

S.A. POLITICS & GOVT. 1990

MAY

AAM to try to scupper FW's visit

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Anti-Apartheid Movement, spurred on by Mr Nelson Mandela's appeal for the continued isolation of Pretoria, has vowed to campaign against president de Klerk's visit to Europe next month.

The AAM decided at a meeting this week to launch a campaign against Mr de Klerk's visit and to link up with anti-apartheid groups in other European countries he plans to visit.

In a message to the AAM, Mr Mandela, the ANC deputy president, appealed to the British public to isolate Pretoria and impose "people's sanctions".

His appeal came as the AAM released the results of a Gallup Poll showing British public opinion to be opposed to a visit by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to South Africa.

The poll, commissioned by the AAM, showed that only 31 percent of the British public supported such a visit and that 56 percent of those polled backed sanctions.

The AAM has threatened to intensify sanctions and to discourage tourism to SA.

Mr de Klerk is due to meet Mrs Thatcher in London on May 19, after meeting European Commission president, Mr Jacques Delors, the previous day.

A tough test for both sides

South Africa's ruling National Party and its long-standing enemy, the African National Congress, have set aside three days for their historic "talks about talks", thereby extending the short one-day meeting they originally planned for April 11.

Their agreement to treble the time available for talks — reached after the ANC's cancellation of the April meeting in protest against the shooting of 11 black civilians on March 26 — is a tacit acknowledgement that the rescheduled discussions will be tough and their differences will not be bridged easily.

Judging from pre-meeting comments, it is not too hyperbolic to see the talks — which start tomorrow — as a meeting between the immovable stone and the irresistible force.

Mr Joe Slovo, a leading member of the ANC's national executive and the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, says within minutes of arriving in South Africa: "We come in a spirit of reconciliation but not as petitioners. We have come as claimants on behalf of the people who have been kept down for too long."

Majority rule

If Mr Slovo's statement hints at the irresistible force, President de Klerk conjures up images of the immovable stone: the Government, he says, is prepared to talk about sharing power, but it is not prepared to "commit suicide" by submitting to simple black majority rule.

The main purpose of the three-day meeting is to remove the obstacles to negotiations. One of the obstacles is identified by the Government as the violence sweeping the country, resulting in the highest rate of deaths in South Africa in peacetime.

One of the causes of the violence is the ANC's continued commitment to "armed struggle", Mr de Klerk says.

He elucidates: "You cannot send and threaten to send armed men

Problems loom large as historic meeting begins



Mr Joe Slovo.

PATRICK LAURENCE discusses the climate in which this week's crucial talks between the Government and the ANC take place in Cape Town.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

into the country, send mobs rampaging in the streets, pursue intimidation and at the same time negotiate peacefully...

"We say their adherence to violence through the so-called armed struggle is a stumbling block, preventing them from joining peaceful negotiations."

In contrast, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, reaffirms the ANC's commitment to armed struggle almost as soon as his feet touch South African soil after years in exile.

His words echo those of Mr Nelson Mandela: armed struggle cannot be abandoned, ANC fighters cannot lay down their arms while policemen gun down unarmed civilians.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr de Klerk's right-hand man, insists the cessation of violence, in fact and in rhetoric, is an essential prerequisite to the "normal political process", without which there cannot be negotiations.

Against that, Mr Walter Sisulu, the white-haired veteran ANC leader, ripostes: "The cessation of armed hostilities cannot be a unilateral demand. It cannot be discussed

before negotiations. When and how there should be a cessation of hostilities is a distinct question to be negotiated."

Mr Mbeki identifies the obstacles to negotiations as the continuing state of emergency, the continuing incarceration of men and women who were jailed for carrying out ANC orders and the continuing uncertainty about the safe return of exiles.

Judging from Government comments, the question of prisoners and exiles can be solved: Dr Viljoen speaks of discussion to redefine the term "political prisoner", presumably to widen it; the air is thick with conjecture about an exchange of prisoners, ANC saboteurs whose actions resulted in civilian deaths for, say, South African agents imprisoned in Zimbabwe.

Lifting of the state of emergency, however, seems a more difficult problem. To some extent it is a question of priorities: the Government says abandonment of the commitment to armed struggle will make it easier to lift the state of emergency; lifting the state of emergency, the ANC counters, will

make it easier for it to abandon armed resistance.

Even if, or when, these issues are resolved, a long road lies ahead. Even in outline the problems loom large and seemingly intractable.

One is the reconciliation of white fears with black aspirations. Another is the conflict between the Government's demand for protection for "minority rights" and the ANC's suspicion that "minority rights" is 1990 newspeak for "group rights" and apartheid.

A third issue relates to the tricky question of who will be at the negotiating table and how they will be chosen. As the ANC's legal expert, Mr Albie Sachs, notes that theoretically it is a procedural matter but in fact it is a substantive question and hence of critical importance.

As the two sides grapple at the negotiating table, however, each will be aware of their adversaries outside.

The National Party faces a threat from ultra-rightists who are using more and more bellicose language every day and who applaud the recent theft by rightists of weapons from the air force armoury.

Growing challenge

The ANC dare not ignore the growing challenge from the more militant, anti-negotiation Pan Africanist Congress. According to one recent survey, the PAC already has more support among the youth in Soweto than the ANC. The survey's methodology has not been scrutinised and its findings cannot be regarded as definitive.

But the survey's results are consistent with claims by the PAC of rapid growth, and serves as a warning to the ANC that its paramouncy in the black community cannot be taken for granted.

The white ultra-right and the PAC are reminders to both parties that they dare not surrender too much in the "give-and-take" of negotiations. But, at the same time, they stress the consequences of failure, of abandoning the talks.

Don't expect too much from talks, warns Viljoen

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has warned against expecting too much from the crucial first formal talks with the African National Congress which begin here tomorrow.

Dr Viljoen also disclosed that the talks — due to start at 3.30 pm and to continue until Friday — would take place at the historic former Prime Minister's residence Groote Schuur, in Newlands.

Dr Viljoen stressed again the Government's firm standpoint that the ANC would have to make a clear and unambiguous commitment to peaceful political change.

This implied abandoning violence and intimidation and an end to references to the armed struggle.

At a press briefing last night, Dr Viljoen said there were people who were inflating expectations about the outcome of the talks.

He said that the Government realised the urgency of the talks particularly against the background of the continuing violence in the country.

"But we also believe it will take time to build trust and understanding as a foundation for finding mutually satisfactory solutions and for them to have a good chance of working."

Dr Viljoen stressed that the talks were confined to the issue of removing obstacles to negotiations and would not deal with either the question of how constitutional negotiations should be set up nor would they deal with any constitutional issues.

He said that negotiating a new constitution was a political activity which required a normal political process for establishing valid negotiation.

To reach real negotiations, the Government was presently involved in preliminary talks with several potential and likely participants in such talks.

He said that the Government had already met groups such as Inkatha as part of the same process.

The Government was prepared to discuss with the ANC such matters as conditions for lifting the state of emergency and possible extension of the definition of so-called "political offences" with a view to the release of prisoners, the return of exiles and indemnity against prosecutions and arrests.

The Government insisted that the responsibility for ensuring peace if the emergency was lifted rested not only with the Government but with all — "including those who in the past considered themselves justified in resorting to violence".

Today both delegations will complete their preparations for the talks while the ANC leaders will also address a series of rallies in the Cape to celebrate Workers' Day.

iting in the wings

the Free State and Natal."

For Johannesburg, the April rainfall was a record 144 mm. This beat the previous best for April of 112 mm recorded in 1974.

Other measuring points close to Johannesburg also showed considerable gains. The Jan Smuts Airport recording for the month was 109,6 mm. The average there is 55 mm for April and the record 130 mm in 1971. Rand airport had 117,8 mm this April.

In Pretoria, where the April average is 51 mm, rain for the month was measured at 111 mm.

egligent driving — which

Many whites prepared to compromise, survey finds

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The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Nearly half of white South Africans are prepared to compromise to get sanctions lifted, according to an in-depth survey by the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre (IRRC).

The survey, the first systematic, in-depth research into how white South Africans react to these pressures, was released in Washington yesterday.

The survey of 1 600 whites, conducted in May last year, pioneered the use of public policy focus groups in South Africa, according to the IRRC. The project was conducted with the help of Mr Jannie Hofmeyr of the University of Cape Town.

The study found whites perceived sanctions to be the most serious form of external pressure. However, most ranked economic sanctions as a secondary concern in relation to the other problems, such as prospects for the economy and rising black resistance.

The survey found 18 percent of whites believed South Africa could cope easily with total sanctions. A further 62 percent believed the country could cope, though with some difficulty. Only 16 percent believed it would handle the situation badly.

When asked whether the economy could withstand such sanctions indefinitely, 41 percent believed it could, 40 percent believed it could not, and 12 percent were undecided.

Most whites accepted reforms like the removal of the Group Areas Act (52 percent) and the inclusion of moderate blacks in government (54 percent). Up to 80 percent believed such reforms would get sanctions lifted.

At the time of the survey, only 24 percent of whites would accept negotiations with the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and only two percent a transfer of power to the black

majority. (More recent surveys suggest a huge change in white thinking, with 57 percent of whites now supporting negotiations with the ANC, according to the IRRC).

The compromise group, according to the IRRC, is largely English-speaking and nonracial in its political orientation. Most of the supporters of the Democratic Party are found in this group. However, the National Party is split right down the middle, with 47 percent of its supporters backing a compromise and 42 percent saying South Africa should do what is right.



Security tight for meeting with ANC

Expectations rise for today's historic talks

FOCUS

By JOE THLOLOE In Cape Town

ON Monday evening we returned empty-handed after driving in wet weather to a luxury hotel 45 kilometres outside Cape Town to attend a Press briefing by the ANC delegation that is meeting the South African Government from today.

The gates to the hotel grounds were guarded by two white security policemen. They checked our names against their lists and politely told us that we were not on them.

At the filling station near the hotel two police vans were parked and several uniformed policemen kept watch.

Across the street, opposite the garage, two private police cars were parked.

The Government is not taking any chances with the ANC people - security is tight.

On its side the ANC is also vigilant - Pressmen have to get ANC accreditation and as a result journalists covering the talks are carrying two Press cards, one issued by the ANC and the other by the Bureau for Information.

Convoy

While we manoeuvred to turn back, a convoy of several kombis and private cars, obviously carrying members of the delegation, stopped briefly at the gate, and then sped into the yard and up the incline to the back of the hotel.

The ANC delegation had been in meetings with the leadership of the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions, preparing for the talks today.

Journalists who have already been inside tell of the various checkpoints as they proceeded towards the appointments.

Requests for interviews have to be sent well in advance, and we were turned back because we had not made the arrangements.

Expectations are rising as the two delegations are poised to meet this afternoon at Groote Schuur, a museum that was the official residence of South African Prime Ministers and State Presidents until 1984, behind the picturesque mountain.

Briefing

In a Press briefing on Monday, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen spelt out what the Government expects from the talks - "a clear...commitment to peaceful methods for political change on the part of all participants in negotiations, implying the abandonment of violence and intimidation and a cessation of reference to continuing the armed struggle."

"The Government believes such rhetoric is encouraging the use of violence and intimidation and is not conducive to normalising the political process," he said.

Spokesman Terror Lekota yesterday said that the ANC delegation would call off the armed struggle only when it was satisfied that the negotiations were on course and the process would not be aborted.

He said that when the ANC established Umkhonto we Sizwe armed struggle was not a principle, but a tactic used because of the circumstances then.

Lekota did not see the question of armed struggle being finalised at this round of talks. It is believed that the ANC will insist on negotiated ceasefire rather than a unilateral calling off of the armed struggle, but Lekota sees this happening later in the process.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC delegation led by deputy

president Nelson Mandela said they were determined to remove obstacles hampering negotiations:

"We consider ourselves obligated not only to our constituency, but to the whole country to make maximum effort to find a common ground to eliminate tension between black and white people."

Obligated

"The ANC also considers itself obligated to the international community for the support which it has received through a most difficult period in the past and will do everything to make a success of the present exercise."

They said they were finalising and refining their approach to the talks.

Also on the agenda will be the conditions of the lifting of the state of emergency, the definition of political offences "with a view to the release of political prisoners", the return of exiles and the indemnity against prose-

cution and arrest.

Indications are that the Government is going to argue that it cannot release trained guerrillas into the community while they are still under orders to continue fighting.

In the same way, the Government will not grant indemnity to trained guerrillas still in exile.

Struggle

The ANC will be asked to call off the armed struggle first.

The Government will also argue that the state of emergency cannot be lifted until the violence in the black townships subsides.

Observers in Cape Town believe that at most the meetings over the next three days will produce a statement in which the two commit themselves to a peaceful process of negotiations and agree to set up working committees to look at issues like a ceasefire and the definition of political prisoners.

This week's meetings are a first tentative step that might not yield screaming headlines.



NELSON MANDELA

Top-flight Argus team

TO keep readers up to the minute with the news as it breaks with this week's talks between the government and the ANC, The Argus has assigned a top flight team of journalists to the job.

The team includes TOS WENTZEL, The Argus's Presidential affairs specialist, Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS and the Argus Africa News Service's JOHN RYAN, whose assignments in Africa have brought him into close touch with leading personalities in the ANC, some of whom are in Cape Town for this week's talks.

Also contributing to the coverage this week will be a special team from the Sowetan, The Argus's sister newspaper from Soweto, as well as the political correspondents of other sister newspapers, the Star, the Sunday Star, the Daily News from Durban, the Sunday Tribune and the Pretoria News.

'Honour your leaders', Mandela tells youth

The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela ended his visit to Transkei, where he was born in 1918, with a clear message to the youth to respect their teachers and honour their traditional or tribal leaders.

Mr Mandela, who paid a nostalgic trip to his home village of Qunu, near Umtata, reflected sadly on the poverty of Transkei's rural areas: the bad roads, the derelict, overcrowded classrooms and the ill-equipped hospitals.

Addressing the youth, Mr Mandela said: "We do not envisage the emergence of a situation where teachers live under constant threats from the student body."

It would only serve to retard the academic progress of future leaders and deny them "the opportunity to compete equally in South Africa."

Against that, however, teachers had to earn the respect of their pupils by sensitivity to their needs and allowing them to participate in the planning of their school work.

Referring to the traditional leaders, Mr Mandela, who comes from the royal

The talks who's who

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

FOR the first time since their formation early this century, the National Party and the African National Congress sit down formally

today for talks on ways to achieve a negotiated settlement.

Two teams, one of nine government ministers and the

other, a widely representative 11-member ANC delegation, are scheduled to hold discussions for the next three days.

The government team:

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK, 54, a Potchefstroom University graduate and a lawyer by training. Born in Krugersdorp, he entered politics in 1972 as the MP for Vereeniging.

Six years later he was in the Cabinet and the portfolios he has held since then are Posts and Telecommunications and Social Welfare and Pensions, Sport and Recreation, Mining and Environmental Planning, Mineral and Energy Affairs, Internal Affairs and National Education.

He was elected Transvaal leader of the National Party in 1982 and National leader last year.

MR PIK BOTHA, 56, Foreign Minister, also a Potchefstroom law graduate, joined the diplomatic corps in 1953 and rose through the ranks, travelling extensively.

He was admitted to the bar in 1970 and, in the same year, became MP for Wonderboom.

Mr Botha was appointed ambassador to the United Nations in 1974 and the United States in 1975. He became Foreign Minister in 1977. He is deputy chairman of the National Party in the Transvaal.

Dr GERRIT VILJOEN, 64, Minister of Constitutional Development, studied law and classical languages at Pretoria University, and studied further at Cambridge, Leyden and the Sorbonne.

He was Administrator General of South West Africa from 1979 to 1980. His Cabinet portfolios have been National Education, Co-operation, Development and Education, and Education and Aid.

He is the government's chief negotiator.

Dr DAWIE DE VILLIERS, 50, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Undertakings, a philosophy and theology graduate from Stellenbosch University and the Rand Afrikaans University.

A former Springbok rugby player, Dr de Villiers entered politics in 1972 as the MP for Johannesburg West. He was then appointed ambassador to London in 1979.

He was made Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism in 1980. He is Cape leader of the National Party.

The ANC team:

MR NELSON MANDELA, 72, the deputy president of the ANC. Born in the Transkei and trained as a lawyer — he shared a law practice with Oliver Tambo — he

Mr KOBIE COETSEE, 59, Minister of Justice, a Dux medalist, studied law at the University of the Free State. He was admitted to the bar in 1972. He entered politics as MP for Bloemfontein West in 1968.

Ten years later he became Deputy Minister of Defence and National Security and two years later, in 1980, was appointed Minister of Justice.

Mr BAREND DU PLESSIS, 50, Finance Minister. Potchefstroom BSc graduate, taught mathematics before joining IBM's banking and finance division in 1968.

He was appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information in 1982 and Minister of Education and Training in 1983. He has been Minister of Finance since 1984.

Mr ADRIAAN VLOK, 53, Minister of Law and Order, was born in Sutherland and educated at Keimoes High. He moved to the Transvaal, joined the Department of Justice and took up part-time legal studies.

He entered local politics in 1972 became an MP in 1974. He was made Deputy Minister of Defence in 1984 and Deputy Minister of Law and Order a year later. He has held his present post since 1986.

DR STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE, 51, Minister of Education and Training and Development Aid, is a political science graduate of Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Unisa and Stellenbosch universities.

He became MP for Helderkruijn in 1981. His past Cabinet portfolios are Information, Information and Constitutional Planning and Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry. He is chairman of the National Party's federal information committee.

Mr ROELF MEYER, 43, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, was born in Port Elizabeth, but studied law at University of the Free State.

He was elected MP for Johannesburg West in 1979. In 1986 he was made Deputy Minister of Law and Order. He moved to the Department of Constitutional Development in 1988.

helping to set up the armed units. He later received military training in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. He helped plan operations with Rhodesian guerrillas



Mr F W de Klerk



Dr Gerrit Viljoen



Mr Kobie Coetsee



Mr Adriaan Vlok

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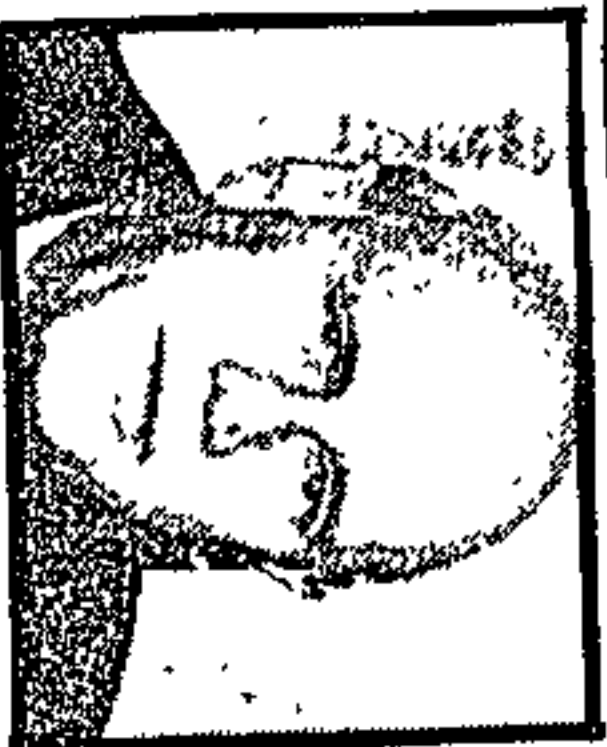
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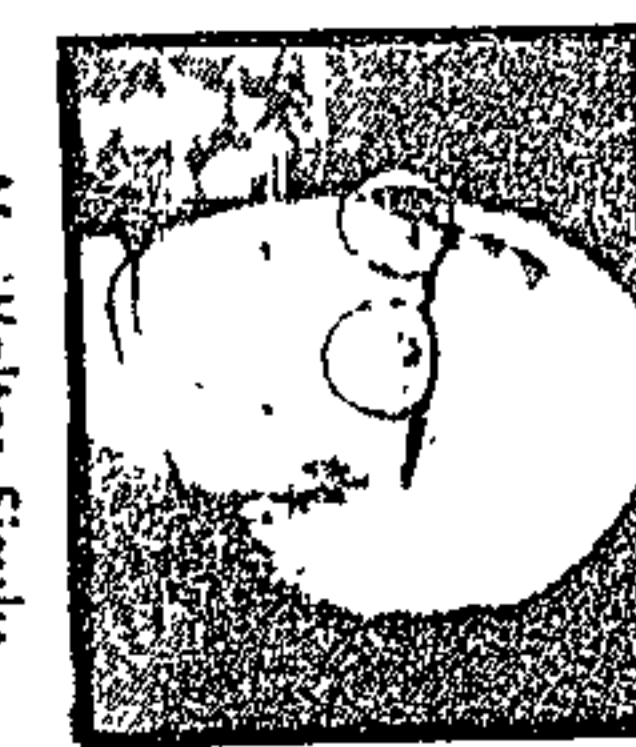
Mr F W de Klerk



Mr Pik Botha



Mr Nelson Mandela



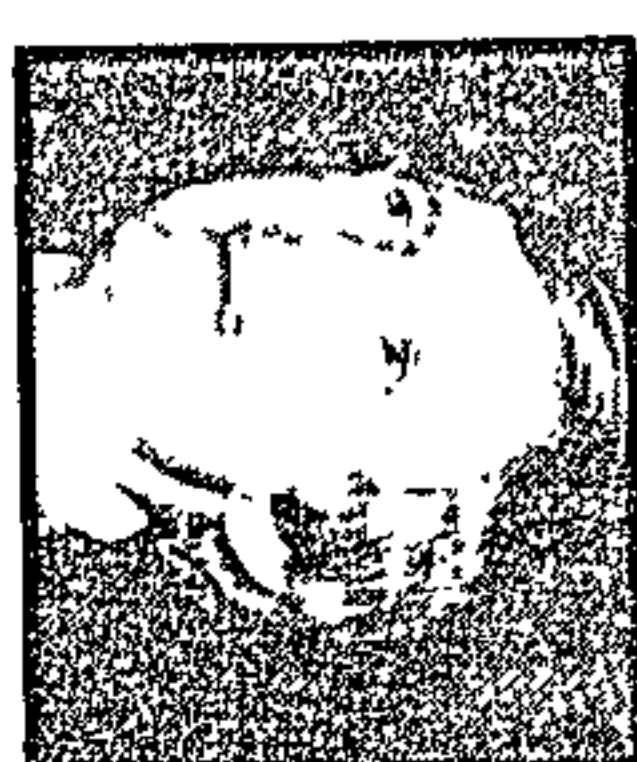
Mr Walter Sisulu



Mr Alfred Nzo



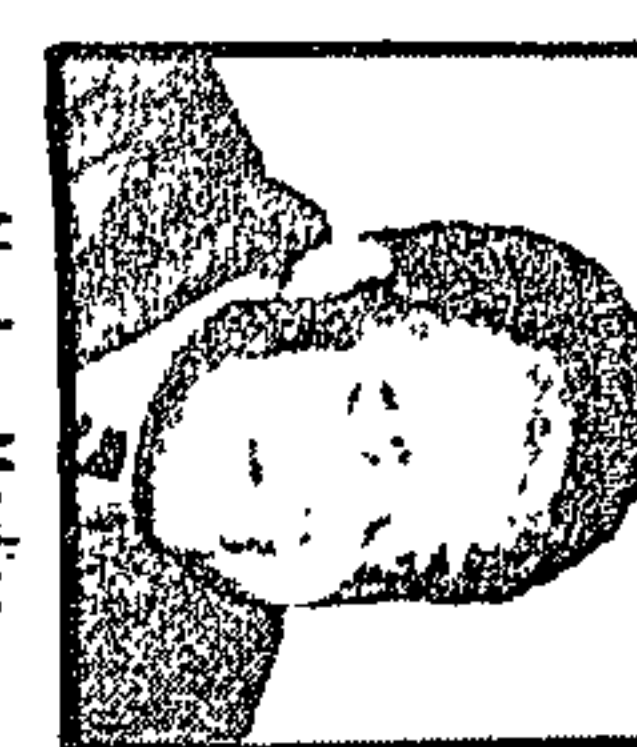
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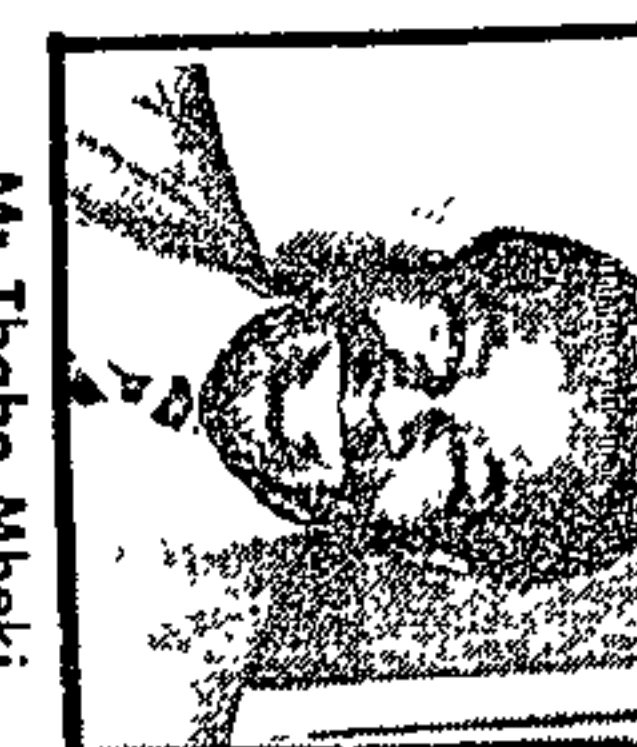
Dr Dawie de Villiers



Mr Joe Slovo



Mr Joe Modise



Mr Thabo Mbeki



Mr Kobie Coetsee



Mr Barend du Plessis



Mr Archie Gumede



Dr Beyers Naude



Mr Ahmed Kathrada



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It would only serve to retard the academic progress of future leaders and deny them "the opportunity to compete equally in South Africa."

Against that, however, teachers had to earn the respect of their pupils by sensitivity to their needs and allowing them to participate in the planning of their school work.

Referring to the traditional leaders, Mr Mandela, who comes from the royal Thembu family, assured them that their status was revered by the ANC. But he cautioned against despotism: every step taken by the leaders had to have the blessing of the people.

Anti-Apartheid body's pledge to oppose De Klerk tour

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London

THE Anti-Apartheid Movement, spurred on by an appeal from Mr Nelson Mandela for the continued isolation of Pretoria, has vowed to campaign against President F.W. de Klerk's visit to Europe next month.

The AAM decided at a meeting to launch a campaign against Mr De Klerk's visit and to link up with anti-apartheid groups in other European countries he plans to visit.

In a message to the AAM, Mr Mandela, the African National Congress deputy president, appealed to "the people of Britain to take whatever action you can to isolate apartheid and impose people's sanctions".

Mr Mandela's message came at the same time as the AAM released the results of a Gallup Poll showing British public opinion to be opposed to a visit by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to South Africa.

The poll, commissioned by the AAM, showed that only 31 percent of the British public supported such a visit. It also showed that 56 percent of those polled backed anti-apartheid sanctions.

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David Biggs's column will be found on page 10.

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The ANC team:

MR NELSON MANDELA, 72, the deputy president of the ANC. Born in the Transkei and trained as a lawyer — he shared a law practice with Oliver Tambo — he became active in black politics in the 1940s, rising to prominence in the ANC.

