovo — whom the government would like to see dropped from the ANC's talks team — was a "possible suspect" and charges might be formulated against him.

The police were working "around the clock" through 4 000 documents related to the plot "and as names crop up we will arrest people" for questioning to assist the investigation, he said.

'Trust shaken'

Government sources said yesterday that leaks about details of the "red plot" were not part of a government-sponsored plan to embarrass the ANC ahead of negotiations.

A number of the government's negotiating team were apparently taken by surprise at the police disclosures.

A senior government source acknowledged that the plot story had "severely shaken" the mutual trust that had developed between the government and the ANC since the Groote Schuur talks and that it would be difficult to continue with talks unless good faith was at least partly restored.

NEC decision

The ANC's chief of information, Mr Pallo Jordan, said yesterday that Mr De Klerk, in his meeting with Mr Mandela on Thursday, had expressed a preference for the exclusion of Mr Slovo, but added: "Our deputy president could not accept or reject Mr De Klerk's preferences as Mr Slovo was not appointed by Mr Mandela, but by the national executive committee."

He said the NEC would meet within the next three days and its decision would be conveyed by Mr Mandela to the government at the meeting on Wednesday.

Mr Mandela had not been presented with a dossier of alleged SACP-masterminded infiltration tactics at the crisis meeting, he said.

SACP launch

Mr Jordan said that despite the current difficulties the ANC believed the talks should continue.

The cabinet and security brass will meet for two days at a secret venue outside Pretoria early next week to discuss relations with the ANC and its tactics for upcoming talks.

Tomorrow the SACP will hold its public launch at Soccer City outside Soweto after four decades of operating underground.

The British Foreign Office yesterday called on the SA government to charge the ANC leaders it had arrested and urged all sides to "exercise restraint and maintain progress towards negotiations".

● Mr Mandela yesterday met an Azapo delegation headed by its president, Mr Itumele Musala, in Johannesburg to discuss the August 6 talks between the government and the ANC, reports Sapa.

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Top vigilante resigns post

WELKOM. — The leader of the self-styled Blanke Veiligheid (BV) vigilante group here, Mr Hennie Muller, has resigned.

Mr Muller said the group had become irrelevant because Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok had kept his side of the bargain with BV and strengthened Welkom police.

Mr Muller said he and about 600 other BV members would rather join the Police Reserve.

The district commissioner of police in the Northern Free State, Colonel Hennie Heymans, said he was very pleased to hear of the decision. — Sapa

Cap T-11 28/7/90 (304)

'All at risk' in peace process

LONDON. — The peace process in South Africa had become caught in a mesh of deception where everything was at risk, the liberal London newspaper the Guardian said in an editorial yesterday.

President F W de Klerk's government claimed to have foiled an armed conspiracy by ANC members linked to the SACP. ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's colleagues saw the claim as a move to split the ANC from the SACP and to create dissension in anti-apartheid ranks.

"The arrest of the senior ANC and also SACP leader Mac Maharaj on Wednesday has now thrust a knife at the heart of the peace negotiations. By insisting that nothing should derail

the peace talks, Mr Mandela avoids walking into one trap set by the government. But he does so at the price of being interpreted to 'tacitly concede' that a conspiracy which he is now disowning did in fact exist.

"And he causes dismay in some sections of his own movement, who believe he has already placed far too much trust in Mr De Klerk.

"Suddenly the smooth progression envisaged by Mr Mandela in London, by which armed struggle would be formally renounced within a space of months, looks a very shaky prospect," the Guardian said.

Mr Mandela's explanation that clandestine groups were somehow still unaware of

the peace process was not very convincing, but the arrest of Mr Maharaj and the issuing of a warrant for the ANC's military intelligence chief, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, strongly suggested a "dirty tricks" operation by the South African security forces.

It was not credible that either Mr Maharaj or Mr Kasrils, both associated with the mainstream ANC leadership, should be seeking to sabotage the negotiations.

"On the contrary, the SACP, to which they both belong, has planned to relaunch itself legally next Saturday.

"The moves against both leaders appears designed to intimidate the return from exile of many of its members."

Now 'real need' for FW to meet Bush

STW 29/7/90

304A

A DRIVE is under way in Washington to ensure a September meeting between President George Bush and President FW de Klerk.

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

Mr Botha would have had to make at least a 72-hour break in his schedule to make the meeting possible.

Mr Baker was aware of this but apparently felt the need for the meeting was great enough to justify the unusual journey.

President De Klerk's advisers acknowledge that the first personal visit between the two presidents — they spoke for 30 minutes on the telephone two days after Mr Mandela's visit — would be a landmark in SA's foreign relations.

Attitude

But they remain wary of President De Klerk's visit becoming a political football in November's congressional election campaigns, which will be well under way by September.

