SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. & POLITICS

1990

JUNE
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.

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 Satur-
day’s Voortrekker Monument rally.

It would not be surprising if Buthelezi had

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 possi-
bly 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 devi-
tating 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 organisa
tion he once belonged to.
AWB told to talk with guns

LINDEN BIRNS

AFRIKANER Weerbevrijinge (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 Waterfall, 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".

He announced retired senior SAP officer Col Servaas de Wet would take up the post of commandant-generaal 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

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 Memhrig, 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 Hirach 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 GAVYSHON

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 other areas.

De Klerk's gestures during his talks with Thatcher caused the ANC to readjust its stand and it was only after October 15 that the party was prepared to resume talks. However, the white community, based on a one-person, one-vote system of power-sharing, was scattered across the country. Breaking up the political parties would enable the ANC to help finance the resettlement of blacks. The Foreign Office report said the ANC needed more time to put its political parties under the new constitution, especially to help finance the resettlement of blacks.
Death knell for separate amen

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 new Act is the result of a compromise between the government and opposition parties. The previous Act was found to be unconstitutional and the new Act makes no changes to the existing laws.

Details:

- Apart from scrapping the Separate Amenities Act, the new bill also repeals the Group Areas Act, the Road Transport Act and the Urban Planning Act.
- The Act also provides for the establishment of a new Ministry of Housing and Construction, which will be responsible for the development of new residential areas.
- The Act also makes provision for the establishment of a new National Housing Authority, which will be responsible for the provision of housing for all South Africans.

Washingon - President Carter and Prime Minister Sheinbein of South Africa met yesterday to discuss the future of their countries' relationship. The meeting was described as being successful and both leaders expressed optimism about the prospects for the future.

Bush and Gorbachev claim progress

WASHINGTON - President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev claimed yesterday to have made progress in their talks on issues ranging from arms control to human rights. The meetings were described as being productive and both leaders expressed hope for the future.

But by yesterday afternoon, Mr. Bush had expressed deep concern about the situation in the Middle East, particularly the conflict in Lebanon. He said he would work with other leaders to bring about a peaceful resolution to the dispute.

In a statement, Mr. Gorbachev said that the talks had been productive and that the two leaders had made good progress. He said that they had discussed a number of issues, including the situation in the Middle East, the arms race and human rights.

He added that he did not expect a breakthrough to take place at this summit, but that the talks had been productive and that they had made good progress.

Saturday:

Rising costs to increase tax:

The government has announced that tax rates will increase by 5% next year. This is due to the rising costs of living and the need for increased government revenue. The tax increase will affect all South Africans, regardless of their income level.

Let your voice work for you:

South Africa has suffered from barriers created by poor communication. In today's competitive society, one has to perform beyond one's limits. Millions are spent on educational programmes and personal development. Let your voice work for you.
Whites saying ‘goodbye’ to domination

By Carina le Grange

The negative and strong reaction and opposition of whites, 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 Demokratie (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 talk.

He said he could not see the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Weerstands beweging formulating any meaningful political programme.
Ex-cop is new 'Boer general''

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

Afrikaner Weerstands beweging 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 "Boerenvolk" in order to restore the former Republic, BP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said yesterday. — Supa and Own Correspondent
The 'volk' celebrates

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

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 Boer is 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 Memberg and Mr Tian van der Merwe, have rejected suggestions that the party link up with the Nats.

Mr Memberg, 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 and Services Welfare in the House of Assembly (Dr. Sam de Beer) mean by non-racial own affairs?" he asked.

"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 Memberg 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 forces during peace-keeping operations.

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 forces 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.

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 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 its 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 by his visit, especially about the fact that he would be there before Mr Nelson Mandela.

The African National Congress itself was not overly 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 fear 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 this 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 would be able to hold 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 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.

No so 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 sooner 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 violence and clodhopping.

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

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 dusty 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 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 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.

Supports

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 foreign states connected with consolidating the good reception he has had in Europe and ones which may lead to more tangible results in the light of measures of sanctions that may lead to overseas investor confidence.

While giving him a warm reception some European statesmen have 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 of statesmen appointed by Mr 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 in 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 liberal 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 sources there are obsolete provisions in security legislation which are never applied and which could be eliminated.

The state of emergency is concerned Mr De Klerk will 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 fulfill 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 leaders 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.

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

PORT ELIZABETH. — The owner of the Tsitsikamma Forest Inn, Mr Jan du Rand, has apologised to Fedhass 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 Rand’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 Fedhass (Federated Hotels Association of South Africa).

Mrs Du Rand said her husband had also resigned from all management structures of Fedhass. In his statement of apology to Fedhass, 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.

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.
After all there is no turning back—
and

"No. 312" I.The above will apply to all the

standard accounts of the Bank of Wales, as well as to
be introduced in a special quarter of the year, at
a rate of 1% over the ordinary rate. Any new

account opened in the quarter beginning on

April 1, 1926, will be charged at the ordinary rate, but

with a reduced interest rate. There is nothing

notable about the new rate. The general

interest rates will be similar to that of the Bank of

England and the Bank of Scotland. However, the

new rate will be charged to new accounts only.

The Bank of England does not charge new accounts

with a reduced interest rate. The general interest rates

will be similar to that of the Bank of Scotland. However,

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Shrinking Magnus?

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

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.

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 Muammar 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.
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 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 nonracial 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.

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.
If you want to make some money...

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Inside traders will be hit in the pocket

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Some points to consider:

1. Read the article carefully.
2. Identify the main arguments and points.
3. Summarize the key takeaways.
CONSERVATIVE Party politicians have become increasingly dexterous at veiling threats of aggression in overwhelmingly 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 ouiboum has caused alarm, not least because it raises the prospect of armed white resistance, of broedertuig, 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 P 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 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 financier spokesman, Mr Casper Wyn, 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 or surrender authority over whites.

The CP would mobilize 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 real 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 Oneuwa Brandweeg 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 enquire, but the lesson of history is that when diplomacy fails, conflict is inevitable, what Mr de Klerk called “a morass of violent broedertuig”.

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

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 commandos in secret on a farm in the Boland, Mr Smit 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 lightnings 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 countrywide it might just be in Westkom 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.

The “third freedom struggle”.
The Process  

[Image: A visual representation of the process with text overlay]

The cornerstone of the National Congress is the process of governance. The National Congress is a platform where the processes of governance are discussed and decided. The National Congress is composed of representatives from various sectors of society, including government officials, civil society, and the private sector. The Congress operates under the principles of democracy and participation, ensuring that the decisions made are reflective of the needs and interests of the people.
There are good reasons why the Democratic Party and Trevor COPDEN should be supported by Umhlozi 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 Umhlozi, like South Africans everywhere (black and white), are facing the economic crunch. They know that hospital services in Natal are in a mess — because Natal has been short-changed for years by the Nats Government. And they know that the police are short-staffed, poorly equipped and underpaid — also due to Nats incompetence.

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

But the main issue in Umhlozi 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 from CPA's 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 Umhlozi (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 belives in a social-orientated market economy, as spelled 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 the amazingly dull campaign in Umhlozi.

It is not even trying to explain policies on health, education and residential areas. Mr Adriaan Vlok, asked a question about group areas at an Umhlozi 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 supported 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 that the DP 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 bringing down barriers created by decades of race separation.

Fourthly, the DP is the party of the future as far as whites are concerned. Our policies are no longer the "whites only" policies of five million people, but the politics of around 38 million people.

This is why the Sunday Times last week described the Umhlozi election as "the last whites 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 "whites only" policies, 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 COPDEN and his team have been getting across in Umhlozi. 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 Umhlozi is a completely negative one: vote NP to keep the CP out. This is a red herr- ing. Umhlozi is not going to bring about 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 Umhlozi is that the vote for the NP is a vote for President De Klerk. This is a false argument. Given the lighthouses of the NP, and its lack of conviction, the best way the voters of Umhlozi could encourage De Klerk would be to vote DP.

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

The CP candidate is a charming, retired Afrikaans-speaking school principal of "Vorkrampie" 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 NP 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 flipped in Umbilo he has flipped into Umhlozi.

There is no question that the best candidate for Umhlozi is the DP's Trevor COPDEN. He is a man of achievement, a lawyer, a business man and a known environmentalist. Aside from vigorously promoting the interests of Umhlozi, 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 Umhlozi voters is a simple one: "Vote for your beliefs, your convictions, not your fears. And put yourself on the future winning side."
For the information of our readers, we are pleased to announce that a new feature will be added to our newspaper starting from next week. This feature will include a new section dedicated to the latest news and developments in the local community. We hope you will enjoy reading this new addition and continue to support our publication by subscribing to our weekly edition.

The editor of this publication, Microsoft Word 2013, would like to take this opportunity to express the thanks of the editorial board to all of our readers for their continued support and encouragement. We are committed to providing you with the best possible content and look forward to your continued support.

Sincerely,
The Editor

Microsoft Word 2013
Beating a path of peace to Maputo

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 peace talks, the war-torn eastern African states are in line to bring an end to their path to ruin.

In Angola, the region's western seaboard, reconciliation is already the most pressing aim of the MPLA government and the UNITA rebels.

Reward
International attention, and the focus on SA's diplomatic role, has been moving in recent weeks towards the region's eastern seaboard, where Mozambique has been gripped in a war of near-constant ferocity for a decade and a half. Without the external diplomatic and military activity has reached a crescendo in recent weeks with a barrage of secret meetings between leaders of the region's most powerful capitals - the new diplomatic impetus in negotiations between Frelimo and Renamo.

Two weeks ago, the peak of the five-day trip to South Africa was met directly for the first time since the war began.

The rewards of peace in Mozambique will be measured in terms of the region's economic future, but for the region as a whole, SA's role in the region's future development and the peace it would bring is beginning to be appreciated.

Credit
This is because SA has been a leading advocate of peace - and its desire to be seen as an active participant in the negotiations. It is also something that President F.W. de Klerk has made part of his recent European tour. The talks are very important and SA has not been able to participate in the negotiations.

SA sought for itself the status of international credit broker from Angola's fighting by withdrawing its support for the Angola government's efforts. It sought to establish a mechanism for bringing the two sides together and the talks were successfully concluded.

 Innocence
SA's role in the mediation process has been generally acknowledged as a key factor in bringing the parties together. The talks have been characterized by a genuine desire for peace and an instinct for the parties to take advantage of the opportunity.

SA's role in the negotiations has been generally appreciated, and the parties have been encouraged to continue the dialogue.

Pressure
President de Klerk was seen as the key to the negotiations and his commitment to peace was seen as the main reason for the talks. He has been credited with providing the impetus for the talks and his support has been seen as essential to the success of the negotiations.

The talks were successful in bringing the two sides together, and a peace agreement was signed in September 1992. The agreement has been seen as a significant step towards a peaceful resolution of the conflict and has been welcomed by the international community.
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.

“This contribution made it possible for the Government 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 1988 and President De Klerk merely accepted our final invitation,” 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.

By FELICITY LEVINE

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 Gocoller.

“I feel on top of the world and am looking forward to the trip with enthusiasm,” 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.
A noted author says

Don't twist history

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 Hisron 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 ZK 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 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 1980s 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.
Let’s try to untwist it

KEN OWEN

AM surprised and delighted that Ms Callinicos demands history to be objectively recorded, even by penny-a-line scribbler 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 189).

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 F Bunting was not a Trotskyist. I did not say he was a Trotskyist, merely that he was among those purged from the SAPC 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 Hul . . . contends that his function, along with other committee members, was merely to endorse prearranged 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 Hul 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.
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 Golembiovsky, 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 Peliatkin, on the trip arranged by Business Day.

Golembiovsky, 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 said.

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
Schwarz calls for debate

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.

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

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.

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 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 Kalixe Nyatsumba
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 Omai Smuts Airport the ANC deputat president was asked if he thought the state of emergency would be lifted while he was away in order “to embarrass the government”.

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 grueling 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 faced a particularly tough test after leaders of several countries in the region had indicated during President de Klerk’s recent European 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 “Mandela mania” 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 political head Benin 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 storm 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 $15,000 were levied on trainers whose horses were found in post-race analyses to have traces of potent steroids in their blood.

New 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 whatever 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 metabolized before race time.

“If the pre-race test is positive, then the horse will not race.”

Mr. Napier said that the recent heavy fines levied by the Jockey Club for transgressions would become the norm.

“‘There is no sanction of 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.’”

Gold prices predicted this week

Gold prices are expected to rise this week.

The gold price is expected to rise by 50 cents to $500 per ounce.

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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, unhindered by 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

F.W. and Mandela meet on how to reduce the level of violence
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. (30/4/81) (28/4)

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" Erik 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. (30/4/81) (28/4)

Egan also admitted giving information to his superiors on End Conscientive 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 1988: 669
February 1988 — June 3, 1988: 1,029
Past 24 hours' official toll: 1
TOTAL: 1,698
SIMPSON BARBER in Washington

STRIP ON US POLICY

LOOSEN THE ANCS

FW MUST ACT TO

form, if the national security is to be protected, the atomic explosive must be destroyed. The atomic arms race must be stopped. The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes must be increased. The United Nations must be strengthened to prevent any future war. The United States must be ready to meet any emergency, and must be willing to co-operate with other nations in order to prevent war. The United States must be prepared to use its military forces in any part of the world where it may be necessary to maintain peace and security. The United States must be willing to enter into negotiations with other nations in order to achieve a peaceful solution of any problem that may arise. The United States must be willing to use its economic resources to aid other nations in the solution of their problems. The United States must be prepared to exert its political influence in order to prevent any action that may lead to war.
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 on 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 savours 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 cooperate closely with Congress into the field of foreign relations. It was therefore thought unwise to expose Mr de Klerk to boycotts and, 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 Washington this month was not taken lightly and the US ambassador, Bill Swing, was brought in for consultation. 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 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 organized 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 broderwts.

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 fussy 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 redelimination 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 in the same time be a drift of DP supporters to the NP. Amongst voters to the left of the NP there appears to be the feeling that Mr de Klerk must be sup-

The end of the crisis in South Africa has led to a significant shift in political power dynamics. The United States will play a crucial role in these changes and has vast economic interests in South Africa, demanding a positive approach. This could lead to significant effects on international relations, especially with Europe and the rest of Africa. The relationship with South Africa is seen as a model for similar developments in other countries in the world.
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 trouble spots.

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 flash points.

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

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

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”, 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 victory 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.
A VOTE for the National Party or the Democratic Party in tomorrow's Umhlanga 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 criticisms

Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday that the type of criticism levelled by theologians at his "Third Freedom Struggle" speech at the Voortrekker Monument did not do them credit.

Critics of the speech, which warned of white resistance to government reform, included the moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde 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 reference to "struggle" and ignore what he had said about the CP's commitment to constitutional politics.

He said he had indicated that as long as the constitutional route remained open as a way of restoring political control, the CP would strive to attain victory via the ballot box.
Mandela campaign
Move Lively to offset
Emergency to Impose
Experts predict NP majority will be slashed in Umlazi poll

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 3 600 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 government 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 Vormeulen Street, Pretoria.)
Spymaster 'feared NP would lose'

JOHANNESBURG City Council spymaster Frik Barnard's clandestine investigation into PFP councilors arose from his fear the NP would lose power. Testifying before the Hienstra 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."
FOR PEACE!
THE BIG PUSH

By Charles Moore

Constitution help work on call on all to
Govt and ANC

* * *

May 6, 1990

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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 Congress of South Africa, homeland leaders and parliamentary parties in the talks.

Although a timetable has been set it is said the drive to involve others will start soon.

PAC president Zeph Mathoy said 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 communiqué 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 communiqué 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.
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.
language, appropriated by S.A.'s whites.
'Positive attitude' to Afrikaans found in black schools

By Mcekez Kotolo
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 that 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 Sarina 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 interaction 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 criticized for not only failing to alleviate political violence, but actually exacerbating the situation.

In the first three months of 1999, 574 people died in unrest, according to official figures. Independent monitoring groups put the figure as high as 968.

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 Tiaan 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 learned by now that it has not worked. 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 PW Botha's kragdadigheid policies, characterized by the prominence afforded State security, Mr van der Merwe said.

The emergency was "used initially more against the ordinary democratic processes than against violence. These grossly repressive measures were ineffective against violence but brutality 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 Radermacher 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 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 1986.

Pattern

Last year saw a record number of deaths in South Africa as a whole — 1,463 — since the imposition of the state of emergency.

A survey of political deaths, and the reasons given for the continuance 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, 1,286 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, 691 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, 1,483 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 "paw 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.
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 6 148 votes, the DP 3 314 and the CP 2 428.

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 enthusiastic 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 Belair 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

GABORONE. — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he expected President FW 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

ANC criticises police — Page 3
PAC's Muthopeng off too — Page 3
CP leader Andries Treurnicht being welcomed at a polling booth during yesterday's parliamentary by-election in Umzazi, Durban, which was contested by the NP, CP and DP.
Anxious wait for everyone at ERP
Hammer 'n sickles in Umlazi

Hammer and sickle 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 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 Matthews described the DP as "spoilers" in the election, and predicted they would finish a "poor third".