A key figure behind the movement's decision to mount an armed struggle, he was convicted of treason in the Rivonia trial and jailed until February this year. He is acknowledged as having been one of the world's most famous prisoners, and commands respect among critics and friends alike.

MR WALTER SISULU, 78, leader of the Internal Leadership Core and serves on the ANC's national executive committee. A former domestic worker and bakery employee, he joined the ANC in 1940 and became active in the organisation.

He was a close associate of Mr Mandela and they were tried together in the Rivonia trial. He was released last year.

MR ALFRED NZO, 65, heads the organisation's mission in exile in the absence of president Oliver Tambo.

A former health inspector in Alexandra township, he became politically active as a student at Fort Hare University and later played a leading role in the 1952 defiance campaign. He was also prominent in the 1957 bus boycott in Alexandra.

He has represented the ANC in Egypt, India and Tanzania.

MR JOE SLOVO, 64, Lithuanian-born secretary general of the South African Communist Party, and former chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He served with the South African Forces in World War 2.

Trained as a lawyer — he was an advocate in Johannesburg — his activism in the 1960s precipitated his exile in 1963. He left the country a month before the Liliesleaf Farm raid by police which led to the Rivonia trial. He was the first white to be elected to the ANC's national executive committee.

MR JOE MODISE, 61, commander in chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe. A former factory driver and grocery wholesaler, he joined the ANC in the late 1940s and played a leading role in resistance to the Sophiatown removals.

He was a member of one of the first armed units of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He travelled extensively,

He became MP for Helderkruijn in 1981. His past Cabinet portfolios are Information, Information and Constitutional Planning and Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry. He is chairman of the National Party's federal information committee.

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helping to set up the armed units. He later received military training in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. He helped plan operations with Rhodesian guerrillas against government forces in the late 1960s.

MR THABO MBEKI, 47, director of international affairs. Tipped as the future president of the ANC, he has an MA in economics from Sussex University. He has also received military training in the Soviet Union.

He became active in the ANC during the 1960s and has since been prominent in the ANC's diplomatic efforts abroad. He is one of the chief authors of the Harare Declaration.

MR ARCHIE GUMEDE, 76, UDF leader in Natal. He has been twice charged and acquitted for treason and often detained and banned.

He is considered one of the "old guard" in the anti-apartheid movement. His moderate views have occasionally brought him into conflict with others. His suggestion some years ago that the UDF could contest elections caused some controversy.

DR BEYERS NAUDE, 75, who studied theology and languages at Stellenbosch University, became an NGK minister. He was the youngest member of the Broederbond when he joined that organisation in 1940. His political transition occurred when he questioned the Biblical justification for apartheid. He has since been prominent in the clerical opposition to apartheid.

He was first banned in 1977.

MR AHMED KATHRADA, 60, a former Rivonia trialist, and close associate of Mr Nelson Mandela.

MS RUTH MOMPATI, 63, a veteran of the 1952 Defiance Campaign, is a senior member of the ANC's national executive committee and a noted strategist on the political and military council. She went into exile in 1962.

She serves on the National Women's Executive Committee.

MS CHERYL CAROLUS, 32, Western Cape publicity secretary for the UDF, she is well known as an activist in Cape Town.

Trained as a teacher, she became politically active at the age of 13 and became the first woman to be detained in the Western Cape. She holds a non-academic post in the University of the Western Cape's education, resource and information project.

Both sides want, and need, today's talks to succeed

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

1965 2/5/90

POLITICAL bargaining intensifies today between two of the most important political players in South Africa amid indications that both the government and the ANC want and need the talks to succeed.

But neither side is expecting it to be easy, or that anything concrete will necessarily be resolved by the end of the week.

Intense preparations have been underway for weeks. The government team, under President De Klerk, has been meeting for several hours at a time several times a week.

The ANC has also been hecticly busy, particularly in the last few days in Cape Town, conferring with political, community and labour leaders and academics.

The ANC's chief concern is achieving political equality to enable it to go out and win the hearts and minds of South Africans on the same basis as the National Party.

The obstacles it says are in the way of this include the fact that thousands of its supporters and officials in exile are uncertain about whether they will be liable for legal action relating to activities in the past if they should return.

Frustrate

The ANC also argues that here needs to be a redefinition of what constitutes a "political prisoner". This would involve a reassessment of political trials in South Africa.

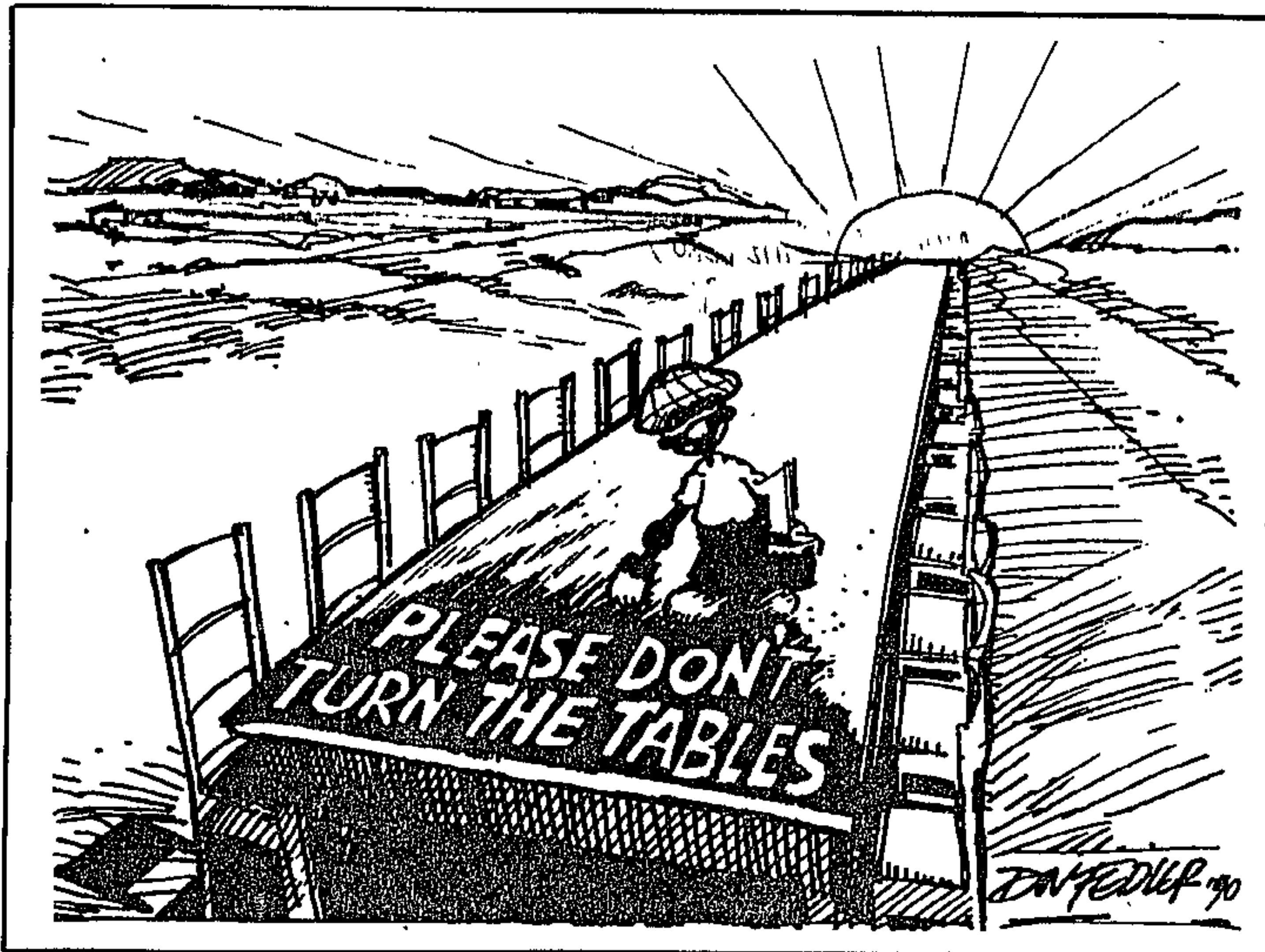
Negotiators will probably agree that the formula South Africa accepted in Namibia would just as easily be applied in South Africa.

It wants the state of emergency scrapped, saying this has been repeatedly used to frustrate the ANC's political activity. Likewise the occupation of the townships by troops militates against normal political activity, it says.

There is also deep unease about certain security legislation, such as the Internal Security Act.

All these things, the ANC says, will need to be sorted out before it can engage in normal political activity and, therefore, negotiations for a constitution.

The government has committed itself to normalising relations to create the atmosphere for valid negotiations



and it recognises that this means lifting certain restrictions imposed by the State.

But it also points out that normal political activity requires the cessation of violence and the armed struggle, "both in fact and in rhetoric", as the chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, puts it.

His goal is to reach a point where all parties are satisfied that these two conditions have been met.

The government is prepared to discuss the lifting of the state of emergency, the redefinition of political offences and the question of indemnity for exiles, but within the context of maintaining stability and law and order.

The government, Dr Viljoen emphasises, has a responsibility to ensure stability

is maintained, but it is not the government's responsibility alone.

In references to the ANC's commitment to armed struggle on the one hand and negotiation on the other, he talks of "double talk" and "ambiguity".

Normalising

These things, he argues, are not conducive to normalising the political process.

What has emerged is that the ANC appears to be willing to talk about the armed struggle this week, even though it was not originally going to be on the agenda.

It will firmly resist the idea of making what it calls a "unilateral" suspension of violence, but will offer some affirmative commitment if the government substantially meets its demands.

The ANC — which says it would never consider abandoning the option of armed struggle altogether before negotiations — favours a joint suspension of violence on terms to be worked out in a later meeting.

While some have argued that one of the factors influencing ANC thinking on this issue is the fear that the more it appears to be talking peace, the more its support base will be eroded by the tough-talking PAC, indications are that the ANC is more concerned about working out a deal with the government than it is about radical opposition in the black community.

It has become apparent that both the government and the ANC want this week's meeting to be a success.

The issues are delicate and they can be expected to be careful in approaching any possible agreements.

Consensus

Whether both sides will reach consensus on all agenda items by Friday afternoon remains to be seen.

What is plain, however, is that their mutual keenness to move on to the main event — negotiations proper — wells from a willingness to find a way to remove perceived obstacles.

After Friday, it will be deeds, rather than sentiments, and the actual mechanics of extending the normalisation of politics, that will count for everything.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party sees the greatest advantage of today's first meeting between the government

and the ANC as the opportunity it will provide for the two sides to get to know one another, reports Martin Challenor of the Political Staff.

In an interview, the Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, who was a senior man in the government's constitutional affairs department before he lost his security clearance, said the two sides would feel out each other at the first talks.

"One of the essential things in any negotiation is that people must get to know one another, get to know one another's style, must get to trust one another."

In coming together they were both making statements of intent that they wanted to find a negotiated solution for South Africa.

Essential

This was despite the fact that the ANC was still committed to the armed struggle and sanctions on the one hand and that apartheid was not thrown totally out of the window yet, and that some elements of repression remained.

The greatest advantage of this week's meeting, Mr Jordaan said, was that they would just get to know one another. Mutual trust was essential.

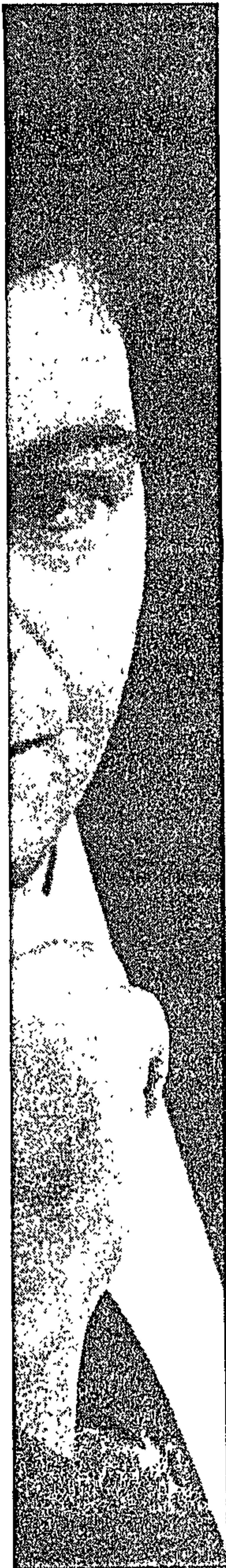
Mr Jordaan said the major issues for the ANC would be the question of political prisoners and the state of emergency.

The government would want a statement from the ANC that the time of violence was over.

"Organisations like the ANC have wide legitimacy but very little power. The power that they have at the moment is not the armed struggle in itself but the threat of armed struggle and the whole question of sanctions which, compared to the power of the National Party, is minimal."

"Now the NP on the other hand have the power but very little legitimacy."

Mr Jordaan believed there would be a trade off: violence for a very clear assurance that the government would accept a non-racial South Africa in the future.



ger to his lips in time-
tions at the Hiemstra
re by Ken Oosterbroek.

FW's tour of Europe biggest in decades

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk embarks next week on a tour of nine European countries in which he will meet two kings, seven presidents, nine Prime Ministers and five Foreign Ministers.

It will be the biggest international tour undertaken by a South African leader since the National Party came to power in 1948.

Although it will inevitably be something of a lap of honour for Mr de Klerk after his major reforms, he also hopes to translate the present goodwill into tangible results.

He will be visiting Europe at a time when the European Community is weighing up whether or not to begin lifting sanctions and the visit could tip the scales.

The countries he will visit are Britain, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece.

Expected

Mr de Klerk is expected to cast his net as wide as possible, since South Africa will be dealing with an economically united Europe in 1992.

The South African Government is expected to play down the sanctions issue. It is presenting the tour as merely an opportunity for Mr de Klerk to fully inform European leaders on his reform plans.

Mr de Klerk is said to have made a good impression on several Foreign Ministers and leaders during a flurry of meetings in Windhoek during the Namibian independence celebrations.

The Government believes that European leaders will be equally impressed.

Mr de Klerk's talks this week with the African National Congress about removing the obstacles to negotiation are expected to boost his credibility on the tour.

Some sort of agreement with the ANC emerging from the talks today would be a bonus.

● See Page 11.

ANC talks of trade-off on struggle

By Peter Fabricius, John Ryan
and Craig Kotze

The African National Congress is ready to suspend its armed struggle if the Government agrees to end violence from its side.

Hopes for success in the historic three-day talks between the ANC and the Government starting at Groote Schuur in Cape Town today seem to have been boosted by the ANC's agreement to put violence and the armed struggle on the agenda.

The Government has insisted these are the key issues in removing the obstacles to the start of negotiations.

Though the ANC is now willing to consider suspending the armed struggle as part of a trade-off, the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe military wing commander Mr Joe Modise said his organisation was still recruiting guerrillas to carry on the armed struggle.

Stringent security is being handled by the security police. No ANC security contingent is present, police said.

Since its arrival at the weekend, the ANC delegation has been closeted at the luxurious five-star Lord Charles Hotel in Somerset West under a police guard.

The two delegations are scheduled to sit down at 3.30 pm today to face each other across a long rectangular table in the dining room of Groote Schuur, the former prime minister's residence. The two leaders, President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, will sit directly opposite each other on the long sides of the table, flanked by their teams.

Priceless Flemish tapestries and antique oils and prints hanging on rich wood-panelled walls in the house once occupied by Cecil Rhodes will create a colonial ambience that might seem ironic to the ANC delegation as it sits down to parley with the Government after 78 years of beating at the door.

Both sides are fairly optimistic about the talks, which are scheduled to run until Friday. They believe some progress will be made, but agreement will be reached only at a subsequent round of talks.

● A surprising omission from the South African delegation is Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, but speculation is that his presence might have been counter-productive. Mr Modise said he was not surprised General Malan was not included in the Government team.

"I nearly didn't come myself. The army is the enemy on one side. MK (Umkhonto) is the enemy from their point of view."

● See Pages 2 and 16.

SA 2/5/90

50 (4) (11)

Top ANC delegate optimistic about talks

The ANC will not agree to a unilateral cessation of violence at its historic talks with the Government. **JENNY CARGILL** reports.

A leading African National Congress delegate to this week's talks with the Government is optimistic about the outcome of the historic Cape Town interchange between the country's two main antagonists. And, therefore, ceasefire negotiations could be expected to follow soon afterwards.

But, talking to The Star amid tight security at a luxury Cape hotel, the ANC's international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said the ANC would not agree at these preliminary talks to a unilateral suspension of violence.

"We are saying that we agree that the issue of violence shall be addressed," said Mr Mbeki, who is credited with moulding the ANC's negotiations perspective.

But first, he said, the obstacles to negotiations had to be removed and that was what these talks were about.

The ANC has put on the agenda for the May 2 to 4 talks four key preconditions: the release of political prisoners; the removal of the state of emergency and other repressive legislation; and the return of exiles.

The cessation of ANC armed activity and any pronouncements about it is President de Klerk's one demand.

The disagreement with the Government on this was over "the timing, when that discussion about a ceasefire should take place," said Mr Mbeki.

He said a ceasefire would necessarily be the first item to be addressed in negotiations.

Indicating a keenness by the ANC not to see these talks scuttled, Mr Mbeki reserved final opinion on Saturday's bombing of ANC priest Father Michael Lapsley. The matter would be taken up with the Government, he said.

He pointed out there were other forces that would want to make sure the situation did not move forward.

Mr Mbeki, whose security along with that of his ANC team is in the hands of the South African Police, said his organisation needed to be able to take part effectively in its own security.

Mr Mbeki rejected a linkage between the cessation of the armed struggle and the removal of the state of emergency.

"They don't need a state of emergency to arrest Umkhonto cadres, or to engage in battle with them, or to protect a power station."

He also rejected any notion that the ANC's continued commitment to armed struggle was fuelling township violence, as Government officials have inferred. The causes of such violence were quite different, argued Mr Mbeki.

He saw no reason why Mr de Klerk should block the return of exiles or the release of political prisoners.

"I would want to move from the position that the regime regards this as a reasonable demand."

He added: "We are dealing with people open to reason, who have understood that the apartheid system will go."

The Government was aware that the ANC had the capacity to return its cadres without guarantees, but "it would help Mr de Klerk to have a situation in which the ANC had to act in defiance."

He added that ANC cadres did not want to "stay outside for much longer".

Since the Government had already released political prisoners, Mr Mbeki said there was no principle involved on this issue anymore.

The ANC, said Mr Mbeki, was "determined to do everything in its power to move this process (of negotiations) forward as quickly as possible. There is a degree of impatience on the part of the ANC, and a great degree of urgency."

Some observers have suggested that deadlock could be avoided by reaching agreement on broad principles, with working committees set up after the Cape Town talks to deal with the detail.

Talks unlikely to break down

By JOE THLOLOE
and
ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
in Cape Town

THE ANC and the South African Government start historic talks at Groote Schuur today, a museum in Cape Town that was the official residence of South African prime ministers and state presidents until 1984.

The media will be allowed to take photographs before the talks, which will be held behind closed doors.

The Government will credit news people from the city centre to Groote Schuur.

The leaders of the two sides, State President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson



FW DE KLERK

Mandela, may make informal remarks at the photo session.

The talks, postponed from April 11 to today, after the ANC protested against the killing of several Sebokeng residents during a march on March 26, will be about obstacles to negotiations.

They will last until Friday.

The ANC wants the preconditions set out in the Harare Declaration of the Organisation for African Unity met before negotiations with the Government can start.

These include the lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of all political prisoners, that exiles be allowed to return to South Africa and that political trials and executions be stopped.

Azapo, PAC will be kept abreast - Lekota

The Government, on the other hand, sees violence and the armed struggle as the major obstacles.

In the Government team are Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Finance Minister Barrend du Plessis, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

In the ANC team are South African Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo, international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, women's leader Ruth Mompoti, Umkhonto we Sizwe

leader Joe Modise, Walter Sisulu, Beyers Naude, Ahmed Kathrada, Cheryl Carolus and Archie Gumede.

Although publicly the two sides appear to be miles apart on their attitude to the armed struggle, the talks are not likely to break down.

Also on the agenda will be the conditions for lifting the State of Emergency, the definition of political offences "with a view to the release of political prisoners", the return of exiles and indemnity against prosecution and arrest of ANC members.

* ANC spokesman Terror Lekota yesterday said that his organisation would not negotiate a deal without informing "allied organisations" like Azapo and the PAC.

Speaking on the eve of the historic talks between the ANC and the Government, he said: "We will not negotiate above their heads."

"We are obliged to inform them of every step."

Both organisations have criticised the ANC for talking to the Government and have insisted that the struggle against white domination be intensified.

Anti-apartheid

THE Anti-Apartheid Movement is to stage a one-hour demonstration outside South Africa House in London today to demand an end to apartheid "repression" and to express solidarity with the ANC delegation when it sits down for talks with Pretoria. - Sapa

Sowetan 2/5/90

304A

16/11A

Too much hangs on the talks, says Tutu

Sowetan 3/5/90

304A

LONDON - Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday too much was at stake for either the white-led South African Government or the ANC to be "bloody-minded" in their first talks.

"Our hearts are at home this morning," the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town and an anti-apartheid campaigner said at London's Heathrow Airport.

"Virtually everybody at home is hopeful that we are going to see a new South Africa begin to emerge."

Visit

Tutu arrived for a three-day visit shortly before the South African Government and the ANC, led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, were beginning their first talks in Cape Town.

Asked if he believed much could be achieved in the first round, Tutu said:

"I am very hopeful. I don't think that any of those people, on both sides, are going into those talks bloody-minded. We've got too much at stake. Too many people have already died, too many people have suf-

fered."

He said De Klerk knew that unless he settled with the black majority "the whole question of sanctions and apartheid economy will be exacerbated."

"On the ANC side, they know that most of their supporters would like to see an end to violence ... We'd like to be able to live as who we are - South Africans, free



in their home country."

Government sources, speaking on condition they were not identified, said Mandela would visit

Britain on July 3-4 for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

The Irish government said last week that Mandela had accepted an invitation from Prime Minister Charles Haughey to visit Dublin from July 1-3. He was made a freeman of Dublin during his 27 years in prison.- Sapa-AP



A group picture of the ANC delegation taken outside Groote Schuur yesterday. Back row: Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Joe Modise, Dr Beyers Naude, Mr Thabo Mbeki. Front row: Mrs Ruth Mompati, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Nelson, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Walter Sisulu. Another member of the team, Ms Cheryl Carolus, is not in the picture. Photo - AP.

• See pages 4,5,8.

Hopes for SA peace

Southern
3/5/90

3047

THE South African Government and the ANC began talks yesterday with both sides expressing hopes for peace and an end to apartheid.

"The time has come to end apartheid," ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told reporters as the talks began at Groote Schuur in Cape Town. He said the three-day



NELSON MANDELA

talks, the first official meeting between the Government and its chief opponent, "end the terrible tradition of dialogue between master and servant, the terrible tradition which we have to over-



F W DE KLERK

come". De Klerk said the Government wanted the ANC to help create a climate in which violence afflicting South Africa's black townships could be ended and full negotiations started.

He and Mandela each addressed a large Press conference on the lawns outside the Groote Schuur homestead where the first day's talks between them started.

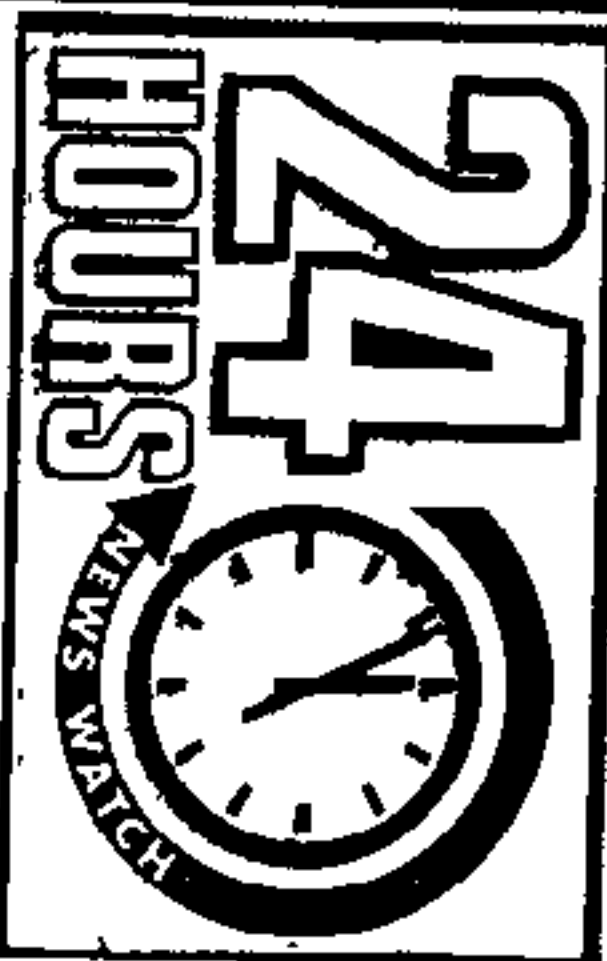
The meeting between 11-member delegations was made possible by De Klerk's decision in February to legalise the ANC and the South African Communist Party and to release Mandela after 27 years in jail for plotting against white rule.

De Klerk and Mandela have met several times, but the Government says these discussions are the first official encounter since the ANC launched its guerilla war 30 years ago.

The Government wants the ANC to stop or at least suspend its armed struggle before full political negotiations begin.

The ANC wants the Government to end emergency rule, free all political prisoners and withdraw troops from townships. - Sapa-Reuter.

The start of the great debate



'Both sides bound to each other'

says

The Times

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London

THE talks about talks between the ANC and the South African government have locked both parties into a negotiation mode from which it will be impossible to get out.

This is the view expressed in The Times newspaper by prominent commentator on South Africa, R W Johnson. Johnson said that although the ANC had finally achieved what it had fought for over the past 70 years — that there should be talks between it and Pretoria — the talks ran the risk of breaking down "before they really start".

He singled out the contentious issues as an amnesty for political prisoners and titles, including members of the ANC's military wing, uKhonto we Sizwe; the ANC's renunciation of the need struggle; the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of the army from black townships.

Violence

The policemen explain the commitment to the job of guarding their former enemies with a shrug and a spread of hands. The new

Occasion heavy with ironies of SA history

By JOHN RYAN of the Argus Africa News Service

THE occasion was loaded with irony.

Nelson Mandela referred in his speech yesterday to the need to rid South Africa of a succession of white governments "that have ruled our country for generations".

Behind him even as he spoke — against the backdrop of Devil's Peak which, after years on Robben Island or in drab Lusaka, must have had many ANC delegates salivating for a settlement — stood Groote Schuur.

The former residence of most leaders of those white governments, the former home of Cecil John Rhodes, a monument to colonialism.

Mr Mandela and his delegation had just driven the 50 kilometres from their impregnable hotel, the Lord Charles in Somerset West. In that name, more shades of slave bells and riven repression.

The hotel, in fact, is modern, five-star, rambling ranchlike over several acres. Predictably dull, but for the major occupants, interesting for the system that keeps those occupants safe.

Security policemen, kin to the alleged hit squads. Polite as you please but resolute about meeting the ANC's pleasure.

Journalists without specific appointments do not get in, let alone Wit Wolwe with shotguns concealed under the overhang of their bellies.

The policemen explain the commitment to the job of guarding their former enemies with a shrug and a spread of hands. The new

South Africa is almost as bizarre as the old.

Rumours say members of uKhonto we Sizwe are in a support position inside the hotel, machine pistols beneath windbreakers. Rumours could be right.