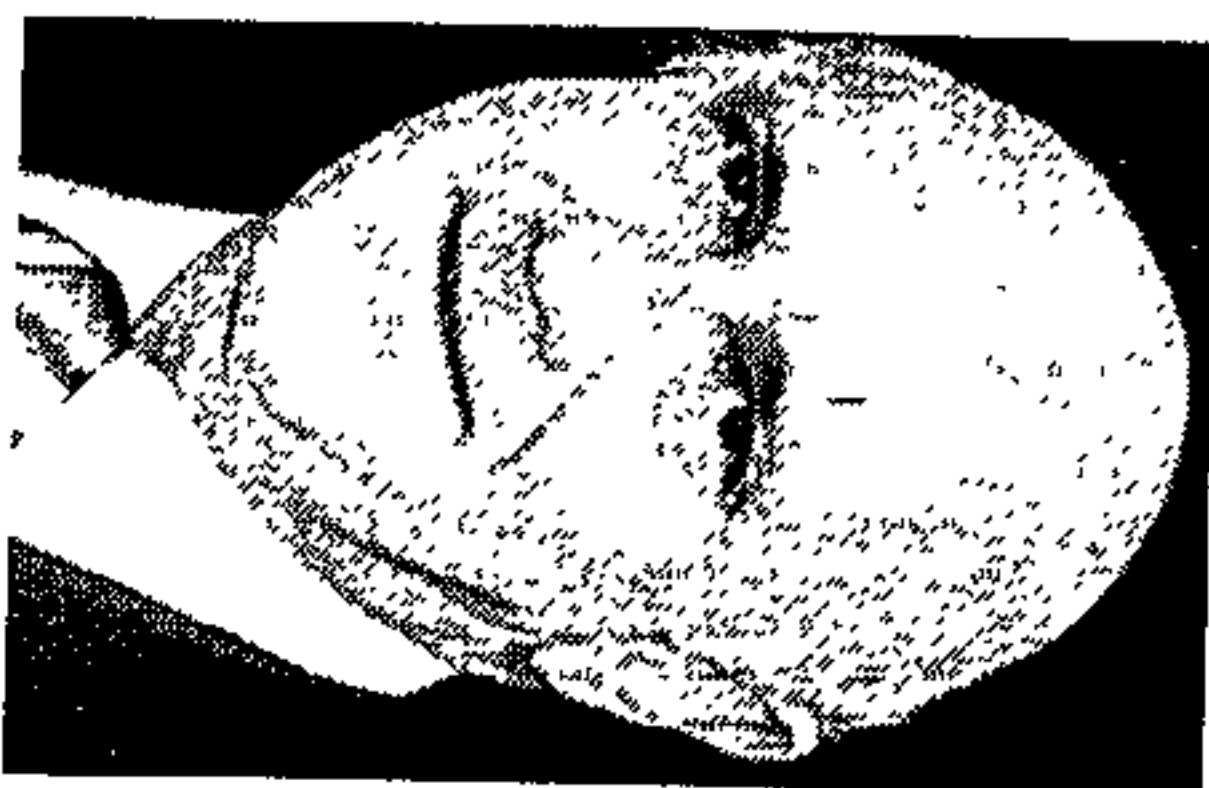
Washington bureaucrats

have been quietly canvassing the issue on Capitol Hill. They say a hard core of left-leaning Democrats remain opposed to a De Klerk visit.

President Bush has already stamped their attitude as "wrong" and the bureaucrats say a substantial number of moderate congressmen now strongly favour a visit by President De Klerk.

American State Department sources say a certain level of protest will be unavoidable whenever the visit takes place and that this should not be a deciding factor in planning the visit.

They say President De Klerk's stature has grown enormously in American political circles and his personal appearance there can help draw attention to the two sides of the South African question.



FW DE KLERK
Stature growing

There is also a strategic advantage in an earlier, rather than later, visit. Mr Mandela angered the powerful Jewish lobby in Washington through his praise of the Palestine Liberation Organisation leader, Yasser Arafat.

Credibility

He also dismayed Washington policy-makers by telling them the US should wait for a green light from the ANC before lifting sanctions. It was regarded as ill-considered interference in US foreign policy.

President Bush is said to be eager to play the role of an even-handed broker in promoting dialogue between the SA Government and the ANC.

President Bush would want to hear first-hand from President De Klerk what the SA leader's intentions are in negotiations and what sort of a post-apartheid society he envisages.

President De Klerk's aides say his personal credibility is a primary factor in the growing realisation among foreign governments — including the US — that sanctions have outlived their intended purpose.

American diplomats say there is "a real need" in the Bush Administration to talk face-to-face with President De Klerk after the recent meeting between President Bush and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

American Secretary of State James Baker recently asked the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, to meet him in Europe on July 18.

Mr Botha declined. His main reason, according to diplomatic sources, was that Mr Botha did not wish to be seen as a "substitute" for President De Klerk.

Govt silent on Mandela denial

Police retract claims about Slovo's 'plot'

BILLY PADDOCK, LINDEN BIRNS
and MIKE ROBERTSON

GOVERNMENT and state security retreated into a laager of silence yesterday after denials by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and SACP chief Joe Slovo that the latter was involved in a Communist Party conspiracy to overthrow government.

Police also retracted their allegation made on Thursday that quotes from the minutes of an SACP meeting in Tongaat in May were attributable to Slovo. The quotes allegedly referred to a decision to stage an insurrection.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said he could not comment on the issue: "Overall it is in the hands of the State President to comment. On the police side it is up to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to issue a statement."

Vlok declined to comment on Mandela's assertions that security police had acted prematurely on information concerning an alleged armed insurrection conspiracy by the SACP. He said any comment from government would have to come from President F.W. de Klerk.

"Enough has been said already. The State President is speaking on behalf of government on the political level. All I can say is that the police are continuing to investigate."

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said that at this stage the President had nothing further to add. De Klerk was unlikely to make a statement before he had met Man-



● VLOK



● SMIT

dela on Wednesday regarding the issue.

Security Branch chief Lt Gen Basie Smit, who is heading the investigation, could not be reached for comment.

"We're keeping you away from Gen Smit as he's had a hard time since yesterday (Saturday)," said SAP spokesman Capt R. Maree yesterday.

At yesterday's SACP launch in Johannesburg, Slovo said there were "three lies" in the police version — he was not at the Tongaat meeting; he had never said a ceasefire signed by government and the ANC would not apply to the SACP; and Operation Vula was an ANC project, not an SACP one.

□ To Page 2

Slovo

At the weekend Slovo said he was in Lusaka at the time of the SACP meeting in Tongaat on May 19 and 20 and his passport, copies of which are in Business Day's possession, appears to bear this out showing he left SA on May 14 and returned on May 21. Slovo and ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu also said the "Comrade Joe" referred to in the minutes of the Tongaat meeting was not Slovo but senior party official Joe Magusa.

Slovo said he had a legitimate passport and visas and there was no reason to enter the country surreptitiously.

He said the police were either trying to upset negotiations or were incompetent.

At the weekend Mandela said Slovo would be part of the ANC's delegation meeting government on August 6.

A senior security police spokesman yes-

terday blamed the Press for the "Red Plot" furore which nearly led to the cancellation of this next round of government/ANC talks.

He said police had no proof that Slovo attended a secret meeting in Tongaat on May 19 and 20 this year.