By CARMELO RICKARD, Durban
Emergency may be lifted today

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 split 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.
Righting Backlash

The number of votes for the CP are very confused as to the results of the election. The split between supporters and opponents is evident. The winning party is the National. The winner's margin is close, but they have held their own. The opposition is divided, with some supporting the CP and others opposing them. The results are awaited with great interest. The future of the National Party is uncertain, but the CP appears to have the upper hand.
Whites reluctant to change, says ANC

From ESMARÉ 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 barking 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 Coetsee, 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 struggled sadly back to their campaign office after the result was announced.
Treurnicht likely to demand general election

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent and MARTIN CHALLENGER, 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 CP, 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 reform."

"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 3,000 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 spell out the implications of its policies. The party had failed to get its message across.

Most poll-watchers seem to agree the results represent a disaster for the DP and a setback, though an 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.

The weather

Cloudy and cool

(Details — page 2)
ANC told: Beware of wasteland legacy

ORGANISATIONS like the ANC, UDP 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, disaster 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'

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.
TALKS WILL BE REPRESENTATIVE

DP hits public department audit role

IN BRIEF

The Department of the Interior is reviewing the performance of the Department's audit role in public department audits. The review focuses on the effectiveness of the audit role in ensuring compliance with internal controls and financial management. The report highlights the Department's efforts to improve audit quality and provide proactive advice to improve financial management practices.

The report also discusses the challenges faced by the audit role in a rapidly changing regulatory environment. The Department is working to enhance its audit capabilities and provide more effective support to public departments.

The report concludes with recommendations for improving the audit role's effectiveness and ensuring continued support for public departments.
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 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

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.

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.

Arulsvinathan Naidoo (Solidarity Durban Bay) said of the 946 posts available in the Auditor-General's department, only 749 were filled.

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.
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 futileness. He soon devised a new assegai, with a heavy broad blade and a stout shortened haft. It was called the ikiwa, 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 ikiwa. 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 help 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 fund-raisers 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 upright, self-indulgent SA you had just left . . . The crowd would sing with the lift almost of a lullaby: “Go well, Umkhonto, Umkhonto we sisebe. We, the people of Umkhonto Are ready to kill the Boers.”

And, fortunately, the leader of the resistance is Christians. “Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned (sic) Nelson Mandela, prescriptive head of the ANC and the man whom Umkhonto we Sisebe, is a devout Anglican . . . And then of course there are Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, and the Rev Frank Chikane, major theologians and major spokesman 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 bantus of the first wave and 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 “incul- sionist 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 ethnic rooted in a golden African “past” which few actually document — did Shaka have it in mind when he invented his ikiwa? 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 marketers 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 new 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 millennium.” 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
The ball of the Department of Commerce will kick off at 2:34.

The regional party chief, who also serves as the local party chair, said that the event will be held at a local community center.

The party's national convention is scheduled to take place in July.

The event will feature keynote addresses from high-profile figures in the state, and will be attended by local party activists and leaders.

For more information, visit the party's website or contact the local party office.
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 R14 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, especially those in 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 A.N.C. had asked for more time to consider a joint Government/A.N.C. report on the release of political prisoners.

Mr de Klerk said the Government was rapidly implementing the Groot Schuur Minute, the accord with the A.N.C. aimed at removing obstacles to negotiations.

"He challenged the A.N.C. 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 A.N.C., 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-Reuters-AP.

See Page 6.
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 Padiachey (NPP 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 divided on continuing Natal curbs

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 dirty tricks type of operation against these groups," he said.

Concessions

Dr Phillip 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 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 Cotte, 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.
CP leader says FW is creating ‘risky situation’

CAPE TOWN — The ANC’s foreswearing 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 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 attempt 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’

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 45% 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 between a working group with the ANC but that the ANC had asked for time until July 11 to give its reaction.

In the meantime 40 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 continuing 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.
FW presses on regard

THE Umlazi by-election result showed President De Klerk's Party, as was known, was being moved by many white voters, as 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 taken their old party to go to the right wing, but Mr De Klerk has has the consolation that, although some of 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 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 those realities did not exist and to continue to live in comfort and complacency.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had a lot to talk about when they met in Pretoria last Saturday.

First of all, the two sides 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." It was said.

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.

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 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 in order to have been added 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 Klerc 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 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 start of real negot.

There is the far broader basis negotiation talks and groups as.

The two leaders visit to Europe.

Mr De Klerk is the speech in Parliament.

Political observer gained the impression that the armed struggle.

On the question Mandela that investors are exit.

Africa perhaps a talk about would scare off the Mandela left for the moment.

Mr De Klerc in hand act.

The country could live ed the development.

While awaiting Commission expect any new cumbrous in a cumbersome to put together a.

They are hoping which might help South Africa.

Meanwhile Mr trouble with his same.

In France the made to France.

There are now rants supporting on sanctions.

The formal ties Act and a new race segregation led to a new wing.

As could have described and said it might.

The Dismissal Amnesties Repeal.

Mr De Klerc deen's Council on.

It was then in the meantime that.

It was then was not playing ing games with.

Since then the ing that he...
FW passes ‘emergency’ test

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 F.W. 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 efforts 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

South African Communist Party and other groups and individuals, but regulations affecting the media, particularly television and film coverage of unrest, remained 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 emergency 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 — Adrian 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 violence 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 protests.

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.
President 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 issues 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.

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 it’s 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.

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.

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Emergency lifted to spur ANC on to talks

By Anthony Johnson

ANC is on the brink ofreefing from the South African National Congress to the National Union of Metalworkers South Africa (NUMSA), a move that could have far-reaching implications for the country's political landscape.

NUMSA, the country's largest trade union, is demanding better wages and working conditions for its members, who work in the mining and manufacturing sectors. The union has threatened to strike if its demands are not met, which has triggered a series of negotiations between the ANC, NUMSA, and other unions.

The ANC has so far resisted the union's demands, arguing that it cannot afford to raise wages in the current economic climate. However, NUMSA's leadership has vowed to continue its campaign until its demands are granted.

As the negotiations continue, tensions are mounting, with both sides accusing each other of bad faith. The ANC's failure to respond to NUMSA's demands could lead to a significant loss of support among its members, who are also dissatisfied with the party's performance.

NUMSA's move to strike is not without precedent. In the past, strikes have been a common tactic used by workers to force companies and governments to meet their demands. However, the impact of such strikes on the economy cannot be underestimated, and the ANC will need to tread carefully to avoid a backlash from a segment of the population.

The situation is likely to remain tense for some time, with both sides determined to get the best possible outcome. The ANC will need to find a way to address NUMSA's demands without causing a serious economic impact, while NUMSA will continue to press for better wages and working conditions for its members.
Dr. Zach de Beer, Parliamentary Leader of the Freedom Party, challenged the security bill drafted by the government. He said that the bill would give the government too much power and would restrict freedom of the press. He also accused the government of using the emergency powers to suppress opposition to the new regime.

The government defended its actions, saying that it was necessary to maintain order in the country. Public order minister P.J. de Klerk said that the government had no choice but to take strong action to prevent the country from slipping into chaos.

Mr. de Klerk's announcement was met with widespread criticism. Many people in South Africa believed that the government had used the emergency powers to suppress the opposition and silence dissent.

Mr. de Klerk's announcement came just days after the emergency powers had been extended to cover the whole country. The government had previously used the emergency powers to suppress opposition in certain areas, but had now decided to take a more comprehensive approach.

The extension of the emergency powers raised fears that the government was planning to crack down on opposition to the new regime. Some people believed that the government was using the emergency powers to prevent any opposition to the new regime from emerging.

Mr. de Klerk defended his actions, saying that the government was simply taking necessary steps to maintain order in the country. He said that the emergency powers were necessary to prevent the country from slipping into chaos and instability.

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US POLICY

Suffering from neglect

Changing attitudes to SA have been profound and salutary among most of our main trading partners since President F W 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 fearfuly 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 swapped by P W 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 questionably 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 Koenen, 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.
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 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;
- 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 "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 where public facilities, including beaches and bus services, have been open to all for years.
An article by the

HUMAN RIGHTS

Commission

Focus

End of emergency a victory for anti-apartheid forces

IN THE ANc's the triumph of the struggle of liberation on June 17, 1994 saw the country's forces united in their victory against the evil. This was the greatest triumph of the anti-apartheid struggle. It marked the end of the emergency, the end of the racist society, and the beginning of a new era for South Africa. The victory was hard-fought and hard-earned. It required the sacrifice of thousands of lives, the struggle for freedom, and the support of the people. It is a victory for all who have fought for justice and equality. It is a victory for the future of South Africa. I am confident that the country's forces will continue to work together to build a better future for all its people. I am confident that the new era will bring peace, prosperity, and harmony to the country. I am confident that the country will become a beacon of hope for the world. I am confident that the country will be a model of democracy and justice. I am confident that the country will be a source of inspiration for people around the world. I am confident that the country will be a better place to live. I am confident that the country will be a better place to work. I am confident that the country will be a better place to study. I am confident that the country will be a better place to raise children. I am confident that the country will be a better place to grow old. I am confident that the country will be a better place to live for everyone. I am confident that the country will be a better place to live for all. I am confident that the country will be a better place to live for the new generation.
CP challenges govt to OFS mini-election

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.
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.

Yesterday the UN delegation met Foreign Minister Pik Botha at Guest House in Pretoria. Afterward, delegation head Abdourahim 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."

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.
Lessons of Umlazi

Lester Venter looks at the future of South Africa’s ethnic politics in the aftermath of this week’s Umlazi poll.

Lest it be forgotten, on the eve of the elections, Umlazi was a white beach. The DP was in full control of the community, and the ANC was barely a presence. The UMLAZI community was no exception. The DP had won the election, and the ANC had lost.

The result has been a great shock for the Conservative Party (but even the CP itself must have been 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 listening.

The CP is exultant over what it was told. The message was short and simple — as politics are currently conducted, the prospect of the CP assuming the reigns of government is well within reach.

Now, the CP can come within an ace of topping 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 wants — SA could become the first of those countries to step dead in its tracks, turn around and march back into the darkness.

If Umlazi spells the beginning of real hope for 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 in the future 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. Its reforms have frightened many white voters. And they, reacting by voting in a manner calculated to keep things just as 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 more 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 no going to be another all-white election.

Even before Umlazi, this was taken quietly for granted in the inner NP circles. But Umlazi does put the issue further: If SA is heading, in the next five years, for its first genuinely general 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 mistakes.

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 reforms.

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 cingling 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

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, 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 Umlaases 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.

For the whites of Umlazi have visions of black people toy-toying through their yards tonight - not to mention when the "new South Africa" arrives.

In this sense, many white constituencies are potential Umlazi. As apartheid fails away, whites will see more black Umlazi 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 Ian Smith 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

The shock of

KwaZulu-Natal

motions in the National Assembly has brought the provincial government under scrutiny. The provincial government was faced with severe public criticism over its handling of the emergency lockdown, which was extended due to the high number of COVID-19 cases. The decision to lift the lockdown has been met with mixed reactions, with some people welcoming the move while others are concerned about the potential for a second wave of infections.

The provincial government has been accused of not doing enough to control the spread of the virus, and there are concerns that the lifting of the lockdown could lead to a resurgence of cases. The government has also been criticized for its handling of the economy, with many businesses struggling to survive during the lockdown.

However, there are also those who believe that lifting the lockdown is necessary to ensure that the province can start to recover from the economic impact of the pandemic. They argue that without economic activity, the province will continue to struggle, and lifting the lockdown is the only way to kick-start the economy.

The lifting of the lockdown has also raised questions about the effectiveness of the provincial government's response to the pandemic. There are concerns that the government has not done enough to prepare for the lifting of the lockdown, and there is a need for more transparency in how the government is managing the pandemic.

Overall, the lifting of the lockdown has been met with mixed reactions, and there are still concerns about the potential for a second wave of infections. The government needs to continue to work hard to control the spread of the virus and ensure that the province can start to recover from the economic impact of the pandemic.
Why the US will do nothing when the party’s over

Recently returned from a year at the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, Brian Pottinger reports confusion in the US approach to SA

DE KLERK: Prays US won’t interfere

BUSH: Hopes to stay out of Africa

MANDELA: Sanctions must stay

The concern of a New York-based anti-apartheid activist recent forum on South Africa was palpable.

"If we allow F.W de Klerk to run around dismissing good faith from his bag, we are in danger of losing control of the process," one expert said.

The statement - honest, but breathtaking in its obtuseness - sums up in some small measure the ambiguity of much US response to South Africa in the wake of the De Klerk phenomenon.

The US has roused to the latest wave of 'good news' from South Africa is one of the fundamental aspects of US strategy. It has been, if not a high degree of moralism, then at least a lack of staying power - so the nation's collective consciousness of the event has been limited and its memory short.

There are reasons for this. The US is one of the few nations in history whose response to the world has not been shaped by a global power; there's no real resemblance to the policies of the long haul.

They have more of the patience, pragmatism or guilt of the Europeans.

This is an important consideration 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 1990 in the wake of all that has happened so far has thrown a party and welcomed his message here.

The physical presence of the courting ANC leader president symbolized for many Americans the fruits of their own contribution to the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

There is a pervasive, if erroneous, belief among many Americans that think about it all that the US was the US sanctions which forced the National Party to compromise.

The US has not only hailed the world's most famous prisoner-statesman, but also put themselves in a difficult position. They have also set the stage for blaming the US when they come under pressure by the whites.

The Namibian issue, to most Americans, is "solved" and therefore not worthy of attention. The indicators are that most Americans are already beginning to regard the South African issue as either or, even worse, "confused," by which they mean the old moral certitudes have become blurred.

Attention thus members 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 peaceful transition to democracy.

Piggybacking on this genuine awareness of fascist policies, the Bush administration in the pre-negotiating phase, has only ensured that the US holds out the credible threat of economic sanctions in the event of breaking the whites.

There is little evidence of this. The administration has thus far limited its initiatives to public, and sanctions themselves have become a bit of a fad in Washington. They would prefer, like Brezhnev, to lie low and say nothing.

Rapid

The US anti-apartheid lobby will not wither away immediately, but whatever deep repugnance of the system and its legacy is felt by the US African-American community, should not be underestimated.

Piggybacking on this genuine awareness of fascist policies, the US administration has come a group of activists who have never South Africa their niche issue in domestic US politics. They are with scant knowledge or interest in the dynamics of the country.

The Bush administration might, with appearances sake, appear to tilt towards the ANC, and it is certainly not about to propose the immediate lifting of sanctions. But, as of 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 somewhat understanding of the dynamics which is rapidly becoming the hallmark of the administration, De Klerk is not publicly pressuring for an immediate lifting of sanctions by the US.

Such a move, if adopted by US conservative lobbies, would merely precipitate a breaking and uninforme...
By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

A UNITED NATIONS team arrived in South Africa yester-
day on an apartheid fact-
finding mission.

They jetted into Cape Town's D F Malan airport just hours after a stern warn-
ing 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 Sumallia'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 "un-
aware" of Mr Botha's state-
ment.

Mr Farah said the team
would speak to government
officials and also hoped to have
talks with President F W de
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 apart-
thed and future Government

He said this would help the
UN Secretary-General pre-
pare a report to the General
Assembly on progress made
to implement the UN Decla-
ration on Apartheid.

The declaration, adopted
by consensus during a special
session of the General As-
sembly on December 14 last
year, calls for an end to
apartheid through negotia-
tion.

The team, which plans to
remain in South Africa until
June 20, will start its meet-
ings in Cape Town tomorrow.

These will be followed by
meetings in Durban, Johan-
nesburg and Pretoria.

The UN officials did not
disclose the identities of per-
sonalities or organisations
they planned to consult.

Other members of the
team are:
- Camedian James Simp-
son, legal consultant and for-
mer deputy director of the
UN General Legal Division;
- Dr Hereselle Chamber of
the US, UN director and
co-ordinator for the World
Decade for Cultural Devel-
opment;
- Mr Leonard T Kapungu
of Zimbabwe, assistant di-
rector of the Office for Re-
search and the Collection of
Information;
- Thomas McCarthy of the
US who is chief of the UN
Centre for Human Rights.
PAC President, says, 'the answer, not negotiation.'
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 intermarriage between the indigenous African people and those people who were brought in as slaves by the colonials, 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 colonials. 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 expect 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 colonials 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 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 colonials. 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 MAFAGO

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 economy 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 renumerated, 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, Abdurahim 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 comment on this point at the Press conference, refused to be drawn, saying merely that he was unaware of Botha’s statements.

The team’s mission was to collect factual information on progress, proposals and measures taken in an anti-apartheid context.

Due to meet members of government, representatives of political parties and concerned organisations in a space 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.

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 consensus 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 Stelios Mousouris of Greece, legal consultant James Simpson of Canada, Herschelle Chancellor 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 26. — 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 F W 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.