Security is the watchword around Cape Town this week. The media was allowed a photo-call at Groote Schuur, bussed at 12.15pm to a spot in the gardens for a scheduled appointment three hours later.

At least the ANC, in its dealings, has the courtesy not to tell you that you will have to wait three hours. So you are able to stand around in the raised expectation that things could happen at any minute.

For three hours, the 200-odd journalists existed without sustenance. The only light relief, so to say, was a trip to the toilets.

They were chemical, behind green canvas, with the male-female logos black on a yellow background.

Green, black, yellow — the colours of the ANC.

Eventually with journalists recumbent in flowerbeds, the two negotiating teams emerged and President F W de Klerk and Mr Mandela delivered their reasonably bland statements.

In the final irony of the day, because of camera angles and the fore-shortening of telephoto lenses, Mr De Klerk will have been seen by world TV with Mr Joe Slovo at his right hand.

Yet, some might say, much better than the other way around.



In a gesture of goodwill, the two leaders shake hands before the start of the talks at Groote Schuur.

Intense Press interest in the first gathering

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

ABOUT 250 South African and foreign journalists and camera crews gathered in an attentive pack on the rain-sodden lawns outside Groote Schuur yesterday to record the historic encounter between the ANC and the government.

They jostled into place to get their first real life glimpse of President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela together, sauntering down the steps to the garden with their teams in train.

A Botha, a Gumede, a Slovo stood within an arm's reach of each other

in the front rank of the teams assembled on the steps.

Several paces in front of them the two leaders looked heavenwards and shared views on Cape Town's miserable weather as the feathery percussion of clicking cameras filled the air. Calm, perhaps, rather than relaxed in appearance, both men seemed a touch apprehensive.

The large contingent of journalists, bussed in in luxury coaches from parliament, had waited for hours for the appearance of the delegations.

Even if the government had been keen to play down the meeting, characterising it as merely one of a

number of similar engagements with other groups and parties in South Africa, the attention of the media, the level of security and the fine-tuning of organisation surrounding the event, set it apart from any others that had gone before.

The two delegations were delivered to the doorstep of the historic homestead earlier, the government team arriving in a fleet of luxury cars from 2.30pm.

The ANC team, conveyed in luxury cars and minibuses, arrived a little later, shortly before 3pm. Among them were prominent ANC and anti-apartheid movement figures in Cape Town, Mr Trevor Manuel and advocate Mr Dullah Omar.

US applauds 'courageous' action

DAVID BRAUN of the Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

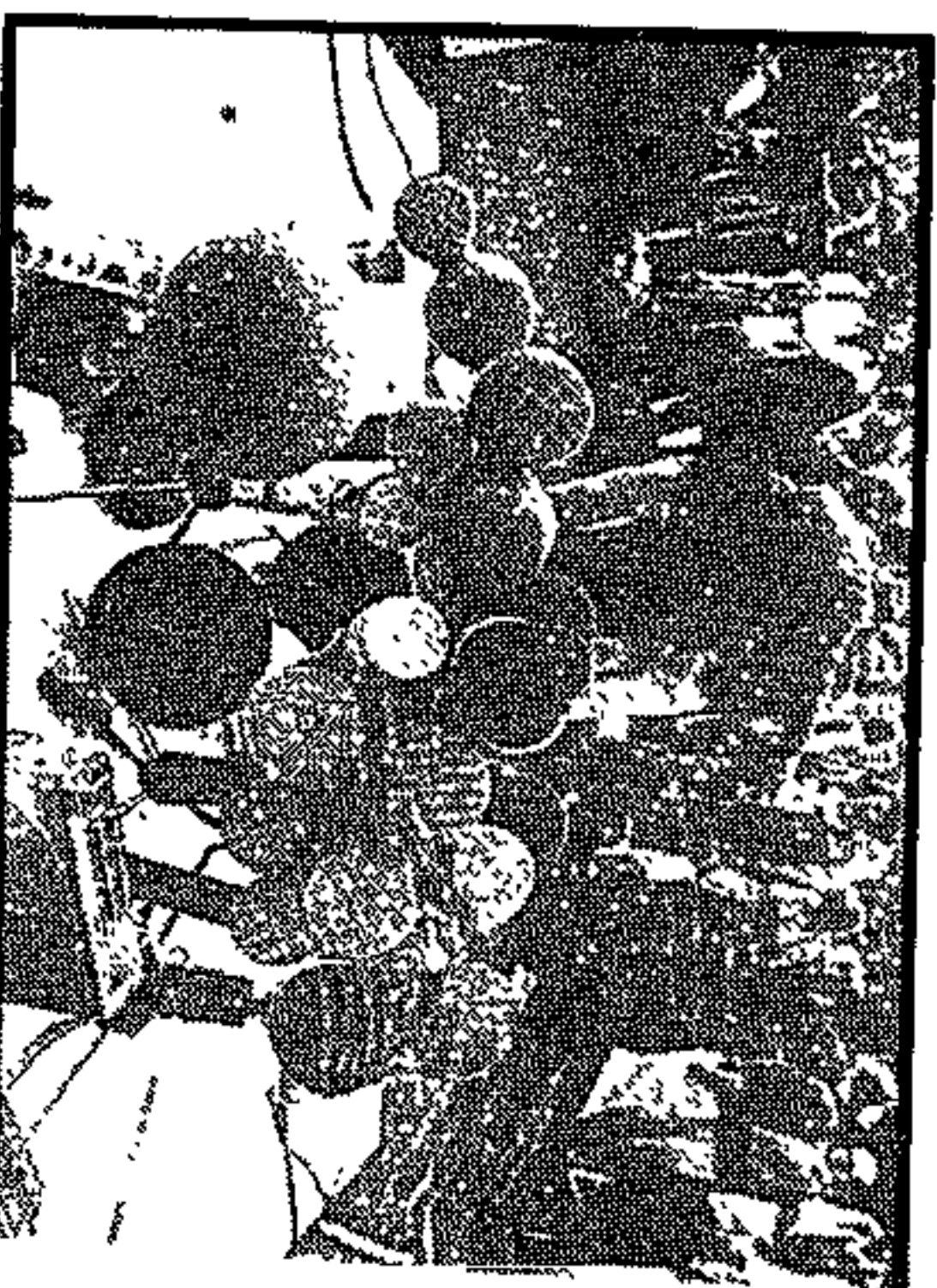
THE United States government has applauded the start of talks between the South African government and the African National Congress.

The State Department said it applauded the courageous decision by the government and the ANC to enter into face-to-face talks aimed at clearing the way for negotiations.

Negotiations offered the clearest hope for a future of peace and prosperity for South Africa, a spokesman said.

She added: "We urge all parties in South Africa to support the initiative begun by President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela so that full negotiations leading to a non-racial and democratic post-apartheid South Africa can begin at an early date."

US television channels reported the start of the talk in Cape Town as a major news item yesterday, with several bulletins making it the lead story.



A forest of microphones awaits the government and ANC delegates

ANC will find it particularly hard to accept any suggestion that it should abandon violence so soon after the first formal contact with Pretoria, especially if it leaves its combatants with no future role inside South Africa.

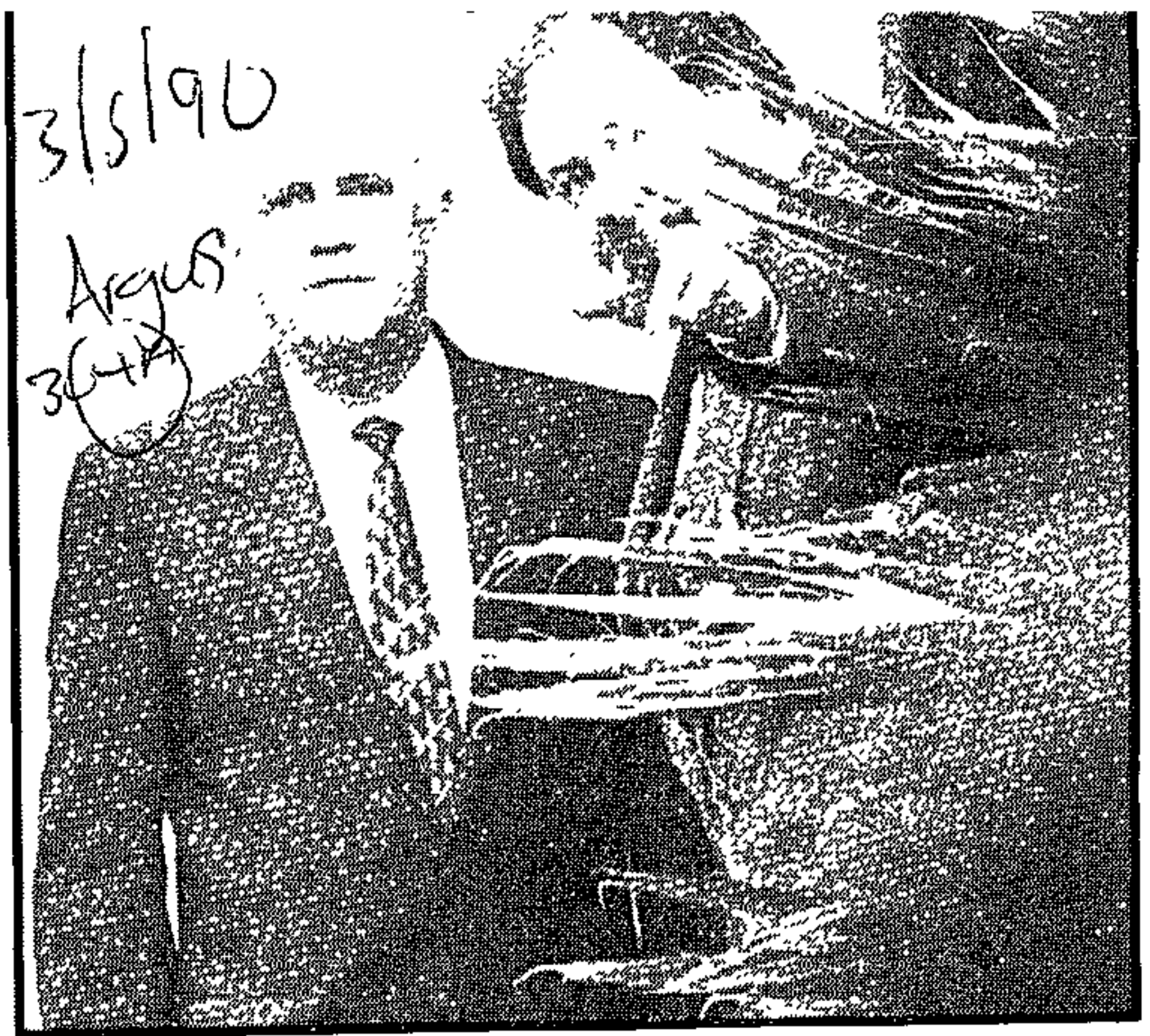
"The ANC cannot afford the prospect of such men being dumped on the tail of the vast black unemployment queue back in South Africa. At the very least they have to come back to jobs — perhaps within the SA Defence Force."

By calling off the armed struggle the ANC would also run the risk of being accused of "selling out" by groups such as the Pan Africanist Congress, which opposed talks with the government.

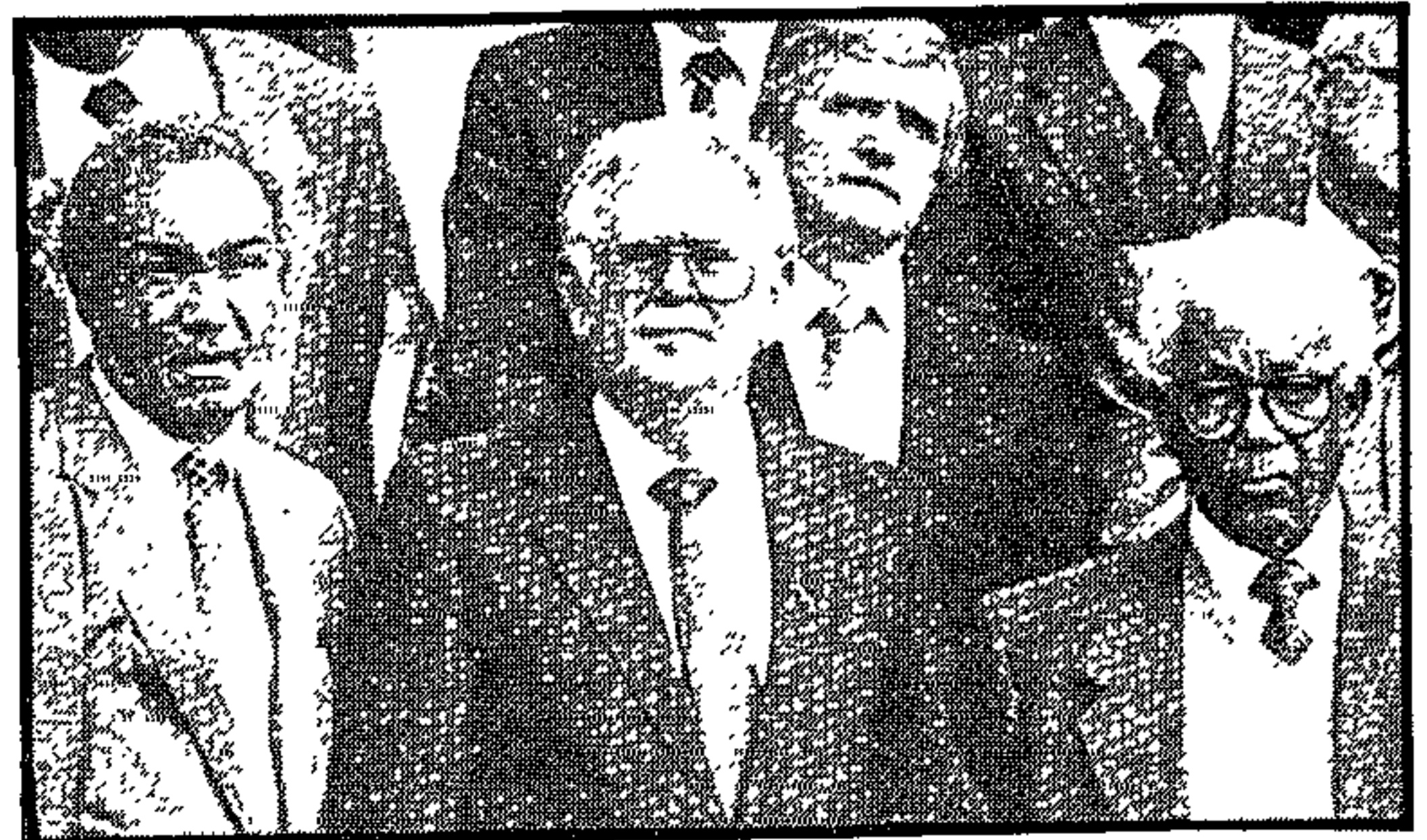
'Backbone'

Johnson said the exclusion of representatives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions — "which has provided the backbone of black politics" — could mean one of two things. Either that the ANC wanted to relegate unions to a subordinate position or that it wanted Cosatu to become its second delegation during the negotiations proper.

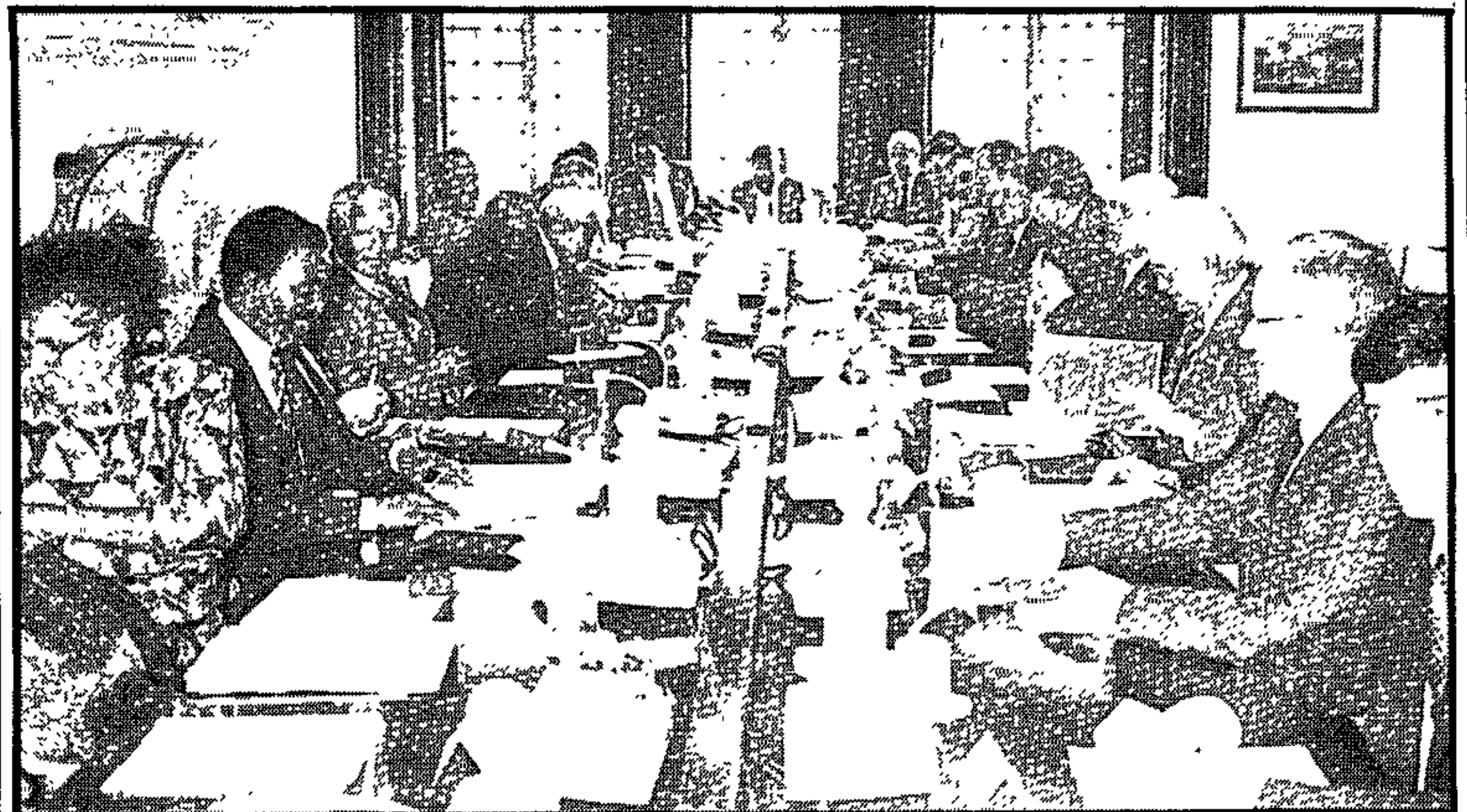
"ANC leaders have long argued that the government would have no alternative but to hold talks with them in the end ... but now both sides are bound to the other, knowing that if these talks fail there will, unavoidably, just have to be more talks in the future," Johnson concluded.



State president Mr F W de Klerk takes a sneak preview of the Press waiting at Groote Schuur.



UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede, secretary general of the SA Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs Dr Dawie de Villiers and the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu pose for the group picture.



The two negotiating teams face each other across the table at Groote Schuur's stately old dining room.

Talks: CP could boost its majorities

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party, which yesterday walked out of parliament in protest against the government's talks with the African National Congress, could win with increased majorities in its constituencies if CP MPs resigned their seats and forced by-elections.

This was the view of the director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Professor John Dugard, who said the CP would gain increased majorities in its constituencies in the event of a by-election, regardless of whether the ruling National Party contested the seats.

Professor Dugard, who was commenting on the walkout, said such a by-election would prove that the CP had more support among white — and especially Afrikaner — South Africans.

He dismissed as "insignificant" the CP's walkout yesterday, saying it was nothing more than a symbolic gesture of the CP's dissatisfaction with the government's talks with the ANC.

"I would interpret yesterday's walkout simply as a protest which has absolutely no significance. This was a mere walkout, and it must be remembered that this kind of thing is not new. The DP has also staged a walkout before.

"Should the CP boycott parliament altogether, though, then that would be an example of boycott politics," Professor Dugard said.

Both Professor Dugard and Constitutional Law expert Professor Marinus Wiechers of the University of South Africa said while it was "a symbolic action of protest," the CP's walkout was a totally insignificant move which would not force a "white" election.

NO BREAKDOWN

In terms of the constitution, the two academics pointed out that the House of Assembly would be able to continue functioning even after a pull-out by the official opposition in parliament because the ruling National Party and the Democratic Party would still constitute a quorum.

Professor Wiechers said in terms of the constitution an election for one of the three houses in parliament would have to be held "if the functioning of the particular house breaks down completely." No boycott by the CP would achieve this.

"What concerns me, however, is that parliament should not be made a scene for extra-parliamentary tactics and protests."

Violence could be sticking point

By TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

A TOUGHER round in the talks between the government and the African National Congress starts today.

After the comparatively easy preliminaries, hard bargaining is expected about obstacles to real negotiation and an agreement on the agenda.

The agenda had previously been arranged by a steering committee of officials from both sides. The last item to be included, at the request of the government, was the ANC's attitude to violence.

● The start of the great debate — page 17

This and the definition of political prisoners, along with ANC demands for amnesty for all its imprisoned followers, will be the two main sticking points.

Today the two sides will have to start tackling what one source called the political "nitty gritty", especially misgivings about violence from both sides.

There is also the growing impression in political circles that the present round of talks, due to end late tomorrow afternoon, will be the first of a series.

A source said yesterday that both sides had shown a willingness to approach the problems in a spirit of trying to solve them rather than trying to perpetuate them.

There was the realisation that if this opportunity was not grasped it would be to the detriment of the country. Both sides were determined to approach the talks in a positive spirit, but fundamental issues still had to be resolved.

Another source spoke of the relaxed atmosphere between the two delegations.

ANC delegates from Lusaka who had long been in exile said the meeting was so normal that it felt as if there had been no previous barriers.

On the question of the armed struggle, the ANC side remained determined not to suspend it unilaterally, unless there were substantial undertakings from the government to stop State violence.

From the government side the feeling was that measures to maintain law and order in the country could not be regarded as "State violence".

Last night's talks at Groote Schuur ended about 9.30 and included a working dinner.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus

MEN OF THE MOMENT: At ease in each other's company, President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela prepare to face the Press.

● More pictures, page 17.

Straitjacket

ANC and govt off to a good start

Cpt 7/11/90 3/5/90

30/4/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE historic Groote Schuur talks between the government and the ANC began on a positive note yesterday with both sides expressing their desire for a speedy and peaceful transition to a democratic South Africa.

A late-night joint statement said the first four hours of talks had been characterised by "openness and straightforwardness on both sides" and agreement had been reached on obstacles to a new negotiated constitution.



The topics which had to be discussed were security legislation, the return of exiles, troops in townships, political prisoners, the state of emergency, the armed struggle and the need to end violence.

The statement noted that the two sides had in their opening remarks yesterday emphasised each other's determination to seek agreement "without underestimating the complexities and differences that will have to be resolved".

The two sides adjourned for a working dinner "to enable individual members to exchange thoughts and proposals on the specific issues on the agenda".

The talks will resume at 2.30pm today.

Shortly before the initial session, President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela adopted a largely conciliatory, but firm tone in their introductory statements and defended the need to resolve the problems facing the country through negotiation.

The seriousness of the teams to make progress was illustrated by a statement by the ANC's publicity secretary, Mr "Terror" Lekota, that the organisation would "do everything short of selling out to help the government remove the obstacles to a political settlement".

The government's negotiating team began arriving for the crucial talks at the Groote Schuur estate and strict security about 2.30pm, and the ANC arrived 20 minutes later.

As the delegation leaders read their preparatory statements to hordes of journalists crowded on to



TALKS ARE ON...

President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, with their teams for the talks, address the press at Groote Schuur yesterday.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

More on the talks

- CP walk-out over ANC talks
- FW must 'address violence'
- Militants could desert ANC
- ANC denies loss of support
- Tutu 'very hopeful' on talks mood

All on Page 2

What the ANC wants

THE African National Congress said yesterday it would do everything "short of selling out" to assist the government to remove the obstacles to a political settlement in South Africa.

In an article written for the Cape Times to mark the start of the Groote Schuur talks, ANC spokesman Mr M "Terror" Lekota said the organisation was approaching the talks in a serious frame of mind, knowing that the hopes for relief of many victims of apartheid were at stake.

● Full report — Page 4

From page 1

the carefully manicured lawns and flower beds of the estate, the talks teams gathered in a patchwork formation on steps behind.

The ANC's foreign-affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, stood beside the head of the SA security police, General Basie Smit, the head of the ANC's women's section, Ms Ruth Mompati, next to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, and former Rivonia life prisoner Mr Ahmed Kathrada next to Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Earlier, SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo strolled beside Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Sources close to the talks described the atmosphere in Groote Schuur last night as "informal and friendly".

Making the first of the introductory remarks before talks yesterday, Mr De Klerk said the government wished to create the right climate for negotiations by eliminating obstacles "as soon as possible" and was consequently approaching the talks "with the utmost earnestness".

The government was entering the talks "profoundly aware of our responsibilities to all the people of South Africa".

Mr De Klerk said the meeting provided another important and constructive step in the "irreversible process" of normalising South African politics. "We will seize that opportunity."

He continued: "The start of a new era for South Africa has created expectations among all our people. There are bound to be difficulties, but there is cautious optimism, as well as faith and conviction that our problems will be solved by negotiation."

The government accepted this and was doing "everything possible" to achieve this.

The government's ultimate goal was a new, democratic dispensation for South Africa and all its people.

"The process of attaining this is under way and I trust that these discussions will be another milestone on the road to a new, just South Africa."

Mr De Klerk said he welcomed the earlier commitment by the ANC "to make a maximum effort to find common ground to eliminate tensions and to make a success of this week's discussions".

In Afrikaans

He said: "Confrontation will get us nowhere. Our joint destiny demands that all of us steer clear of it." Mr Mandela, speaking in Afrikaans, said the ANC was aware of the fact that there were many whites who harboured fear of democratic change.

"Therefore the ANC wants to emphasise once again that the white community, including the Afrikaners, have nothing to fear of the ANC."

The composition of the ANC delegation — which comprises all races and both sexes — was a "telling illustration" of the ANC's desire to include all South Africans in a future South Africa.

Mr Mandela said: "This is the first time in 73 years that a truly serious meeting takes place between delegations of the ANC and the succession of white governments that have ruled our country for generations."

"This fact is sobering in its implications."

He said the ANC believed that the circumstances existed which enabled "all the people of our country to solve the grave problems which face us through negotiations".

"It was for this reason that we crossed that this



TOP: Getting down to talks are Ms Ruth Mompati (left) of the ANC facing Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer

ANC group's quiet evening

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE searchlight of a police helicopter overhead lit the scene as the ANC delegation — sandwiched by several security police vehicles — sped into the grounds of their Somerset West hotel just after 9.45 last night.

The talks at Groote Schuur were originally scheduled to continue until 11pm.

Mr Nelson Mandela retired almost immediately to his room as his younger comrades settled down in the bar.

Mindful of a room crammed with eager media people, delegates avoided all talk of the opening day's negotiations.

Mr Thabo Mbeki declined to go beyond yesterday's joint statement. "Basically we put our positions on the table and there was no debate as such. Then we split into smaller groups to take it further over a meal," he said.

Among those present at the crowded cocktail bar were Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF Western Cape executive member, lawyer Mr Dullah Omar and several recently returned ANC exiles.