"A Comrade Joe was present, but we don't know who he is. He (Slovo) has different passports under different names, so it's still possible that he could have attended the Tongaat meeting, but we cannot prove this."

He said the media had jumped to conclusions linking the leaked minutes of the Tongaat meeting to Operation Vula.

The SAP was not on a witch hunt, but looking at "specific individuals involved in illegal actions in Operation Vula".

● See Page 4

□ From Page 1

Mandela's response was 'encouraging'

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government is "encouraged" by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's response to police claims about an SA Communist Party insurrection plot, and is confident the next round of talks on August 6 will go ahead.

This is despite Mr Mandela's alleged claims — at a briefing for ambassadors — that SACP chief Joe Slovo would definitely be in the ANC's delegation at talks dedicated to removing the obstacles to negotiations.

According to the ANC, President de Klerk, at a meeting with Mr Mandela on Friday, expressed his preference that Mr Slovo should not be in the delegation.

Mr Mandela also claimed the allegations of an SACP insurrection plan were part of a police dirty tricks campaign.

Senior Government sources said yesterday that the Government had never insisted Mr Slovo should not be in the ANC delegation for the talks.

Endorsed

The Government said that whether or not Mr Slovo was at the Tongaat meeting at which the insurrection was allegedly plotted was irrelevant.

The point was whether or not he endorsed the sentiments that were expressed at the meeting.

The Government is encouraged by the fact Mr Mandela did not deny the Tongaat meeting took place or the truth of the views expressed there.

They believed Mr Mandela was working towards the point where he could say the participants at the Tongaat meeting did not have the authority to make the decisions they made and that these were not ANC policy.

"He could have said: 'To hell with you, we are still committed to the armed struggle and this is part of it'.

"That would have caused us problems."

The Government is also encouraged by the fact that Mr Mandela stressed that the August 6 talks would still go ahead.

DP to hold major talks with ANC, Inkatha Worrall

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Democratic Party is to hold major discussions with the African National Congress on September 1 and 2 and with other political parties and organisations, including Inkatha, soon, according to DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall would not be drawn on the agenda for the September meeting, but said at the weekend that the DP would be "working towards a broad convergence of values."

Speaking at the opening of the new Berea and Umbilo constituency offices in Davenport Avenue, he said the DP had a crucial long-term relevance.

"Unless the things we stand for — such as the concepts of a free-market economy and a multiparty democracy — are used to shape the new South

Africa, it will not be a country that any of us will want to live in."

He said President de Klerk had made the changes of February 2 out of necessity and not because of any deep conviction on the part of the National Party.

"Lots of NP followers are very unhappy and it is now that the DP has to strengthen the democratic culture that is only skin-deep in South Africa."

Dr Worrall attended a DP parliamentary caucus meeting in Johannesburg on Friday, called in the wake of former co-leader Wynand Malan's resignation.

He said the ANC meeting had been discussed by the caucus and that all the members had been committed to a strong future for the DP.

Minority protection, equal rights are 'vital'

PRETORIA — Comprehensive protection for minorities was vitally important, but it could not be such as to diminish the equal dignity and rights of every citizen.

DP co-leader Zach de Beer said this at the annual convention of the National Forum in Broederstroom yesterday.

One of the biggest issues facing a new SA was the need for a full democracy with equal rights for all, and with full protection for the rights of individuals and minorities, he said.

By the word minorities, De Beer said he meant citizens who shared common interests and who organised themselves through free associations into groups or parties.

In relation to the matter of protection, De Beer said he feared the NP might ask too much, so that they indirectly sought to preserve privilege for whites.

He feared the ANC would refuse to grant enough protection.

SA was one of the most conflict-ridden and divided societies on earth and human rights needed protection.

A second issue of vital importance for a new SA on which there was as yet no agreement, De Beer said, was the

EDYTH BULBRING

economy.

The ANC appeared to be sticking to its belief in a socialist system moderated a little by talking about a mixed economy.

This was a meaningless phrase as every economy in the world was mixed, De Beer said.

Nationalisation of industries was a policy which had been tried in many parts of the world.

It had always failed because it gave the final authority over the running of business to government officials.

Redistribution

While it was absolutely vital that the problem of poverty be effectively tackled, it could not be achieved by simply taking money from the rich and handing it to the poor, De Beer said.

To achieve the redistribution of opportunity, income and wealth in SA there had to be rapid, sustained economic growth.

The countries which had achieved this all had free market systems, not communist or socialist systems, he said.

14 killed, 200 held in unrest

PRETORIA — Fourteen people were killed and 200 arrested in weekend unrest, police said in their official unrest reports.

At Inanda, near Durban, a police constable who was attacked and stabbed by several people fired at his assailants killing a man, police spokesman Capt R Maree said yesterday.

At Simale, near Sabi in the eastern Transvaal, two men were wounded when police fired shots at a group stopping private vehicles.

Police opened fire after the group hurled stones at them, Capt Maree said.

A mob stoned a private truck at Khayelitsha, near Cape Town, causing the driver to lose control and career into the crowd, killing a man and two women. The vehicle then crashed into a squatter's hut, killing a woman.

Police also announced the discovery on Saturday of a car bomb in central Pretoria. The bomb could have proved devastating to Saturday morning shoppers had it not been defused in time by police.

Police said the bomb, found in a car in the parking garage of the Hallmark building in Proes Street, was made of a large

number of SZ3 demolition charges of Communist origin.

A police spokesman said it could not be unequivocally stated yet whether the bombers were rightists or leftists.

The Wilson parking garage is situated beneath the Hallmark building, which houses SADF offices, including offices of its personnel section.

Officials at the garage said the car had been parked on the second floor, and an explosion would have blasted out through grills into the busy Proes Street.

Police said a member of the public noticed the car bomb.

The unidentified person notified the police shortly after 9am, and the bomb, already activated by a timing device, was deactivated by police experts.

The spokesman said he was unable to describe the size of the bomb, but said it would have killed many people had it exploded.

On Saturday night a limpet mine explosion extensively damaged municipal police offices in Langa, near Cape Town, but no one was injured, police said yesterday. — Sapa.