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 constitution 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

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 it still calls for the continuation of the armed struggle."

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 to 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 UN mission tomorrow

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

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.

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 UDP, 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
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, according to American Southern African political analyst Pauline Baker.

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 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".
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 flourishing 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 1938 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 103 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, Steincosslipru, Stofoiton, Stepmore, Roosboom 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 Roosboom, a former freehold community situated south of Ladysmith near 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

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.

They include University of Witwatersrand researchers Mark Swilling and Kholisa Shubanc, Idasa organiser Nic Borain, Hermien Kotze and Jan 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.

The silent war of 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 on the minds of many whites who are being made aware that their time is up. The reality of the matter is that the system is crumbling and the writing is on the wall for white privilege and domination in local affairs.

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In platteland municipalities, the writing is on the wall. The reality of the matter is that the system is crumbling and the writing is on the wall for white privilege and domination in local affairs.
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 Servaes 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.
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 supported 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

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 F W 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 Communist 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 on the President’s Council on the ‘rent-a-crowd’ tactics employed by the National Party for President F W 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

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 Hesuis 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 Hendriekse said.

‘No guarantee’ for ending petty apartheid

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.
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 Springs, 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 in agreed portions of the remaining land.

The boers' "third freedom struggle" has begun, he said in an interview at his farmhouse a week ago, 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 fearless subversive challenges to the "traitorous" government.

Sitting in his neatly appointed lounge, decorated with the "Volkstruik" flag of the Transvaal Republic and memorabilia of Boer War leaders, Van Tonder looked an 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 must save the Volk (nation) and we must, when we receive the God-given right to set up a government, do it lightly, and not just throw a bone to the dogs, as we have done in the past.

"We must put together a government which will be strong enough to hold the fort, and not just a weak, spineless government which will be easily upset by the slightest opposition."

Van Tonder believes that 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 licking 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 the 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 being held, and 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."

Van Tonder is insistent that his party's position is historically and morally unsatisfiable. "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 races— 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 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."

Just give me your old cell, Meneer Mandela

The Boerestaat Party's Robert van Tonder believes he's on the threshold of a dream. He speaks to SHAUN JOHNSON
EMERGENCY:
By moving far — but not as far as expected — FW lands the ANC with a hard choice

FW sets a tough poser for the ANC

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk grabbed the initiative in the pro-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 in a difficult position on a set of key policy issues and allowed the government to edge ahead in the contest to control the political space 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 reporters 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 talks. 
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 commandos are considering patrolling the city to combat crime. The Afrikaner Brave Commando (AWB) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) are jointly forming 10 commandos in Pretoria. The coordinator and HNP candidate in the 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.

The patrols would be undertaken after night.

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 Mabola;
* 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 area:
  * the area between Paul Kruger Street and Vredesveld Street;
  * the area between Voortrekker Street and Southdownsberg Road;
* the area from Southdownsberg Road to the plos;
* the area from Paul Kruger Street to Danville;
* the area from Paul Kruger Street to Atterbury Road;
* the area from Erasmia to the Johannesburg road;
* Verwoerdsweg and Lyttleton, and;
* Brits.

Hartung said the areas were divided in such a manner that highways would not divide a region into two areas.
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

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (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 Kaye 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 Weerstands beweging'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 Weerstands beweging (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 re-instatement of the Boer Republics.

— Own Correspondent and Sapa
CAPE TOWN — DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said last night that Stellenbosch academic Sampie Terreblanche should resign from the DP if statements attributed to him in an Observer report supporting sanctions were true.

The report, by journalist Anthony Sampson in the British Sunday newspaper, quoted Terreblanche as saying sanctions and the return to power of the Labour Party in Britain were necessary if negotiations were to succeed in SA.

Sampson also 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 solution 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 British Labour Party — can achieve that."

DP MPs will raise the matter at today's caucus meeting and will insist on an immediate repudiation by party parliamentary 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 sanctions 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 consistently 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."
DP acts to patch up sanctions dispute

CAPE TOWN — The simmering dispute in the DP over Prof Sampla Terreblanche's stand on sanctions appears to have been patched up. 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 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. 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 re-impose 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 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.

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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(15 Junie 1990)

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(15 Junie 1990)

### KENNISGEWING 483 VAN 1990

UITSLAG VAN TUSSENVERKIESING VIR DIE VOLKSRAAD.—KIESAFLDELING 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:

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(15 Junie 1990)/(15 June 1990)

### 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 in The Kitchen Queen, verteenwoord-
In Cape Town

Mike Robertson

304 9th Street

DP set to ditch idea of tribal leadership

The DP is set to distance itself from the idea of tribal leadership, which is currently being debated within the party. The decision comes after a series of meetings with community leaders and politicians, who expressed concern over the potential for tribalism to undermine the party's unity and effectiveness. The party leadership has indicated that they will work towards a more inclusive and merit-based approach to leadership.
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 Dhiomo and director Peter Mansfield — signalled the end of the region's ambitious exercise in power-sharing.

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.

The Indaba didn't invent them, but showed they could be agreed upon by a diverse collection of people representing widely differing interests.

While Dhiomo 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 nonprofit 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 Dhiomo, 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 showdown

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---will fly."

"We would prefer it if trouble erupted because we thrive on that and we are prepared for any eventuality."

The march is 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 Porchefurvroom 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..."
AWB plans trouble on June 16

The day after his detention he was held in Pofchefstroom 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." (304/1)

"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.

NUM publicity officer Jerry Majama-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 Boerestaaparty.

SAHWCO FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE

1 JULY 1990
A dilemma facing the left: To DP or not to DP?

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 extra-ordinary 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 Umzali 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. Umzali made the point again — the government is in trouble, and the DP 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 Elliot. “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,” said De Beer, “Minister (Gerri) 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.”

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.

De Beer concedes that there are different tendencies within the caucus, but none have solidified sufficiently to presage 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 ball-game 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 jester 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 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.
Right-wing denies ANC talks

3044

Staff Reporter

ANNC source doubted the ANC's


Right-wing media deny the ANC's talks

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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 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.
FW feels time for games is over but ANC says the ball is still in
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 organizations; release of political prisoners and removal of restrictions on individual activists; lifting of the State of Emergency and the repeal of security legislation circumventing political activity; cessation of political trials and executions; and removal of troops from the townships.

Mr de Klerk has gone a long way towards meeting the conditions since Friday, February 1, when right-wing zealots have dubbed it "Ted Friday".

He has lifted restrictions on outlawed organisations, including the SA Communist Party and the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He has, of course, released Mr Mandela and literally scores of lesser known political prisoners, adding 40 former prisoners to the list hardly more than 10 days ago.

He has partially lifted the State of Emergency, leaving it in place only in Natal where civil strife between pro-ANC and pro-Inkatha forces has assumed the proportions of the Lebanese conflict.

A moratorium has been declared on all executions and "terrorists" have 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 implication will complicate Mr Mandela's task of persuading European 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 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

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Patrick Laurence
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 has 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.

"We have the process of consultation, co-operation and consensus-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

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 admirable 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 in a situation which does not auger 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 discredit- ed 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 rededicate 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 — 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 multimillion-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 Skiplad 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 1913, even before the National Party was estab- lished — if only someone had cared to listen. A re-affirmation 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.

Loyalties

Some pundits seem to believe that an upturn in economic fortunes, flowing from the thaw in international relations, will eventually win the FW initiatives popular support.

That may well be, 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 smart political tactics, to the role of the NG Kerk in moulding young minds.

The turnarounds applied, positively the same tactics could pay handsome dividends for the president who now has the precarious task of in- forming the hard-core apartheid converts that — to put it in the mildest terms — ‘we were wrong the whole time’.
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 taking shape.

Until a decade ago the NP's electoral success was based almost exclusively on its ability to impose the sub-structures of society to best serve its political needs.

The NP was the "political arm" of Afrikanerdem, or what is now known as the three "sister churches", its cultural arm (the Broederbond and its front organisations) and its economic leverage through the Afrikaner Raadstoestuut and the various white trade unions.

One of the biggest successes scored by the CP since it broke away in 1962 was its usurpation of the symbols of Afrikanerdem — flags, language, emotions. It created alternative cultural structures which rendered the establishment organisations almost impotent. The Broederbond, under the leadership of former RUA 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 they had to be bought by the speed and the extent of the FW revolution.

Its long-time front, the Rapportjeres, diminished in influence as the end in sight.

Afrikanerdem grew bigger. Led by a Northern Cape farmer and former dominie, Mr Louis Swanepoel, it is now trying to shape the Afrikaner cultural activities in spite of political differences — an exercise that is doomed to fail.

The Federale van Afrikaners Kultuurgebiede, which long served as the umbrella body for Afrikaner movements, has similarly lost its clout. Nowhere was it better illustrated than in its back-lash attempts to block the Great Trek in 1988. In sharp contrast to the spiritual efforts of its conservative counterpart, the Afrikaner Volksunie.

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. Dominie of the three Afrikaners churches usually met beforehand to decide who would best serve 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 Afrikaner newspapers to determine which party took control of the local school and what the implications may be on the next election result in that particular constituency.

THE STRUGGLE between the Government and the organised teaching profession, as represented by the Federation Teachers' Council, has its roots in Dr Piet Koornhof's term of office as Minister of Education and the many "promises" of new salary doves that were never delivered.

However, the conservative sentiments of the Transvalse ofereydersvereniging and the Pretoria Teachers' Training College head Professor Henkie 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 Onderwysvirings — in most cases blatant CP fronts — which will lead the conservative rearguard battle against any moves to desegregate education.

The three mainstream Afrikaners churches have also not escaped the cleavages that threaten to rip their congregations apart.

The biggest, the NG Kerk, has already experienced the breakdown of the right-wing Afrikaner Protestantse Kerk and a kernel of further resistance remains with the formation of the Reformatie Bond to prevent a "radical 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, power figures like Dr Werner Eiselen and Dr Piet Rautenbach not only helped govern the country but also modelled and teach their policy but often formulated.

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 Public 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 Jotl Fourie, manpower; Dr Staf Naude, Trade and Industry; Dr Johan Garbers, Education.

But on lower levels a revolt seems to be brewing.

Again, salaries are being used as the sledgehammer 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 increase 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 guns are being spent in front of the Havens 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 the school and professional people whom the Government will increasingly turn to for advice.

The computer generation has caught up with the establishment. The old trunks 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

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 Rambansi, 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.
Why FW must show more of his petticoat

by Tertius Myburgh

Trouble is, though, that in directing his attention — and many of his words — at these two audiences, he has performed a page 17, 1990

mobilising 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 pre-empting the negotiating process. In this sensitive phase, even the term 'non-negotiable' has become non-negotiable.

Nevertheless, there must be ways of disclosing — without impeding 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 his 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 communications.

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 Haren 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 fairest? Even DP leaders should be called in the cause.

It would be a tragedy if the half 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 ability 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 adrenaline-raising as close contact with erstwhile adversaries may be, political survival, like charity, begins at home.
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, last-minute 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, at present, 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 Wyand 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 negotiations 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 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.
Tuynhuys talks with spectrum of leaders

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 Kwa-Zulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — are close to being thrown out of 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 to the leaders again. Mr Mandela's absence on an overseas tour may also have been 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 administrations.

He would say only that he 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 leaders to unite around a charter of basic democratic and free enterprise values.

The signatories to this charter would set out conditions as a bloc.

This would also put pressure on the ANC and other black-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 its form, it is likely to include values such as a multiparty democracy, an independent judiciary, a free press, free enterprise, non-discrimination and devolution of power.

Government sources last night denied 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 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 the organisations collapse.

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said today the organisation would "closely monitor" the outcome of the Tuynhuys meeting.

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 barred 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 had broken up a Japanese television reporter and cameraman and smashed their cameras 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 remains 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 Cup final.

In Germany, European Football Union (UEFA) president Lennart Johansson said the incident further reduced the chances of English 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 was to guard against World Cup violence in Cagliari last night, where police said two English fans were arrested for disorder.

They claimed that the 4,000 police guarding the town to prevent soccer violence have made it impossible for them to pick up customers in the streets.

Brazil's fans' road show has upset the sober citizens of Turin and has been told to cool it — except in the Brazilian World Cup match with the United States.

Aerry fitted out with 100-foot-wide speakers to blast outamba and lambada rhythms has been banned from the city centre after residents complained.
FW DRAWS UP SECRET CHARTER FOR NEW SOCIETY

By LESTER VENTER (Political Correspondent)

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 underway 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 black leaders may be among them.

An important element in the presentation 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 discussed 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 convey 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 Umzimkhulu 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.
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 FW 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 spokesman 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 publicly committed themselves, government strategists anticipate little difficulty in getting parties to commit themselves to 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 SAPC 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.
DP double talk!

George Bartlett argues that the Democratic Party cannot justify its opposition to the NP in the Umlazi by-election

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 P.W. 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 to prevent domination.

After virtually forcing his party to contest the Umlazi by-election, Dr Worrall is now putting forward the incoherent 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." This 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 supportive of the DP - the Daily News and the Natal Mercury - Dr Worrall, as the DP's de facto National 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."

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 milestone 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.
Anthem brings 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 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 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 1994," 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
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, KAISER 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 Southern 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 lifelong 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 lifedamons", 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

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."

"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-verkrampt. 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 “obvi-
ously 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
counties and the seat to the Con-
servative Party.

It led Mr Riordan to write that

Umlazi could “precipitate a di-
saster 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 any-
thing but frustrate morale among
our workers and supporters, and
cause a considerable loss of do-

Also 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 consti-
tution, but said the party would
rob itself of usefulness if it sur-
rendered its independence and
identity.

There is widespread talk,
though, of an election pact with
the National Party in terms of
which the DP will 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 Stellen-
bosch at the weekend, Dr De
Beer said that when the new con-
stitution 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, alli-
ances, even perhaps mergers,”
Dr De Beer said.
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-rollered” 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.
future SA at 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 semiautomatic 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-finance 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.

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 that he did not at all question the integrity of President De Klerk and his colleagues and that 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 remains firmly in place and not until it has 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 Leitonoa Chief Minister Helene Ramokge after de Klerk's talks in Cape Town yesterday with five non-independent homeland leaders.
Real negotiations 'are top priority'

Political Staff

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 Magonethu Buthelezi and QwaQwa Chief Minister Kenneth Mqomeli, ignored ANC pressure not to attend.
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

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 Government - but there has also been an increase in the number who are unhappy with it.

In a Marken Meninge 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

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE intense debate on the future role of the Democratic Party and its trolka 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 trolka system has been spurred by the DP's poor showing in the Umfazi 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 Ramotola 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 Ramotola said.

Mr De Klerk’s statement confirmed that there would be another meeting soon.

Mr Ramotola 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 Weerstands beweging.

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, KwaZulu, QwaQwa, Gazankulu, Kwazulu and QwaQwa the meeting was attended by the four provincial administrators, a number of cabinet ministers and the chairmen of the three ministers’ councils in Parliament.
Straddling 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 Koimonia (fellowship), trying to break down those barriers.

They and other Koimonia members recently met at the home of a white couple, Reg and Maureen Jager, for a "braai" 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 Koimonia.

"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 where there are outbreaks of anti-apartheid violence.

When Maureen went off to spend her first weekend in Tembisa with 60 other whites, her conservative husband refused to get involved. Her mother cried in fear for her safety and her nine-year-old son exclaimed: "Geesh, 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-ruum 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.
KEN OVEN

me too, sentimental
is starting to make
Oh dear, this place

THEME: The man who never lived.
DP argues for a fair deal on taxation of emigrants

CAPE TOWN — Foreign investors who had bought Eskom stock with SA rand would now have to pay tax on the interest, but it was not fair this should be done retrospectively, 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 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 insatiable millions of rand were 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."

"The beneficiaries are professional people and top executives. The shortfalls 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, inability to collect tax due to social and political disorder, were problems which confronted the Exchequer.

Indirect taxation was morally the most acceptable form of taxation when there were no 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 rise 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 2.77c/l for 93 octane petrol. The amount they had been underpaying had steadily increased from 0.22c/l in January to 4.89c/l in April.

May’s figures represent a break in this trend because lower international market prices resulted in the landed cost of 93-

Zilla Efrat

Octane falling from 24.60c/l to 24.50c/l on April to 24.95c/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 0.76c/l following April’s under-recovery position of 0.55c/l.

The landed cost of diesel fell from 44.40c/l in April to 43.38c/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 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
Umlazi ‘will not stop govt’

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 1988 | 669 |
| February 1989 — June 17 1990 | 1 658 |
| Past 24 hours’ official toll | 1 |
| TOTAL | 1 727 |
DP to hold early congress

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 a total withdrawal from white electoral politics, the caucus said.

Explaining financial arrangements 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 statement. 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 165 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 P W de Klerk in his February 2 opening address to Parliament.

The Act was responsible for separating South Africans at every public amenity 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 tri-cameral constitution.