Security at the five-star hotel was tight, with all incoming people stopped at the front gate and asked to identify themselves.

Security police were in evidence in cars in the parking lot, and in the hotel building and corridors. Black service station workers along the way greeted the convoy with clenched fists and shouts of "viva".

'Youth are suspicious'

MILLIONS of militant young blacks could desert the ANC if talks with the government fail, according to Dr Beyers Naude, who is part of the ANC's talks

"Therefore the ANC wants to emphasise once again that the white community, including the Afrikaners, have nothing to fear of the ANC."

The composition of the ANC delegation — which comprises all races and both sexes — was a "telling illustration" of the ANC's desire to include all South Africans in a future South Africa.

Mr Mandela said: "This is the first time in 78 years that a truly serious meeting takes place between delegations of the ANC and the succession of white governments that have ruled our country for generations."

"This fact is sobering in its implications."

He said the ANC believed that the circumstances existed which enabled "all the people of our country to solve the grave problems which face us through negotiations."

"It was for this reason that we proposed that this meeting should take place..."

The pace at which the participants moved to achieve a just solution "should be informed by the fact that the black masses of our country demand and expect fundamental change now and not tomorrow."

"The people as a whole want peace and stability; which can only come about as a result of the total abolition of the apartheid system."

Mr Mandela said that the colour of a person's skin defining his place in society should, to all people, "be as frightening as the plague."

Black people had broken out of the mental enslavement which in the past could have persuaded them that they were in any way inferior.

"We have therefore come to this meeting not as supplicants or petitioners. Rather, we are here as fellow South Africans and equal members with the rest of our people... who are irrevocably convinced that the system of white minority rule, which persists in our country, must come to an end, without delay."

Mr Mandela said: "We must succeed in the endeavour to remove these obstacles so that we can together move forward as rapidly as possible to end the inhuman system of apartheid."

The sacrifices made by the people of South Africa demanded that all should act with the necessary sense of responsibility so the dreams of millions of people in South Africa for an end to the system of white minority domination were transformed into reality.

"The time to reach this has come," Mr Mandela said.

TOP: Getting down to talks are Ms Ruth Mompati (left) of the ANC facing Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

ABOVE: President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela during a break in talks. Inbetween is Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

By BARRY STREEK

THE Conservative Party yesterday walked out of Parliament in protest against the talks between the government and the ANC — and accused President De Klerk of "political immorality" by ignoring the law.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the government was negotiating with the very people responsible for the deaths of dozens of people.

It was ignoring the provisions of the Internal Security Act by negotiating with people who were guilty of treason, he said after he and members of the CP's parliamentary caucus handed a protest memorandum to Mr Anton Pretorius, the President's administrative secretary, in Tuynhuys.

CP in walk-out over ANC talks

The memorandum said the specific mandate the National Party received in last year's election, which left no room for any doubt, was that the NP would not talk to the ANC.

President De Klerk said last night that the walk-out was based on "blatant political propaganda with no factual grounds."

The CP's protest memorandum was "an accumulation of untruths and misrepresentations," he said.

Negotiations for a new constitution could take place with those who were committed to peaceful solutions.

"The talks at present with the ANC are not constitutional negotiations."

'Youth are suspicious'

MILLIONS of militant young blacks could desert the ANC if talks with the government fail, according to Dr Beyer Naude, who is part of the ANC's talks team.

"One should understand the very serious predicament of the ANC in regard to the deep suspicion in the minds of millions of young militant blacks who simply do not yet believe in the sincerity of the government. They believe that the only way forward is the continuation and increase of the armed struggle," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

FW must 'address violence'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Talks between the ANC and the government would not be successful unless the problem of the violence in Natal was addressed by President F W de Klerk, a prominent member of the United Democratic Front warned, Dr Diliza Mji, warned yesterday. Dr Mji has been a member of a high-level UDF/Cosatu delegation which has been conferring with Inkatha on the fighting.

ANC denies loss of support

MR Patrick "Terror" Lekota yesterday denied that the ANC was losing support in Soweto and on the Rand to other organisations.

He said the Soweto Civic Association, the Soweto Youth Congress and the Federation of Transvaal Women were all part of the Mass Democratic Alliance and, as such, were allied to the ANC.

"Even Cosatu supporters in the region remain faithful to the non-racial, Freedom Charter position," said Mr Lekota. — Sapa

Tutu 'very hopeful' on talks

LONDON. — Too much is at stake for either the government or the ANC to be "bloody-minded" in their first talks, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday at Heathrow Airport.

Archbishop Tutu, here for a three-day visit, said he was hopeful that the talks would succeed. "We've got too much at stake. Too many people have already died, too many people have suffered." — Sapa-AP

Mandela to meet Maggie

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela is set to meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher on July 3 or 4, probably at her official residence, Number 10 Downing Street, it was disclosed yesterday. The Anti-Apartheid Movement said Mr Mandela would tell Mrs Thatcher her policy of relaxing sanctions could only perpetuate apartheid and conflict. Mr Mandela will also visit the European Parliament during its June session in Strasbourg.

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A hands shake to peace

THIS is the handshake millions hope will bring peace to South Africa.

classes for

Shock conditions at Cape school
● Page 3

Fagme

wants WP cleanup
New manager to act on 'bullyboy' image
● Page 22

Women,

rape and the law
The ordeal which faces victims
● Page 14

But there are also fears that the historic talks which began at Groote Schuur this week could be an exercise in futility because of the great differences between the two groups.

Prisoners

As they sat down at the palatial former residence of South Africa's white prime ministers, in-principle agreements on all key obstacles to negotiations for a new South Africa seemed assured.

But if agreements on the main obstacles — the release of political prisoners, amnesty for exiles, an end to the state of emergency and the scrapping of security legislation — are not reached, the meeting will not provide a quick fix for South Africa's problems.

Officials on both sides have acknowledged that the details of agreements, and their implementation, will be worked out — possibly over several months — by joint working committees likely to be es-



tablished after the talks.

The government will attempt to handle the release of prisoners and indemnity for exiles case by case.

Sources say the ANC has already presented the government with a list of several hundred prisoners it wants released and that — in advance of the talks — government officials have agreed to release at least half. However, the two parties have yet to agree on a joint definition of a political prisoner.

"We sense (these issues) should not pose a problem," says ANC foreign affairs secretary, Mr. Thabo Mbeki. "The principles are already estab-

lished. Nelson Mandela was jailed for what they describe crimes of violence, but they released him unconditionally.

"So they can do the same for others."

Similarly, says Mbeki, Joe Modise, commander of the ANC's army and a member of the talks team "is walking the streets of Cape Town" under a temporary immunity granted to the ANC party.

"There isn't anyone in exile who can be said to have committed greater offences — attacks were carried out under his orders.

"If he can come back, I can't see any problem for anyone else."

On the other issues — the lifting of the state of emergency and security laws which block the practice of normal politics, and the government's demand that the ANC end its armed struggle — the question is no longer whether either side will move.

It is who does what first.

The ANC wants the state of emergency lifted before it begins discussing a formal ceasefire. De Klerk is saying that the ANC must first end its war talk before the emergency is lifted.

Much of the three days could be spent hammering out a compromise on which ends first the emergency or the armed struggle.



WALTER SISULU: Leader of the ANC's Internal Leadership Core.



BAREND DU PLESSIS: Minister of Finance since 1984.



JOE MODISE: Commander in chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe.



BEYERS NAUDE: NGK minister who was first banned in 1977.



JOE SLOVO: Secretary general of the SA Communist Party.

Economic differences put political settlement at risk

JAN STEYN, chairman of the Urban Foundation, on the constitutional debate.

POLITICAL settlement, broadly defined, is our current national objective. However, the economic priorities of the major parties, as these are articulated, appear to be hugely polarised. They are, therefore, placing the prospect of a political settlement at risk.

To make matters worse, the conflicting economic objectives are all understandable. Indeed, they reflect valid viewpoints and are politically appropriate under the circumstances. Black political leadership is faced with the fact that the constituency it intends to represent is relatively very poor,

has limited resources in land, is burdened by a massive housing shortage and is educationally disadvantaged.

For them, politics has to be about economics and wealth redistribution. Thus the ANC's insistence that nationalisation of the mines and major industry must remain on the agenda is one example. This call, which may well have shaken the confidence of some investors, is often interpreted as only being early rhetorical positioning. Yet it reflects the political pressures generated inside this organisation.

On the other side, the new economic policies of government, which for the first time in 40 years broadly coincide with growth needs in the private sector, are equally

compelling. In order to lower taxes to stimulate investment and productivity, central government spending is being curbed.

Money supply is on a tight rein, with high interest rates directed at combating inflation. Privatisation is planned for various state enterprises. Deregulation is proceeding. In these and various other ways, serious attempts are being made to create conditions under which the economy can return to rates of growth above 4 and 5% — the minimum level needed to absorb new entrants into the labour market.

Business confidence, as a result, is fairly buoyant despite the present cyclical downswing. Indeed, in many ways South Africa is beginning to follow the figurative IMF handbook on how to re-stimulate development.

The bitter irony, however, is the fact that immediate welfare needs among blacks cannot be assuaged by medium-term growth-orientated economics. Hence, we have calls from the trade unions and majority-based movements for more government intervention, possible nationalisation or even a command economy.

Many South Africans who have agitated for fundamental change but who believe in economic freedom, are in a crisis of conscience. Worse still, the requirements of a political settlement are made hugely more complex by the economic conflict. Our lack of serious attention to black socio-economic development in the past has come home to roost with a vengeance.

We cannot place representatives of the disadvantaged communities in a position in which they feel obliged to challenge the interests of advantaged South Africans to seek redress. Let me illustrate the

problem. At the end of 1989, 42% of Africans who wrote the secondary school-leaving examination passed. This compares with 94% of Indians and 96% of whites.

In 1988, there was a massive shortfall of nearly 7 000 African teachers, and a pupil-teacher ratio of nearly twice as large as that among whites. Although the expenditure gap has narrowed very dramatically over the past years, expenditure per pupil in white versus African schools was 4.8 to 1 in 1988.

Qualifications

There was a shortage of 6 200 classrooms for Africans in 1987 and 1988. Only 51% of African high school teachers have senior school-leaving plus professional qualifications or degrees. These are qualifications considered normal in the profession.

Getting rid of race segregation will lessen the problems. But the population ratios are such that the vast majority of blacks will still be in black schools in black areas and will be subject to the same disadvantages.

Among the most important problems is that of unemployment. A minimum of some 16 to 17% of Africans who are economically active are unemployed. (Most observers assume that the proportion is much higher and that in school-leaver unemployment, it could well be in excess of 50%.)

Housing is another problem area. On the Witwatersrand, the country's industrial heartland, the Urban Foundation calculates that nearly 50% of African families are housed in shacks. As many as 127 000 houses have to be erected for Africans each year for the next 20 years to address their housing needs. The rate of housing provision at the moment is about

one-third of this projected need. There is a current housing backlog of virtually 850 000 units.

These examples indicated that we face a challenge in the field of development equal to our political challenge. The challenge has to be faced and these needs addressed, otherwise the conflicting demands of politics and development will destroy each other.

It is a sign of hope that decision-makers also believe there is a solution. The recent announcement of a R2 billion independent development trust for disadvantaged South Africans is evidence of this fact. This trust is targeted at redressing areas of critical need in our society.

Inflation

The model has to be one of massive state and private sector development funds which go directly to areas in which there is a need and also a market. These funds have to achieve their objective without creating or sustaining a bureaucracy whose middle class salaries will fuel inflation.

One has to tackle the problem in such a way as to make the development process self-sustaining. This means one has to stimulate markets. The very poor and needy, however, often cannot afford market prices. Hence the funds have to be used as gearing finance, or leverage money, to lift the resources of the poor up to levels commensurate with minimum affordability at market rates, or reduce costs of provision with the same effect.

In this way, the public and the private sector can work together with the disadvantaged communities to secure both basic needs, market expansion and employment growth.

[Extracts from a speech at Chatham House, London]



First day of the Cape Town

talks goes 'pretty well'

Now the bargaining begins

Armed struggle and need to end violence are on agenda

CAPE TOWN — The critical peace talks between the African National Congress and the Government got off to a promising start yesterday, but the really hard bargaining begins only today.

The first day of talks had gone "pretty well", sources close to the Government delegation said.

The time was devoted to getting to know each other and a broad overview of problems.

Starting at 2.30 pm today, the two delegations meeting at the historic Groote Schuur homestead will begin to discuss the real nitty-gritty — the obstacles to negotiation — and the possible trade-offs.

A first-ever joint statement by the ANC and the Government last night announced that they had agreed on an agenda after four hours of "candid and open" discussions.

Agreement to the inclusion of both points raised by the ANC and the Government were approved in advance of yesterday's meeting. Significantly the ANC's armed struggle and the need to end violence are now formally on the agenda.

This has set the scene for a possible agreement by the ANC to suspend the armed struggle in exchange for concessions by the Government.

Sources close to the Government delegation said today it was too early to say what the ANC might accept as the price for suspending the armed struggle. This might start to emerge today. The talks had started "pretty well" and it was promising that both sides had realised the seriousness of the situation.

The delegations had shown a "willingness to approach the problem in a spirit of trying to solve it rather than trying to perpetuate it".

The delegations appear to have achieved the important breakthrough on the personal level as a basis for further discussions.

It has emerged that the two heads of delegation, President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, almost certainly met at Turnhays before the delegations met. This tends to confirm the goodwill that exists between the two men — which could be vital when the talks hit hard ground.

Mr Mandela was clearly at pains yesterday to show the respect for Mr de Klerk which he has expressed pre-

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Viously After Mr de Klerk had made a few opening remarks to the press before the talks began, Mr Mandela shook his hand and congratulated him on a "good speech".

In a first joint statement, the ANC and the Government said last night they had agreed on an agenda which included the ANC's adherence to the armed struggle and the need to end violence. This has considerably boosted hopes of a successful outcome. Most sources, however, believe final agreement will be reached only at a subsequent round of talks.

President de Klerk — standing next to Mr Mandela and facing a battery of about 250 newsmen before the talks began — expressed cautious optimism about the outcome and said violence would be the focus of the Government's concern.

Mr Mandela said it was the first time in the 76 years of the ANC's existence that a truly serious meeting was taking place between it and the Government. The talks were a significant first step on the road towards the fundamental restructuring of South African society.

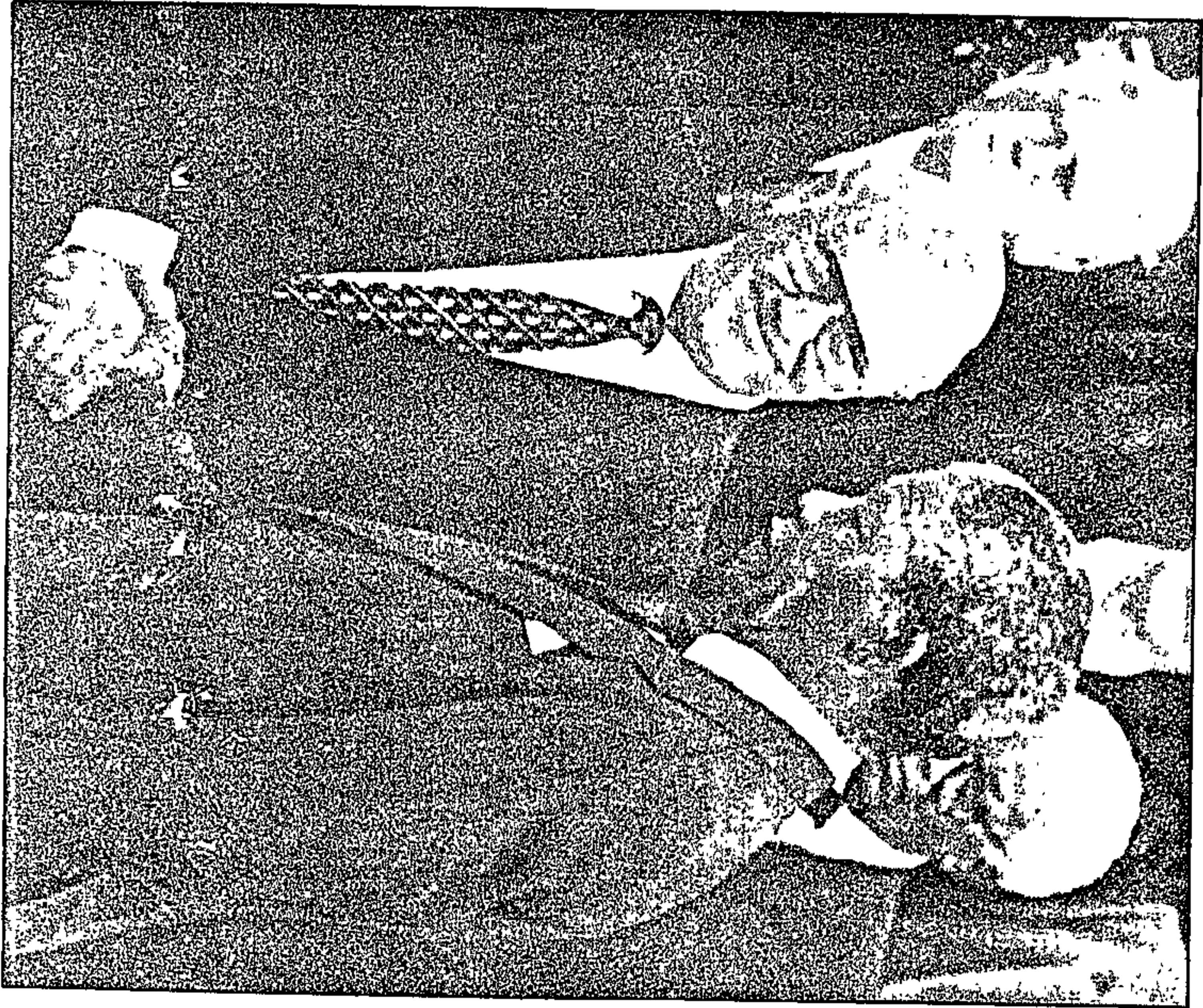
And, speaking in Afrikaans, he assured whites, and especially Afrikaners, that they had nothing to fear from the ANC.

In a tableau unimaginable a few months ago, behind the two leaders on the steps of Groote Schuur, Foreign Minister Mr P. W. Botha stood next to SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok stood next to ANC national executive member Mrs Ruth Mompati.

Mr de Klerk said the vast majority of South Africans desired the negotiation process for a new constitution to get started as soon as possible.

Mr Mandela said the ANC came to the meeting not as supplicants or petitioners, but as equal fellow South Africans. The black masses, he added, demanded and expected fundamental change without delay.

See Page 3



President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela shake hands prior to the start of talks

Atmosphere on first day is 'friendly'

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The delegations to the first official talks between the African National Congress and the Government found it "unbelievable" that they could mix so easily after nearly 30 years of war.

"The way in which we met was so normal it was as if there had been no barriers before," a source close to the Government delegation said today.

"It didn't feel as if we were meeting for the first time. There were no signs of aggression. It was quite friendly."

"Many delegates expressed the feeling that it was unbelievable that we are together and we can mix so easily. Especially for those from Lusaka, who have longed so much for home, it was even more important to mix with us."

The delegate said the mood had been good and the talks had gone "pretty well".

But it was too early to say it had been "totally positive" as the fundamental issues still had to be resolved.

"Both sides showed a willingness to address the problems, but in a spirit of trying to solve them instead of trying to perpetuate them."

"It's too early to predict the outcome and in-depth discussions will still have to take place. But the important thing is that both sides realised the seriousness of the point that the country had reached," he said.

"If we do not take the opportunity now, it will be to the detriment of our country," he said.

The first day had been devoted to getting to know each other and to an overview of the problems to be tackled.

Keys to the door of peace

The Government and the private sector should jointly formulate specific priorities in the areas of housing, community services and amenities, land acquisition, business development and community development to bridge the economic impasse which is threatening the brittle progress towards political peace.

This is the view of Mr Jan Steyn, who recently resigned as chairman of the Urban Foundation to head the Government's R2 billion trust for socio-economic upliftment.

In an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London yesterday, Mr Steyn said economic and political restructuring had to occur simultaneously.

However, these two dimensions were complicating each other to a significant degree.

While a political settlement was the current national objective, the economic priorities of the major parties appeared to be hugely polarised — thus placing the prospect of a political settlement at risk.

Compelling

To make matters worse, the conflicting economic objectives were all understandable.

Black political leadership was faced with the fact that the constituency it intended to represent was relatively very poor, had limited resources in land, was burdened by a massive housing shortage and was educationally disadvantaged, he said. For them, politics could be nothing else but about economics and wealth redistribution.

On the other hand, the new economic policies of the Government — which for the first time in 40 years broadly coincided with growth needs in the private sector — were equally compelling.

To lower taxes to stimulate investment and productivity, central government spending was being curbed. Money supply was on a tight rein, with high interest rates directed at combating inflation. In addition,

Politics, development must work in tandem

Addressing the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London last night, outgoing Urban Foundation chairman Mr Jan Steyn argued that South Africa's rich-poor chasm must be addressed urgently to prevent the conflicting demands of politics and development from creating chaos. **Political Reporter**
ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE reports.

tion, privatisation and deregulation were proceeding.

Serious attempts were being made to create conditions under which the economy could return to a growth rate exceeding 5 percent, the absolute minimum level needed to absorb new entrants into the labour market.

"The bitter irony, however, is that immediate welfare needs among blacks cannot be assuaged by medium-term growth-orientated economics.

"Worse still, the requirements of a political settlement are made hugely more complex by the economic conflict.

"Our lack of serious attention to black socio-economic development in the past has come home to roost with a vengeance."

Noting that a new constitution should not entrench the specific interests of whites or protect any category of the population formally defined in racial terms, Mr Steyn said a new constitution should:

- Provide for the effective participation of all significant interest groups irrespective of race.
- Create a situation in which all talent and leadership resources could work together in solving development problems.

- Effectively protect individual rights through a Bill of Rights.

"We can have good government, because the essential checks and balances generated by such provisions will help to ensure that whatever leadership emerges in South Africa will seek creative compromises — compromises which will promote the interests of the disadvantaged, but without damaging the legitimate interests, economic confidence and willingness to co-operate of those who command the resources to invest, and those who currently have the skills to contribute to a process of dynamic development."

Mr Steyn said these attributes were what all the Western democracies had.

Political balance had been achieved through development, social mobility and progress. This process had reduced gaps between the haves and have-nots.

South Africa did not yet have the demography and the development at present to secure this balance automatically. Thus any settlement of political disputes had to attempt to build it in.

"Whatever the grounds for political optimism may be, we dare not leave it to the political processes only.

"We cannot place representatives of the disadvantaged communities in a position in which they feel obliged to challenge the interests of advantaged South Africans to seek redress."

Citing various examples of economic inequality in the country, Mr Steyn said South Africa faced a challenge in the field of development at least equal to the political challenge.

"The challenge has to be faced and these needs addressed, otherwise the conflicting demands of politics and development will destroy each other."

It was a sign of hope that decision makers also believed there was a solution. The R2 billion independent development trust for disadvantaged South Africans was evidence of that belief.

The model had to be one of massive State and private sector development funds which went directly to areas in which there was a need and a market.

Stimulated

These funds, he added, had to achieve their objective without creating or sustaining a bureaucracy whose middle class salaries would fuel inflation.

The problem had to be tackled in such a way as to make the development process self-sustaining which meant that markets had to be stimulated.

But because the very poor and needy could not afford market prices, funds had to be used as gearing finance, or leverage money, to lift the resources of the poor up to levels commensurate with minimum affordability at market rates, or reduce costs of provision with the same effect.

In this way, the public and private sectors could work together with the disadvantaged communities to secure both basic needs, market expansion and employment growth, Mr Steyn added.

A hectic two days as teams bargain

304A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THE next two days during the talks between the Government and the ANC are going to be hectic for both teams as well as for the Press corps who have flown in from all over the world. *Sowetan 3/5/90*

If the past three days are anything to go by, none of the journalists stands a chance of meeting any member of the two delegations.

The ANC is holed up in a hotel an hour's drive from Cape Town, while the Government team are at their respective residences.

By late yesterday very few - perhaps nobody at all - had had an opportunity to meet any of the people seated around the negotiating table.

For the ANC, all the briefings and announcements were made by either Cape organiser Mr Patrick Lekota or the movement's stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki.

A chance of a single group photograph of the ANC delegation was allowed early yesterday.

Interviews

The media were promised a briefing "at the end of the three days" by spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Marius Kleynhans.

At the same time the Bureau for Information said it would try and arrange personal interviews with Government delegates.

At yesterday's opening speech in the shade of Table Mountain, both Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk made conciliatory and promising speeches.

The two leaders appeared relaxed and confident with the Press corps showing most of the strain.

The two sides hope that by the weekend South Africa will be closer to peace than it has ever been since the start of white rule.

CP marches to petition against talks with ANC

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Conservative Party MPs yesterday walked out of Parliament and marched to Tuynhuys where they handed in a petition protesting against the talks between the Government and the African National Congress. They demanded a white general election.

Reacting last night, President de Klerk said the note was blatant propaganda, combining untruths and misrepresentations about the Government's motives for talking to the ANC.

He said the Government's standpoint was still that negotiations for a new constitution could take place only with those who were clearly and completely committed to peaceful solutions.

Speaking in an extended public committee on the agriculture vote, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht announced that the party would withdraw from the day's proceedings to register its strongest condemnation of the negotiations.

He was allowed to make a short speech, although Nationalist MPs took a number of points of order against this being done in an agricultural debate.

At the start of the debate, Agriculture Minister Mr Jacob de Villiers referred briefly to the important talks and said everyone prayed they would succeed.

Dr Treurnicht said the ANC had through the years murdered dozens of innocent civilians. The ANC was, according to leader Mr Nelson Mandela, still committed to the armed struggle and it propagated continued trade boycotts against the country.

'No legal right'

Laws prohibited all these actions. President de Klerk and his Government had no legal right to ignore these laws and to give ANC terrorists indemnity against prosecution or to prevent the police from acting against them.

Outside Tuynhuys Dr Treurnicht said the Government had no mandate to do what it was doing. The CP demanded an election.

Asked about suggestions about more militant action, he said the CP was a political party which would try to get the support of the majority of whites.

The protest petition, received by a member of the President's staff, accused Mr de Klerk of "politically immoral" action, because he had specifically excluded such negotiations when he asked for a mandate in last year's general election.

It accused the National Party of surrendering to the ANC and the communists.

The Government was building up the stature of the ANC to the point where it was getting the image of an alternative government, it said. The petition called for the cessation of the talks and for a general election for whites.

President de Klerk dismissed the CP protest note about the talks as untrue. The present talks with the ANC were not constitutional negotiations, he said.

Mr de Klerk took the CP to task for its attempts to "undermine the security forces by trying to politicise them by sowing mistrust in the Government.

"Nothing can be more destabilising for a country than just this," he said.

Mr de Klerk said he was busy trying to create a climate for peaceful negotiations and would react more fully later.

South Africa dared not be forced off its course in its search for a just solution and lasting peace.

Substantial progress made at ANC talks

By TOS WENTZEL and
MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

THE first round of exploratory talks between the government and the ANC which ends today will not be conclusive — but substantial progress has been made.

The expectation in both camps today was that further consultations in smaller groups on issues such as the definition of political prisoners, immunity for exiles, the armed struggle and the state of emergency would have to take place.

Later, possibly in July, this would be followed up by another meeting of the two main delegations.