Small Labour Court proposed

CAPE TOWN — Small Labour Courts similar to the Small Claims Courts may be introduced to handle certain smaller labour relations cases, SABC radio news reported last week.

A Small Labour Court was mooted by Industrial Court president Dawie de Villiers at the UCT Graduate School of Business Association in Cape Town on Friday.

De Villiers said these courts could play a big role in country areas once farm labourers were included in the operations of the Industrial Court next year. — Sapa.

DEALMAKERS

HOTEL OFF-SALES & DISCO. Off-sales with t/o exceeding R3-million. The largest on-consumption outlet and most popular disco in the area. Negotiate at R6,5-million including land and buildings and the 3 trading operations.

CABINET MANUFACTURER. Long established specialist in kitchens and built-in cupboards. Excellent reputation, t/o R2,65-million with nett of R325 000. Asking R795 000 including stock.

CASH WHOLESALE. Groceries, toiletries and frozen chicken supplier with guaranteed turnover of R8,4-million. A cash generator for R850 000.

STEAKHOUSE. Popular franchise with seating for 220. Sales exceed R1,6-million. Small deposit.

MOTEL ON N2 in the beautiful Garden Route. Off-sales, service station and 3 hectares (7½ acres) with space for caravan park. T/o exceeds R2,2-million. Ne-

NP has three candidates for Randburg by-election

EDYTH BULBRING

PRETORIA — The NP will put up a high-profile candidate to fight for the parliamentary seat left vacant by the resignation this month of DP co-leader Wynand Malan.

NP sources said at the weekend the three forerunners for the NP nomination were Transvaal Provincial Administration MEC for Local Government Olaus van Zyl, President's councillor Glen Babb who lost the election against Malan last year, and Jeugkrug chairman Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

The sources said Van Zyl was under pressure from the Randburg NP to accept the nomination. He has lived in Randburg for many years and is a former mayor.

Van Zyl was reluctant to give up his position in the TPA and become a backbencher in Parliament, sources said. 8/10/90 30/7/90

Van Schalkwyk is considered a strong contender for the nomination as he, too, lives in Randburg, but he, like Van Zyl, is not keen to stand.

There was a black mark against Babb as he did not live in Randburg despite assurances during the election last year that he would take up residence in the town. However, Babb has stated he would be happy to stand if asked by his party.

An NP nomination court will meet on August 7 to appoint the candidate.

A spokesman for the DP said the closing date for its nominations would be August 3.

The candidate would be chosen on August 8, the spokesman said.

The CP has said it will also contest the seat.



MANDELA

Mandela briefs envoys

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, briefed foreign ambassadors and senior diplomats in Pretoria on Saturday. *Sowetan 30/7/90*

He said in a telephonic interview: "I enlightened them on the issues that will be discussed during our August 6 talks with the Government."

Mandela said he had also discussed allegations that police had uncovered an alleged plot by ANC/SA Communist Party structures to subvert the Government.

This follows a similar briefing given to foreign diplomats by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha recently. - Sapa.

Racism must go, *304A* *Sowetan 30/7/90* says Zac de Beer

RACISM was an evil wherever it occurred on the face of the earth and should be rooted out of South Africa's constitution, Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

De Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, was addressing the annual convention of the National Forum at Broederstroom. The forum was formed by a combination of the United Municipalities of SA and the Urban Councils' Association of SA.

He said human rights needed protection everywhere and the constitution should provide it. Minorities needed protection, especially in diverse societies.

South Africa is one of the most conflict-ridden and divided societies on earth.

Comprehensive protection for minorities is therefore vitally important, but it cannot be such as to diminish the equal dignity and rights of every citizen, De Beer said.

Succeed

De Beer said South Africa would succeed only with a free market economy.

"If you want an illustration of what I mean, we must have a social market economy like that of West Germany, not a socialist economy like that of East Germany.

Equal

"The second big issue for the new South Africa is this: We must have a full democracy with equal rights for all and with full protection for the rights of individuals and minorities.

"By minorities I do not mean racial groups - I mean citizens who share common interests and

SAPA

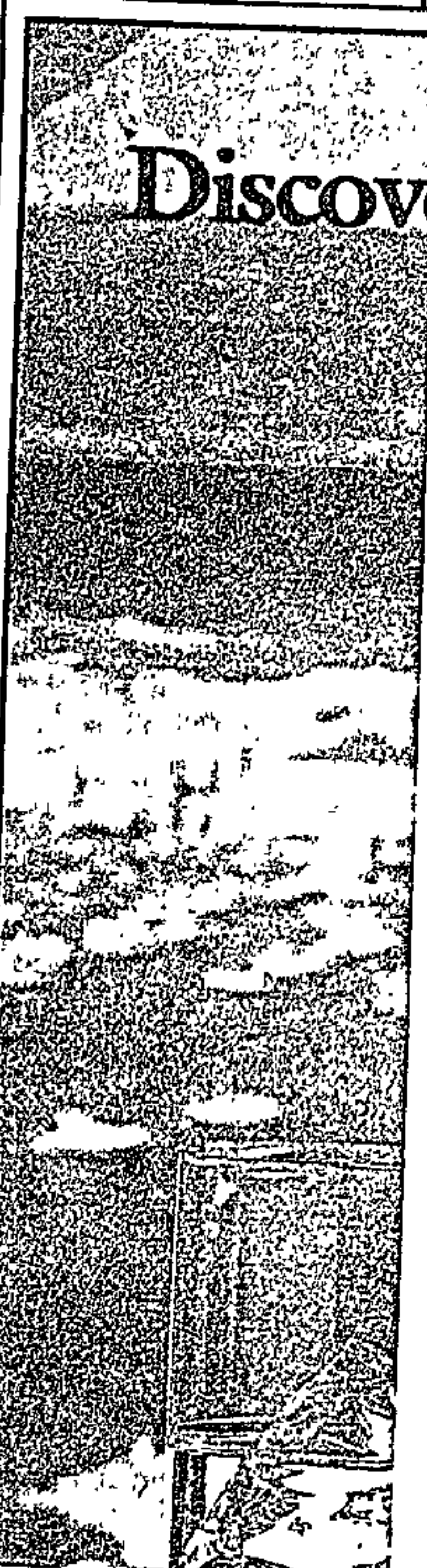
who organise themselves through free association into groups or parties.