During debate yesterday, Jan Hoos (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, Hoos said.

Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said his party supported the Bill unhesitatingly. — Sapa.
**Warring soldiers come face to face ... and peace breaks out**

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**The paper for a changing South Africa**

**ILY MAIL**

Volume 6, Number 20 Friday June 1 1990 to Thursday June 7 1990

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**TerreBlanche names his military chief**

By CHARLES LEONARD

THE Afskraaner 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 police 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 Ariaan 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 Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) at the Waterfall Festival 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 Piel Relief who was killed by the forces of Diegaan. He called the African National Congress leaders present-day Dengaans and Mzilikazi.

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!”

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**AWB military ‘commander’ named**

To shouts like “Hang Mandela!” and “Kaffir!” he told the ANC Deputy President Neilson Mandela to keep his “claws of our wives and children”.

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 Afrikanaar folk dances, boerboys 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.
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 undertakings 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 (Sacola).

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 135, while the average salary of the 343 nature conservation officers employed by the State and Cape and Transvaal provincial departments was R1 619 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.
SACP to name leaders at legal launch in July

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Communist Party will be publicly launched as a legal political party on July 20 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 ultimate 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

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

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 Amir 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 Quill 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

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 Um- lazi 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 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 set 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 (KP) had terrorised people of KwaMakhuta.

An interim interdict was then issued by Mr Justice John Broome restraining members of the KP 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 new 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 Pellet 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 Boerestaat 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.
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, PW 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.
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 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.
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 Plet “Skiet” 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

*Treurniet no-to right-wing violence — Page 5*
FW offers to see Cosatu to avert labour law showdown

By Peter Fabricius and Shareena 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 and 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 24-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-toyiied outside Connyn House in President Street, Johannesburg.

See Page 10.
De Beer is favorable to lead the DP

BACKGROUND
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

THE first jointly organised conference between Soviet and South African organisations is due to begin in Moscow today. Soviet 21/6/70

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 Andrei Gromyko. (304 A)

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 Sam Ndele 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 action 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.

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 Vyse 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.

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

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.
THE CONSTITUTION

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.

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 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.

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

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 Mitterrand, 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.
DP leadership race starts as troika ends

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 Tiaan 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 predecessor 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.
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.

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 was 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 Skhelyla 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 Kenter, Advocate Zak Jacob of the Natal Indian Congress and Idasa's policy director Van Zyl Slaibert.
DP troika, caucus favour
election of single leader

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party is set to elect a single leader. This change has been brought about by the desire of the DP's leadership to broaden the party's appeal and to counteract the lack of a strong leader since its inception.

Although there might have been a lot of arguments in favour of a strong leader, the DP's constitution has been revised to include the election of a single leader. This change is expected to be a contender. The leader will be responsible for the party's policies and will be expected to drive some members of the party's caucus.

Approval

The leadership will be only one of the changes introduced by the DP's leadership. The party has also decided to adopt a new constitution which will be put to a vote in January. The new constitution will replace the party's current constitution and will be known as the National Democratic Movement.

Approval
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 (SAILR) 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 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".

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. — Saps.
Govt on target

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 govern-

ment is not serious about its anti-infla-
tion policy, it will not come down.”

Circumstances were highly favourable for combating inflation. The rollover 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 benefici-
ation of its mineral products.

De Villiers

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 pro-

gramme “right now”.

Although the corporate 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.
We're in a 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-

ica. In the last six months we have taken goal-oriented and sincere steps to get the election ready for negotia-
tion. 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

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 should 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 the departure point what the militant groups want. It will make negotiations meaningless".

State is in a hurry to negotiate

From PAGE 1

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African Countries

Hygiene, water, and sanitation are major issues in many African countries. The lack of access to clean water and sanitation facilities affects millions of people, especially in rural areas. This has a direct impact on health and well-being, as diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever are common in these regions.

The book "Washing Your Hands" by Lambert, a renowned health educator, explores the importance of proper handwashing. It highlights the role of the community in promoting hygiene practices and the need for governments to invest in public health initiatives.

"Washing Your Hands" is an essential guide for anyone living in or visiting an area where clean water is not readily available. It encourages the practice of washing hands frequently, especially after using the toilet and before preparing or eating food. By adopting such habits, individuals can significantly reduce the spread of diseases.

The book concludes with practical tips and strategies for integrating handwashing into daily routines. It emphasizes the importance of perseverance and community involvement in maintaining good hygiene standards. "Washing Your Hands" serves as a valuable resource for promoting health and well-being in African countries.

Toiletts, public washrooms, and handwashing stations are being installed in many public places in Africa to improve access to clean facilities. However, the effort requires sustained commitment and support from all stakeholders, including governments, non-governmental organizations, and local communities.
New' politics: It’s still divide and rule

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen exposed the government’s assessment of its sparring partners: the ANC, the PAC, the SAPC and Cosatu.

By SHAUN JOHNSON

Gerrit Viljoen ... The ANC’s leaders cannot control all of their people

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 old Udjka group; there are the older released leaders; there are the younger UDF/Cosatu leaders, who 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 reconditioned 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 SAPC.

"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 SAPC 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 SAPC. 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 SAPC 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 SAPC’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 SAPC qualifies.”

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

MEMBERS of the Civil Rights League share the widespread sense of alarm at what seems an inexplicably relentless by the government high time that we appreciated the contribution of Mandela to the creation of a new South Africa.

So who

Walter S.

22/11/90
POLITICS: Democrats abandon their 'hydra-head' leadership

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 mediating 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's" 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 inception; 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 your 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."
Deputy minister and ANC men at same conference
‘ANC to blame’ if talks delayed

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 Marias' death threat

Reported by: John J. Tierney

June 22, 1990
Saccola backs meeting with FW

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 FW de Klerk and the unions.

The agreement between Cosatu/Nactu and Saccola on an 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 essence 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.
EC will choose in Dublin: de Klerk or Mandela? The

Background
‘Club’ eager to welcome purified SA

Out of London
Stanley Uys

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 to which it could address an extended "family" with shared association 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 structure is multicultural and one which anti-racism is a fundamental principle.

On a more practical level, the Commonwealth implements diverse programmes relating to education, health, science, law, ports, 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.
SA on the last lap - Minister

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 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 hallmark 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.
FW to see Cosatu over Act

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.

Minister of Manpower, Mr Eri 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."
Apartheid fighter for almost 50 years . . .

Huddleston’s dream may be in sight

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 Righiwing 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 jailed 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 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 nowhere 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 sighs.

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 Makhalapile, Zula 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 shrunk 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. - Sape-Reuters

Father Trevor Huddleston
THE PRICE OF IT ALL: Nelson Mandela's life is in high spirits and right somewhat more exhausted. His hectic diary is causing concern.

NEW YORK — The gilt and glamour surrounding Mr. Nelson Mandela's eight-city United States visit are in danger of concealing some early signs that his Mandela's main mission — to press for continued, perhaps even tougher sanctions — may be eroding.

Ramsay Milne

wide acknowledgment 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 tribunals 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 left in the shadows?

Said one commentator: "Americans watching Mr. Mandela's triumphant 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, was asked 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, 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 endorsed 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 beat en with sanctions, is esti tued to be encouraged to wards further progress by the reward of expanded US trade and aid.

Also notable in the ANC's shifting of Chica go, America's second-largest city, because in the estimation of ANC temp rous organizers its mayor, Mr. Richard Daley, who visited, is not sufficiently enthusiastic about sanctions.

Mr. Mandela has also been taken in task for his continuing refusal to renounce violence.

Closer look

One of his critics, Mr. David Barnard, a consultant to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington, said Americans should ask themselves "just who is the real Nelson Mandela" and urging him before facing him in the garlands of Abraham Lincoln or Martin Luther King, to take a closer look.

Claiming that Mr. Man de la's "confusing public statements on violence may be prolonging the suffering in Nelson, he said various sorts of other sens and accomplishments of the ANC called for the time and more meaningful political dialogue.

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, said they that not all Americans have been immediately appreciative of the paper.
Wessels in ‘first’ appearance with ANC

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, organized 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 in 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

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.
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 Siegfried van der Merwe, Minister of Development Aid, and Mr Rosey Royer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

A young NP official, Mr Willem Schaap, 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 explosion, 3 minutes before, was in the Helderberg 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 a small group "declared war" on the government — fled his flat near Brits just 30 minutes before police swooped on it two weeks ago.

And this weekend, as the massive manhunt for the Boere Pimperned centre 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, 33, 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 spells 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 Vlekkeur — the flag of the old Transvaal Republic — and he is flanked by four armed men wearing balaclavas.

Network

Two of them cradle R5 rifles, almost certainly from the SAAF arsenal.

On the 30-minute tape, Rudolph — described this week by a senior police officer as a megamississippi — will stop at nothing to hurl right-wingers into 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 megamississippi. Right now, he seems to be concentrating on recruiting.

[To Page 2]
Hopes fade for early talks

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 that 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 spelled out the Government’s arguments against a constituent assembly:

- A constituent assembly was suitable for the birth of a new state. Here the state had 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, 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 close 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 at price of R10 000 was put on his head by Law and Order Minister Afrikan Vor. 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 Brits, yesterday reiterated his commitment to finding his quarry — with whom he served as a young constable in the SAP.

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

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 TJ 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
CITY INVESTMENT HOLDINGS LIMITED

GoV not fit for Interim Rule — MBEKI

Business Day, Friday, June 1, 1990
KEN OWEN

Only to do good
Who wants power
Beware the reader

[Image of text]
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.
Hostilities soon

ANC likely to end

Negotiations going well, Mandela tells Bush

By David Brauer, Sapa

Washington

Herman Cohen

Chairman of the African National Congress (ANC)

Washington, D.C., 4/12/90

The ANC's final battle for South Africa's freedom from white minority rule may be nearing an end with the announcement of a cease-fire between the ANC and the government of South Africa. The announcement was made by Nelson Mandela, the ANC's leader, during a meeting with President Bush in Washington.

The ANC has been fighting against the apartheid regime since 1960, and the battle has claimed the lives of thousands of ANC members and government security forces. The cease-fire is expected to bring an end to the conflict and pave the way for negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa.

The ANC's victory in the negotiations will be a historic moment for South Africa, and the world is watching closely to see how the country will emerge from a decade of conflict.

The ANC has made it clear that it will not negotiate with the government of South Africa until the government agrees to a full and unconditional cease-fire and begins talks on constitutional reform.

The ANC has also called for the immediate release of all political prisoners and the end of the state of emergency.

Mandela has said that the ANC will not participate in the government of South Africa until the constitution is rewritten to reflect the country's new democratic reality.

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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 and to renounce all violence.

"Mr. Mandela said he would consider Mr. Bush's request."

Consult Congress

Mr. Cohen 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.
Tomorrow's meeting between FW and Cosatu may avert labour crisis

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 1968 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 Boerebestaart Party (BSP), and the Boere Wêrestandsbeveging (BWB), concluded a formal co-operation agreement on Saturday, and immediately came out in support of fugitive right-wing colleague Piet "Sicklet" 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 Boerebestaart Party will give the political leadership while the Boere Wêrestandsbeveging will provide for the organising of the Boer army," the BSP executive and BWB leaders said following agreements reached at their meeting at Sandspur, 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.
FW: Remember me as a man of courage

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 president 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
QUESTION

A GEBEER asks the Minister of Education, Science and Technology to provide the following information on the number of students in primary and secondary education in the country:

1. The total number of students enrolled in primary education in the last academic year.
2. The total number of students enrolled in secondary education in the last academic year.
3. The percentage of female students in primary education.
4. The percentage of female students in secondary education.

The Minister of Education, Science and Technology responds:

1. The total number of students enrolled in primary education in the last academic year was 1,200,000.
2. The total number of students enrolled in secondary education in the last academic year was 800,000.
3. The percentage of female students in primary education is 50%.
4. The percentage of female students in secondary education is 45%.

(1) The Minister of Education, Science and Technology.

On the Budget and Other Matters

The Minister of Finance responds:

The budget for the fiscal year 2023 has been submitted to the House of Representatives for consideration. The budget aims to allocate funds towards infrastructure development, education, and healthcare. The budget includes a provision for energy sector reforms to enhance energy efficiency and reduce costs.

(1) The Minister of Finance.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives moves that the House proceed to the consideration of the budget.

(1) The Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The House proceeds to the consideration of the budget.
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 Congress 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 (Sacola), 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".

Herstigte Nasionale Party chief secretary LJ van der Schyff said yesterday the HNP, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Magsaksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme (MAN) and Genootskap van Reë 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 Servaes de Wet. — Sapa.
De Klerk, ultra-right leaders for talks

TOS WENTZEL

On the Presidency

ULTRA-rightwing groups 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, Magasins Afrikaner Nationalisme 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 ultrarightists 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

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 FW 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 enfranchisement of individual rights in a constitution. The events of 1989 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 overshadowed 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 F W 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 Afrikaner Resistance Movement and the Bureau for Extremist Affairs will attend today's meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. The delegation will be led by HNP head Jan van Rensburg.

Meanwhile, the ANC yesterday condemned "in the strongest terms" what it 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.

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."

From Page 1

"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.
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’

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 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, 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 want 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 contestats 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 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 Ngewukana, 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 Ngwukana added.

Comment

Commenting on the meeting with Mr de Klerk, a Saccohu 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 Weerstands beweging, Magkasi Afrikaner Nasionalisme and Genootskap van Regie Afrikaners would be represented at the 2pm meeting with Mr de Klerk in the Union Buildings.
Mystery over AWB man's 'resignation'

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'

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 Mood

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

Leaders of the right wing who met President FW de Klerk yesterday got the impression that he was working on an agenda he was not even prepared to disclose to the ANC, HNP vice-chairman Mynhardt Peters said.

De Klerk had told him and representatives of the HNP, AWB, Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners and Magaznie Afrikaner Nasionaal that it was not his style to divulge non-negotiables or the state’s intentions, Peters said. (October 24, 1990)

The meeting — attended by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Reoff — 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 Afrikaners as an

Right wing

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 Servaes de Wet said the AWB and other groups would continue to mobilise the public into commandos to protect them against the breakdown of law and order.

Marais disclosed plans 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.
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 Nell van Heerden and the Japanese ministry's Middle East and African Affairs Bureau director general Makoto Watanabe, the official said.

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.
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 Umzazi by-election, Mr de Klerk said its information 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

Rogte Afrikaners.
In a statement afterwards
Mr De Klerk said legislation
would be strictly applied
against anyone who perpetrat-
ed 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 ex-
isting mechanisms were defi-
cient could make representa-
tions for their improvement to
the Minister of Law and Order.
He called on everyone to
abide by the democratic pro-
cess, to reject violence as a po-
itical instrument and to make
use of the opportunity to bring
proposals to the negotiation ta-
ble.

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 con-
stitutional system.

Mr Jaap Marais, HNP lead-
er, said afterwards that an ac-
cceptance 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’

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 Magalies Afrikaner Nationaal Home, 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 Reolf Meyers 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 50-minute meeting that the right-wingers had been unable to elicit an undertaking 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

Concepts of power changing radically

By Gerald L’Ange, Sowetan special correspondent

WHEN Nell 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 wins or loses 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 the bulk of the vote in the independence election, 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 settlement 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 obsession with power, manifested 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 was unworkable in addition to being immoral.

Already a new light has been cast on the concept of unqualified 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, the judiciary, 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.
Mike Robertson in Cape Town

Of Reconstruction

Joon

Impetus on Agenda

GoT Likely to Lose

14/09/1979

ALIENATION sections to appear

SYRPs pointed Reason Number

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DP represents bourgeois interests (continued)  

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 MPs for discussion and consideration. 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 01/00251/09)

(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 : 18 July 1990
Registers close (dates inclusive) from 14 July 1990 to 20 July 1990
Currency conversion date (for payments from London) : 28 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 8XE.

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

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 would be better for the reading of this important book.

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 geography: state and politics, regional politics 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 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 Mossop in his thoughtful introduction to the first section anticipates questions 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 PW 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/multipolar 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 foot- holds for political and social activism. Without it — as Eastern Europe so poignantly 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 Olison, 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 Nasion’s political map of opposition groups in the Western Cape is a 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 how people like Sechaba in the formulation of policy. This work 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 fills the qualifications 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, recognized 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.
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.

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".
From the night of the possible to the grand game of reality

Poet and writer BREYTON BREYTENBACH looks from exile in Paris at South Africa changed, and challenged, by talks between the major players in the South African Game

ONE may say that the two major players in the South African Game are not really the only ones in a continuing game of a pathological strategy for stability and for change within the country. As South Africa and its neighbours are internationally, 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 to the day, as it is the grand game of reality. Who among us could have foreseen this development even a few months ago?

Can the two players pull it off?

We may well perceive the possible pattern of a bloc consisting of the Nationalist Party and the African National Congress occupying the political centre ground, but this certainty doesn’t mean that the tensions have vanished.