Sources close to the talks confirmed today that yesterday's discussions had again been "positive" and that the foundations for agreement on obstacles were being laid. The talks were reaching conclusions that would enhance the chances of real negotiations on constitutional reform.

EXPECTATION

From the government side it was pointed out that the expectation had always been that absolute finality could not be reached on all the obstacles to negotiation at the first round of the "talks about talks".

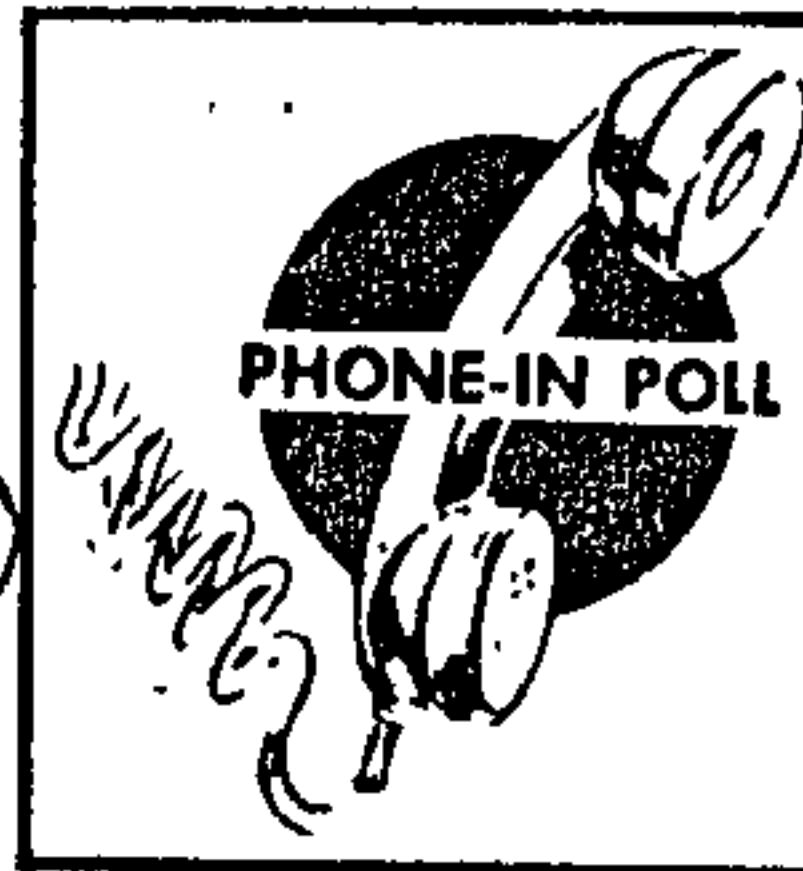
So far no final breakthroughs had been achieved as the talks often dealt with technical aspects of some of the obstacles.

Some of the continuing consultations that will follow today's round of talks will be on the issue of the definition of political prisoners, one of the sticking points at the talks.

But the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle and the question of the lifting of the state of emergency are thought to be connected to this issue and will also have to be dealt with.

The government, it was said, has always assumed that a number of rounds of talks would be necessary.

One source said today that, where ob-



Have your say . . .

Now that the Government and the ANC are talking, are you:

- More hopeful.
- Less hopeful.

Call us with your opinions on
208-4525 or 208-4547 until
9pm today.

stacles had not been finally removed, there had at least been indications of how this could be dealt with.

The two delegations spent 3½ hours at the table yesterday afternoon in a session "devoted to wide-ranging discussion and penetrating analysis of specific issues".

A joint statement said the aim of yesterday's round was "an attempt to identify the differences more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge on how to bridge these differences".

BRIEFINGS CANCELLED

While both President De Klerk and ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela expressed "satisfaction with progress achieved so far", an indication of the difficulties that lie ahead today was the cancellation last night of a series of Press briefings various ANC officials and delegates were to give at their hotel in Somerset West because they were engaged in unscheduled consultations deep into the night.

● See page 5.

So welcom 4/5/90

Talks good, serious

From ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
in Cape Town

THE historic talks between the Government and the ANC enter the last round today with both teams still saying peace is the ultimate goal.

In a joint statement after the first day and a briefing yesterday by the ANC's spokesman on international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the mood and tempo of the talks were described as "good and very serious, but not solemn".

The first round was devoted to feeler discussions and preliminaries by both parties on the question of obstacles to negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

Discussion

The discussions were listed under security legislation, the return of exiles, troops in the townships, political prisoners, the state of emergency, the adherence to the armed struggle and the need to end violence.

Both groups agreed to the agenda.

"The discussions were characterised by openness and straightforwardness on both sides," the official statement said after the first day. No statement was expected last night on the second day's (Thursday) deliberations.

Foolish

In his lunch-time briefing, Mbeki said everyone had been foolish for so many years and that the long overdue talks "should have taken place ages ago".

"We found that we were all committed to finding solutions," he said.

Mbeki's address at the Press centre was originally scheduled for April 12, but fell away when the proposed first meeting with was cancelled.

A final statement will be made at the end of today's discussions.

Talks will lead to compromise: PAC

AS the ANC and government delegations sat down to attempt to work out a deal to get negotiations going, the Pan-Africanist Congress warned that the meeting could lead to "unacceptable compromises".

And it said its own support among blacks was growing, particularly among young people, as a result of the rapprochement between the govern-

Soweto 4/5/77

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

ment and the ANC.

"We are very apprehensive," said Western Cape representative of the PAC, Mr Barney Desai.

Oppressed

"On the basis of Mr De Klerk's recent speeches and his London Television News interview with Brian Walden, we cannot see how anybody can negotiate on be-

half of the oppressed people of South Africa for a new deal."

Desai said De Klerk was not coming clean.

"People are engaging him in negotiations and we must see what they come out with. But as far as we are concerned, we will not be going within spitting distance of that table."

Desai said the PAC's national executive committee would consider negotiations "only if the situation warrants it". - Sapa



FW DE KLERK

Let the people decide future - ANC vision

ANC director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki yesterday spelled out the organisation's vision of the road to a democratic South Africa: the election of a constituent assembly and the creation of an interim government to supervise the process. *Sowetan* 4/5/90

Mbeki was speaking to the Cape Town Press Club just before the start of the second day of talks between the ANC and the Government.

The ANC's vision is in direct conflict with what State President FW de Klerk envisages.

In an exclusive interview with the *Sowetan* last month De Klerk said his Government was legitimate, was recognised by the international community and would not abdicate to make way for an interim one.

He also rejected the notion of a constituent assembly, saying it would give some people unfair advantage before the talks over the constitution even start.

Future

There is now some convergence on the way the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress see the future.

In a statement to the *Sowetan* before the current talks, PAC's secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim said: "Only elected representatives can claim to have a mandate from the majority of the people to draw up a new non-racial democratic constitution for a united Azania."

"Hence the call by the PAC for the holding of a one-person-one-vote election to a single chamber constituent assembly..."

By JOE THLOLOE
In Cape Town

Mbeki said the best way to resolve the question of who sits around the negotiation table is through an elected constituent assembly.

There should also be an interim government that enjoys the confidence of the people. The South African Government cannot supervise the process because it was a party to the conflict.

Mbeki envisaged a series of agreements that would lead up to an agreement on the assembly and the interim government.

The basic conflict was between those who believed in a united democratic South Africa and those who believed that change had to be based on groups, racial or other.

Mbeki envisaged those who believe in a non-racial South Africa sitting on one side of the table with De Klerk and such other people who might think of themselves as representatives of groups on the other.

The question of who directs the SABC would have to be addressed to make sure that it was not subject to pressure from one political organisation or another.

Delegates to big talks mix freely

DELEGATES to the first official talks between the African National Congress and the Government found it "unbelievable" that they could mix so easily after almost 30 years of warring.

"The way in which we met was so normal that it was as if there had been no barriers before," a source close to the Government delegation said yesterday. *Sowetan 4/5/90*

"It didn't feel like we were meeting for the first time. There were no signs of aggression at all. It was quite friendly.

"Many delegates expressed the feeling that it was unbelievable that we are together and we can mix so easily.

"Especially for those from Lusaka

Sowetan Correspondent

who have longed so much for home, it was even more important to mix with us." *(304A)*

The delegate said the mood had been good and the talks had gone "pretty well."

But it was too early to say that it had been "totally positive" as the fundamental issues still had to be resolved.

"Both sides showed a willingness to address the problems but in a spirit of trying to solve them instead of trying to perpetuate them.

"It's too early to predict the outcome and in-depth discussions will still have to take place."

—FW on 'most important venture aimed at Europe'

De Klerk's 'whirlwind tour'

Ms645 4/15/90 (304A)

By ALAN DUNN of the Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk's visit to Europe starts next week — nine countries in 18 days where he will be meeting kings, presidents, prime ministers, foreign ministers, high-powered industrialists and businessmen.

It is being viewed in top government circles as the most important government venture aimed at Europe since the present ruling party came to power in 1948.

Mr De Klerk's whirlwind journey is the most comprehensive tour ever of Western Europe by a South African leader. It will be his first overseas since becoming president in September last year.

Countries on the crowded itinerary include France, Greece, Portugal, Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Spain and two others which have not yet announced Mr De Klerk's imminent arrival.

"It is not a tour de force," said a senior government member. "It is an essential visit to make sure Europe accepts this government's sincerity."

"That is important to us. We want to be believed," he said.

Intentions

The source said Mr De Klerk's essential message to those he met would be: "Whatever our inadequacies, whatever our mistakes, we now say to you: Believe us."

The idea is to remove

doubts and suspicions that still linger in the minds of western governments about the government's intentions.

Officials believe Mr De Klerk, a good communicator who replies comprehensively to questions, stands every chance of succeeding.

Mr De Klerk will be flying on a chartered Boeing 707 with presidential insignia, specially fitted for the trip. With him will be Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and about 20 officials.

The entourage also includes Mrs Marike de Klerk and Mrs Helena Botha who will at times be pursuing independent programmes in the host countries.

On board as well will be a security contingent and about 20 reporters and cameramen.

While the next most senior Cabinet member, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, will be sworn in as acting president at Jan Smuts Airport moments before take-off, Mr De Klerk will remain fully in touch with home at all times via a sophisticated communications set-up on board.

Official

His visits to the various capitals are mostly being described by the hosts as "official" or "working" visits. Only France is calling it "private", but will have the red carpet out for him nonetheless.

This is everything but a backdoor tour, a method of entry South Africans, even the country's leaders — have

reluctantly grown accustomed to.

Sources said Mr De Klerk had been inundated with invitations — the problem this time was not finding discussion partners, but choosing who not to speak to.

While senior government members stress that Mr De Klerk is not on tour to triumphantly take a bow for the changes he has made in South Africa so far, there is no doubt he will be receiving bouquets.

'Popular'

His unbanning of the ANC and reforms announced on February 2, and the freeing of Nelson Mandela on February 11, are directly responsible for this tour — doors that have been closed for years

have crashed open.

"We're popular in the sense that they want to know who F W de Klerk is and whether he is sincere," said a top government source. "What type of person is F W de Klerk? Can he make it?" were the questions they would be wanting answered.

"I wouldn't say we've regained the moral high ground, but we are seen to be walking towards it," he added.

"We can really go there without defending apartheid any longer — forget that, we are not going to do that," he said. Mr De Klerk would be discussing the government's idea of power-sharing.

The dark days for South Africa abroad seem to be over. The comeback to international acceptability is on. Foreign

Affairs diplomats no longer stare into endless gloom, wondering how much worse the news can get.

Mr De Klerk will be out to promote that warming process.

Hard work

A seasoned government traveller said the tour would be hard work. "It's a stiff programme," he said.

Something Mr De Klerk will apparently not be raising with any leader is that of economic sanctions the host countries have in place against South Africa.

It has become definite De Klerk strategy not to touch the issue of sanctions with foreign leaders — unless prompted — which would merely serve to draw atten-

tion to the matter and heighten a niggles into a sore point.

If the questions is raised by other parties, Mr De Klerk can be expected to take the line that sanctions were imposed by them. What they did about them was their affair, he was going to continue with what he was doing in South Africa regardless.

'In the room'

"Of course sanctions will be in the room at every major discussion," said one official. But it was an uncomfortable topic, which inevitably led to the question of "are they hurting you?" he said.

"If you say 'no', then they think you are lying. If 'yes', then you are admitting something," he said.

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(304A)

Nobody at talks has horns — Mbeki

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT and ANC delegates at the Groote Schuur talks realised within hours of sitting down to their first formal meeting that they had been "foolish" not to have got together for talks years ago, said ANC former exile Mr Thabo Mbeki.

"We were a bit surprised, I think, at how foolish all of us have been because in a matter of minutes everybody in the room understood that nobody there had horns," he told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

"Everybody understood that these discussions ought to have taken place many years ago, and that everybody sitting in the room was perfectly reasonable and committed to finding a solution."

Mr Mbeki added: "When the meeting closed on Wednesday, the general feeling, I think, was that not only was movement forward necessary, but possible, and that it was a good thing to be participating in the

process of moving this whole thing forward."

In lighter vein, Mr Mbeki disclosed that he and his colleague Ms Ruth Mompoti intended chiding a cabinet minister at the talks for "doing his office work" at the negotiating table.

He said he and Ms Mompoti had decided to "complain" to the unnamed minister for this perhaps inappropriate devotion to duty.

They had noticed the minister "spent a bit of time doing his office work" during Wednesday's session.

Won applause

Another mischievous disclosure won applause from his audience.

Lifting the covers on lighter moments at the Groote Schuur encounter, Mr Mbeki said he had remarked at the start of the meeting that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha "was my deputy".

He wasn't sure that Mr Botha was "very pleased with that", he added.

In fact, Mr Mbeki said, the atmosphere at the talks was "very good... very serious, but not solemn."



Mr Thabo Mbeki addresses the Cape Town Press Club.

State pays the ANC hotel bill

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
AFRICAN National Congress exiles visiting Cape Town for talks with the government this week are truly guests of the State... the government is footing the bill for their luxury hotel accommodation, transport and security.

About 30 rooms — one whole wing — of the five-star hotel near Somerset West have been occupied by the ANC team.

Some of the rooms are being used for meetings.

SPECIAL RATES

The likely hotel costs — which will include telephone and other bills — have not been divulged. The hotel charges R225 for a single room for one night, but special rates are available for group bookings.

Transport costs will also be high — Mercedes-Benz cars and minibuses are among the vehicles used to ferry the delegates to and from the talks at Groote Schuur in Newlands and a police helicopter escorts the motorcade.

In a brief statement, the Bureau for Information said: "In order to facilitate security arrangements, the government took responsibility for arranging the accommodation and local transport of the delegation and for the expenditure involved."

Whites 'stripped of rights'

THE independence of Namibia had stripped all whites in that country of their citizenship rights and that was what South Africa would become, said Mr J J C Botha (CP Wonderboom).

Speaking during debate on the Extended Public Committee on South African Citizenship at Attainment of Independence of Namibia Regulation Bill, Mr Botha said the honeymoon of the Namibian constitution would soon be over and the country would revert to a communistic state.

"If you want to see what the new South Africa is going to look like, look at Namibia. They have stopped religious devotions at schools. There is no Die Stem or Day of the Vow."

"Whites in Namibia have been stripped of all their rights of citizenship in that they have no say over these matters any more."

Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said the Bill was the last chapter of the tragic history of Namibia.

"Few people who have left Namibia to come and live in South Africa support the National Party because of their experiences."

Mr Desmond Lockey (LP Northern Cape) said a country could not carry on indefinitely granting citizenship to people who were not born in that country.

Mr Frikkie van Deventer (NP Durbanville) said South Africa respected Namibia's right to claim loyalty from its citizens, in line with international standards.

Mr Yusuf Seedat (Solidarity nominated) said the Bill was a natural consequence to Namibia attaining its independence and it was understandable that its government would not sanction dual citizenship.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) said the Democratic Party would not support the Bill because there had been no negotiation with the Namibian government.

South African citizens who left to live in another country lost their citizenship only after seven years.

"We do not see why Namibians should lose their South African citizenship so arbitrarily. The government is going about this too hastily. The Bill should be widely advertised so that South African citizens in Namibia could have a chance to decide on what they want to do." — Sapa.

Ways to streamline public service sought

Political Staff

THE government is almost halfway through a job-by-job evaluation of the public service to establish where it can be streamlined.

This was disclosed in parliament by Dr Wim de Villiers, Minister for Administration and Economic Co-ordination, who is conducting the scrutiny.

The government aimed to shrink the public sector's role in the economy, he said.

Dr De Villiers said yesterday a function evaluation programme had been completed in 10 departments. It was in progress in 13 more departments.

MORE EFFICIENT

A smaller, more efficient public service was still one of the biggest challenges facing the economy, he added.

He was speaking during his department's budget debate.

Another move in the public service, he said, was commercialising services and introducing user-charges. Management units should be created in the government departments and they should be self-financing as far as possible.

Dr De Villiers announced also that the introduction of management accounting in the public service would emphasise cost effectiveness.

"The system is being phased in gradually and has been initiated in the Prisons Service, police and the Department of Finance," he said.

Private-sector managers would be employed throughout the public service once teething problems were overcome.

"The intention is to apply business principles in the management of government departments," Dr De Villiers said.

CP member ordered out

MR Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) was ordered by the Chairman to leave the Chamber of Parliament after he implied President De Klerk was involved in politics of treason.

Speaking on the Administration and Economic Co-ordination Vote, he said "The politics currently being followed are those of treason. You (the President) have no mandate to do what you are doing."

Mr Jacobs refused to withdraw the statement and was ordered out. — Sapa.

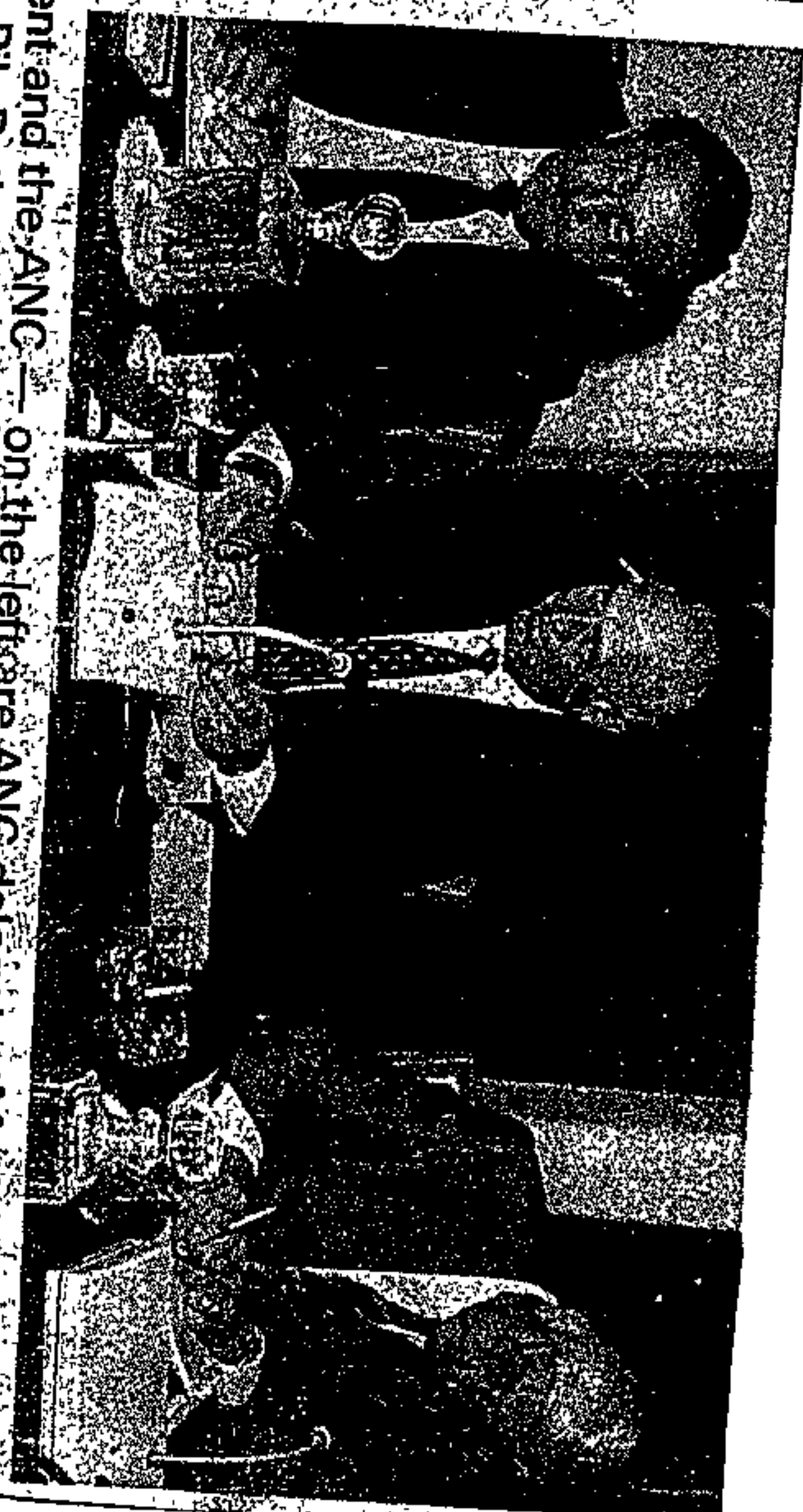
'Open up public service'

IF South Africans were moving into a new South Africa, people of all races had to be brought into the top level of the public service, Mr Roger Burrows (DP Pinetown) said.

Speaking in the debate on the administration and economic co-ordination vote, he said only a minimum of blacks were employed in State departments. Of the 131 people employed in the Office of the State President, no black, Indian or coloured people were employed. — Sapa.



FACE TO FACE A glimpse at the talks between the government and the ANC — on the left are ANC delegates Mr. Joe Slovo, Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. Alfred Nzo. On the right are Mr. P. W. Botha, President F. W. de Klerk, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen.



Govt to pay 'poor' ANC's hotel bill

By CHRIS BATEMAN and NORMAN PATTERTON

THE government will pick up the tab for the ANC delegation's stay at the five-star Lord Charles Hotel at Somerset West, a government spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Neither the government, the ANC nor the hotel management would say how much the stay would cost, but it is estimated this will come to almost R10 000 a day — and about R70 000 for the week. This does not include the cost of housing 53 government officials, mostly security personnel.

A spokesman at an ANC information centre in the hotel said yesterday that the ANC occupied 31 rooms.

"The rooms are shared by two or three people," the spokesman said. She would not release further details.

The ANC convenor for the southern Natal region, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said at the hotel that in the past ANC members had "slept on cement floors and eaten mealie meal", but in this instance the government had offered to pay. The ANC was a poor organisation, he added.

A government spokesman said in Cape Town that the government was arranging the group's accommodation — and the expense — "in order to facilitate security arrangements".

The hotel charges R240 a day for an ordinary room, breakfast included. Ignoring the chances that ANC executives occupy any of the eight luxury suites, the cost of the 31 rooms would come to R7 440 a day. If 60 dinners a night — each costing R40 — were added that would add another R2 400, making a daily total of R9 840. The group moved in last Saturday and will book out tomorrow.

Security fears could lead to white exodus

CNT Times 4/5/90 (304A)

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Concerns about personal safety could cause more than half South Africa's white population — including 49% of Conservative Party adherents — to consider emigrating, according to a survey released yesterday by Investor Responsibility Research Centre.

Administered by Mr Jan Hofmeyr of UCT as part of a major new IRRC study on sanctions, the poll of 1 620 whites found considerably less concern, especially among Afrikaners, about lowered living standards or threats to social and cultural ways of life.

A large number — 44% — said they favoured a "power-sharing system with minority protections" as the "best political option" in a new South Africa; 19%, the next-largest group, opted for the removal of racial discrimination but the maintenance of white control over the economy and defence.

Sixteen percent wanted the maintenance of residential apartheid, allowing blacks into white areas only to work.

Only 9% favoured majority rule with built-in protections for whites; 3.5%

wanted universal suffrage and a Western-style parliamentary system in which the decision of the majority determined the laws of the country.

At the time the poll was taken — last May — 72% of whites (85% of Afrikaners and 55% of English-speakers) said they had given no thought to leaving during the previous five years.

Questioned about what circumstances might make them change their minds, 54% overall and 43% of Afrikaners said they would think "seriously" or "very seriously" about getting out if they sensed a "decline in personal safety" for themselves and their families.

Seventy-two percent of DP supporters said security fears might make them jump ship. Among CP faithful the figure was 49%. Nats were slightly bolder. Only 42% might fly, while 55% remained determined to stay.

A fall in living standards would make 48% of English-speakers consider emigration — as opposed to 25% of Afrikaners.

In response to "a threat to your social and cultural way of life", 28% of Afrikaners said they might start looking for an exit. The figure was 44% among English-speakers.

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CNT-71115 4/5/90 (280) (304A)

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Ms Charlewood



Mr Andrew



Mr Clase



Mr Van der Merwe

FW: SA has made irreversible choice

981 Timp 4/5/90 (304A) (282)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA had already made a choice for the irreversible process to a new South Africa by means of negotiation and a democratically obtained mandate, President F W de Klerk said last night.

He was speaking at a banquet in Tuynhuys during which the State President's Sport Award and merit awards for sport were presented.

Changes taking place in the constitutional sphere presented a formidable challenge to South African sport.

"There are groupings in South Africa who claim that a new sports dispensation for our country cannot be negotiated until

certain political and constitutional changes have come about.

"In all fairness, it should not be too much to ask that these people leave the constitutional tasks to the politicians and start co-operating towards creating better opportunities for our sportsmen and women.

"They deserve it.

"The process of reform is clearly under way and obstacles that may still exist, are being removed.

"South African sport need not wait in the wings any longer, if reason is to triumph over brinkmanship.

"Those in sport who are concerned about reforms in other areas, should realise that an irreversible process regarding constitutional negotiation and the elimination of discrimination has started.

"The door is open and need not be forced. Continued pressure is misplaced," Mr De Klerk said.

South Africa could not afford a situation in which sports administrators and bodies remain in conflict with one another and divided among themselves.

"Sterile rhetoric has to be replaced by positive and constructive dialogue and co-operation towards creating a better sports dispensation for all.

"Sports leaders should guard against imagined reasons and excuses for not talking to one another or for placing restrictions on the participation of key players in certain events.

"Those who had championed the cause of South Africa's isolation in sport should now abandon this course," he said.

● The award winners — Back page

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DP asked to stand down in Boksburg poll

Star 4/5/90
Staff Reporter

The Democratic Party has been approached twice in the past week to stand down in the Boksburg Ward Two by-election, DP secretary Mr Sirk van Wyk revealed last night.

And we are challenging independent Mr Issy Kramer who joined the National Party 18 months ago," he said.

The formal nominations for the May 30 by-election will be made today.

He said Mr Sakkie Blanche,

NP MP for Boksburg, approached DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer asking whether the party would stand down.

Mr Issy Kramer, an independent town councillor, approached Mr Harry Schwartz,

DP MP for Yeoville, to ask the same thing, he said. "We're amazed because two NP councillors resigned under a cloud from that ward."

The candidates so far are Mr Ronnie Wiggil (NP), Mr J Rabie (CP) and Mr Colin Auret (DP).

Prostores at Walks is, good

QPR 7/14/85 4/5/90

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The statement noted that yesterday's talks concentrated on a general discussion of the issues each party regards as the obstacles to the starting of negotiations on a new constitution.