"In relation to this matter of protection I fear that the Nats may ask too much, so that they indirectly seek to preserve privilege for whites or for some whites, and I very much fear that the ANC will refuse to grant enough protection."

Free

He said it did appear that the African National Congress had moderated its attitude towards socialism a little and were now talking of a mixed economy, which was a meaningless phrase as every economy in the world was mixed.

"We want to hear that every South African will be free to start a business if he can and if he wants to, free to choose the job he would like to do, free to join - or not to join - a trade union, free to save if he can, and invest his savings as he chooses." - Sapa.



Optimism about next round of ANC talks

30/7/90
9/11/90

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A NUMBER of meetings this week will prepare the way for the final round of "talks about talks" between the government and the African National Congress before real negotiations on constitutional change.

After government allegations of a "Red plot" to overthrow the government, prospects for the talks again look promising with the ANC as well as the SA Communist Party committing themselves to a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

The government is now confident that the next round of talks, on August 6, which are meant to remove the remaining obstacles to proper negotiation on constitutional reform, will go ahead.

Today and tomorrow President De Klerk is chairing a special meeting of the cabinet

in a secret "retreat" near Pretoria.

Some top officials will be present, including members of the Department of Constitution Development and the security establishment.

The focus of the meeting will be to discuss strategy for the coming talks and to examine a policy package to be presented at future negotiations.

The national executive of the ANC will meet to frame a response for Mr Nelson Mandela when he again meets Mr De Klerk in Pretoria on Wednesday. At a meeting last week Mr De Klerk confronted Mr Mandela with allegations of what he maintained was a largely communist-inspired plot to overthrow the government.

Mr De Klerk also has expressed a preference for SACP chief Mr Joe Slovo not being in the August 6 delegation, but is not insisting on this. It is clear

that the ANC will not be willing to drop Mr Slovo.

While officials last week were saying there was a serious crisis of mutual trust and confidence between the government and the ANC, the impression today was that the weekend assurances from the ANC and the Communist Party had gone a long way to eliminate this.

The fact that the ANC wants to go ahead with next Monday's meeting is also seen as encouraging. A few months ago the ANC was ready to suspend talks on the slightest pretext. There are indications that Mr Mandela has come under strong pressure from Western governments to proceed with talks.

The main purpose of next Monday's meeting will be to consider an agreement on the freeing of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

'Determination' from both sides

Talks to go on in spite of tensions

THE August 6 talks between government and the ANC to remove obstacles to negotiations will go ahead despite last week's controversy over an alleged SA Communist Party plot to overthrow government.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said last night a meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) yesterday had decided the August 6 meeting was going ahead.

However, Sisulu voiced reservations on the outcome. He said were it not for a "vicious campaign" by government in insinuating an SACP plot, he would be optimistic about the negotiation process.

And last night President F W de Klerk said in a statement he had taken note of weekend statements by ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela and SACP secretary general Joe Slovo committing themselves to a peaceful negotiating process.

However, a number of serious matters still had to be cleared up, he said, indicating he would raise these at a scheduled meeting with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

Foreign diplomats, briefed by Mandela at the weekend on the alleged SACP conspiracy to seize power and who have since been in touch with government, said yesterday that what had impressed them most was determination on both sides that nothing should prevent talks going ahead.

De Klerk said yesterday in a statement

MIKE ROBERTSON,
PETER DELMAR and LINDEN BIRNS

he had taken note of weekend statements by SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and Mandela committing themselves to the peace process.

However, government was still concerned about a number of issues it regarded in a serious light. These would be discussed at his meeting with Mandela tomorrow.

The Cabinet, members of the white Ministers' Council and provincial administrators yesterday began a two-day meeting at a secluded venue outside Pretoria and were not available for comment.

Sisulu said allegations against the SACP and Slovo had not been discussed at yesterday's NEC meeting. He agreed that De Klerk had been incorrectly advised on the issue.

Slovo has rebutted police claims that he attended a meeting in Tongaat on May 19 or 20 at which he was supposed to have said any ceasefire agreed between government and the ANC would not apply to the SACP.

After the State Security Council and Cabinet committee on negotiations members discussed the police investigation into the alleged plot on Wednesday, De Klerk sought urgent talks with Mandela to tell him that government would prefer it if Slovo was not part of the ANC delegation.

However, since then police have retract-

□ To Page 2

Talks

ed allegation that quotes from the minutes of the Tongaat meeting were attributable to Slovo and said they had no proof that Slovo was at the Tongaat meeting.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday there now had to be considerable doubt as to the interpretation that the arms caches uncovered by police and entry of insurgents was part of an SACP armed insurrectionary plot and that Slovo was part of it.

If Slovo was able to prove he was not at Tongaat, government would have little basis to continue insisting that he be excluded from the ANC delegation.

Meanwhile four SACP leaders who were at the Tongaat meeting said yesterday there was no discussion of a "Red plot" or any military planning. They also denied Slovo attended.

SACP internal leadership group Cheryl Carolus, Sydney Mafumadi and Chris Dlamini

disclosed they were at Tongaat on May 19 and 20. Dlamini chaired the meeting. UDF leader Mohammed Valli Moosa said he was there but described himself as "an ordinary SACP member".

The building of a new mass organisation, its public launch, democratic structuring and the participation of women were the main items discussed, a statement said.

A senior security branch officer yesterday said police still wanted "to put a few questions" to SACP internal leader Ronnie Kasrils, who has been in hiding since his SACP colleague Mac Maharaj's detention last week. They were "going ahead with the plan to detain him".

Police believe Kasrils could shed more light on Operation Vula, the alleged "Red plot" of armed insurrection.

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 8

DP to talk to ANC, Inkatha

DURBAN — The Democratic Party is to hold discussions with the ANC on September 1 and 2, and with other political parties and organisations, including Inkatha, soon, DP co-leader Denis Worrall said at the weekend.