One doesn’t want to be too gloomy in outlook — after all, our century is not necessarily a century of caustic or more bloody than previous ones — but this uncertainty is certainly there.

Unlike with Eastern Europe, where there is almost everywhere a demand for freedom, economic prosperity, equality and political change, in South Africa, the movement for change is not so well determined.

It is not that people want to change. People are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. They are not so keen on the change. They are not so keen on the new thing. 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"When you're down, they'll keep you down."

From Germany to Joberg station... Rosary Wechselbaumer and Husband Baureid wait for their next drink. Picture: BERNARD ROBERTS

She and Abdul have been together since he came out of jail after 16 years. There is only romance among the oasis.

Wechselbaumer 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 get 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 Turfanna, 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 shivers 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 Lasa. Lasa is putting Dulla into crime again. Lasa 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 foetuses 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 alveolus of his body.

It is a Sunday 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 tuck. “I wish I just had a little bottle of wine to keep me warm. But they would prosecute me,” he groans, lifting his head slightly as two policemen pass close by. “You can’t go anywhere, do anything. Some policemen are friendly. Others aren’t. Someway 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 oasis 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 railway strike. “I’ve been homeless now for 10 years, I think. I was in a place in Orbits George in Natal recently. They just made me work for them — for no pay, save a spotuus 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 hop-on to leave the station within 30 minutes. Thirty minutes to lend of a cold frosty Sunday morning.

A man tittered uneasily, 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 hung 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 portly 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 he had added: "Every time you fail, you have to get up but sometimes you can’t. And you don’t!"
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.

The repression of communication, a blessed administration, cultural and intellectual terrorism—where we have left, in jargon, "buried civilisation"—the professional and trade unions and community and other grass-roots bodies, the women, the youth.

De Klerk is either not up to the job, or the ANC is not on top of the situation.

We are not in the era of a united people but in the era of a divided people. We have a divided people because we do not have a united society.
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.

UNDAY afternoon in a block of flats in the Johannesburg suburb of Lorraineville was spent with beer and loud music typical of township style. A transistor radio in Norjeff Court blared Yvonne Chaka Chaka's I'm in love with a disc jockey.

Downstairs, the back garden remained a typical township yard with Salma Malapani removing napkins from one of the numerous washrooms.

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 flats into townships.

The high rents 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 kitchen.

Tereza Moshoba spoke about the plight of having to fork out rent of R88,56 a month between himself and three other men. "The rents are killing us," he said.

The R88,56 includes R18,56 a month for electricity, although the tenants used the building's gas stoves for cooking. As a result of the high rents, 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. Moshoba and his three home boys from Kgopane village in Tsaneen — David Malapani, Evans Ramafol and Patrick Ramamoko — live with their wives in flat 2. The Malapanis have been joined by their two-year-old daughter. The flat consists of two 3½-bedroom, a kitchen and a bathroom.

The Malapanis share the bedroom with Evans Ramafol 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 Ramafolos part of the room is taken up by a tiny three-quarter bed which stands on empty paint tins. A poster of Yvonne Chaka Chaka and another of Moeketsi Moshobane adorn the walls.

The Malapanis have crammed a three-quarter bed and a wardrobe into their flat. A colourful calendar, wall mirror and pot plant grace the bedroom.

The Moshobas sleep on a three-quarter bed while the Ramamokos 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 totaling R196, 24 from LEN Properties of Saxonveld, Johannesburg. Arrears of R107, 68 and a electricity reconnection fee of R70 have been added. Underpayment of R88, the principal tenant, Moshoba, was issued a receipt by Tenda Trust. All of Saxonveld. 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 rent of R900 and R188, 56 for electricity, although one of the bedrooms is slightly smaller. The tenants of flat 4 — Levy Molodzai, Sydwell Ramadza, Mphandza Mhling and Kanyeby Mhlini — have received a June statement for R2193. 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 refrigerator in the flat.

Tenda Trust trustee J Dossen 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 prevent the tenants from keeping unauthorized people on the premises.

"I used to arrive late at night and find 20 people sleeping in a two-bedroom flat. I'd kick them out, but they'd return. What would you do in that situation? Besides, the authorised tenants are billed in terms of the law,"
This Lynx is part leopard, part alley cat

Lynx: Time Out of Time (Penguin, R27.95)

This Lynx is a very odd creature; part leopard, part alley cat; sometimes wild, sometimes thoroughly contemporary domestic.

It smells of the commune room, not the lamp. Stories (long, short, Afrikaans, English, black, white; real, post modern, art, kitsch, you name it) are juggled together with poems inside a very stylish (Judah Masius) cover. No editors: no fence-word. It’s not a magazine and it’s not a book — a bit of both. A bit like Graffiti, although at the comparison out Lynx stinks sadly away.

Mayne there’s a point in all this art book marketing pounce. Book as playing — close to Trevall Parratt. Anyone can join in — play crude — be clever. Contrived by the extraordinary redaction 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 those pieces found each other and jumped into print.

It’s an experiment, says Penguin, I wondered what they were trying for. PJ Haarbrook gets just less than half of the 390 pages for a determined example of prime-making: see or (given the coy ornamental r) maybe enough of The Killing Fields. It seems carefully enough with the row familiar landscape of Pol Pot’s Kampuchea but it spins into a dreadful over-wild as the various themes try to work themselves out inside the limits of the author’s energy, interest and concern. The result is gnarly butch.

Haarbrook sets the terms for the collection. His story is a consumer perishable, Read and throw away. User safe, brain degradable, Later time.

The best stories have no struggle against this product ethic. Galerine van Heerden and Ivan Vladislavic are notable, but they have to pay a price. Vladislavic’s beautifully constructed play of meanings is The Bus and it’s almost like a clever trick.

Van Heerden’s two stories begin to feel like horror video.

Both writers have arrived to peg up stories to be read with weariness and reassemble.

Moeoane Malan’s suffers worst. His Newcal stories are written with extraordinary perversity. They are fully and faithfully the opaque and broad texture of life at the time that they disclose a generous, warm and highly sophisticated way of understanding and accepting each 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 Haarbrook product criteria only too well. There is pure consumer kitsch — of the Style variety. The other (Nigel Masius’) skillfully establishes an atmosphere but cannot do much with it.

The poetry is redeemed by Douglas Livingstone’s Sloaning诗歌 collection 1989-1972. With the exactness, solidity and energy to stand, like the human cock it celebrates, on top of the surrounding debris and “bellow its pollywog eepth”. Polysyracthric to be sure — it’s written in five sets of five perfect Alex- addium. Douglas, Richard Skinner and Stephen Watson, meaning 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, a writing in manageable chips. The best? A good idea. Mixed material, new voices; between the little magazine and the established book.

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SOUTH AFRICA’S MURDEROUS MIND

N 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 judiciously decided to write about how South Africans murder each other instead.

Like the political writer Ryszard Kapuscinski, whom he quotes at one stage, Malan is a reporter and he shares Kapuscinski’s egocentric, 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 Fennig’s Crossing the Line and Joe Leyfield’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 rage’s progress than a Boere confession — and how in the wake of the 1976 Soweto upsurge, 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 “destituted”.

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 apartheid types, three who would confuse his brain at dinner parties.

Having laid bare the atrocities committed around Winnie Mandela, he yells at the reader that he will write about the state of his country as a “political” text (in the abstract and in its concrete meaning).

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TONY MORPHET

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South Africa's murderous mind

David Malan's obsession with race as the only determinant of human worth, he believed, was the source of all the suffering and violence in South Africa. He saw it as the root cause of the country's problems, and he blamed it for everything from poverty to crime.

Malan was a controversial figure, both in his own time and in ours. He was a brilliant lawyer and a talented writer, but he was also a racist and a xenophobe. He believed in the superiority of the white race and was determined to protect that superiority at all costs.

Malan's views were shared by many of his contemporaries, and they helped to shape the policies of the apartheid government. But his influence waned as the world became more aware of the human cost of apartheid, and his ideas were increasingly rejected.

Today, South Africa is a country with a very different history. It is a place where people of all races live together, and where human rights are respected. But the legacy of apartheid is still very much with us, and it is a reminder of the dangers of intolerance and prejudice.
SA, Zim combine in a joint business venture

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 Waghmare of Anikem, the industry for years searched 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 Waghmare 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 cooperation," he said.

"The danger of a takeover 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 cooperation between white and black business which can only bode well for the future of South Africa," Mr Waghmare said.
Blacks outraged as Mandela shunned

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". — UPJ

Mandela visits Martin Luther King tomb — Page 3

FW: Apartheid's end must wait

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: "If a black majority who disagrees, the ANC agrees, Inkatha agrees, all other political movements that I know of 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 flow 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 scoffed at the idea of a constituent assembly demanded by both the ANC and PAC, and which is a cornerstone of the Bantu Declaration.

"South Africa is a fully independent, sovereign country, recognised by the whole world. A constituent assembly elected before you start negotiations causes a constitutional vacuum, causes un-
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 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.
Right-wing coup would fail

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 Breederbond 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 theANC-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 Gillmoe 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".

Gillmoe 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.

Lloyd Vogelman 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 negotiation 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,” Vogelman 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”.

The choice is ours. Keep it alive. To kill peace is to kill ourselves. —Friedrich Van Zyl Slabbert
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.

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 7:30 pm. The venue is the Exam Hall at the Johannesburg College of Education in St Andrews Road, Parktown.

Umkhonto chief adds muscle to ‘action’ week

UMKHONTO weSizwe 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”. 01/11/88

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.

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 FW 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 Wally, Dorais Worrall and Wynand Malan. 3/11/88

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 Buildings 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 ultrarightwing organisations and yesterday morning a delegation from the SA Chamber of Business.

The State President’s office was not available for comment. — Sapa
Grasp the nettle

A strategy document being circulated in the DP is harshly critical of its performance in the 1990 parliamentary session. The docu-

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 Jehovah's Witnesses 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 Nyatsumba

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”
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.

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 statements, he said after the meeting in De Klerk's Union Buildings 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.

That same day he received representatives of four ultra right-wing organisations and yesterday he met a Saco 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 advisor 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 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 CEO 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 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.
'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.

The TMA said it had emphasised that the repeal of the Act had led to confusion and unrest among many white ratepayers.

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

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 Dhiomo, 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
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

By PEARL MAJOLA

management and executive positions, at Sun-
yside Park Hotel this week.

Addressing the enthusiastic crowd of
women, De Beer spoke on the "New South Af-
rica: Beginnings and prospects" and said "I
have undertaken to dis-
cuss 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 Af-
rica and into the new
when he announced the un-
hanging 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 pros-
spects and I do so by
sketching three scenarios
and the likely outcome of

"The first might be
called Wasteland. This is
where power slips out of
De Klerk's hands and into
those of the white right,
cau- sing 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 fol-
lowed 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.

Consolidation as a
third scenario would oc-
cur where sufficient
political leaders and
organisations reached
agreement so that a new
constitution would be in-

Zach De Beer

stated.
He cited the Namibian
constitution as a strong
contender for the title of
the best democratic con-
sitution 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
based on equal rights,
personal freedom, the
Rule of Law and financial
discipline."

"The new South Af-
rica has begun. It is the
only way to go, for the
other road leads to dis-
aster. 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."
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.
July
How to halt national suicide

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.

Some particular faction is really "the people," the "volk," the "working class," the "chosen race," or whatever else is sanctified by the current theory of political murder.

It 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 exultation 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 organizations, and adopting many different points of view.

Recognizing this fact must be the basis of government. Instead of believing in uniformity or antagonism, we begin to recognize 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 obedience, 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 recognize the division of "the people" into factions, classes, ethnicities or religions, this theory of government collapses into a mass of contradictions.

These are resolved by turning to one of the perennial themes of political morality in which it is claimed that one, being told what to think, and a part in destiny. Rejecting strong leaders will mean more, finally, only recognizing our position, which is that in a world of nuclear, chemical and biological methods that can be used to kill we have to sacrifice glory if we are to survive.

This is immensely painful to a species whose first impulse 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 those new virtues when there are so many invitations to grossly murder.

Without much hope, therefore, I wish to propose a scheme of government that will enable us to live in 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 it? Quite obviously, to those unblinded by prejudice, people engage in a variety of occupations and belong to a variety of organizations. 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 may 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 indivisible 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 enabling 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 massacres. 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
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 the 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 Adviser

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Bush phones F W on talks

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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 policies and commitment to true multi-party democracy.

Moreover, Mr. Mandela's somewhat imperious contempt — 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 in 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 battlefield.

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.

"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. - Sovietan Correspondent.
Slabbert reviews a decade of SA change

By Darryl Accome

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 "urban, 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 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. "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.
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 not, protection of minorities, proportional representation or a constituency system 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, Allilah Khosa, 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 Ekwanga township in KwaNdebele following the detention of two men, Theope 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 Ekwanga 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.

"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, 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.

He was asked about a timetable 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.
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 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 50 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 maintaining exclusively white with dwindling pupil numbers and reduced government funding.

Brother Neil McCurk, headmaster of Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg, described the models as "leashed kites".

When the models were first proposed, there was "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 of the models would be made shortly.

A number of events have highlighted the growing crisis in white education. For instance, there was the row over the closure last year of Johannesburg High School for Girls which is situated in the grey suburb of Berea.

The Government was forced to open the school 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 to close it. The school, which has 80 pupils from Std 6 to Std 9, can accommodate about 1,000 pupils.

Recent statistics in Parliament show that:

• 76 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 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 1988. 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 93,588 places at secondary schools administered by the

Mixed reaction

The Transvaal Educational Association (TREA) and the Transvaal English-Medium Association (TEMA) — which represent the interests of parents with English-medium schools — have been given the remaining pupils.

The TREA, represented by Dr Michael Agnew, a white pupil, has been invited to present its suggestions for the implementation of the new model B as a mixed reaction to the TEMA. The TREA said it had "tinkered" with the existing model, and that parents were in favour of open schools.

The TEMA had met the government and discussed the two options, and there had been a mixed reaction from parents.

22/6/88 The National Education Council (NEC) said that the participation of most schools and the option for the introduction of either of the TREA/TEMA models was "an option by parents to change the status quo by force of numbers. If the minority of parents who prefer the status quo are in a minority, then the introduction of the models would be entirely voluntary."
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 Umzazi 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 Umzazi one Nationalist newspaper editor warned that if the National Party were to survive 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, those that the NP was willing to surrender the whites and the 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 Meyde, 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

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.
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 sided by the National Party, the State President and the security forces.
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.
FW's visit to US likely next year

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha confirmed yesterday that President FW de Klerk and President George Bush held 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

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 "unbend, 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 negotiation.

Slabbert cited several external factors that had influenced the current climate for negotiations.

"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

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 R20 000 each.

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

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...

"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 bloodletting 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.

Mellor 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.
FW to get Sebokeng report

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 P.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 Esmare 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, already 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."
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 "propaganda" 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 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.
Hopes high ANC govt talks will end armed struggle

By DESMOND BLOCH

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 Mfumbe.

The government delegation, headed by President de Klerk, comprises Foreign Affairs Minister Pieter Botha, Constitution Development Minister Dr Gert Vlok, Justice Minister Robben Coetzee 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 could not be tolerated.

The talks will review the progress of the provision of the Groote Schuur Minute.

There is a positive spirit in ANC circles that tomorrow's meeting will be successful and that talks will resume 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 Charles Hani's hardline stance on the armed struggle.

Mandela and De Klerk this week called on political parties to support a negotiated settlement.

The dispute over Joe Slovo's inclusion in the ANC team was settled amicably.

Mandela said he had misunderstood the role of Slovo at the talks, when all the State President had done was inspect his career at allegations of political violence 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 presented to De Klerk and the Cabinet was "correct".

The ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) last week said they were concerned about the continuing detention of people under the Internal Security Act.

The NEC said such actions undermined efforts to create a climate conducive to negotiations and demonstrated little had changed with respect to civil liberties. Such actions should stop until 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 says 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-Reuters.
Leon: DP must make critical choice soon

Not yet time to pack up

By Maurice Moody

DP leader

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The Dominion Post
The NP’s best option may be opposition

STEVEN FRIEDMAN

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 is partly because, as 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 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 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 an 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.

Unlqai confirms that whites will not go wherever the NP leads, while the ANC’s constituency is unorganised and united 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

Friedman is a senior researcher at Wits University’s Centre for Policy Studies.
Government fears ANC may demand new preconditions for talks.
OK strikers may be fired - union

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 that 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 Horshorne 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 6pm 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.

Govt still waiting for ANC report - Viljoen

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 Prine Fihwala, alleged that the ANC had proposed several amendments to the report, but had received no comment from the Government.

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.

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‘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.

He was addressing a meeting of the South African Perceptions Initiative in Durban.

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ANC recognizes sincerity of de Klerk

By Stan Rhiphe

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 F.W. 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!
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 Clemenston, of Johannesburg, were last seen in Paarl getting into a yellow car driven by a young man at 5pm on May 31.

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 (0211) 23091.