The major concern on the government side is the ANC's continuing commitment to armed struggle and the wave of violence and intimidation sweeping the country.

The ANC is insisting on a general and permanent amnesty for "political prisoners" and exiles, the repeal of repressive "security" legislation and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Amnesty

The two teams yesterday devoted much of their effort to examining these specific issues "in an attempt to identify the differences more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge on how to bridge these differences".

The talks, which go into their third day this morning, will now concentrate on working towards "bridging these differences".

One of the key sticking points has been the ANC's demand for a general amnesty for its members involved in the armed struggle, while the government has so far been prepared to accord immunity only to ANC participants in negotiations.

Mbeki's joke 'ruffled' Pik

THE talks between the government and the ANC have had their lighter moments.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, jokingly referred to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, as his deputy.

"He was not very pleased with that," Mr Mbeki told the Cape Town Press Club during a speech yesterday. — Sapa

On Page 2 . . .

- Close watch on teetotal ANC leader
- Good flavour at talks, says Mbeki

Unrest

The government has been anxious to get a commitment from the ANC for a joint effort to stamp out countrywide unrest and intimidation, particularly among the youth.

Although both sides emphasised yesterday that much hard bargaining lay ahead, the positive and constructive atmosphere prevailing so far was underlined by remarks coming from both camps.

The ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki said yesterday that the participants on both sides found each other "perfectly reasonable people committed to finding solutions" and recognised that the talks should have taken place "many years ago".

To page 2

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BOTH the ANC and the National Party sent out strong signals yesterday that there had been important movement forward at the crucial Groote Schuur talks and that prospects for further progress were good.

In a joint statement issued last night after 3½ hours of "wide-ranging discussion and penetrating analysis", both President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela expressed their satisfaction with the progress achieved so far.

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Being there

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Q/A

F/M 4/5/90



In the latest edition of *SA Forum*, Stellenbosch political philosopher Willie Esterhuyse looks at negotiations between the National Party and ANC. These are some of his views.

Negotiating a new constitution for SA requires a strategy which addresses the twin problems of a general consensus on broad political goals and agreement on procedures. The latter is of vital importance: given the absence of such a broad consensus, it requires what could be called a process of bargaining.

This, to be successful, requires at least the following:

- ☐ Acceptance by the parties to the conflict that the cost of maintaining traditional positions is too high;
- ☐ A clear understanding that there need not be winners or losers but that all parties to the conflict could get something from a resolution;
- ☐ A willingness to compromise; and
- ☐ Acceptance by the parties that the initial aim of the process should be a serious attempt to establish a contact zone or middle ground.

The nature of the conflict in SA requires at this stage what could be called a process of "bargaining about bargaining." The question arises whether a contact zone is at all

possible — given the mutually exclusive normative models of the incumbents and some of their challengers.

The potential for establishing some common ground in cases of mutually exclusive normative models and visions relates, first of all, to the willingness of the parties to compromise. Such willingness does not materialise on purely moral grounds. Nor does it result from a sudden change in political style or attitude. It stems primarily from the conflicting parties realising the cost of continuing the conflict is too high.

Indications are the leadership of both the National Party and ANC are at present considering the cost of continuing conflict. Whether people like it or not, willingness to compromise and enter into a process of bargaining is directly related, in the modern world, to the kind of international pressures experienced by the parties to a conflict.

Mutually exclusive normative models and visions do not necessarily preclude bargaining about bargaining, or a settlement process. In politics, factors like costs, international pressure and socio-political forces — together with a leader's perception and interpretation of them — can make a difference.

What has happened recently in SA is a good example of the fact that the mutually exclusive nature of competing models and visions does not imply an absence of any interaction. The SA government and ANC do not ignore each other. Tactically and strategically, they are compelled to reckon with each other. It is significant that the

ANC, in its list of what government should do to create a climate conducive to negotiations, has moved away from the condition that all apartheid legislation should be abolished.

The legislation in question entails the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act in particular; Acts which form the cornerstones of the present system of government and constitutional dispensation.

It seems as if the ANC is prepared to have these Acts discussed during the process of negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation.

What is expected from government is a clear commitment that these Acts are not non-negotiable (government has already indicated its willingness in this respect).

What it all adds up to is a greater willingness to accept the need for a transitional period as well as joint action to rid the country of the remaining vestiges of apartheid.

Agreement on a transitional stage — including the sequencing of the implementation of a settlement and consensus on how and by whom the country should be governed during this period — will contribute to stability, offsetting white concerns about the future.

Negotiated settlements do not have the character of a "Big Bang" event. They materialise gradually and require creative leadership, confidence-building and a sincere desire to find compromises. ■

THE GROOTE SCHUUR TALKS F/M 4/5/90

The enemy, we presume?

It was with a remarkable degree of realism that the ANC and the National Party prepared for their talks in Cape Town this week.

Neither side expected significant gains in this initial round of discussions, aimed at removing obstacles to further talks. The common attitude seemed to be open-mindedness and a willingness to listen.

There was a belief on both sides that while the obstacles are now perceived as severe, they are not insurmountable and can be overcome through compromise. It was further felt that once the obstacles are removed, the constitutional negotiations themselves will progress rapidly.

There was last-minute posturing — Foreign Minister Pik Botha in parliament last Thursday; SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo and — to a lesser extent — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Alfred Nzo at a public rally in Mitchell's Plain on Sunday.

However, both delegations were apparently firmly committed to being as open and honest as possible once the talks got under way. The agreed venue for the meeting is the historic Groote Schuur, a former residence of prime ministers and now a type of museum on the Groote Schuur estate not far from the president's residence, Westbrook.

One diplomat monitoring developments was so optimistic about the prospect of success that he commented that it was not the battle lines that had been drawn, but the peace lines. It seems both sides accept that it will be far more difficult to move backwards than forwards.

However, government is concerned that expectations of what these talks will achieve may have been pumped too hard both locally and abroad and there were behind-the-scenes efforts this week to tone down what was seen as "media hype." Government is also anxious for the talks to be seen as merely an attempt to remove obstacles and not the start of constitutional negotiations.

A senior government source says it must be remembered that similar, lower profile "obstacle-removing" meetings have already been concluded successfully between government and other interested groups, such as the KwaZulu government and other homeland administrations.

Government still insists that constitutional negotiations must be as comprehensive as possible. It is envisaged that once the obstacles troubling both government and the ANC have been removed, both parties will

move towards wider-ranging multi-lateral talks which include other groups.

This week's talks were due to start on Wednesday as the FM went to press and were expected to last until Friday. Although a "steering committee" formed from both sides completed groundwork before the talks started, issues such as the final agenda and rules of procedure were due to be discussed



again by the full meeting at its first session.

Both sides were reasonably confident that the talks would not easily break down. They cited the personalities of Mandela and President F W de Klerk as a unifying factor. Both men respect each other.

Though the run-up to talks was marked by some harsh statements on both sides, it was generally accepted that they were a necessary part of the positioning process. It seems that government is still pursuing an "anti-Slovo" line in an apparent attempt to drive a wedge into the ANC.

Speaking during the debate on the Foreign Affairs budget vote in parliament last week, Botha savaged the ANC for failing to acknowledge the collapse of Marxism.

He said it was "almost unbelievable" that organisations in SA were proposing one-party states and centralised economies and the "new Utopia" at the very time those systems were collapsing in east and central Europe.

He likened the Marxist ideologues in the ANC to the apartheid ideologues in the Conservative Party. "The CP is as great a danger to the survival of whites, and specifically Afrikaners, as the conservatives in the ANC are to the survival of blacks. Both want to fight it out. Both want all or nothing. Each wants to rule the other."

Botha said the ANC's paradoxical stand on violence and its links with the SACP were damaging its image. He suggested that Slovo travel to eastern Europe to see what sort of

crowd he could attract at a public meeting. He said Slovo guided and dominated the ANC and appealed to the foreign media — particularly those from the Eastern Bloc — who will report on this week's talks to highlight his "prominent" role.

But at Mitchell's Plain on Sunday, Mandela pledged solidarity with Slovo's CP and said the ANC had rejected a government appeal to drop Slovo from its negotiating team. He and Nzo also pledged themselves to peace and were seen to be conciliatory.

Slovo, on the other hand, took a harder line in an hour-long address. While he welcomed the prospect of a peaceful settlement to SA's problems, he insisted on government's acceptance of the ANC's list of preconditions for constitutional talks. He also repeated the views of other speakers that the "struggle" must meanwhile go on and said the "armed struggle" had contributed to the climate for this week's talks.

The Mitchell's Plain meeting was seen as a disappointment for the ANC. The weather was wet, cold and windy and only about a quarter of the expected 100 000 people pitched up.

THE PAC F/M 4/5/90

In the wings

With the spotlight currently (as in the past) very much on the ANC and government, the temptation might be to relegate the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) to irrelevancy. That would be a mistake.

It has been said that the ANC cannot afford to "fail" indefinitely (in delivering majority rule), without losing at least some of its support to its smaller, less compromising rivals in the PAC. Having embraced the idea of negotiation with government, the ANC could be gambling with high stakes. Any perceived "sell-out" could see the tables turn and the PAC automatically capitalising on it.

This appears to be its strategy — to outbid the ANC with militant rhetoric.

It may be early days in the negotiation process, but already doubts are evident in the black community about its efficacy and direction. The *Sowetan*, for instance, in an editorial this week found another obstacle to negotiation in President F W de Klerk's statement that the white electorate will have the final say on the new order to be negotiated: "More people will now be asking if the ANC is right in getting to the negotiating table at all. Worse still, De Klerk also said majority rule is out of the question."

82 4/5/90

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(3047)

MP ordered out for 'treason' remark

Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) was ordered by the Chairman, Mr S Abram, yesterday to leave the Chamber of Parliament, after he said by implication that President de Klerk was busy with the politics of treason.

Speaking during debate on the Administration and Economic Co-ordination vote, he said Mr de Klerk had said the CP's protest memorandum on Wednesday against the negotiations between the ANC and the Government, was not true. The CP wanted to debate this with the President in Parliament.

"The politics currently being followed are politics of treason (verraad). You (the State President) have no mandate to do what you are busy doing"

Mr Jacobs refused to withdraw what he had said when asked to do so and was ordered to leave the chamber.

Earlier, in the debate, Mr Jacobs said that the department and its Minister, Dr Wim de Villiers, had not done much to combat inflation.

He said the Civil Service was in uproar and the Government had to be blamed.

"The civil servant is the victim of a government that doesn't combat inflation. The three salary adjustments for civil servants this year shows inadequate co-ordination.

"The increases were only to the advantage of the black civil servants."

Mr Roger Burrows (DP Pine-town) said if South Africans were moving into a new South Africa, people of all races had to be brought into the top level service or South Africa would move to political patronage.

"In view of a new South Africa and as we move in the next



Dr Wim de Villiers ... "expansion of industrial capacity".

three to four years we may return to the bad old days of political patronage unless the structure in its entirety is changed."

There was only a minimum number of blacks employed in the different State Departments.

Will not work

Of the 181 people employed in the Office of the State President, no blacks, Indians or coloureds were employed and in the Department of National Education, out of the 597 people, no coloureds, blacks or Indians were employed.

"In a new South Africa with one man, one vote, this will not work."

Mr Harry Schwarz (DP Yeville) said that apartheid was a piece of social engineering applied by the State to create economic and other privileges for some, based on race.



Mr Harry Schwarz ... "ministry should be transferred".

He had great respect for the person of Dr de Villiers, but wondered whether the ministry was really necessary.

It should be transferred to that of the Minister of Finance.

Introducing the debate, Dr de Villiers said that there could be no doubt that South Africa's economic future in the medium and long-term lay in the direction of the expansion of its industrial capacity.

He said this was the sector in which South Africa's manpower had the best chance to develop its technical abilities.

The Government was thoroughly aware of the necessity of proper co-ordination and of the ongoing implementation of its economic policy.

The aim of a relatively smaller, but more effective, public service, was still one of the biggest challenges. — Sapa.

Co-operation growing, says Mbeki

Govt, ANC signal talks are on track

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CAPE TOWN — As the Groote Schuur talks between government and the ANC enter the crucial third and final day both sides are sending out strong signals that good progress is being made towards removing obstacles to negotiations.

In a joint statement issued last night, President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela expressed their satisfaction with the progress so far.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club yesterday ANC international head Thabo Mbeki said the general feeling in his organisation's delegation was that movement forward was not only necessary but possible.

After a NP caucus meeting that was apparently briefed on the progress of the talks yesterday, NP chief whip Keppies Niemann said: "The caucus has noted with enthusiasm and grateful appreciation the progress that has been made this week with constructive talks aimed at achieving peaceful negotiation towards the creation of a new SA".

The joint government/ANC statement noted that yesterday's talks concentrated on a general discussion of the issues each party regarded as obstacles to starting negotiations on a new constitution.

It said: "Today's meeting was devoted to a wide ranging discussion and penetrating analysis of the specific issues in an attempt to identify the differences more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge on how to bridge these differences."

Mbeki said the participants on both sides found each other "perfectly reasonable people, committed to finding solutions" who recognised the talks should have taken place "many years ago".

He said there was a feeling of surprise among participants because within a matter of minutes of sitting down "everyone

MIKE ROBERTSON

understood that there was nobody there with horns.

"When all of us departed, the general feeling was that not only is movement forward necessary, it is possible."

Before beginning his address, Mbeki said the parties to the talks had agreed that no comment would be made until the talks were over.

Asked to describe the "flavour" of the first official encounter between the ANC and government, Mbeki said: "I really think the atmosphere was very good."

"It is very serious but not solemn."

It also had its jovial moments.

Mbeki said he had jokingly referred to Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha as his deputy.

"He was not very pleased with that," Mbeki said.

He said it was clear "there has to be an increasing degree of co-operation" between the ANC and government to address matters of common concern, such as the violence in the townships.

He said he did not know whether such efforts would be institutionalised but "there has to be co-operation".

The ANC did not consider itself to be the "sole and authentic representative of the oppressed people of SA", he said.

There were other organisations opposed to apartheid which would have to be represented at the negotiating table.

If the current round of talks succeeded in removing the obstacles to negotiation, the next problem would be to decide who would sit around the negotiation table to decide on a new constitution.

He said it was obvious a basic divide existed between those political groupings which felt the new SA should be a united

□ To Page 2

Talks on track

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non-racial democracy and those who believed that change should recognise racial and ethnic division and take place in terms of a group-based solution.

The ANC believed "our side" would comprise a broad front including the UDF and Cosatu as well as homeland leaders who rejected the group concept and "very many white people".

Sitting next to De Klerk on the "group-based" side would be leaders such as those who claimed to represent seven million Zulus — an apparent reference to KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mbeki reiterated the ANC's commit-

ment to the establishment of an interim government to supervise elections for a constituent assembly which would draft a new constitution, as in Namibia.

The NP is firmly opposed to such a scenario, but Mbeki said the ANC would attempt to convince De Klerk he was "wrong".

De Klerk has said the tricameral Parliament would have to approve any constitutional changes before they were implemented and has promised to put any proposals to the white electorate.

● Picture: Page 3

● Comment: Page 10

304A □ From Page 1

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4/5/90

304A

A total of 187 high school and 198 primary school teachers employed by the Department of Education and Culture were made redundant in 1989, the Minister, Mr Piet Clase, said in the House of Assembly yesterday in a written reply to a question from Mr W U Nel (DP Mooi River).

They included 340 in the Cape, two in Natal, two in the OFS and 41 in the Transvaal.

In the Cape 213 were subsequently reemployed and in the Transvaal 40 as members of the permanent relieving staff.

— Sapa.

'Namibian whites will be made irrelevant'

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The independence of Namibia had stripped all whites in that country of their citizenship rights and that was what South Africa would become, Mr J J C Botha (CP Wonderboom) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Extended Public Committee on South African Citizenship at Attainment of Independence of Namibia Regulation Bill, Mr Botha said the honeymoon of the Namibian constitution would soon be over when the country would revert to a communistic state.

"It you want to see what the new South Africa is going to look like, look at Namibia. They have stopped religious devotions at schools, there is no "Die Stem" or Day of the Vow.

Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said the Bill was the last chapter of the tragic history of Namibia.

"Few people who have left Namibia to come and live in South Africa support the National Party because of their experiences."

"The Bill is also aimed at making the whites of the territory totally irrelevant, just as President De Klerk is busy doing with us."

Mr Desmond Lockey (LP Northern Cape) said a country could not carry on indefinitely granting citizenship to people who were not born in that country.

Mr Frikkie van Deventer (NP Durbanville) said South Africa respected Namibia's right to claim loyalty from its citizens, in line with international standards.

Mr Yusuf Seedat (Sol Nom) said the Bill was a natural consequence of Namibia attaining its independence and it was understandable that its government would not sanction dual citizenship.

Mr Seedat said the South African Government should also take care that immigrants did not use South Africa for their convenience.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) said the Democratic Party would not support the Bill because there had been no negotiation with the Namibian government.

"The Government is going about this too hastily. The Bill should be widely advertised so that South African citizens in Namibia could have a chance to decide on what they want to do." — Sapa.

President de Klerk said in a statement last night that he and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson

tween shop stewards and the MEC in charge of hospital services, Mr Fanie Ferreira.

BUT MR ELLIS SAID WORKERS' efforts to make hospitals unworkable were unacceptable.

Hopes for agreement on issue of prisoners and exiles

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Hopes are high that some agreement on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles will emerge today from the all-important talks here between the African National Congress and the South African Government.

Government sources close to the talks do not expect a complete breakthrough today on all

the obstacles to negotiation which are under discussion.

However, they think there could be a definite indication on how to solve the problem of releasing political prisoners and identifying which exiles may return.

They say it is possible some form of joint consultative process will be agreed on to determine who should be released and who allowed home.

Whether or not some form of commitment by the ANC on the issue of armed struggle emerges seems to depend on the last day of talks today.

The Government sources said the ANC had accepted that the armed struggle was inextricably connected to other obstacles, such as the lifting of the state of emergency and the prisoners and refugees problem, and "that one can't be addressed without the other".

Yesterday's second day of talks got down to the hard issues, but both sides reported progress.

They said yesterday's session, dealing with differences on the question of obstacles to negotiation, had been "hard and practical"; one where the "nuts and bolts" had been discussed.

President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, in a brief joint statement, "expressed their satisfaction with the progress achieved thus far".

Government and ANC sources have indicated that the two sides have rapidly broken the ice and are beginning to move towards common ground.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's head of internal affairs, said yesterday all the delegates had realised at their first meeting that movement forward was "not only necessary but also possible".

He told the Cape Town Press Club that within minutes of meeting, both sides had realised "there was no one there who had horns".

Govt foots the bill for ANC talks team

CAPE TOWN — African National Congress exiles visiting Cape Town for talks with the Government this week are truly guests of the State.

The Government is footing the bill for their luxury hotel accommodation, transport and security.

More than 50 rooms of the five-star hotel near Somerset West are occupied by the ANC team.

The likely hotel costs have not been divulged. The hotel charges R225 for a single room for a night, but special rates are available for group bookings.

Transport costs will also be high — Mercedes Benz cars and minibuses are among the vehicles used to ferry the delegates to and from the talks at Groote Schuur in Newlands, and a police helicopter escorts the motorcade.

2 injured as locomotives collide

Staff Reporters

Two commuters were injured when two locomotive units collided with a stationary passenger train at Kempton Park Station during peak hour today.

An ambulance spokesman said a man and a woman were slightly injured but were not taken to hospital.

Police said the locomotive of a

train, carrying passengers to Johannesburg, cut out.

Two units despatched to tow the train away ran into trouble when the brakes seized, sending the units crashing into a coach of a stationary train. Two compartments were smashed.

A railways spokesman said an alternative line was open for other trains.

Getting together on the lawns of Groote Schuur

Tight rein kept on Press corps covering ANC talks

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South Africa
4/5/90

THE autumn sky above Cape Town has been broody and unpredictable. The dreaded south-easter had spent itself crossing the Indian Ocean. By the time it reached the southern tip of the African continent fate had decided that no ill wind would blow upon these shores...

As the clouds were shifting and threatening, so too was the back-up to Wednesday's initial meeting between the Government and the ANC.... days of consultation in the luxury five-star hotel among the ANC had kept the Press guessing and everybody else hoping.

The Cape Town Press Centre, unofficial registration point for visiting media, was like a shopping mall on Christmas Eve - chaotic.

Efficient

The Bureau for Information's media centre was efficient, but hectic, too.

However, it all came together on the lawns of Groote Schuur, where after waiting 78 years for an audience, the ANC met South African Government representatives.

Media representatives were asked to meet at Hendrik Verwoerd Centre, adjacent to the Houses of Parliament, at 11.30am. From there they would be ferried to the venue by bus.

Shortly before noon - after a light finger snack including tea and instant coffee - the SABC's former Washington correspondent, now spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Marius Kleynhans, briefed the media.

Message

The basic message was: There would be a photo opportunity when the leaders of the delegations, Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk, made their short speeches.

"There will be no questions, and today's Press conference will

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
in Cape Town

be the only one till after the talks," Kleynhans said.

Someone sighed and another said: "Was it worth coming here in the first place?"

The journalists were piled into five luxury coaches with each bus getting its own someone-to-watch-over-the-Press. He was the standard Government issue - grey suit, moustache, pistol on the hip and walkie talkie. There was no doubt about who was in charge.

The drive to Groote Schuur was fun and I imagine it looked rather impressive to the bystanders. Five really big coaches carrying a motley bunch of journalists from all corners of the world speeding through the city streets and accompanied by a number of police vans and cars sounds exactly like a fairy tale.

Nevertheless the drive to the venue, residence of State Presidents and Prime Ministers of South Africa until 1984, was slick and quick.

Press corps

It was the two-hour wait on the wet lawn to the side of arch-colonialist Cecil John Rhodes's old house that had the Press corps fuming.

"Do they really expect us to wait on this spot for two hours?" a French correspondent asked.

A German accent replied: "Ja! It looks like it."

A Japanese television cameraman smiled. And like a petulant teenager, one North American correspondent decided to take a stroll towards a little hand-made pond at the bottom of the landscaped garden.

The man with the grey suit, moustache, bulging hip and walkie talkie had other ideas and ran off to retrieve the irritated journalist.

Meanwhile back on the spot where the journalists had assembled a uniformed policeman brought a black reporter a glass of water: "Here's your water, Sir."



The drone of a helicopter signalled the arrival of the ANC delegation.

Most of the attempts to prevent chaos earlier in the day with pedantic do's and don'ts were nullified as photographers yelled at reporters to sit down and move aside and reporters replied that they were only trying to get their tape recorders started.

Kleynhans repeated his earlier remarks that there would be only one photo opportunity and that the arrival of the delegations was not it.

Sun shines

The sun briefly broke through the autumn mist and low rain clouds. While nobody was watching, a handful of ANC members had sneaked behind the conglomeration of journalists.

Steve Tshwete, Aziz Pahiad, Mohammed Vally Moosa, and Raymond Sutner were at once overwhelmed when the journalists spotted them.

Then there was another rush in the opposite direction, back to the

first spot facing the podium where the leaders of the delegations were to address the media.

A tape recorder fell, a notebook landed in a muddy wet spot on the grass, its owner bent over to pick it up, but an American correspondent's right foot got to it first and left it with a boot print.

By the time the media hounds had settled, Mandela and De Klerk descended the six or seven steps and approached the podium, members of their delegations behind them all in a bunch.

Speech

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha stood chest out next to Communist Party boss Joe Slovo. Ruth Mompati looked amused next to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Nelson Mandela looked straight ahead during De Klerk's speech.

The State President tilted his head slightly while the ANC leader spoke.

At the end of the long and tiring wait, the lawns looked like an elementary school playground. There was garbage all over when the journalists had left. And then I felt a single raindrop - I might have imagined it though.



FW De Klerk and Nelson Mandela at the talks in Cape Town.

State and great, say in

By SHARON SOROUR and
JOHAN SCHRÖNEN
Weekend Argus Reporters

"IT'S great ... fantastic!"

That was the response of the majority of Weekend Argus readers to a phone-in poll to assess whether they were more — or less — hopeful now that the government and the ANC were talking.

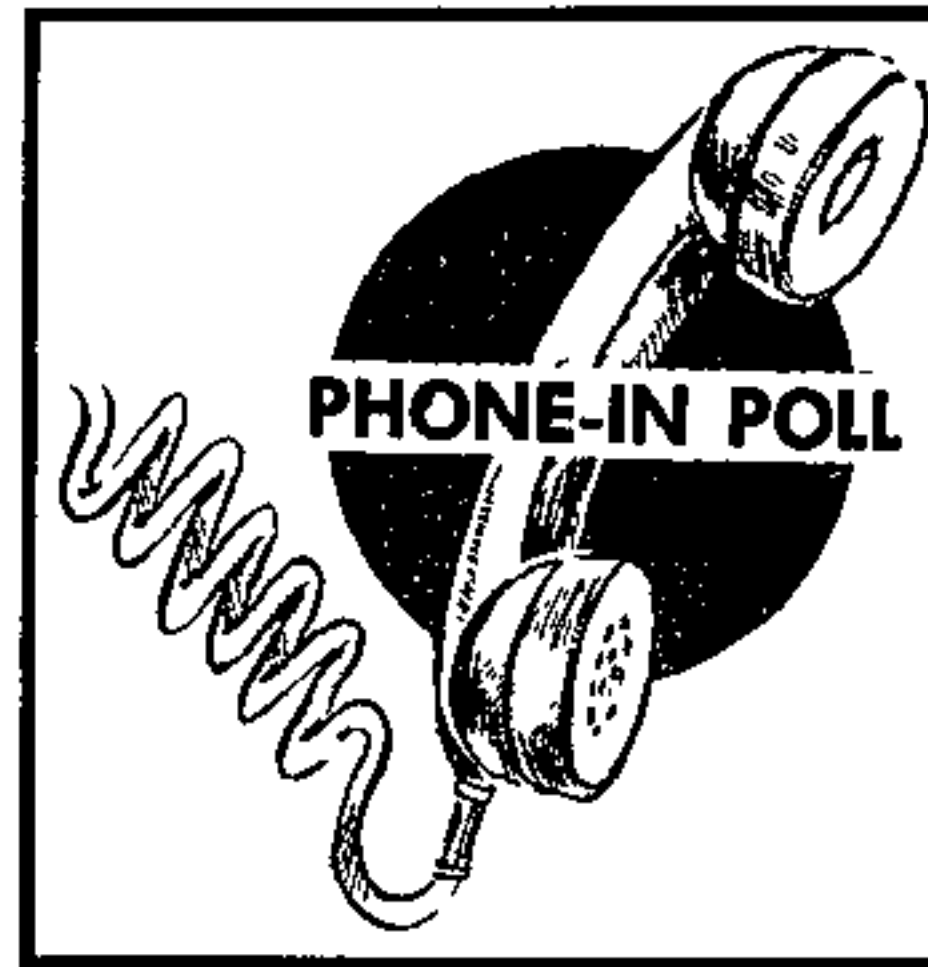
A convincing 70 percent of the 205 callers were heartened "that the two enemies were communicating at last"; 140 were more hopeful while 65 were less hopeful.

Men and women were equally encouraged by the proceedings of the past week: of the 114 men who took part, 69 percent were more hopeful while 68 percent of the 91 women callers were hopeful.

High time

"Hopeful" callers said the security of the country depended on all South Africans being part of the political process and that the talks were "40 years overdue".

"It's high time — it should have happened a long, long time ago," said Mr Guy Kukard of Table View. "Every white South African should accept that the ANC are the country's



future leaders."