He would not be drawn on the agenda, but said the DP would be "working towards a broad convergence of values" with other organisations.

Speaking at the opening of the Berea and Umbilo constituency offices, he said the DP had a crucial long-term relevance.

"Unless the things we stand for, such as the concepts of a free-market economy and multi-party democracy, are used to shape the new South Africa, it will not be a country any of us will want to live in," he said. — Own Correspondent.

ANC-goyt talks 'on'

34/71 By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent (304A)

The African National Congress said today that, as far as it was concerned, the talks with the Government on August 6 were still on.

This is in spite of the detention of several leading members in the continuing row over police and Government allegations that the ANC and its South African Communist Party ally had acted contrary to the spirit of peaceful negotiations.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said after the ANC national executive committee met in Johannesburg yesterday: "Our view is that because of

the detentions it is more important than ever to hold the August 6 talks.

"The release of prisoners is the main item on the agenda so it would be senseless not to meet because of the detentions."

However, she said the ANC decision might depend on the outcome of talks tomorrow between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

Mr de Klerk said yesterday statements by Mr Mandela and SACP chief Joe Slovo that they were still committed to negotiations had not eliminated all the problems the Government had with an alleged plot to stage an armed uprising.

ANC-goyt talks 'on'

FW and Mandela to discuss 'plot'?

CNA-7113

31/7/90

~~30/7/90~~ 30/7/90

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk last night said he had taken note of statements by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo that they were committed to the continuation of a peaceful negotiating process.

He was responding to the two men's denial on Sunday of a "red plot" to overthrow the government.

However, Mr De Klerk said their comments did not eliminate all the problems.

"Various matters, which the government considers to be serious, will still have to be cleared up," he said.

This indicates that the president will probably raise the issue with Mr Mandela at their scheduled meeting tomorrow.

Mr De Klerk added that "the normal legal processes will continue in any event".

The cabinet, members of the white Ministers' Council and provincial administrators yesterday began a two-day meeting at a secluded venue outside Pretoria.

ANC reservations

In Johannesburg the national executive of the ANC last night decided to go ahead with the talks, but internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu voiced reservations on the outcome.

Foreign diplomats, briefed by Mr Mandela at the weekend, said yesterday that what had impressed them most was the determination on both sides that nothing should prevent the talks going ahead.

With aspects of the plot story showing signs of backfiring, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, is believed to have ordered an end to further public statements on the controversial issue.

All Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet would say yesterday was that the police would take into account all the weekend utterances relating to the alleged "red plot" and weigh these against facts produced by the police's continuing probe.

However, one security source said yesterday police had uncovered "more very interesting information" and were confident of eventually securing a number of convictions.

Meanwhile the DP's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said yesterday that he had little doubt there was "some truth" in the "red plot" allegations.

"I have equally little doubt that the Nationalist Party government prefers to use these events for propaganda purposes rather than deal with them effectively," he said.

● Communists unveil 'secret minutes'

— Page 2

Mandela and FW to meet

THE Office of the State President confirmed yesterday that Mr FW de Klerk will meet deputy president of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said the time and place of the meeting has yet to be finalised.

Sowetan 31/7/90
In the meantime the special "planning session" by the Cabinet and political functionaries started yesterday at a secret place outside Pretoria. The session will last two days. (10) (304A)

The next round of talks between the ANC and the Government will be held on August 6. - Sapa.

All you need to know about deadly cancer

Southern
31/7/90



Change in
SA is
permanent
- bishop

3040
Southern
31/7/90

SOUTH Africa is moving irreversibly towards democracy and an end to apartheid and minority rule. Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya, co-ordinator of Christian Peace and Reconciliation for Southern Africa, said yesterday.



DE KLERK

He said in a statement that the establishment of the South African Communist Party was a "sure sign" that the reforms of President FW de Klerk were irreversible.

"Sanctions and disinvestment should then also be called off now for the sake of peace, stability and growth in South Africa," he said. - Sapa.

CANCER is the second major cause of death in South Africa, affecting one out of every four people.

Recent studies and statistics reveal that malignancy contributes to the morbidity and mortality rates of all population groups.

The incidence of types of cancer varies from different regions and among different population groups, even in the same geographical areas.

Cancer is generally understood as a "typical degenerative condition" that can be found in all age groups. It is regarded as a disorder of cell growth and the result of immune system dysfunction.

Cancers are often classified according to the embryonic tissue they resemble although they arise from normal, differentiated adult cells that have changed from their nature. Cancer begins in a group of cells, or perhaps, even a single cell, that divides, regardless of need.

Descendants

The change is fixed and it persists in the descendants of the affected cells.

It can be said that cancer is a parasite formed from the patient's own tissues and draws on the general supply of nutrients of the body.

The alienated cancerous tissue cells are not subject to cell growth control and reproduce themselves proliferatively until they finally outnumber the healthy and normal cell count of the body.

The following types of cancers have been proved statistically in South Africa:

* Cancer of the respiratory tract occurs more frequently among white and coloured men;

* Breast cancer has the highest incidence among white women;

* Black people, especially those from Transkei and Swaziland, have a higher incidence of cancer of the mouth cavity, paranasal sinuses and oesophagus;

* Black and coloured women have a higher incidence of cervical cancer;

* Cancer of the stomach is most frequently found among the coloureds, followed by whites and Asians;

* Skin cancer is found more often among whites; and

* White men are the most frequently affected by cancer of the prostate gland.

Symposium

A symposium on learning about and understanding cancer has been organised by the Institute for Complementary Health in association with the Training and Communication Forum on August 11.

The seminar, to be held at Eskom Training College, Dale Road, Halfway House, will deal with the causes, treatment, nutrition and prevention of cancer and various other aspects including the understanding of the dying process.

Medical and paramedical professionals, nurses, pharmacists, health care workers, cancer patients and their families and any interested persons are welcome to attend.

"The symposium will enable all delegates to become more familiar with the concept of accepting more responsibility for their own health and that of their families," says the institute.

Booking is essential. Telephone 805-1842 in Johannesburg.

DEMOCRACY

(304A)

Southern
31/7/90

What does it really mean?