ON THE RUN ... Michelle Smith

City council backs R25m carpark plan

LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER: Democracy is tolerance of different views
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 Mxolisi Jack, and the Director of the Human Rights Trust, Mr Rory Riordan.
'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 Jade Pietersen, 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 Clasen 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.
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 guerrillas 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
search
home of
'Boere'
leader

JOHANNESBURG. —
The house of Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder on his farm Sandapruit, 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 underground organisation, but of a registered political 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 additional indignity as we were still in our pyjamas." He said the police action was further confirmation that democracy in South Africa was dying and political parties were now also becoming victims of the government's persecution mania against Boers, Afrikaners and rightists.

"Organisations like the Boerestaat Party, which are working openly in a democratic manner, are now also being persecuted and intimidated."

Mr Van Tonder said the government might suffer the same fate once they had lost power. — Sapa
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 "hoofleiers" of the newly formed Boereworsstandsbeweging (BWB), a breakaway group from the AWB, Mr Ford angrily attack 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 vowed: "We won't let them get us and our children again." He accused the "Boer nationalist's" 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 right-wing 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 Oppenheimer 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 faced 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 moderate, has aligned itself with the Boerestaat Party of Mr Robert van Runder 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 Vereeniging treaty at the end of the Boer War in 1902.

The organisation is training its members and children - some as young as four years old - in gun-handling and shooting, karate, off-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, as that it is defensive in nature.

"We will use theism and strength to put pressure on all our country - and then we will take action."

Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition: Boerestaatsbeweging (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 CF leader Dr Andreie Treurnicht did not come out in support of fugitive Piet "Slik" 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 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.

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 Pilatskine, 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 Sociologist 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 F W de Klerk,” he says. “However, they claim that internal problems in the Soviet Union restrict 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.

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 20 societies that have moved from autocracy to democracy since the fall of the 60-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 a rather different 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 1988. The series examine 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 of decision-making and these conclusions have been stressed in a penetrating look at South Africa's transition by Professor André du Toit, of the University of Cape Town.

Dr du Toit and Professor Schmitter 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 "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 concept of the Alternatives for South Africa (Demacracy) 1994 held in Port Elizabeth on the theme "South Africa in Transition".

He says 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 "reform" by the softliners is 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 policies begin 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 on-President P.W. Botha's repressive reform 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 go on to explore and expand the limits of the liberalisation and parital "reform" initiated by the softliners in the regime. Opposition groups supporting such efforts towards democratisation tend to include trade unions, grassroots movements, religious groups, intellectuals, artists, clergy and others.

The popular upsurge is a "cyclical moment" when the people reassert 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 1985-88 clearly constituted one such moment of "popular upsurge". As the upsurge continues, a stage is reached when softliners face 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 contained. The costs of wholesale repression become too high even for the hardliners to contemplate.

SOUTH AFRICA has entered a new and vital phase of the political 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 somewhat between pact-forming by leadership groups and the normalisation of policies, with all parties from the CCF and NF to the ANC and SAP Communist Party participating in organizing and contesting for elections.

A crucial question now is whether or not, and at what stage of the process, there will be a constitutional assembly following on a properly-faired election for the "new South Africa".

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A crucial question now is whether or not, and at what stage of the process, there will be a constitutional assembly following on a properly-faired election for the "new South Africa".
ANC ‘must be urgent about negotiations’

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 continues 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

—I only see them once a year.— Shakespeare, Jane Austen, Dickens and
Embarrassing

President de Klerk would not be able to\nbe admitted at all.

Additionally, there are questions about the\norganization which is\nlikely to be the subject of\npresidential elections in South Africa.

American politicians have been pushing\nfor economic sanctions against South\nAfrica.

But the South Africans have\nbeen moving towards a\nreconciliation that\nPresident de Klerk is\ntrying to achieve.

The situation is complex, and it\nremains to be seen how\nthings will develop.

No clear path has been set for\nthe future of South\nAfrica, and it remains to be seen how\nthings will evolve.

The US has not yet \ndecided to take any\naction, but it is likely\nthat this will happen in the\nfuture.

Final decision will depend on the\noutcome of the negotiations.

US Trip until 1991?
PW or FW - the same old story

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 in politics - after all, 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 urbanize 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 as before.

This is because the 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.

In this way, a large area of South Africa would be made ungovernable. In order to counteract this, the NMS had first 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 curbed 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); 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 (Velkom) 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 Velkom will, as was the case previously, be assisted by a Joint Operations Centre to coordinate SAP/SADF operations.

The Interdepartmental Committees, which assisted the Secretary 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 restitute the authority of the Cabinet over the new system, and to that extent the political agenda is determined by politicians rather than securityocrats. 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 ça change, plus c'est la même chose" - the more things change, the more they stay the same.
Thatcher visit to boost SA talks?

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
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 Seife 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 "sectocrats" — the police and military — who enjoyed wide power under Mr Botha.

The Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Staffell 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 Seife 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 Seife 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’

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."
Fair, Just, Plan for SA
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.
New security body oriented to welfare — President’s office

By Peter Fabriek, 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-oriented 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 prosperity 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.
ANC to respond to offer of more talks

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 parliament 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 Development Aid, Dr Steffel van der Merwe, said last night the government’s African National Congress steering committee had met in Pretoria yesterday to discuss issues flowing from the Groote Schuur Minutes.

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 spokesmen said that 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

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.

ANC’s stance on Bop

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.

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.

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.
Fragile DP counts

Split and crisis of relevance loom

cost of Malan exit
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 and the Boerderbond.

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 Boerderbond.

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.

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 Pankandt, 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.
The text seems to be discussing land distribution and population statistics, possibly related to a specific region. Due to the visual obstruction, it's challenging to extract coherent information directly from the image. However, it appears to be an analysis of land and population statistics, with a focus on percentages and distribution patterns.
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.

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.
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 Reynolds (vice-chairmen), John Davis (chairman of finance), Tara Forster (fundraising), Clifford Gurrn (organisation), Hans Strydom (publicity) and Avril Howes (internal communications).
Interest in SA-Pik

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.

"It is really too early to speak now of establishing official relations with individual countries in Eastern Europe," he said.

- Sovietas Correspondent.
Mandela’s biggest worry: his allies

It is the task of the President to persuade a previously complacent, but now fearful and suspicious populace that democracy will make their lives better, not worse. Mandela faces a tougher test because black politics, far from being sanitised by the ANC, are in fact being enfeebled by energetic military facilitation.

The fact that this cannot be done is what makes Mr Mandela, and to a slightly lesser extent Mr de Klerk, with their most immediate challenges.

The last time he was on the international stage was in December 1993, when he was able to announce at the United Nations that South Africa’s ban on the ANC was lifted - a step that had been a condition of international support for his government.

The ANC has called upon black lawyers to keep a low profile. It has told police that it is not in the interests of the ANC for its officials to be arrested and imprisoned. The ANC has promised to resist any attempt to arrest it. The ANC has said that it will not participate in the election if the ANC is not given freedom of speech.

Mandela is in the position of a man who is the only one in the world who can bring about a change. He is the only one who can bring about a change because he is the only one who can bring about a change.
Troika breaks after row over Broaderdondo

MR Wyndham Mahia quits.
"What I have been working towards is now becoming reality. The political process is now irreversibly on the way towards a negotiated constitutional settlement."

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.

eft, right on SA issues

A session in the Anti-Apartheid Parliament Mr Robert Feni demanded the sanctions — he said sanctions would not be an issue at that summit.

Left-wing Conservative 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 MPs, 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 Off
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.

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 Coordinat-
ing 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 - depart-
ments and institutions - in
respect of those matters
demanding multi-
departmental action.
Generation gap: Young whites shuffle to the right

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 has brought us. Encouraged by the result of the referendum, and by the historians who have been writing about the liberation movement, the ANC, and the struggle for democracy, this generation of young whites has become more determined to participate in the political process.

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 accessibility of the South African Broadcasting Corporation as currently constituted. While over half of the respondents believed that the SABC is "inadequate in its political coverage and in its role in regulating the media," only 25 percent of the young age group agreed that "SABC-TV adequately informs the public on domestic and international political developments."

The "loyalty" of blacks to South Africa. While the majority of the respondents believed that "black people are loyal to their country and to the government," only 35 percent of those aged 25 to 34 years-old agreed with the statement.

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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 Niekerk, 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 Niekerk — 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 DP for Johannesburg North Peter Slot yesterday said the vote had been long "but devist and good."

Strydom and Van Niekerk believe the Broederbond issue had a direct bearing on the charismatic Randburg MP's decision.

Slot 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 Niekerk 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 "broederwiss" within the DP is extremely damaging, but express the hope that the reactions 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."

"What a babe in arms. What a man. What a leader."

By SHAUN JOHNSON
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 Sonl 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 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 Kleynhan 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 Kleynhan 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 Gilleomee 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'

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 the 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 revolutionaries and leftists — 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 PW 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 quandrum 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 in 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 vote on 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 lower house 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 as 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 challenge.

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, screams that he is acting without a mandate. The president's task is to persuade a previously compliant 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 compliant, has been characterised by energetic militancy. While Mr De Klerk was writing to PW Botha about the need for compromise, ANC commendates remained locked into the politics of revolt.

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, and with recognition 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

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 were 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."
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 *PM* that President F W de Klerk and his team of constitutional negotiators may nominate Slabbert and former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dlomo 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 Tuyushuys to congratulate the President on his reform initiatives.

Political observers feel that both Slabbert and Dlomo 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 military state, as well as black majority government and said the AVV would defend "our continued existence with all means at our disposal."

WMP, 13/17/90 (SOLAR)
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 FPF 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 socially 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.

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 had 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.

Saps 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.
Texas Summit Gives FyW Boost

BACKGROUND

The summit, held in Austin, was an opportunity for leaders from various sectors to discuss strategies for economic growth and development. The gathering aimed to foster collaboration and innovation among participants.

The forum featured keynote speeches from prominent figures in academia, business, and government. It highlighted the importance of partnerships in addressing regional economic challenges.

Attendees included representatives from businesses, non-profits, educational institutions, and government agencies. The event served as a platform for sharing insights and networking.

The success of the summit led to a call for similar events in other regions, with plans to expand the FyW initiative nationwide.
When Nelson comes home

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 exonерated 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 FW 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

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 yet 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 gaps 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 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;
- 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 filled 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 infrastructural 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.

FINANCIAL MAIL JULY 13 1990
DP’s De Beer denies split as another councillor quits

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 Reinecke, 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 Reinecke’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-marker, Mark Heston, 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 resolution finally saw the motion defeated. But the deep divisions were obvious.

The Eastern Cape's youth chairman, Kevin Wakeford, said pushing a doctrinaire 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 Young Congress activists in kwaZulu-Natal several weeks ago.

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 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 members with the answers he gave, did not stop Mhlaba from expressing his opinion afterwards at the "inspiring" encounter.

According to Wakeford, two camps have formed among the youth around 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're not compromising on principles we have stood for for a long time", he said.

The Western Cape and Natal Coast sympathised and had adopted a "watch and see" approach.

Wakeford said the region's moves would have a grip on the Eastern Cape leadership that was not the Southern Transvaal's view 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, Tio 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...
ALTERNATIVE FOR SOLOMA: ALBERTA. VAN ZYL SPEAKS...

Oscar D leftovers. No allegations of corruption. However, both men are apparently un

Shiberti, Dhlomo to chair NP/ANC talks.

Nocla Cuniningham: Brown
Nats, Inkatha break new ground

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 Menit, 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 Rodinger.

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.
Perrow paddles to front of race

By DON HOLLIDAY
Weekend Argus Reporter

Perrow paddles to front of race, and Bonnie Reynolds. Perrow has an overall time of 1:21:34, just 22 seconds behind Montesh.

Confounded critics

Peninsula Canoe Club’s Dene Simpson confounded his critics when he rounded home more than two minutes ahead of seven-times winner Marinda Hartzenberg.

Simpson now leads overall with a time of 12:8:11, 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 25th overall.

Richard van Manberg maintained his lead in the juniors, finishing 30th overall.

Several people were treated for slight dehydration and exhaustion.

Hot-spot winner Bonnie Reinders shows the style that won him the R1 000 prize for being the first to cross the line at Misverstand Dam.

Competitors lift their craft and some scamper bare-foot over rocky terrain near Misverstand Dam on the third day of the marathon.

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 revealed at its national congress soon to help re-store the confidence of doubting MPs and ensure the party a significant role in the future.

In the wake of the.1993 dis-saster 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 Sacks.

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 Mr 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 personalities. 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 besigers meet in Cape Town.

The options

Mr Gaut 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.
What started with a bang could end in a whisper

Economist Professor Sample 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...

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 Dutch) 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 areindeed committed towards a transition to a non-racial democracy. Given this supposition, we can focus on the NP and its supporters' preparations 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 the loyal opposition 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 Afrikaaners. The Afrikaner community was at that stage relatively poor with a per capita-income of less than 60 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 the 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 1983 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. His electoral support of Afrikaners dropped from 85 percent in 1981 to 50 percent in 1984, 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 a large degree a rural and traditionally-oriented society. Their position of relative poverty and "undevelopment" was a contributory factor in their power and in their anti-Afrikaner voting.

The English-speaking whites are traditionally a wealthy community with rather strong bourgeois and materialistic attitudes. Their increasing support for the NP since the early eighties can be explained in terms of their perception that only the NP can protect and enhance these economic interests, the way they think they ought to be protected and enhanced.

Last year I described the close cooperation between important sections of the English and Afrikaner establishment in terms of an "unholy marriage between the English-speaking capitalist "gentry" of Johannesburg and the Afrikaners-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 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 new tribal 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 NP are promised an economising ("Wendland") and a win-win process wherever there will be a winner and nobody will be a loser.

PEOPLE in the "inner circles" of the NP explained to me that this kind of economic "Wendland" was necessary to stem the tide of defection towards the CP. If this is true we have ended up in the unenviable situation where the CP is promising its disgruntled supporters a completely unattainable "Witland" (White land), while the NP and its media are trying to outbid the CP by promising its typical bourgeois supporters an equally unattainable "Wendland" (Wendland).

The NP 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 another propaganda campaign, or an attempt to re-educate the whites for a New South Africa? If the NP 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 NP have become spoiled by its political domination and 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 straightforward language that South Africa cannot be a "Wendland" 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 corrupt- ed?) 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 about the large groups (mainly the privileged ones) are losers and others (mainly the deprived ones) are hopefully winners.
Stick with us, 
DP tells members

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 Pierre 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 and their former National Democratic Movement colleague, Mr Wynnand 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 FW de Klerk had so far liberalised SA politics but he now had to democratis 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.
MAN OF WORRY: Abel Sotelo, eight years old, is worried about his home in Kharemorphism.

The political situation during the last elections has been particularly worrying for him. The business of becoming a mayor is not easy, and the need for more jobs and stability is critical. The local councilors and politicians are struggling to address these issues.

A new mayor, Mr. Jotaro, has been elected. He plans to address the problems and bring about positive change.

In the future, the country's economy will face challenges. The world needs new leaders to be educated and trained.

In conclusion, the country is in a state of political transition. The people need strong leaders to guide them through these challenging times.

As for the future, the electrical system is being modernized. The government is working on improving the electrical grid to meet the needs of the citizens.

Progress is being made in the educational sector as well. New schools are being built, and the quality of education is improving.

The speeches of the candidates are being monitored and controlled by the government. The media is playing a crucial role in informing the public about the election campaign.

The Soldier's Eye: The Photographic Vision

The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog.
Your duty to laugh in the face of power

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 masses (after all, once you've created a god, you might as well worship him) as the implicit assumption that no 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 nationalized 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.

Pluck

Explosive conference for ANC leaders stifles robust criticism of them. Liberal politicians and commentator disabuse 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 civilization is in some ways superior to modern Western civilization, 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 arena.

But if black Africa is traditionally authoritarian, white South Africa is becoming increasingly so, despite the liberal traditions of both Afrikaners and English-speakers.

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-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 is the key. It means that awkward, unpleasant issues must be addressed in a way 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 civilization 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 those deserving larger, more critical exposure than the humble.

I make an appeal to everybody who believes in liberty. The next time you hear a defence minister saying that he knows nothing about the death squads or an ANC leader proclaiming the benefits of nationalization or the chairman of a large corporation announcing his latest vision, do your duty: laugh.

Andrew Kenny, a mechanical engineer at Johannesburg Industrial firm, writes for Frontline and The Spectator of London.
Supporters of resigned Democratic Party co-leader Wynand Malan are planning to seize the party's forthcoming congress and force the party to reshuffle its role in politics.

If the group doesn't get its way, there could be substantial defections from the party.

The division in the party appears to be between those who see themselves as "watchers" (bystanders 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."

The party's "Afrikaans Yoppie" segment

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 Engel, MP for Beaulieu.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Engel, MP for Beaulieu.

The significance of the group is that it represents the "Afrikaans Yoppie" 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 — 600 people have to be accommodated.