In short, those who were hopeful were "much, much, MUCH more" hopeful: "After talking comes doing and that's what we want," said Mr Pat Moore of Sea Point.

The main concerns voiced by less hopeful callers were:

- The economic future of South Africa would be jeopardised should a black government take power;

- While there were diverse political groupings in the country, only two parties, not representative of the majority, were included in the talks;

- Increasing violence and crime and the threat of communism made it impossible for them to see hope for the future; and

- The white man was being "sold out".

Joint working group to study amnesty

Political Correspondent

COMPLEX and delicate legal issues surrounding political crimes and amnesty are to be studied and resolved by a working group chosen jointly by the African National Congress and the government.

This key element of the Groote Schuur Minute enshrines a co-operative working relationship between the two parties.

The working group — whose members will be chosen by President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela — will be asked to report back to both organisations within 16 days, by May 21.

Its proceedings will be confidential.

It will make recommendations on a definition of political offences in South Africa and will "discuss" time scales relating to political crimes.

It also will advise on "norms and mechanisms" for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity for crimes inside and outside South Africa.

All people — not only ANC operatives — who may be affected will be considered and the working group will be asked to study procedures adopted in Namibia and other parts of the world.

The ANC also has agreed to the government deciding whether or not to consult other political parties or movements or "relevant bodies".

"It will be like Piet Retief speaking to Dingaan — all we will see is blood," said a less-hopeful Mrs Tina Mazalek of Kenilworth.

Some "less hopeful" indignant callers were angry that the government was footing the ANC's Lord Charles Hotel bill.

Mr J C Lord from Kenilworth said "if the ANC are not capable of settling a five-star hotel bill how can they expect whites to trust them with the country's economy?"

Others believed the country was following in the footsteps of Rhodesia.

Worse off

"How on earth can we be hopeful?" an anonymous caller asked. "We'll be even worse off than Rhodesia at the end of all this."

Mr Peter Jones of Rondebosch said the future looked bleak as there was no chance of surviving "this lot".

"I'll stay and fight to the bitter end, but what happened in Rhodesia is going to happen here."

Another caller who has lived in many African countries in the past 30 years said although some of her best friends were black, the country was not ready for a black government.

Mandela still can't vote, 27 years on

By MICHAEL DOMAN
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE state of health of apartheid could be judged by the fact that after 27 years in jail he still did not have the vote, Mr Nelson Mandela told a Press conference.

The deputy-president of the African National Congress was replying yesterday to a question on whether he thought apartheid was "dead or dying".

And his blunt reply to the question was: "Twenty-seven years ago when I went to jail I had no vote and I still have no vote ... that's due to the colour of my skin."

Mr Mandela said he had mentioned this to the government delegation during this week's talks.

ANC talks most readers

304A Weekend Argus 5/05/90



Members of the government's delegation listen intently during the Press conference. They are, from right, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee and Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Privatisation Dr Dawie de Villiers.



Pictures: JIM McLAGAN, Weekend Argus.

Dr Beyers Naude captures the historical moment at Groote Schuur with South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo, left.

The Groote Schuur Minute

THE joint statement issued by the government and the African National Congress, known as The Groote Schuur Minute:

“The government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations.

Flowing from this commitment, the following was agreed upon:

1. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation, to discuss, in this regard, time scales, and to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity, in respect of political offences, to those inside and outside South Africa.

All persons who may be affected will be considered.

The working group will bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere. The working group will aim to complete its work before 21 May 1990. It is understood that the South African government in its discretion may consult other political parties and movements and other relevant bodies.

The proceedings of the working group will be confidential.

In the meantime the following offences will receive attention immediately: (a) The leaving

of the country without a valid travel document and (b) any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited.

2. In addition to the arrangements mentioned in paragraph 1, temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before today will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the National Executive Committee and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations.

3. The government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities.

4. The government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the State of Emergency. In this context, the ANC will exert itself to fulfil the objectives contained in the preamble.

5. Efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively.

The government and the ANC agree that the objectives contained in this minute should be achieved as early as possible. ”

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a dramatic breakthrough, the ANC last night promised to look "very hard and earnestly" at suspending the armed struggle — and the government undertook to urgently review South Africa's security laws.

The trade-off forms part of a remarkable package deal unveiled after three days of talks at Groote Schuur between the chief adversaries in South African politics.

The historic accord which sealed the success of the talks was announced yesterday at a joint press conference chaired by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela.

The ANC also:

- Resolved not to call for the intensification of sanctions;
 - Expressed the hope that it would not be necessary in future to call on the international community to maintain sanctions.
- For its part, the government agreed to establish a joint working group, due to report by May 21, to advise on the release of political prisoners and immunity for political offences.

Shook hands

At the end of their packed press conference Mr



JNS; expressed the hope that it would not be necessary in future to call on the international community to maintain sanctions.

For its part, the government agreed to establish a joint working group, due to report by May 21, to advise on the release of political prisoners and immunity for political offences.

Shook hands

At the end of their packed press conference Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela left the H F Verwoerd Building together.

As they parted, the two men shook hands, and both said: "Thank you very much... Goodbye."

Then Mr De Klerk walked away to his office at nearby Tuynhuys, while Mr Mandela climbed into a white Mercedes and was driven away.

At the press conference the ANC deputy president said the ANC looked upon the talks with satisfaction because it represented "a realization of a dream" for which the ANC had been working patiently and consistently.

'Cordial and friendly'

While the government did not get an unequivocal commitment to the ending of the armed struggle, as it had hoped for, the ANC's strong commitment to the "peaceful process" — which Mr Mandela emphasized would be honoured — is the strongest indication yet that the days of guerrilla violence are numbered.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela spoke in glowing terms about the progress made and the "cordial and friendly" atmosphere which characterised the crucial talks aimed at removing obstacles to negotiating a new constitution.

Mr De Klerk described the outcome of the talks as a breakthrough in the peace process, and as replacing distrust between old enemies.

Mutual trust

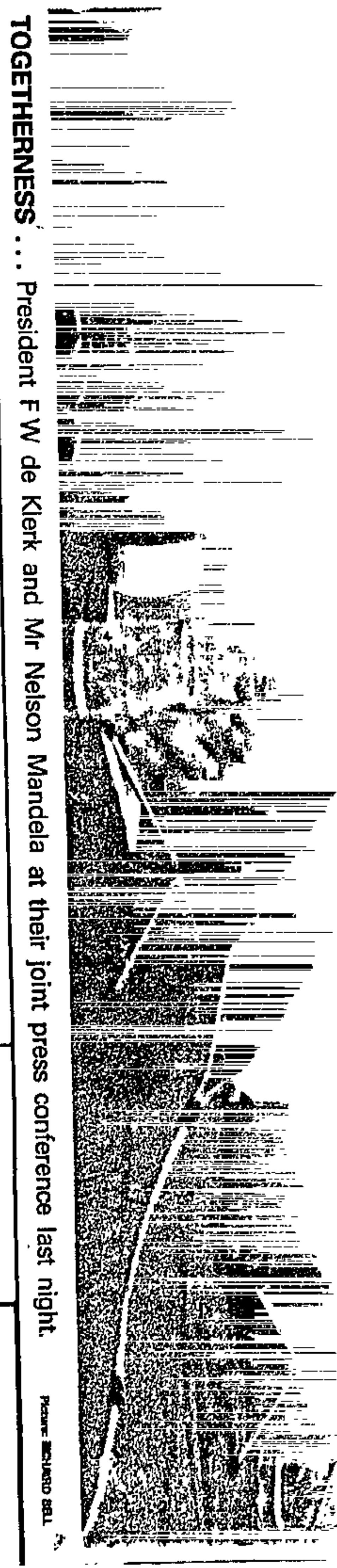
He told the joint ANC-government press conference, also attended by ambassadors, diplomats and National Party MPs: "I look forward to the future with confidence and appreciate the good spirit, earnestness and honesty which were the hallmarks of the discussion."

The "Groote Schuur Minute" released after the talks noted that "efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and the intimidation form whatever quarter effectively".

Asked about the possibility of the ANC and the government setting up a joint security commission, Mr De Klerk said the first real moment for discussing a more formalised arrangement

To page 2

P.T.O.



TOGETHERNESS... President F.W. de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela at their joint press conference last night.

Gun shop staff foil bank robbery

Staff Reporter
GUN SHOP staff in Delmas foiled a bank robbery in the town yesterday when robbers dropped the loot but fled in a getaway car.

Roadblocks were set up in the town after the four armed robbers escaped following a wild shootout with the shop staff.

The robbers — one armed with an AK-47 assault rifle — held up staff at the local branch of First National Bank, police said.

When the robbers left the bank, random shots were fired. Staff at the nearby weapons shop then fired at the men who fled in a getaway car.

During the shootout, the suspects dropped a bag of money. Blood was found on the scene. Last week, there were three robberies in which AK-47 assault rifles were used.

A police liaison officer in Pretoria last night said it was difficult to say if there was a connection between the four robberies.

Urgent talks on hospital crisis begin

JOHANNESBURG. — Urgent talks between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union on the growing hospital crisis began here yesterday evening and will continue this morning, Professor Wynand Pienaar, who is acting as negotiator, told Sapa last night.

According to a South African merchant bank, the two sides were unlikely to reach agreement on all Nehawu's demands by the end yesterday's session.

"There may be agreement on some issues, though," he said during a break in the negotiations.

Prof Pienaar has also made arrangements to use the venue this morning. The TPA was represented by Dr Hennie van Wyk, the executive director of Hospital Services in the Transvaal, while Nehawu's team comprised 11 people.

The talks in Johannesburg were agreed upon at a meeting in Cape Town yesterday morning between the Minister of Health and National Welfare, Dr Rina Venter, and a Nehawu delegation, which included the general secretary of Cosatu, Mr Jay Naidoo.

QUT TWP 5/5/90

PETER DENNEHY reports that a Nehawu delegation and Cosatu were involved in a flurry of activity yesterday, in a bid to end the crippling Transvaal hospital strike.

Members of the delegation and Dr Venter spent two hours in Cape Town yesterday morning hammering out an agreement in Dr Venter's office, dealing with general principles rather than the "concrete issues giving rise to the present crises", according to a joint statement issued.

Then the entire union delegation flew to Transvaal for the meeting late yesterday with the Transvaal Provincial Administrator, Mr Fanie Ferreira, and Dr Van Wyk to deal with the strike itself.

In Cape Town yesterday, Dr Venter assured the Nehawu delegation that there were no plans afoot to sell state hospitals.

"Should any privatisation issue regarding health services arise in the future, the government undertakes to ensure that consultations with affected workers will take place at the earliest possible opportunity," she said. The meeting urged all parties concerned to address seriously the issues

To page 2

Cook scores triple century

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Jimmy Cook completed a record-smashing undefeated triple century — 313 — in Cardiff yesterday to head a day of high-scoring glory for South Africans in English cricket.

● Report — Page 18

Syrets Cape Times

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DAILY LISTING — Page 5
STOCK PRICES — Page 22

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from page 1

Talks

CAF Trif S/S RD (30/47)

would be when the working group met in two weeks' time.

However, Mr Mandela said the ANC was in favour of a more formalised structure in the search for peace between the two sides. The ANC might in due course make recommendations to the government.

An illustration of the level of mutual trust which has developed between the two sides over the past three days came when Mr Mandela said: "I have not the slightest doubt that the State President means what he says.

"I have had for the last three days the opportunity of exchanging views with members of his delegation. I have no doubt whatsoever about their integrity and I think in saying so, I am expressing not only my views, but those of my delegation."

The talks have clearly shattered many of the preconceptions harboured by both sides.

One well-placed source said: "We will have to rethink quite a lot of our ideas and assumptions — I think this applies to both sides."

Describing the talks between the long-time enemies as a "cathartic experience", the source added: "This taste has proven to us that this is a diet we need in greater quantity."

BR THE TOGETHER PARALS

By ROSS WENTZEL, MICHAEL MORRIS and MICHAEL DOMAN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE Groote Schuur talks between the government and the ANC have laid the foundations for the start of real constitutional negotiations.

Delegates came away with a great sense of moment. Distrust has been removed and on both sides there was astonishment at how well they got along.

For some on the government side it was a "cathartic experience" to listen to an ANC delegate's explanation of the frustrations of an organisation which had been cut off from normal channels of political communication and which finally found itself with no choice but to resort to violence.

With no contact between them over many years, except through police action after bomb or landmine explosions, they realised time was needed to listen to each other, assess each other's sincerity and build up some openness and trust.

Outstanding success

In that sense the meeting was an outstanding success. In some cases there are said to have been such "revealing perspectives" from both sides that many of the preconceptions they had before the talks would have to be rethought.

The talks were meant to deal only with obstacles to real negotiations. But in informal discussions — sometimes at lunch or at dinner breaks — reference was also made to what was meant by protection of minority rights and to how Nationalist thinking on some basic policies had changed.

Above all the talks made the delegates develop a taste for consultation. Said one: "It made us feel this was a diet we needed in greater quantity."

An important spin-off will therefore be an increase in formal and informal meetings between the two sides. While there is already a "hot-line" between Mr Mandela and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and personal contact between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk, further arrangements will be made for improved communication.

While they still have much to learn about each other, there are also considerable problems facing the joint working group appointed to address certain problems, with May 21 as its deadline.

Return of the exiles

One of these not mentioned in the "Groote Schuur Minute" issued after the talks is the economic implications of the return of the exiles.

Peace and co-operation were the themes of the delicately worded two-page joint communiqué, the objectives of which both sides agreed to achieve as soon as possible.

The question of the armed struggle remains one of the most critical. In what has been described as "very considerable progress" the ANC has agreed to review it.

Mr Mandela said at the joint Press conference: "The ANC intends to fulfil everything that has been said in this document (the Groote Schuur Minute)".

"In that spirit the ANC will therefore look into the question of the armed struggle and take appropriate steps."

While there is no commitment to ending the armed struggle, he committed the ANC to a rethink in terms of yesterday's "common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter ... and to a peaceful process of negotiations".

Tensions

But the government's emphasis on this has created a problem for the ANC. In government circles it is believed the ANC has problems with tensions between its hawks and doves and the older and younger members — as well as with not appearing to have full control over its supporters in some areas.

On the other hand the ANC's use of the concept "mutual cessation of hostilities" is a problem for the government.

The government maintains there are no hostilities — that these occur between states. But the ANC insists the state is perpetrating violence.

■ Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says it is "encouraging" that the government and the ANC have acknowledged that there is an urgent need to resolve the violence.

● See page 3.

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FW's visit given boost by talks breakthrough

Cape Times 5/1/90

3044

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk's nine-nation European tour which starts next week has been given a dramatic boost by the breakthroughs in the talks between the government and the ANC.

Even before the unexpectedly good progress at this week's historic talks, the government was billing the 18-day European tour as the most important venture into the exterior ever undertaken by a South African head of state.

The level of trust developed between the long-time adversaries during the three-day talks will have enhanced Mr De Klerk's international credibility and created a favourable climate for the next round of crucial talks with European leaders.

Western diplomats last night said the outcome was even more favourable than they had anticipated.

Significantly, Mr Nelson Mandela said he would not ask for sanctions to be intensified, if progress continued to be made.

The main aim of the trip, according to one top source, was to convince the European Community



By ANTHONY JOHNSON
the Cape Times Political Correspondent, who will report on President de Klerk's overseas visit.

that Pretoria is sincere about its intentions to break with the apartheid era and negotiate a democratic system.

"That is what is important to us — we want to be believed," one source noted.

Although Mr De Klerk will not urge European leaders to lift sanctions, the government clearly hopes that pressures will be eased if European governments are convinced that he is genuine about his plans for change.

The countries to be visited during the hectic, 18-day tour include Britain, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Italy and

Greece. During the high-powered trip Mr De Klerk will meet kings, presidents, prime ministers, foreign ministers, opposition leaders, bankers, industrialists, businessmen and opinion leaders.

He will also have several opportunities to talk directly to citizens in these countries via a series of television interviews and almost daily media conferences.

Many of the meetings that had been shoe-horned into Mr De Klerk's crowded itinerary would not have been possible a year ago, top government sources said.

Most of the visits to European capitals will be ranked as "official" or "working" visits. France is the only country where the visit is being classified as "private", although Mr De Klerk's team will still be accorded red-carpet treatment.

The trip is expected to hold important implications for relations between SA and the European community which is set to become the biggest market in the world when economic unity is reached in 1992.

The Groote Schuur Minute

THIS is the text of the Groote Schuur Minute, the joint statement issued by the government and the ANC after their talks:

THE government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations. Flowing from this commitment, the following was agreed upon: *CAA 7-1-90 5/5/90 30 v 1*

1. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation; to discuss, in this regard, time scales; and to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity, in respect of political offences, to those inside and outside South Africa. All persons who may be affected will be considered. The working group will bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere. The working group will aim to complete its work before 21 May 1990. It is understood that the South African government in its discretion, may consult other political parties and movements and other relevant bodies. The proceedings of the working group will be confidential. In the meantime the following offences will receive attention immediately: (a) The leaving of the country without a valid travel document and (b) any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited.

2. In addition to the arrangements mentioned in paragraph 1, temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before today will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the national executive committee and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations.

3. The government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities.

4. The government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency. In this context, the ANC will exert itself to fulfil the objectives contained in the preamble.

5. Efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively.

The government and the ANC agree that the objectives contained in this minute should be achieved as early as possible.

Govt, ANC take first step to peace

Sat 5/5/90

30417



TALKING ABOUT THEIR TALKS: President de Klerk and Mr Mandela brief the press after three days of negotiation.

Armed struggle halted in return for concessions

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress and the Government have reached an historic peace accord in a dramatic breakthrough at talks in Cape Town which ended yesterday.

The ANC has committed itself to peaceful solutions — in effect suspending the armed struggle.

It has agreed to help stop violence to enable the state of emergency to be lifted.

In exchange, the Government has made important concessions on the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the amendment of security legislation and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The accord is contained in a watershed document called the Groote Schuur Minute which was announced by President F.W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela at a first-ever joint press conference after three days of talks.

It has substantially cleared away the obstacles

● TO PAGE 2. P.T.O.

*England's
Luxury Cigars*

Peace

● FROM PAGE 1

blocking the path to formal negotiations.

The critical passage of the Grootu Schuur Minute reads:

"The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

Mr Mandela would not say outright that this amounted to a suspension or abandonment of the armed struggle. But significantly he said that the ANC would review the armed struggle in the light of the accord.

He said the ANC's national executive committee would meet soon to review the armed struggle.

Mr Mandela said the agreement was the "realisation of a dream for which we have worked patiently and consistently over the last three years".

Mr de Klerk said: "I regard what is contained in this document as an important breakthrough in the peaceful process."

"The joint commitment to peaceful solutions which can lead to real negotiations is of extreme importance to all South Africans."

Sources close to the talks made it clear that the ANC had in fact agreed to suspend the armed struggle — but that it was difficult for it to say so outright.

In exchange, the Government has made these concessions:

● A working group is to be established to recommend which political prisoners should be released and which exiles be allowed to return.

This technical group is to be appointed by Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk and is to report back to both the ANC and the Government by May 21.

In the meantime the Government has agreed to look immediately into the possibility of indemnifying and releasing those who left the country illegally and those guilty of belonging to organisations which were banned.

● Temporary immunity from prosecution is to be urgently considered for members of the ANC national executive committee and other selected ANC members, to allow them to return to South Africa to help end the violence and to take part in normal political activity.

● The Government has undertaken to review security laws in order to ensure normal and free political activity.

● The Government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency and the ANC has agreed to "exert itself" to try to help end violence and intimidation.

● Efficient channels of communication are to be set up between the ANC and the Government to curb violence and intimidation.

Mr Mandela also announced that "we hope that as a result of the agreement and future developments, it will not be necessary for us to call on the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions".

Full text of statement

HERE is the full text of the joint Government-ANC statement:

The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations.

Flowing from this commitment the following was agreed upon:

1. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation, to discuss, in this regard, time scales, and to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of political offences to those inside and outside South Africa. All persons who may be affected will be considered. The working group will bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere. The working group will aim to complete its work before 21st May 1990. It is understood that the South African Government in its discretion, may consult other political parties and movements and other relevant bodies. The proceedings of the working group will be confidential. In the meantime the following offences will receive attention immediately:

A) The leaving of the country without a valid travel document

B) Any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited

2. In addition to the arrangements mentioned in paragraph 1, temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before today, will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the National Executive Committee and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country, to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations

3. The Government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities

4. The Government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency. In this context the ANC will exert itself to fulfill the objectives contained in the preamble

5. Efficient channels of communication between the Government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively. The Government and the ANC agree that the objectives contained in this minute should be achieved as early as possible

Democracy as a business

IT seems pertinent to ask whether South African business leaders are doing much to influence their employees to prefer free enterprise to socialism and if they are managing the problem better than the authorities.

Most business leaders have reacted with horror to statements by Messrs Mandela and Sisulu that the ANC will nationalise certain businesses.

The ANC leaders contend that business has paid nothing but lip service to the eradication of apartheid, and that employers and shareholders in South Africa have not, in any significant way, distributed wealth equitably. They believe that nationalisation will solve this.

Nationalisation is anathema to free enterprise, and democracy has been shown to thrive best in a free enterprise economy.

It has long been believed that business leaders are more liberal and democratic than their counterparts in government. This may not be true. Let us take a closer look at democracy in business.

Because the right of freedom of association is entrenched in labour law, and workers may belong to the union of their choice, because the rule of law exists in that equity and fairness must prevail in company rules, democracy is believed to exist in business.

These are important principles, but there are other issues. Few employers ensure that equal opportunities are available for all. Many still prefer to promote whites.

Freedom of speech is also seriously curbed by many business leaders, who permit worker representatives to address workers only with their prior permission. Permission is granted or withheld depending on the agenda.

The trade unions have long called for more democracy in the work place. They have demanded that workers be given an equal say in the running of the company — management by consensus as opposed to management by consultation, as is the

Norman Kemp

an industrial and personnel relations consultant, says business leaders must decide on socialism or democracy

case in many organisations.

Management by consensus would go so far as to give workers a say in the selection of management and in determining wage rates. Most managements are totally opposed to this.

Democracy at work means involving workers and gaining their participation, which some would contend means management by consensus while others say it means management by negotiation. Most managers who advocate participative management draw the line at management by consensus.

3041 Platitudes

Participative management is in vogue and every with-it executive supports it. Most mission statements endorse it. Unfortunately, more often than not they remain statements of good intent or mere platitudes, which are not practised.

The average worker believes that he must do as told and that is it. Much of the struggle between unions and management revolves around this. The labour force wants management to be less authoritarian, and to become more egalitarian, hence so many strikes.

It is a struggle for more democracy, which is not always recognised by management. Too often industrial action is ascribed to political motives, with management taking the view that political factors are outside its control.

Management is defined as the achievement of objectives through influencing others.

They frequently run to the industrial court to get interdicts with which

to control their workers. That is a sure sign of an undemocratic organisation, because a court interdict is an autocratic remedy.

The demand for managers to be more democratic is a problem for many because authority and power go with supervisory and managerial positions, and they do not know how to behave other than in an authoritarian way.

Another explanation for authoritarian management is that managers are of necessity orientated to results, which leads to a tendency to "push" subordinates and in the heat of the moment the easiest style to use is the autocratic one.

When democracy at work is viewed in this light it becomes evident that pitifully few organisations are democratic.

There is an adverse relationship between constructive conflict management and autocracy. The more autocratic management is, the worse industrial relations are.

There are two types of autocracy. The one is exploitive autocracy, where the well-being of the workers is not considered at all. We do not see much of this, and where it is found the unions will eventually change it.

The other type of autocracy is benevolent and the benevolence behind it makes many managers mistake it for democracy or think that is justified.

The high incidence of industrial conflict in the country suggests that our leaders are not managing properly and most of it stems from their own autocratic styles.

Autocratic remedies, such as obtaining interdicts and issuing ultimatums, provide interim relief. They do not lead to long-term stability. The best remedy is to become more democratic.

The tell-tale signs are all there that democracy and constructive management of conflict is absent in many of our largest corporations. The consequence could eventually be that they become nationalised.

IN almost no time at all the extraordinary has become the ordinary in South Africa. It is quite astonishing with what ease South Africans have accepted the breathtaking events of the last few months.

On February 2 F W de Klerk made the impossible reality by unbanning the ANC and other organisations.

Within three months the improbable occurred when the National Party government and the African National Congress publicly started talking to each other.

They did so in Groote Schuur, the home of South African prime ministers left to the nation by Cecil John Rhodes, with the communists and "terrorists" protected by white security men.

Not that they are negotiating yet, but they are talking about negotiating a new constitution.

With that they have put the seal on a process which is now irreversible, a process which over the next few years will lead to a South Africa where the rule will be equality for all instead of one where inequality was the norm.

Moreover, they are beginning to discover that they represent each other's best options. And this might discipline both sides into not expecting the impossible from the other.

Reason might just prevail.

Both need to show progress, both need the talks to develop into negotiation — and for the same basic reasons. For the National Party and the ANC know that they are not the only actors on the political stage, that there are others waiting to take over their positions instead of joining the process which has now begun.

For the NP, it is the Conservative Party and those to its right. For the ANC, it is the Pan Africanist Congress.

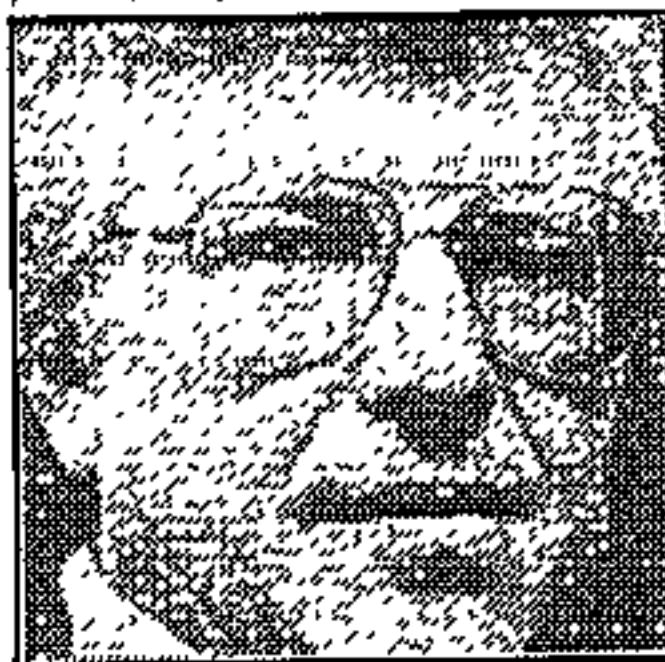
The CP walked out of Parliament in protest at what it saw as a sell-out by the NP. The PAC publicly called the ANC sell-outs for talking in Groote Schuur.

The oppressors and terrorists have overnight begun to represent the centre of South African politics.

Undoubtedly, both NP and ANC now are the biggest political groupings in their own constituencies. But neither represents the majority and both know that if they falter there are others who are willing to take over.

That concentrates the mind, makes compromise more possible and might even make it necessary that progress be shown.

The CP represents 30 percent of white South Africa. The PAC is an unknown quantity except that over the last year it has re-



Harald Pakendorf ANC joins the NP in a vortex of change

appeared from a past of dissension, lack of leadership, funds and organisation.

It has moved from obscurity to graffiti on township walls and now to a position where it is beginning to vie with the ANC for support.