By JOHN KANE-BERMAN,
executive director of the South African Institute of Race
Relations.

FOCUS

IN the 1990s South Africa will move towards racially mixed government.

We have had three constitutions, the first, operative from 1910, gave power to the white minority, the second turned us into a republic in 1961; the third, enacted in 1983 and launched a year later, brought the coloured and Indian minorities into parliament.

Now, at long last, a parliament elected by all South Africans is on the cards. No longer will Africans be allowed to vote only for homeland assemblies.

This means a new constitution, which most people agree must be the product of negotiation.

Equally, the new constitution, unlike its predecessors, must be fully democratic. What precisely does this mean?

Elections

The mere term "democracy" on its own does not tell us much about itself, because many governments which do not allow genuine elections also call themselves democratic.

Democracy was once defined as "government of the people, by the people, for the people." But who are the people? How do they govern when there are 36 million of them, as there are in South Africa.

Day-to-day involvement in government by all of the people would be chaotic, even if we confine the vote to adults. (It seems pointless for anyone now to argue the case for a qualified franchise since no black political organisation of any consequence would even contemplate it).

In ancient Greece people with the vote (those who were not slaves) used to gather in the marketplace to make political decisions. You cannot do this in a modern society with a population running into millions and spread over thousands of square kilometres.

If all the people cannot vote on every issue, they need to choose representatives to do it for them. So in practice democratic government means representatives to do it for them.

The voters need to ensure that such representatives do act in the interests of those who have chosen them.

Dissatisfied

They also need to make sure that if they are dissatisfied with their representatives they can get rid of them. Therefore democracy means not only representative government but also periodic elections.

The purpose of periodic elections is to call governments to account. There is much talk of accountability these days, but in politics the only kind that really works is the kind that enables the voters to get rid of governments they don't like, in an orderly fashion.

Contrast the violence that the people of Rumania used to get rid of Mr and Mrs Ceausescu with what happens in Downing Street when there is a change of government. The new prime minister walks in the front door of his (or her) official residence while the old prime minister slips quietly out the back. No courts martial, no executions, no blood.

The defeated leader no doubt feels hurt and humiliated, but the whole nation can congratulate itself on the efficient and dignified manner in which it can show who's really boss.

Only in such political systems do ministers remember that the word they use to describe them-

selves is the Latin for servant. Their bosses are the ordinary people of the land who decide which minister they want and for how long they want them.

Fighting elections is costly. Single individuals do not have the money or the resources or the time to do it. They do the next best thing instead: those of like mind or interest club together so that they can act collectively.

They can choose their representatives. They can pool their resources and their energies to get their representatives into government.

By acting collectively, they can change the government. If the political system allows them to do this at periodic intervals, they are much more likely to act peacefully than violently.

This is where political parties come in. They do not feature in standard definitions of democracy, but they are in fact the secret of the system.

The political party is the device that enables people of different backgrounds and interests to come together politically. It provides a vehicle by which people of like mind can get together to express, protect, and promote their interests.

If everyone in South Africa had the same views about everything, they would all presumably join the same party and there would be no others. But most of us probably differ in our views about some things from even our families and friends.

In the society as a whole the differences will be even wider.

Different

That is why we have - and need to have - so many different parties.

When our legal and political system becomes colour-blind, we will still be a country of different opinions, different languages, different ideologies, different cultures, and different religions.

We will also still be a society of rich and poor, urban and rural, worker and peasant, big business and small business, employed and unemployed, educated and illiterate, housed and homeless. Genuinely representative government needs to ensure that all these differing interest groups are taken into account when political decisions are made.

In a society where people are free to make choice, these different views and interests are likely to organise themselves into parties. Periodic elections are the means by which people choose between the parties.

One has only to remember the diversity of our population to recognise instantly the impracticability of any claim that only one-party is needed to speak for it. It would mean that those who do not happen to agree with that single party's policy or like its leadership must either toe the line anyway or be excluded from the formal political process altogether.

They are left with two alternatives: swallowing their disagreement, or trying to overthrow that process and replace it with one they like.

Some people argue that a multi-party system in South Africa will exacerbate tribal conflict. The point about multi-party systems is that if different tribes do have differences they can channel



JOHN KANE-BERMAN

these into democratic political competition instead of expressing them violently.

If the government does something that you as an individual do not like - if it taxes you too heavily, or doesn't build decent roads, or spends money on airports when you would rather it would rather it built houses - you have three choices.

The first is to moan to your friends and do nothing. The second, in a one-party system, is to join that party and voice your complaint. You would obviously have to do so openly, but you may be scared of doing this because that party controls the police and the army and everything else and can punish you. This may cause you so much anger and frustration that you conspire with others to use violence against the government.

System

Thirdly, in a multi-party system, you can join another party with others who are dissatisfied and you will then have allies. That party's leadership may see your complaint as a means of mobilising many other people who have the same complaint against the government and so bringing about its electoral defeat.

Finally there is the secret ballot. Anyone who has ever disagreed with what is being said at a political or other meeting but been afraid to say so, will know how important it is. It guarantees you the right to make a free choice without fearing that you will be ridiculed or punished.

And the choice must be a real one, not, as in one-party systems, between two members of the same party. The main difference between real democracies and countries that are democracies only in name is that the real ones have two or more parties and the nominal democracies only one.

Few people in favour of one-party states are proclaiming this openly. Few people committed to one-party systems are likely to say,

before they get into power that they will ban all their opponents when and if they do. When the South African Government says it wants to get rid of racial discrimination, we say "That sounds promising, but let's see you do it."

We need to apply the same healthy scepticism to its opponents. "You say you favour multi-party democracy, but let's see you prove it."

Democratic behaviour is not something that people must promise for the future, it is something that must be practised in the present.

Politics

We would therefore do well to scrutinise everyone's behaviour while they are still in opposition. And the worrying thing here is the intolerance which seems so prevalent in left-wing politics. Of course, the left does not have a monopoly of intolerance. The right has always been intolerant and still is, sometimes violently so.