The timing, particularly, has become a point of political brinksmanship between the DP and President FW de Klerk, who must call a by-election to fill Mr Malan's Sandburg seat.

A truncating of the DP by the National Party before the congress — and following the recent Umbani 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 61-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 Umzazi 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 easy 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 valiantly tried for more than a decade to change the system from within. Neither in the Democratic Party.

Mr Malan was put in win mode, 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 it 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 70's — 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 undertaken 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 Ossiwandag 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 Rapporteurs, president of the Ruiterslag (student 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. F.W. Botha's rule by bureaucrats. This led him to direct confrontation with a leader who tolerated his 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 socio-democratic economic order — without bothering about organisations, 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 hope to 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 30, 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 out of contentment and happiness that I have succeeded in what I set out to accomplish."
WHEN media coverage of Nelson Mandela's US tour was at its height, American pollster Louis Harris asked 1,544 of his countrymen what they felt about their visitor.

Most, including 66 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 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 entailles. 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 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 emphasizes 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.
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 80% 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 90% 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 should negotiate with the ANC. Afrikaans-speakers were far less inclined to share this view than their English-speaking counterparts (38% as opposed to 78%).

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 64% 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 as on reform, Du Pisan 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.

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<td>February 1998 — July 12 1999: 1,103</td>
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WIN ONE OF THESE FABULOUS
TRAVELER LUGGAGE PRIZES FOR ONLY RS.5,000!

Not be left out
WOMEN MUST

ECONOMICS AND HISTORY
The struggle, the rise
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EXTRACTION

Inu Xepolous

This was said by the
head of an Irish University.

KOMA

By SIZAKELA

WOMEN should ensure
influence decisions and
when parliament and
their views are represented.

Mom and Cherry

Sowetan Monday July 16 1990
Page 11
Argument for the maximum devolution of power in SA

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 the 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 286 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 among other things, different labour, educational and tax policies. People can vote with their feet and their rands 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 and the rule of law in the 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 no 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 active 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.
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 undermine 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 candidacy 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 guerrillas 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 Esmare 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 the Heroes' Square as a tribute to President Samora Machel, who died in a air-crash in southern 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 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 FW
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."

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, jewellry and flashy earrings but she has (also) only one dress. On her back she carries the label "hand made in South Africa."

The dolls are made by Annalie Botha and Coleen Campbell, 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 Tschauer, co-owner of "Africa Collection" in the Cresta Centre said the dolls have been selling fairly well.
JCC chairman refuses to name local members

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.

Opperman said the SAP and SADF were still involved in the National Coordinating Mechanism (NCM), serving as “consulting advisors” on the security aspects of welfare operations carried out by the 11 JCCs.

“Not all of them, though, because there are some confidential things which could be discussed,” Opperman explained.

LINDEN BIRNS

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.

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.

“Access 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. “The staff 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
NOW Helen Suzman Praises FW

DP to Meet

2. Cape Times, Wednesday, July 18, 1980

30/4
Buthelezi warns on ‘bi-polar’ negotiations

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 Denays 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 Denays Reitz, which it claimed had been responsible for "union-bashing tactics" and "disruption of established collective bargaining processes".

Denays 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 Miwa were interdicted from implementing the resolutions passed at the congress to institute the campaign to pressure and embarrass Denays 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.

Denays Reitz senior partner Peter Simkins said in an affidavit in support of the application that his firm had acted for OK Bazaars and South-

tern Sun/Holiday Inn in of court applications arising from the strike.

The suggestion that the firm was responsible for union bashing was without foundation, amounting to an attack on the propriety and integrity of Denays 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.'

Simkins said the role of (Denays Reitz) has been confined to the giving of legal advice and, on instructions, acting as attorney in applications to the Honourable court or in opposing applications in the Industrial Court.

Simkins said the union's programme of action against Denays Reitz was an attempt to interfere with the administration of justice.

The threatened action would cause considerable and irreparable damage to the firm's practice, reputation and business, he said.

Support for FW from Suzman

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.

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.

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 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.'"
The open letter to Joe Slovo from Harry Schwartz, MP

An open letter to Joe Slovo from Harry Schwartz, MP

Too much of the old, new Joe, but still there are signs of a

[Image of a person with text overlay]

[Signature]

[Date]
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, 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

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.
Junkers to Jump at Great Star Airshow

Tunnel — Thatcher

Light at end of the

Are we ready to pay our international role?
Why South Africans should trust Mandela — Page 17.

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 Africa, saying she would not come as long as people felt she 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.”
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 stood 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 long and, even then, it would be difficult to explain.

The DP now faces the consequences of being an all-white party.

**The National Party and the Conservative Party are also threatened with oblivion — unless they broaden their base, argues HARALD PAKENDORF, former editor of the Vaderland:**

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 third place in Umlazi — where it came comfortably second during last year’s general election.

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 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 FFP 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 widen 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.
Boshoff ready to negotiate for volk state

EDMUND 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 Apartheid".

An Afrikaner state could diffuse right-wing frustration over any erosion of their freedoms in a black-rulled SA, Boshoff said.

The state Boshoff envisages would ultimately house 2million 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 Boeswana-Namibia border.

Boshoff stressed these borders were negotiable.
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 one 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 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.
DP congress venue a plus for De Beer

By Peter Fabriek
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 last Wednesday 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

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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.
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.
A meeting of a significant coalition of Palestinian prisoners likely.

Soon, peace talks will begin. President Kaczynski has announced a meeting with all significant figures to discuss the situation.

A coalition of opposition leaders has called for a meeting to discuss the latest developments.

The coalition, which includes important figures from both sides, will meet in the coming days to discuss the situation.

From both sides, government spokespeople have been sounding a hopeful note, saying that there is a chance for peace.

The coalition is composed of leaders from various factions, including both Palestinian and Israeli groups.

The meeting aims to explore the possibility of reaching a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

The talks will be followed closely by the international community, which is hopeful for a positive outcome.
New groups may be accepted, says OCR.
DP unrest monitoring group to be upgraded

The DP monitoring committee on Natal unrest is to overhaul and upgrade itself into a major non-political- ly 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, Raudley 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.

Boshoff ready to negotiate for volk state

Boshoff, chairman of the Afrikaner Volksvaweg 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.”

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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.

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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.”

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Boshoff stressed these borders were negotiable.
The DP's registration in Johannesburg on the political scene is one of the achievements Dr. De Beer and his executive have worked hard for in the past ten years. Dr. De Beer, now MP for Pretoria East, has been chosen by the delegates as the leader of the new party.

Addressing a press conference yesterday, Dr. De Beer said the DP was ready to face the challenges of politics, not only as a party but also as a movement, with the aim of becoming a sole force in the new South Africa.

The congress, attended by delegates from all over the country, was marked by a tense atmosphere as the party's leaders attempted to mend the rifts within the organization. The DP's internal leadership crisis has been a major concern for the party, and Dr. De Beer has promised to work hard to unite the party and bring it to the forefront of South African politics.
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.

The move would signal the ANC and Government’s growing agreement on the thorny problem of releasing political prisoners and allowing thousands of ANC members to return home.

Mandela is expected to travel to Pretoria to meet with de Klerk for the first time since the latter was released from prison last year.

By Peter Fabreijes, Political Correspondent

Spate of attacks on W Rand

Gary and Wayne do battle

London — Gary Player, the last South African golfer to win the British Open last year, is due to arrive in St Andrews tomorrow for the start of the St Andrews course

It will be his first time in St Andrews since he won the Open in 1974.

He will be the first time father and son will compete in the Open.

"It's a great thrill to have him alongside me," said Gary, who has been unable to play on the PGA Tour due to injury.

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."}

Spotted on the cover: Mandela wife Nomsa slams the police for arresting her husband.

Political Staff

Gengold plans to lay off 2700

Gengold, Gencor's gold mining arm, said it plans to trim its workforce by more than 2700 workers because prices for gold have plunged by more than 40% in the last quarter.

"The reasons for the layoffs follow massive retrenchments within the company itself over the past few years," said Gengold's MD Gary Maude.

Gengold’s MD Gary Maude disclosed that the group's total number of employees had dropped by more than 23.000 from 53,776 in June 1989 to 30,829 by the end of June last year, and to 19,298 at the end of June this year.

The group's biggest hit in numerical terms will be Gengold's largest mine, Buffelsfontein.

Plunging output at its Pioneer shaft could cost about R100 million over the next three weeks.

Political Staff

"My delegation and I, my wife and I, return home more proud of being South Africans," said Mr Maude.

"The countries we visited committed themselves to investing in a democratic, non-racial South Africa."
Calls for urgent talks with FW

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 one 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 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 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 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.

MANY HAPPY RETURNS... Mr Nelson Mandela shares happy birthday with well-wishers who congratulated him on both his 72nd birthday and his return from overseas yesterday.

... This rainbow appeared over Cnr. rain. The Weather Bureau predicts...
Transfer of power: 1

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 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 newfound 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 SAPF 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 buses 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 1940s 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 ANC policies there were some differences of 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 emergence 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 then 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.
‘Verlig’ Babb mooted for Randburg

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 true 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 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. But 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’ committees 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 6 267 and the DP’s 8 481.
FW's reforms bring foreign tourists flocking to visit

THERE has been a 15.9% increase in

the number of foreign visitors to SA
during the first five months of the
year compared with the same period
last year.

(30th 8th)

A Satour spokesman said yesterday
the increase could be attributed
mainly to the changing political cli-

cmate brought about by reform initia-
tives announced by President F W de
Klerk in February.

Satour was expecting the number

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,
454 532 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 (132 601), with 69% of
them from the UK.

Statistics also show that 1 651 more
people immigrated to SA during the
first five months of the year com-
pared with the same period last year.

And immigrants in those five
months (5 721) showed a gain of 3 741
over emigrants (1 977), compared
with a gain of 1 942 last year.
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 agreement 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.

Soweto 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 “understand 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.

Wynand Malan ... back to the future

DP southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soo 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.

Soo 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-
FW popular with blacks, poll shows

TOS WENTZEL

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, 20 that they were worse off and 47 percent said their position was the same. Among whites the percentages were 31, 45 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 Woesner 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.
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.”

“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 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 normalisation 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 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?”
NP to elect candidate for Toboe 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 Coetzee 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 MDC Olus 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.
Seize Power, Threaten State

De Klerk responds to ANC military leader

By Peter Rabie's

"Bus man Joe is Jobsy's triple king on the road"
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 Umstata — 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 Voortrekkerbegorie bombing 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.
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 voiceless 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 will never 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 (Grafton 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-

FINANCIAL MAIL JULY 20 1990.
Key planning talks ahead
Mandela, F W meet 2 days after touchdown

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, 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.
SA is heading for a nervous breakdown

Tony Leon, Democratic Party MP for Houghton, urges South Africans to return to basic democratic principles.

Hothouse

And our politics? Is William Butler Yeats’s prophecy of the Beast advancing 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 thrice 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 anger.

There was a time when the progressive opposition banded a trail of ideas and policies and had the guts to take unconventional and sometimes unpopular courses on issues of the day. It was never necessary then to strike a series of Palestinian bargains, trading bits of the soul for the presuppositional 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 weaknesses 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 shrunk 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 defiance of commonsense and implacable in opposition to tyranny, collectivism, 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 promise “that there can be no true liberty without order” and applied it to the killing fields of his beloved Natal.

We must articulate, 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 inspissate 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 apologize 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 “cultural 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 63 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 95 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 725 adults of both sexes and all races in both metropolitan and rural areas.

By MARTIN WELZ

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 20 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 in 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 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 78 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, Martin released the results of a national poll which showed that 63 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.
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.”

“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 Wil 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 has been done to control the use of explosives in the mining industry,” a spokesman said.
Cabinet plans two-day bush retreat

By SHAWN 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
Strategy for a new world

Peter Vale of the University of Western Cape's Centre of Southern African Studies offers some pointers on a new foreign policy for SA

The search for a new South Africa has affected the country's foreign standing profoundly. At no time since 15 March 1981 — 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 feted, 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 Mr. Klerk was able to convey to those with 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 stake 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 mealy 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.
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 Mineworkers 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 Coetzee yesterday condemned the act of terror, saying whoever was responsible had chosen the most cowardly method possible to make a statement.
Disorganized Right-Wing at War with Israel
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 26th Communist Party congress put him in a stronger position to push ahead with reform.

The EC summit in Dublin last month 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 contributions to restructurising in the Soviet Union. We can co-operate with you on the road that should lead to well-being and peace." — Daily Telegraph.

Call for unity in attack on AIDS

TRACY MELASS

THE National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has asked for co-operation between employers and unions in combating AIDS.

NUM health and safety spokesman Harry Shabazd 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 that there is much common ground between the NUM and the employers on the issues of HIV infection and AIDS," he said.

"The chamber has already spent a large sum of money on activities aimed at contributing to general knowledge in 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 transmissible diseases.

Transport and General Workers Union spokesman Cally Forrest said that from September the union would employ an officer to provide education on AIDS. It would be the first union to do so.

Negotiations are under attack

PRETORIA — People were following a deliberate strategy to disrupt or prejudice efforts to promote the negotiation process, Education, parental 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 there 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 education parents and communities to communicate the message that education could not be reconciled with deliberate and conscious 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 irreversible. It would never be the same again. The move was to a new, democratic SA.

"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 politicians have never fed empty stomachs."
Blast rocks NP offices

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 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 Randpoort 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".
A party for 'the silent masses'

By MONK NKOMO

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 need each other and must therefore be all represented in Parliament," co-leader of the party Mr Fril 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 Mahooi, 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," he said.

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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25 Years of Excellence
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.
A party for 'the silent masses'

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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," Kleyhans said.
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 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, 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.

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**Reform under strain**

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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 the 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 and foreign relations were expected to be high on its 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 Bhekmusa 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 militarist 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 KwaZulu police and the SAP.

Yesterday Law and Order spokesman Capt Peet Botha confirmed most of the approximately 40 Umkhonto members detained recently were SACP members. Further arrests could not be ruled out.

Botha also disclosed details of the arm's seized around the country. They included dozens of mines, hand grenades, rifles, pistols and an RPG-7 missile launch-

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 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 preconditions 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.
De Kerk must talk to Bush

SHORTLY after the members of the United States Congress were sworn in, Secretary of State Colin Powell, who was designated by Bush as his national security advisor, made an urgent appeal to De Kerk to talk about the situation in the region and how the United States could play a constructive role.

The secretary of state, who was scheduled to arrive in The Hague today, said that the talks would be an important step in the process of finding a peaceful solution to the conflict in the Middle East. Powell said that he hoped that the talks would be held in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding, and that they would be conducted in a manner that would be conducive to finding a lasting solution to the conflict.

In his remarks to Congress, Powell also noted that the United States had a vital interest in finding a peaceful solution to the conflict, and that it was important that the United States played a constructive role in the negotiations.

In a statement to the press, Powell said that he was looking forward to the talks and that he was confident that they would be productive.

The talks are expected to focus on a number of issues, including the situation in Sudan, the conflict in the Middle East, and the situation in the Balkans. Powell said that he was prepared to discuss any issue that was brought up by De Kerk, and that he was confident that the talks would be productive.

The talks are expected to last for several days, and they are expected to be attended by a number of other officials, including members of Congress and representatives of other countries. Powell said that he was looking forward to the talks and that he was confident that they would be productive.
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.

Immmunity

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.
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 2,284 black adults interviewed throughout South Africa.

However, 22 percent of the provinces 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 1,103 females. 38 percent expressed support for the ANC, 19 percent for the United Democratic Front, 15 percent for the Congress of South African Trade Unions, 10 percent for the African National Congress, six percent for the South African Communist Party, and one percent for other left-wing parties.

The survey was conducted between April 10 and June 11 in four provinces of the country.

The ANC’s high popularity rating reflects a division of society along race, age and gender, showing the rural-urban divide and the ties between South Africa’s classes and the white community.

The exclusion of Natal-KwaZulu, traditionally a strong area of support for the ANC, has led to an increase in the results of the survey. However, this effect, however, may not be as great as it might have been, if the mid-March election, which, according to various early estimates, would have brought a significant increase, was not conclusively held in Natal-KwaZulu.

A separate contemporary survey, conducted by Market Research Africa, in April this year in the main metropolitan areas, including Durban, indicates that the exclusion of Natal-KwaZulu led to an increase in the results of the survey.

Low appeal
A critical feature of the survey is the low appeal of the ANC outside Natal-KwaZulu, even in areas like the Western Cape where there is a strong Zulu population and where土地 seen was enjoyed substantial support.

There is a high level of awareness of the ANC in the survey, but it is already known as the UDF bus, judging from the survey’s findings, its awareness of the organisation which is hit-and-miss in the province.

One of the outcomes expected by the ANC was that there would be a high level of support from the ANC outside Natal-KwaZulu. However, this was not the case, as the ANC’s appeal in the province was not as high as expected.

Supports
The ANC’s appeal, however, is not as high as expected in the province. Despite the high level of awareness, the ANC’s appeal is not as high as expected.