What is new in the last five years is the growing intolerance on the left. More than half the fatalities in political violence in this period are accounted for by conflict within the black community in various parts of the country.

Unlike in the 1970s, violent coercion is now all too common in strikes.

Nor has intolerance been confined to black areas. It has marred the reputations of some South African universities too.

The striking thing about all this intolerance is not its position to apartheid, but its intolerance of other opponents of apartheid.

Worst of all the second half of the 1980s has seen the advent of the necklace. According to official figures, 392 people died by necklacing between 1984 and 1987. More than 20 have died this year.

The necklace is a symbol, the tip of an iceberg. In part it is the outcome of mob rule. Much more

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All-party indaba to focus on future

Sowetan 31/7/90

304A

SOUTH Africans of all political persuasions will come together at a three-day conference in Johannesburg this month to share their views on the country's future.

The mammoth conference, organised and hosted by the Five Freedoms Forum, will bring together about 800 participants from MPs from all parties

SOWETAN Correspondent

represented in Parliament and extra-parliamentary groups such as the ANC, the UDF, the SACP and Inkatha.

Also attending will be officials from various Government departments, opinion-makers, businessmen and academics.

FFF spokeswoman

Gael Neke said the conference, entitled "South Africa at a Turning Point - Negotiations and Beyond", will focus on the need for wide discussion on the problems facing South Africa.

Neke said members of the public will have an opportunity to debate in small groups with politicians and experts at the August 24-26 conference "on subjects that

will directly affect their lives in the future".

She said there will be exchanges of opinion on the process of negotiations, with views expressed on referenda and constituent assemblies.

The conference's main purpose, however, was "to provide a forum for examination of policy-related issues in a post-negotiations South Africa".

Tough talks for F W and Mandela

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

TOUGH talks are expected between President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela when they meet in Pretoria tomorrow.

From statements they have made before the time it appears as if they will clash sharply about allegations of an insurgency plot and plans to overthrow the government. Details of a clandestine meeting which were leaked by the government tried to create the impression that the plot was largely hatched by communists.

In a statement Mr De Klerk said that he had taken note of statements by Mr Mandela and Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the Communist Party, that they had committed themselves to the continuation of a peaceful negotiation process.

LEGAL PROCESSES CONTINUE

"However, that has not eliminated all the problems. Various matters which the government considers to be serious will still have to be cleared up.

"In view of the planned discussions between Mr Mandela and myself tomorrow I do not consider further comment to be desirable at this stage. The normal legal processes will continue in any event," Mr De Klerk said.

At the weekend Mr Mandela told diplomats that Mr Slovo had not been at the Tongaat meeting as alleged and that there had not been any insurgency plan.

The cabinet is still at a "retreat" away from Pretoria where it is planning government strategy for future talks and a policy programme to be presented at the coming round of Nationalist provincial congresses.

The ANC's national executive met in Johannesburg yesterday and decided that the talks must continue.

Mr De Klerk has expressed the preference that Mr Slovo not be part of the ANC delegation, but it is clear that the ANC will not agree to this.

According to government sources in Pretoria Mr De Klerk will in turn confront Mr Mandela with additional evidence about the alleged plot.

● See page 15.

Democracy:

Sowetan 31/7/96

What does it really mean?

* From Page 6

sinister, it symbolises the use of violence to force people to bow your will and punish them if they don't.

That iceberg contains petrol-bombed houses, house-wives forced to drink detergent when they broke consumer boycotts, children afraid to wear school uniforms or carry school books for fear they will annoy boycott organisers, people terrified to pay the rent for fear of having their homes petrol-bombed, journalists scared to report political violence for fear of becoming its victims.

What is the connection between all this violence and one-party states?

Both are the outcome of intolerance of people who want to think, behave, and act differently.

Behind violent coercion is the philosophy that there is a group of people at the top who know best,

The same idea lies behind the one-party state. Its leaders also claim to know best or to articulate "the will of the people." This claim actually holds the wishes of the people will ensure that each and every person is able to express his or her will without fear, and will also ensure that every person can choose between different parties by means of a secret ballot at regular elections.

Colonial

Swapo at one stage claimed to be the only true representative of black opinion in Namibia. The election there in November last year showed how false this claim was. It proved that Swapo spoke for the majority of the people, and nobody can quarrel with that, but speaking for most people is radically different from speaking for all of them.

The election showed that Namibians want a multi-party state.

Had there been elections in Angola when colonial rule ended there, it too would have become a multi-party state. But the elections were denied, and power assumed by one party without giving others a chance. The result is civil war - which third countries have been quick to exploit.

Of the so-called Frontline states only two - Botswana and Zimbabwe - have multi-party systems, and the present government of the latter is even now trying to put an end to that.

How ironic that it should be doing so just when political monopolies are on the way out in central and eastern Europe, where the totalitarian authority of communist parties is crumbling with astonishing speed.

Unlike this part of Europe, South Africa already has a multiplicity of political organisations. All of them are now legal.

This is a strong point in South Africa. We now need to give them all access to parliament. This means, obviously, removing the colour bar from the constitution.

At the same time, all political parties and movements need to demonstrate that although they may contest one another's viewpoints fiercely, they each acknowledge the right of all the others to compete for political power. Commitment to work for the eradication of apartheid is no longer sufficient. Hand-in-hand with it must go an equally strong commitment to work for and uphold a multi-party parliamentary democracy under the rule of law.

Future

This commitment needs to be made explicitly and without ambiguity. And it needs to be more than mere words about the future - it must be demonstrated by much greater tolerance in the present.

People expect govern-

ments not only to protect their security but also to raise living standards. Of course this is easier said than done.

Multi-party democracy cannot claim to be a magic wand to do it, but the differing economic performance between western and eastern Europe suggests that there is a connection between multi-party systems and rising living standards.

It is not an obvious connection, but there seems to be no doubt about which system the people of central and eastern Europe prefer. The other difference between western and eastern Europe is that western governments recognise that it is not their job to run economies as the easterners tried to do, but rather to create the right environment for economies to run themselves.

Where multi-party democracy comes in is that if any government creates the wrong environment it can be thrown out non-violently and replaced with another.