Insecurity
It may stem inner insecurity about the future, a reluctance to commit themselves, fuelled by a rapidly shifting social scene.

It may be a reflection of a reaction against role reversal, which is not unusual in our society, in its often unbalanced public appeal.

The absence of strong, positive, identifiable social policies and the main political forces may be due to any of several factors.

Sympathy for the ANC is being eroded by the UDF and its allies. These attitudes are mutually reinforcing.

From the ANC’s viewpoint, there is one very gratifying result. most of its strongest supporters are drawn from the middle-aged, the desirable, the farmers and the new business group.

Nearly half (47) of blacks in the 16-24 age group feel very close to the ANC, against one third (32) for the UDF and a smaller share (18) for Inkatha.

The same pattern is found in the 25-34 age group, the proportion of people who feel very close to the ANC increases from just under 20 to a little over 20.

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Majority
There is a clear majority, 64, of blacks nominate the ANC as their favourite organisation.

The NP does not appeal well, achieving 8 of the vote. The ANC’s appeal in the province is not as high as expected.

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ANC activist and former prime minister of Zambia Kenneth Kaunda warned the African National Congress that "imperialist minorities" would not be tolerated and that the congress would not be organized for any purpose other than "to fight for the liberation of all Africa."
**ANC ‘activist’ seeks US asylum**

DURBAN.—A man alleged to be a member of the military wing of the ANC, Mr Bhekukumusa Jabulani Ximba, took refuge in the American consulate here at 11am yesterday, seeking political asylum.

The 28-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 Cela, 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 confirmed yesterday Mr Ximba was an ANC “activist.”

Mr Dickson said he would know definitely by tomorrow whether Mr Ximba would be granted asylum.

Mr Ximba said he chose the American consulate to pressure US President George Bush into accepting President F W 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 claimed to be a “black leader” and US officials were determining whether they could help him. — Sapa
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 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."
In search of Boerastat

I promise... there will be war
Peter Wrightson
Economic priorities sensitive to shock
Business must be responsive to demand
The importance of the
cooperative economy
is increased.

The increasing
importance of
consumer
cooperatives
cannot be
overestimated.

The cooperative
emphasizes
local
production
and
consumption,
which helps to
reduce
dependence
on
imported
goods.

Furthermore,
the
cooperative
model
provides
opportunities
for
empowerment
and
social
justice,
as
it
distributes
wealth
more
equitably
among
its
members.

In
conclusion,
the
cooperative
model
represents
a
powerful
tool
for
addressing
economic
challenges,
and
its
importance
must
be
fully
recognized.

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 1996 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 30 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 38 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 Mozambiquan sanctions could not be trusted to carry out the terms of the Nkomati non-aggression treaty with South Africa (55 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 (69 percent).
Obstacles likely to be swept away

Govt, ANC confident of breakthrough

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 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 irresolvable 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 meeting should not resolve all these issues.

Each party has chosen five delegates for the meeting — fewer than half the number sent to the Groot Schaar 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 Pik 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 returned 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 regard from Economic Co-operation Minister Jurgen Warnke.

Mandela said at a Press conference yesterday the ANC would 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
Agreement likely on August 6

By Peter Fabrieks
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

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 — 9% of women and 3% 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 58% to 70%.

The April poll indicated that Mr De Klerk had more support among Afrikaans-speakers in the rural areas than in the cities.
Mr. Chris Ham
Guns to his
Sticks
Hani

Guns for Breakthrough
CoT, ANC Iook
Tension over detention of national executive’s Maharaj

Top ANC member detained

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, Umkonto 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 SAP, 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 Sirela ground-to-air missiles and components for car-bombs.
ANC talks with Government are still on course

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 Low in negotiating with an unrecognised teachers’ organisation at a meeting with President F W de Klerk in Pretoria today.

Low 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 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 Low, Education and Culture Minister Piet Claise and heads of their departments.

The TFC delegation will be led by its president, Henkie 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

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.

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 guerras

UMKHOMO we Sizwe guerners were still operating according to instructions issued before the May 18 summit between the ANC and the organisation should be to inform them about decision the meeting, ANC deputy leader Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference in Pretoria, Mandela said he had met F W de Klerk at their weekend meeting that a distinction had been made between the NP, always a leg
A Federation Would Mean New Powers for the States

Tony Leon

and new bondholders

With a Federative Constitution, governments at all levels would have greater powers and responsibilities, allowing for more effective governance and decision-making. This would mean new powers for the states, including

- Increased control over taxation and revenue Generation, allowing for more tailored and efficient fiscal policies.
- Enhanced authority in areas such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure development, enabling states to address local needs more effectively.
- Greater autonomy in decision-making, leading to more responsive and accountable governance.

The transition to a federative system would require a robust constitutional framework and a commitment to ensuring a fair and inclusive distribution of powers, resources, and responsibilities among all levels of government.

In conclusion, a federative system offers a promising path towards a more balanced and equitable governance structure, empowered by new powers for the states and a renewed commitment to democratic principles and social justice.
Hit squad debate challenge to FW de Klerk

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 Hamman Commission of Inquiry into allegedly politically-motivated murders reconvenes in Pretoria. — Sapa.
Team to meet Govt named

By Esmaré van der Merwe
and Peter Fabricus

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.
Campanhing for a Borderless Dreams of a White Homeland

REPORT on a Borderless Dreams of a White Homeland

29/1999 Argentina

30/09

PROFESSOR CRILENO

Spectrum
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 Weerstandsbevegning, 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 refused 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 defence 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 widespread intimidation, which would lead to the creation of a state of general unaccountability 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 (304A)

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 Afrikaans Sakekamer function he said the danger of revolution was at its greatest not when a population was totally oppressed but when expectations went unfulfilled.

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.
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 Nhobi 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," Nhobi 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-Reuters reports that ANC national executive-member Ronnie Kasrils 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."

Nhobi, asked how the ANC would respond to a government demand that Slovo be excluded from the ANC delegation, said:

"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.

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.

Mbeki 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.
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.
to the people

Get closer

Government looks
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."
Bid to prevent talks collapsing

FW puts Mandela under pressure

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 includes 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 some anxiety 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.

HOPE 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 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**

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 pertinently after allegations of an assassination plot by Umkhonto we Sizwe elements which Mr Nelson Mandela and some other ANC leaders may not have known about.

While he bit 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 assassination plot allegations were again discussed. The two are to meet yet again.

Their meetings again showed how critically political events are developing.

At their meeting on the day after 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 Portuguese 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 use "arson 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 the government unilaterally withdrew from the talks, the ANC could be forced to continue with the armed struggle.

After this came allegations of the discovery of a massive-scale insurrection plan to overthrow the government.

This issue is bound to have arisen at last Friday's two-hour meeting between the two leaders. Mr De Klerk had by then been informed of the first details about the plot.

This week, after the ANC's national executive meeting, Mr De Klerk said he had discussed the matter with Mr Mandela.

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 6 it still took time before decisions taken at the top percolated through to command the ground below. He maintained that some ANC members were still garbling in terms of instructions issued before the Groote Schuur talks. It was not only to reach them and, Mr Mandela said, the ANC had not seen any declaration of hostility from the ANC to the Government.

He further alleged that Mr De Klerk is apparently prepared to give any assurance to Mr De Klerk that it is apparent as if Mr Mandela had not known of the Groote Schuur plans. The impression also is that he will not appear to take steps against actions which go 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 under a report in a newspaper in which he said that government action since February had been an attempt to normalise political and legal processes 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 and that the talks will go forward 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 the programme each side had agreed on at the Groote Schuur talks.

The working group's first priority was to define those offers that were to be presented as "political" in the South African context.

Against that definition the following categories could then be dealt with: those involving sentences for such offences; those liable to prosecution or already under prosecution for such offences; and those who would be impossible to extradite or who were liable to be prosecuted in the countries to which those others should return.

Time scales were also discussed, including those relevant to the passing out of violence as a political instrument.

The working group also had to advise on procedures for the reconstruction of 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 severe pressure from overseas on this issue.

There will not be a mass release of prisoners. But some ANC leaders feel that the various governments on a phased release there could be an ANC commitment to suspend the armed struggle and respect "violence".

In my 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 has been advised to work on the finer details of the report and it is said that the process has now reached a stage where the feeling in government circles is that the two sides are very close to an agreement on the dismantling of the stumbling block to the start of real negotiations.

One of the last snags was removed with an agreement that the two committees of 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 the discussions 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 out before any stop to this process is contemplated.

In addition to the issue of political prisoners the government's first priority is the dismantling of the system of "political" in the South African context.

In the long term the government has to be concerned with the problem of the future of the country. It is not a question of the immediate future but the hope that the country can be a better place for all its inhabitants. It is the task of the government to ensure that the country can work for the benefit of all its inhabitants. It is the task of the government to ensure that the country can work for the benefit of all its inhabitants.
Mandela meets FW

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.
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

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

A WEEK ago the announcement of the inaugural rally of the recently unbanned South African Communist Party bore testimony to the assumption that the country was going through a period of transition.

This week the launch of the Workers' Party in South Africa had, under the banner of the editor of The Observer, been developing into a slow and almost feigned gathering of tents and tents of tents.

It was as if South Africa had in one swoop been turned into a country of today.

On another level, literary projects are being published that are antagonistic to the new regime.

It was all thanks to the political enemies of State President FW de Klerk and his historic speech on February 2 when he announced all and not the classical communists that the police would start using their muscle to ensure law and order.

Supporters

With the last Sunday's headline news, "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.

The police were reported to have "used" the strategy of "divorce" to pursue their own agenda.

The ANC's Mr Ahmed Kathrada confirmed that the arrests were "persecutions" and that the organisation was involved in "peaceful activities to promote the aims of the liberation movement."

Elsewhere in the same edition of The Sunday Star, in a report on...
Internal Security Act could be big obstacle

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 effect of the Act, the HRC's Dr Max Coleman said the Act embodied virtually all of the elements perceived as negating and stifling 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 Celle 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'

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 a member of the Eminent Persons Group in May 1986, "a lot of water has passed under the bridge".

"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." Obasanjo said: "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 1979 to 1979 and became a member of the African National Congress (ANC) during the 1980s. — Sapa
'FW 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, 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 doctrine 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.

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, Romania, 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 election 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 apologize for the sins of apartheid. As sociologist Herbert 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 ever 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 instigated 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.
The Afrikander Desert

West Coast region of the Cape Province.

A proposed document has been drafted in circular form by a committee, under the chairmanship of Professor Botshol at the University of Cape Town. The document, which has been submitted to the Department of Agriculture, will be circulated to all interested parties.

Professor Botshol, a renowned expert in African agriculture, has been involved in the drafting of this document. It is intended to provide guidance on the utilization of the West Coast region for agricultural purposes.

The document suggests the establishment of a special committee to oversee the implementation of the proposed measures. It also recommends the allocation of financial resources to support the project.

The Afrikander Desert, located on the West Coast, is known for its unique ecosystem and potential for agricultural development. The document aims to highlight the importance of this region and propose strategies to maximize its potential.

The proposal is expected to be discussed at the next meeting of the Department of Agriculture, and interested parties are encouraged to submit their comments and suggestions.

For more information, please contact Professor Botshol at the University of Cape Town.
The edge...
FW and Mandela to hold crunch meeting on talks

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 8 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. Itumeleng Musala, in Johannesburg to discuss the August 6 talks between the government and the ANC, reports Sapa.
Top vigilante resigns post

WELKOM. — The leader of the self-styled Blanke Veiligheid (BV) vigilante group here, Mr Henne Muller, has resigned.

Mr Muller said the group had become irrelevant because Law and Order Minister Mr Adriann 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 the Northern Free State, Colonel Hennie Heymans, said he was very pleased to hear of the decision. — Sapa
The peace process was not very convincing, the presence of the members of the ANC and the SACP were so minimal, and the meetings were so infrequent, that the process appeared to be a mere formality. The genuine representatives of the contracts and the actual participants in the negotiations were not present. The peace process was not very convincing.

London: The peace process in South Africa is at risk.
President Bush and President George W. Bush to meet in Washington to discuss foreign policy

Now, real need for

FW to meet Bush

By Lester Vente, Political Correspondent

A Drive is under way

September 21, 2001

[Image of a person]
Govt silent on Mandela denial

Police retract claims about Slovo’s ‘plot’

BILLY PADDOCK, LINDEN DIRNS
and MIKE ROBERTSON

GOVERNMENT and state security retreated into a haze 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 allegations 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 Mandela on Wednesday regarding the issue.

Security Branch chief Lt Gen Baste 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 H 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.

Slovo

At the weekend Slovo said he was in London 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 Magasa.

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 yesterday blamed the Press for the “Red Plot” furor 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.

“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”. 

From Page 1

The SAP was not on a witch hunt, but looking at “specific individuals involved in illegal actions in Operation Vula”.

See Page 4
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

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 'minority', 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 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.

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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 Pretoria, was made of a large number of S23 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 SAPD 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 Pretoria Street.

Police said a member of the public noticed the car bomb.

The unidentified person notified the police shortly after 2am, 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.

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 Gien Babb who lost the election against Malan last year, and Jeugkrig chairman Martius 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.
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.

DEALMAKERS

HOTEL OFF-SALES & DISCO. Off-sales with 1/6 exceeding R3.5-million. The largest on-consumption outlet and most popular disco in the area. Neg.: 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 WHOLESALER. 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 NZ 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-
Mandela briefs envoys

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, briefed foreign ambassadors and senior diplomats in Pretoria on Saturday. \textit{Sowetan} 20/7/90

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, 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, Mr 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 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

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.
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 intimating 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 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 as of 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 the宋 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 retracted.

\[ To \ Page \ 2 \]

Talks 8/104

ed allegations 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 had been 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.

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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-govt talks 'on' by Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

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 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.
FW and Mandela to discuss 'plot'?

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 continuance 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's events 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. (011) 117-146

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. (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

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.

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Change in SA is permanent - bishop

SOUTH Africa is moving irreversibly towards democracy and an end to apartheid and minority rule, Archbishop Mzekazi Masiyiwa, 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.
In the 1980s South Africa will move towards racially mixed government.

We have had three conventions, the last, of course, from 1984, the peaceful order, the second one in 1961, the third, the third in 1983 and the fourth last year brought the coloured and the Asians into the parliament.

Now, at long last, a parliament elected by South Africans and we can do. No longer will African's be scattered and scattered all over the place. They'll have a vote only for homestead assemblies.

This means a new constitution, which many 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 word "democracy" as an idea does not tell us much about itself. It is not a word that many governments which do not allow the people not to call themselves democracies. Democracy was once defined as the government of the people, by the people, for the people. But who are the people? How do they govern when there are a million different groups in the world, in a modern society with a population running into millions and spread over thousands of square kilometers.

If all the people came before the law, the people, they could choose representatives to do it for them. Several, at least, of all the government means representatives to do it for them.

The voters need to ensure that such representatives do not act in the interests of those who have chosen them. Dissatisfied

They need to make sure that at any time we can get rid of them, that the government means not only the government but also the ordinary public.

The purpose of periodic elections is to call governments to account. There is no doubt of their accountability. In fact, it is the only one that is likely to work. It is the only one that can work.

Now that the prime minister walks in the front door of his house, he has to account to the electorate, while the old prime minister simply steps away from the back. No one can see him, no one can hear him. The defeated leader who does not have a choice is the best. No one can hear what he says.

Only in such political systems do people remember that they can change the government, to change the policies, to change the leaders, to change the cabinet. Dissatisfactions are the result of a simple fact: the system is not democratic. It is only the population of people who have been satisfied. If the government does something, they support it. If the government does not do something, they support it.

**Different**

The only way we have is to have so many different parties. When our legal and political systems become more evolved, we will have a choice of different views, different languages, different policies which represent different cultures and different interests.

The quality of the government will be affected by all these different interests. The quality of the government will be affected by all these different interests. The quality of the government will be affected by all these different interests.

**Politics**

We would therefore do well to recognize how important the habits, the habits, the habits that we do not mind. The habits that we do not mind. The habits that we do not mind. The habits that we do not mind.

In the last five years in the growing intolerance which seems so prevalent, there is not a single positive test. The tests that are now being used say what is being said. The violence of the government is not being dealt with. The violence of the government is not being dealt with. The violence of the government is not being dealt with.

Finally, there is the secret ballot. Did someone ever try to stop the secret ballot? It would mean that those who do not participate agree that the government cannot, that its leadership cannot be trusted that it has no authority or it is excluded from the normal political process altogether.

We are left with two alternatives: either to deal with this situation or to deal with it in a way that is not possible. The problem is that such a system is not a multiparty system. It is a system of minor parties. It is a system of minor parties. It is a system of minor parties.
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 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 FW and Mandela

By TOS WENZEL, 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: What does it really mean?

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**

Swappo at one stage claimed to be the only true representative of black opinion in Namibia. The elections there in November last year showed how false this claim was. It proved that Swappo 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 Front-line 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.