The CP and PAC represent extremes and in times of stress and change extremes have the advantage of simplicity and tend to become attractive.

They can only be contained by the centre holding, developing an understanding and possibly even agreement.

It will not be easy, it will take time and it is not written in the stars that it will come about.

Thanks to the existence of the CP and the PAC, the NP and ANC are in some way dependent on each other. The danger is that if they fail in Groote Schuur and the follow-up talks that will follow, they might veer away from the centre to undercut the extremes by becoming extreme themselves.

And, as John Vorster would have said, that is too ghastly to contemplate — not only for the country but also for the NP and ANC.

304A

Hospital crisis looms as urgent top-level talks end in deadlock

By SOPHIE TEMA

A last-minute bid by government and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) to end the crippling hospital strikes ended in deadlock on Friday, and raised the possibility of a complete breakdown in health services.

This followed a failed top-level attempt to end the looming crisis when Health Minister Rina Venter, Nehawu and Cosatu met in Cape Town this week.

And Cape Town reports said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela met State President FW de Klerk to discuss the spreading strike.

Provincial Hospital Services executive director Hennie van Wyk and a Nehawu delegation held talks on Friday and yesterday.

Wits University's medical faculty has called for an end to the strike and stressed its support for the strikers' key demands which included:

- A wage in line with the cost of living and the rate of inflation;
- Recognition of trade union rights;
- Desegregation of health services;
- The rejection of privatisation of public hospitals; and
- The abolition of temporary work status.

The faculty's support for strikers came after Friday's meeting at Baragwanath Hospital by members of the South African Health Workers' Congress (Sahwco), the National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) and the Health Workers' Union.

While urgent top-level talks continued the situation at Baragwanath was deteriorating.

Senior nurses said Baragwanath, which normally accommodates about 3 000 patients, now had - according to hospital records - about 1 935 and only "serious emergency cases" were being admitted.

Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough confirmed it had been necessary to discharge patients.

He also gave the assurance that



Administrator Danie Hough

measures would be taken to normalise services, including the recommissioning of the laundry.

But by yesterday bundles of dirty linen and clothing were still heaped outside some wards. At the laundry tons of linen had piled up.

Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman Jan Loubscher said 8 000 workers at nine hospitals were on strike.

New accord is big boost for SA's image overseas

THE historic accord between the Government and the ANC has given SA's standing overseas a tremendous boost — just as President F W de Klerk prepares to leave on a nine-nation European tour.

Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha will leave mid-week for official visits to Spain, Portugal, Greece, Switzerland, Germany, France and Britain.

Two other Economic Community nations have not as yet announced the visit and the Department of Foreign Affairs has not released their names.

The success of the Groote Schuur talks will strengthen

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Mr De Klerk's hand at a time when several central European countries are reassessing their stance on sanctions.

In the United States, too, much depends on signs of real progress between the ANC and the Government. A visit to Washington some time in June is also planned.

On this week's trip Mr De Klerk will meet heads of state, foreign ministers and influential business leaders.

In Madrid he will be received by the Spanish monarch, King Juan Carlos.

Politically, however, his two most important meetings will be with France's President Francois Mitterrand on Thursday and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at Chequers on May 19.

Britain has led Western support for Mr De Klerk's campaign to draw up a new, non-racial constitution.

However, France's links with the ANC have been stronger than those with Pretoria. The nation's socialist President is highly regarded in the Third World and, for this reason, the SA breakthrough is viewed as particularly important.

304A

NEWS BACKGROUND

UNUSUAL things happen in unusual times.

So it was unusual enough to see the ANC's pipe-puffing Mr Thabo Mbeki standing outside Groote Schuur, for seven decades the official residence of South African Prime Ministers and heads of state, ready to begin talking to today's Government leaders about a new South Africa for tomorrow.

But when he began to crack jokes, accompanied by some boyish elbow-tugging, with General Basie Smit, the chief of the Security Police, the unusual appeared to become elevated to the sublime.

War

That, at least, is the way it seemed to the drove of newsmen who had been bussed into the estate to witness the start of the historic first eye-to-eye meeting between the Government and the movement that's been trying to overthrow it since 1960.

Perhaps that's even the way it seemed to General Smit. His initial stiffly armed reaction to Mr Mbeki's apishness was textbook my language. But he rapidly melted into the congenial spirit of the moment ... Of course it's unusual to

peak of congeniality among

The peaceful day Thabo Mbeki smoked a pipe with SA's Security Police chief



By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent
6/5/90
304A

democratic issues until the ANC lays down its arms. The problems seem intractable.

But there was no mistaking the mood of promise within which the talks began. A meaningful part of the explanation was to be found in the opening statements made by President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

A clear, common message emerged from their words and transcended their divisions — a genuine desire for a peaceful solution. The setting, too, had much to do with it. It taxes the

imagination to talk of belligerent in the serene surroundings of the Groote Schuur estate and home-stead.

And it says much for that setting that it could dominate its incongruities. Groote Schuur was brought to its present splendour by SA's arch-apostle of imperialism, Cecil John Rhodes.

He commissioned the famed architect Sir Herbert Baker to develop the buildings for a grand residence — a task completed in 1890. Rhodes's legacy of fine book collections, artworks and antiques has remained intact.

SMILES ALL ROUND ... President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela face the Press at Groote Schuur

When, in 1910, Groote Schuur became the Prime Minister's residence — its function until the 1980s — the Rhodes collections were judiciously added to.

For this week's most remarkable of Groote Schuur's occasions, the rectangular dining room was made the meeting room. The ANC was given the lounge as a caucus room, and the Government used Rhodes's study. Modern

technology intruded. The dining room was specially lit, and the oblong table was incongruously set with 30 microphones and control boxes.

In the corner of the room stood a table of sophisticated recording equipment to retain for posterity the nuances of the historic event.

An enormous bay window afforded at least some of the negotiators what was reputedly Rhodes's favourite view,

across the gardens to the richly verdant slopes of Table Mountain.

Off the room a marquee was erected, festooned with cascades of flowers, to provide a retreat with food and refreshments from the strain of making history.

In the gardens themselves portable latrines were erected for the Press corps, in green with black and gold male/female designations.

This unconscious use of the ANC colours in so questionable an application led to much mock debate in the media corps.

When the big moment arrived on Wednesday, the media melee was as assembled as it ever gets. The Government's men arrived as you would expect in a fleet of dark German limousines.

The ANC negotiators arrived in two similar cars —



and a mini-bus sponsored by the SA Black Taxi Association. They had been thus independently conveyed from their luxury hotel in Somerset West, where they were put up at Government expense.

As the proceedings got under way, the enormity seemed to overwhelm even its participants. Readying himself to make his opening statement, Mr Nelson Mandela seemed momentarily nonplussed to find he didn't have his speech notes with him.

Red

An aide quickly thrust a pink file into his hands, from which he read his remarks. It seemed, though, that no special significance needed be read into the colour of the file.

Mr Adrian Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, arrived with a bright red folder — matching the colour of the socks pointedly worn by the SA Communist Party delegate Mr Joe Slovo when he arrived from exile last week-end.

When the Government and the ANC entered the home-stead to begin their talks, it seemed to some that history does after all, work in cycles.

Above the main entrance to Groote Schuur is a bronze frieze that shows Jan van Riebeeck wading through the waves to his first meeting with the indigenous people of South Africa.

PERSPECTIVES 3

Behold the Liberated Afrikaner

WE all know that queasy feeling. You're at London's Heathrow Airport standing in a long queue waiting to go through passport control.

Ahead of you is a mini-United Nations. Muslims en route to Mecca. Rumanians fleeing the Ceausescu regime. Vietnamese boat-people in search of a harbour. Pakistanis about to start a new life in Britain.

And you are holding the mark of Cain in your hand ... a small blue book embossed with the instantly recognisable seal of the Republic of South Africa. *Ex Libitate Viras* written underneath the two antepes propping up the coat of arms.

The official at the desk is courteous but diligent. Everyone passing through is questioned thoroughly. How long will you be staying? Do you have a return ticket? Is there enough money to cover your expenses?

Then, suddenly, it is your turn.



STUART DRIES VAN HEERDEN
can now present his South African passport with pride

304A

The official picks up your passport. Glances at the picture taken when you still had all your hair. Looks at you ... and you just know what he is thinking: "And what have we here? A bloody white South African again."

"Obviously rich enough to travel abroad. Made his bundle at the expense of the oppressed masses."

Last week, it was my turn to land at Heathrow. But this time — for the first time ever — I presented my passport with confidence. Almost with pride.

Unspoken thoughts rush: "Hey, man, I am from South Africa. Remember us? The ones in the green jerseys that whipped the

asses off the Lions. Yes, that's it ... Murrayfield 1992 ... 44-0 ... and the Scots were lucky to get 0.

"And now, down in 'the fairest Cape of them all' my people, the much despised Afrikaners, are sitting down with representatives of the majority to chisel out a new dispensation for that country."

I must admit I'm still a doubting Thomas about the Great De Klerk Turnaround — in spite of everything that points to the contrary. In my circle of friends I am fast becoming a dinosaur. The last of the sceptics.

But even so, February 2 not only unlocked the prison gates for Nelson Mandela and took the gag off

the ANC. It liberated the whole damn country ... and swept me with it.

"Come on world. Come and have a look. The apartheid government and its strongest foe are having tea and talks in Cape Town. That wicked National Party admits it is not going to govern the country for much longer. We tore down all those despicable 'Whites Only' signs ... and the remaining apartheid measures" ... who the hell bothers about them anyway any more?

"We don't tolerate the activities of armed Tor-Ton Macoutes running around and assassinating people any more. We disapprove of security police snooping around in other peoples' legitimate business. And if the allegations warrant it we appoint the two best judges in the country to investigate."

"Okay, we admit you will still find bad apples and abhorrent practices without having to search

too deeply. But they are becoming the exceptions and not the rule. The vast majority of black and white South Africans now reject what has been the norm for too long.

"And, anyway, if you want to stick your noses in our affairs, make very sure they are picked clean. And summer take a look at the state of democracy in Nigeria and Liberia and Zimbabwe and Zambia and Tanzania and 50, 60 other Third World states."

Beautiful

I know Samuel Johnson once said that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel. And if this sounds like flag-waving, it's intended to.

Thanks to both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela the country's 386-year-old ghosts can now be exorcised.

There is a better-than-average

chance that we are leaving the Dark Ages and entering a bright new phase in history. An era where all who live within the borders of this beautiful country enjoy equal opportunities, privileges and rights.

The road ahead is still rocky and the process fraught with uncertainty and danger. But at least a start has been made.

To their credit, more and more honest people in Europe are also starting to realise that the times, they are a-changing on the southern tip of the African continent.

After countless hours of discussions with politicians, officials, journalists and ordinary people in Belgium, Holland, Germany and Britain it is apparent that Europe is in the process of completely reassessing its attitudes towards South Africa.

It may be tentative at first — but at least Mr De Klerk has confused them so much that they now real-

ise the old stock responses have all crashed.

Not that Europe has much time to worry about South Africa anyway. They have enough troubles of their own to keep them occupied for a long time.

Exciting

What to do with the newly liberated East bloc countries queuing up with their begging bowls asking for development aid. How to move towards Europe 1992 and the possibility that national boundaries will be blurred and individual governments lose some of their sovereignty.

And then they are faced with their almost primordial, existential fear — the spectre of a united Germany on the rise.

In Holland there are still enough people who can remember how Hitler's blitzkrieg tactics sent the panzers rolling towards the Eng-

lish Channel, occupying the lowlands within 36 hours ... with barely a shot fired in resistance.

It is this atmosphere that provides the oxygen for the men — and women — sitting around the table in Groote Schuur (incidentally, the same table where Cecil John Rhodes planned his jingoistic colonisation of southern Africa.)

And so I arrived at Jan Smuts (is it the worst international airport south of Calcutta?) this week in a buoyant mood. I almost did not notice the unsmiling officials checking my passport or the glum faces behind the bank counter. I ignored the dirty rest rooms and the telephones that swallow your money without giving so much as a dialling tone in return.

I was back in the most exciting, challenging and beautiful country in the world.

Like John Smith in George Orwell's 1984, I have come to love the Big Brothers ... white and black.

4/Press 6/5/90 (304A)

Irony as SAP guard at the historic Cape

By CHARLES MOGALE in Cape Town

NOT too long ago the security forces could have shot them on sight, but this week South Africa's most wanted men came home to red carpet treatment.

In a remarkably ironic twist of events, it was the SAP who threw an impregnable cordon of security around ANC diehards – among them Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise and South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo.

And the government itself will pick up the tab for the ANC delegation's five-star hotel accommodation.

The government, the ANC and the hotel management would not say how much the stay would cost, but it is estimated this will come to about R10 000 a day – and about R70 000 for the week.

"The rooms are shared by two or three people," an ANC spokeswoman said. She would not release further details.

The ANC convener for the southern Natal region and Press liaison officer for the talks, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said at the hotel that in the past ANC members had "slept on cement floors and eaten mealie meal", but in this instance the government had offered to pay.

The hotel charges R240 a day for an ordinary room, breakfast included.

Ignoring the chances that ANC executives occupy any of the eight luxury suites, the cost of the 31 rooms would come to R7 440 a day. If 60 dinners a night – each costing R40 – were included that would add another R2 400, making a daily total of R9840.

Access to the delegation in the Lord Charles Hotel was out, thanks to the SAP. Inside the hotel – according to rumours – Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants, armed to the teeth, took charge.

The government reception of the ANC, while lauded internationally, caused a stir from several quarters in South Africa. The PAC criticised the ANC for selling out by agreeing to talks.

"... As far as they we are concerned, we will not be going within spitting distance of that (negotiation) table", said PAC western Cape representative Barney Desai.

"We would like to see the government meeting some of our preconditions, such as the scrapping of the Land Acts, and Population Registration Act, and security laws that are all inconsistent with human rights," he said.

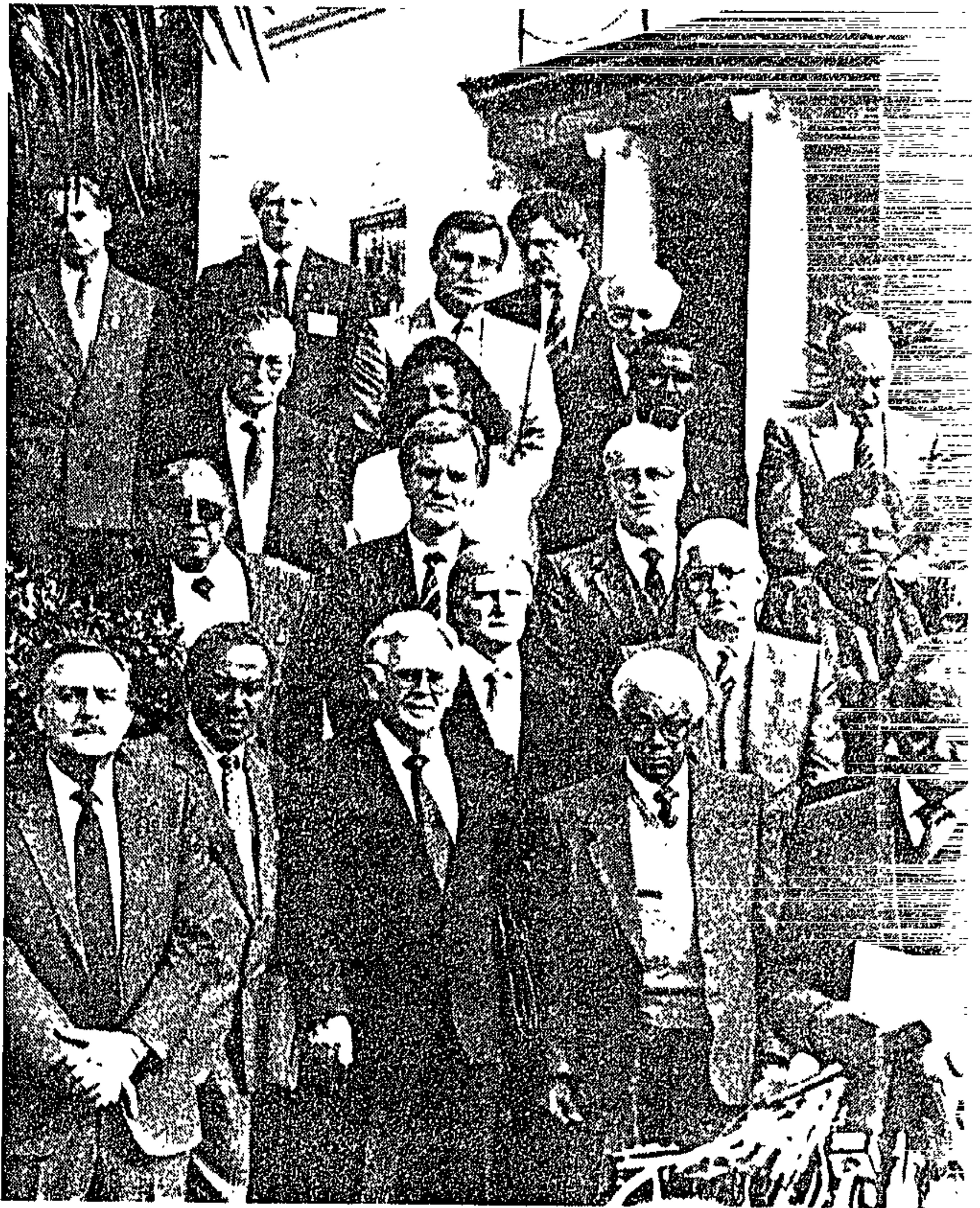
Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht turned the agriculture debate in Parliament around to the talks, to lay ground for his party's walk out, which had been planned earlier.

Treurnicht flanked by his party members, said the government had turned its back on the mandate it got from the electorate not to discuss with "people who have caused the death of thousands of people".

Treurnicht said State President FW de Klerk and his government had no legal right to give "ANC terrorists indemnity against prosecution or to prevent the police from acting against them".

He demanded an election.

Back to the talks, held at Groote Schuur, a monu-



The combined government and ANC delegations posed outside the Groote Schuur

ment to colonialism and home of former state presidents, both teams went in emphasising reconciliation.

De Klerk said when he addressed more than 200 journalists gathered in the garden: "This (the talks) is part of an essential process in creating the right climate for meaningful negotiation. The government wishes this to happen as soon as possible and is consequently approaching the talks with utmost earnestness."

Mandela, leading the ANC was also conciliatory, but spoke tough: "The solution we seek should not be based on any of the inhuman follies which have led our country into the destructive crisis in which it is now immersed. The pace at which we move, to arrive at a just solution should be informed by the fact that the black masses of our country demand and expect fundamental change now and not tomorrow. The people as a whole want the peace and stability which can only come

about as a result of the total abolition of the system."

After the first round of talks on 11 July, said both sides had shown a willingness to negotiate rather than perpetuate them. The government, the thorny issue of the struggle and state violence) was left to the programme. On the same day the two delegations.

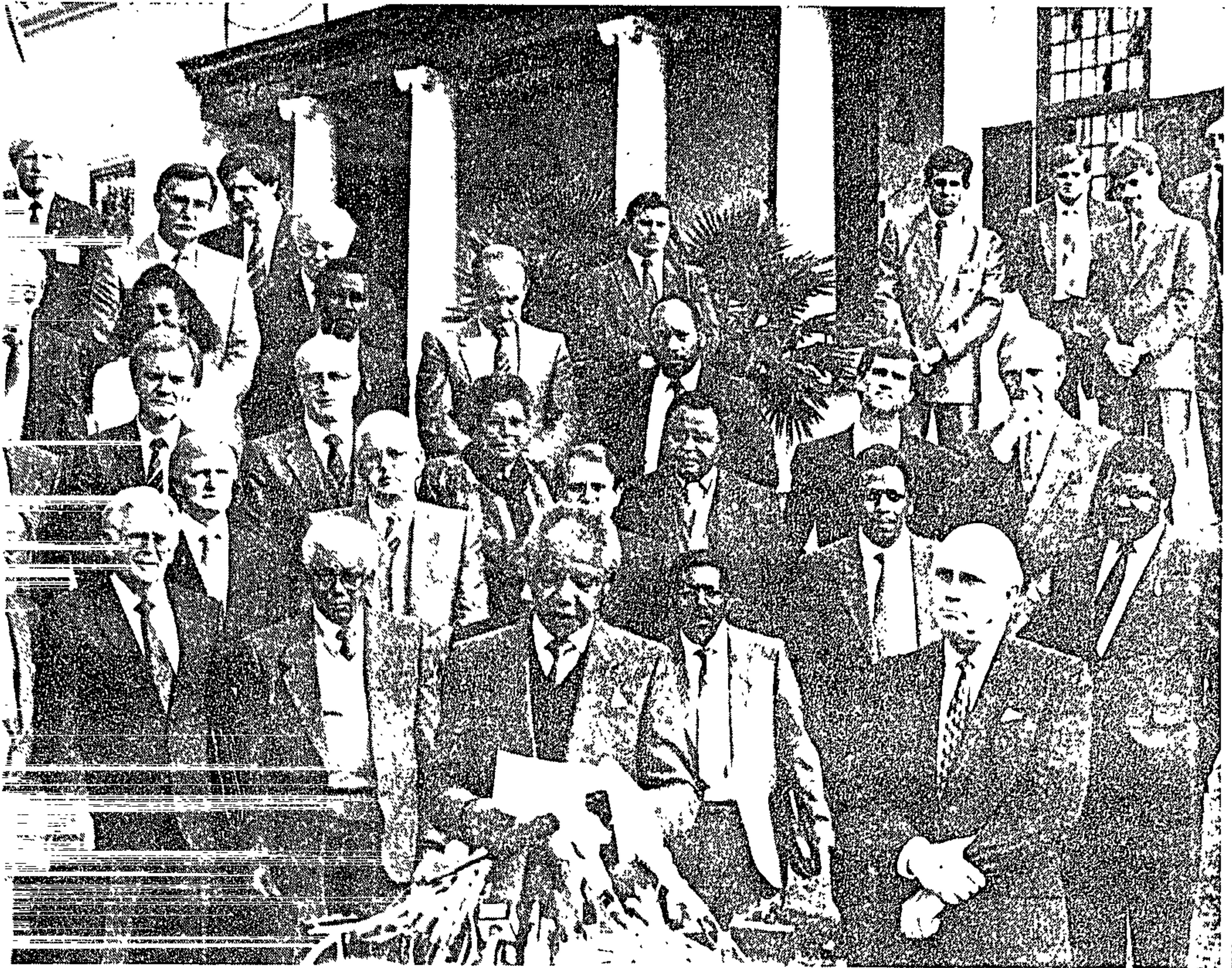
The government added director of National Intelligence Services Neil Louw, Security Police Chief Lt-Gen. Commissioner of Prisons Lt-Gen. constitutional advisor Fanie Van der Merwe.

The ANC added head of intelligence UDF national chairman Curnick and lawyer Matthews Phosa and exile Pa-

2/Press 6/5/90

(304A)

P guard 'enemies' ric Cape Town talks



Government and ANC delegations posed outside the Groote Schuur buildings where the talks were being held.

and home of former state president, emphasising reconciliation.

He addressed more than 200 people in the garden: "This (the talks) is a process in creating the right climate for negotiation. The government wishes to proceed as far as possible and is consequently proceeding with utmost earnestness."

The ANC was also conciliatory, saying that the solution we seek should not be a human folly which has led our country to the crisis in which it is now immersed. We move, to arrive at a just settlement, by the fact that the black people demand and expect fundamental change. The people as a whole have the ability which can only come

about as a result of the total abolition of the apartheid system."

After the first round of talks on Wednesday, sources said both sides had shown a willingness to solve problems rather than perpetuate them. At the suggestion of the government, the thorny issue of violence (armed struggle and state violence) was left to the end of the programme. On the same day there were additions to both delegations.

The government added director general of the National Intelligence Services Neil Barnard, his deputy MJ Louw, Security Police Chief Lt-Gen Basie Smit, Commissioner of Prisons Lt-Gen WH Willemse and constitutional advisor Fanie Van Der Merwe.

The ANC added head of intelligence Jacob Zuma, UDF national chairman Curnlek Ndlovu, and ANC lawyer Matthews Phosa and exile Penwell Madona.

On the second day, Thursday, hordes of journalists were turned back from the ANC's hotel after waiting patiently for hours for promised interviews with members of the ANC delegation. Lekota told the newsmen the talks had taken an unexpected turn and there would be an inevitable delay. The interviews had to be postponed.

After the session De Klerk and Mandela expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved. Not much was revealed.

However, speaking at a Press Club lunch in Cape Town on Thursday, ANC international affairs expert Thabo Mbeki said both sides recognised that the talks should have taken place "many years ago".

It was also recognised, he said, that movement forward was not only necessary but possible.

Hospital crisis looms as urgent top-level talks end in deadlock

By SOPHIE TEMA

A last-minute bid by government and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) to end the crippling hospital strikes ended in deadlock on Friday, and raised the possibility of a complete breakdown in health services.

This followed a failed top-level attempt to end the looming crisis when Health Minister Rina Venter, Nehawu and Cosatu met in Cape Town this week.

And Cape Town reports said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela met State President FW de Klerk to discuss the spreading strike.

Provincial Hospital Services executive director Hennie van Wyk and a Nehawu delegation held talks on Friday and yesterday.

Wits University's medical faculty has called for an end to the strike and stressed its support for the strikers' key demands which included:

- A wage in line with the cost of living and the rate of inflation;
- Recognition of trade union rights;
- Desegregation of health services;
- The rejection of privatisation of public hospitals; and
- The abolition of temporary work status.

The faculty's support for strikers came after Friday's meeting at Baragwanath Hospital by members of the South African Health Workers' Congress (Sahwco), the National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) and the Health Workers' Union.

While urgent top-level talks continued the situation at Baragwanath was deteriorating.

Senior nurses said Baragwanath, which normally accommodates about 3 000 patients, now had - according to hospital records - about 1 935 and only "serious emergency cases" were being admitted.

Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough confirmed it had been necessary to discharge patients.

He also gave the assurance that



Administrator Danie Hough

measures would be taken to normalise services, including the re-commissioning of the laundry.

But by yesterday bundles of dirty linen and clothing were still heaped outside some wards. At the laundry tons of linen had piled up.

Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman Jan Loubscher said 8 000 workers at nine hospitals were on strike.

Historic talks could mean end of the armed struggle

PEACETIME

Sunday Times
THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE
The hopeful Spirit
of Groote Schuur

Comment on
the dramatic
events that
could shape
South Africa's
politics:
Page 26

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE conciliatory "Spirit of Groote Schuur" was acclaimed yesterday as a force that could put an end to revolutionary violence in South Africa.

The outcome of the historic three-day talks went well beyond even the most optimistic expectations of the participants, the Government and the ANC. For all practical purposes, said observers, the ANC's armed struggle could soon be a dead letter.

In reciprocation, the Government will review its armoury of security laws, many of them outdated or unused.

Diplomatic sources also noted that the ANC seemed to have softened its stance on sanctions. It would not call for existing ones to be removed — but, on the other hand, it would no longer demand new ones.

In London, a spokesman for the British Foreign Office said: "We are particularly delighted by the flexibility shown by both sides."

We hope the momentum will be maintained. A spokesman for the Japanese Government said progress had been made towards a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

Committed

Lawyers for Human Rights said: "The talks were a significant leap towards the creation of a truly democratic South Africa. We can ratulate

Love turns on Telly Fun Jane



Missing

girls:

Hunt

for car

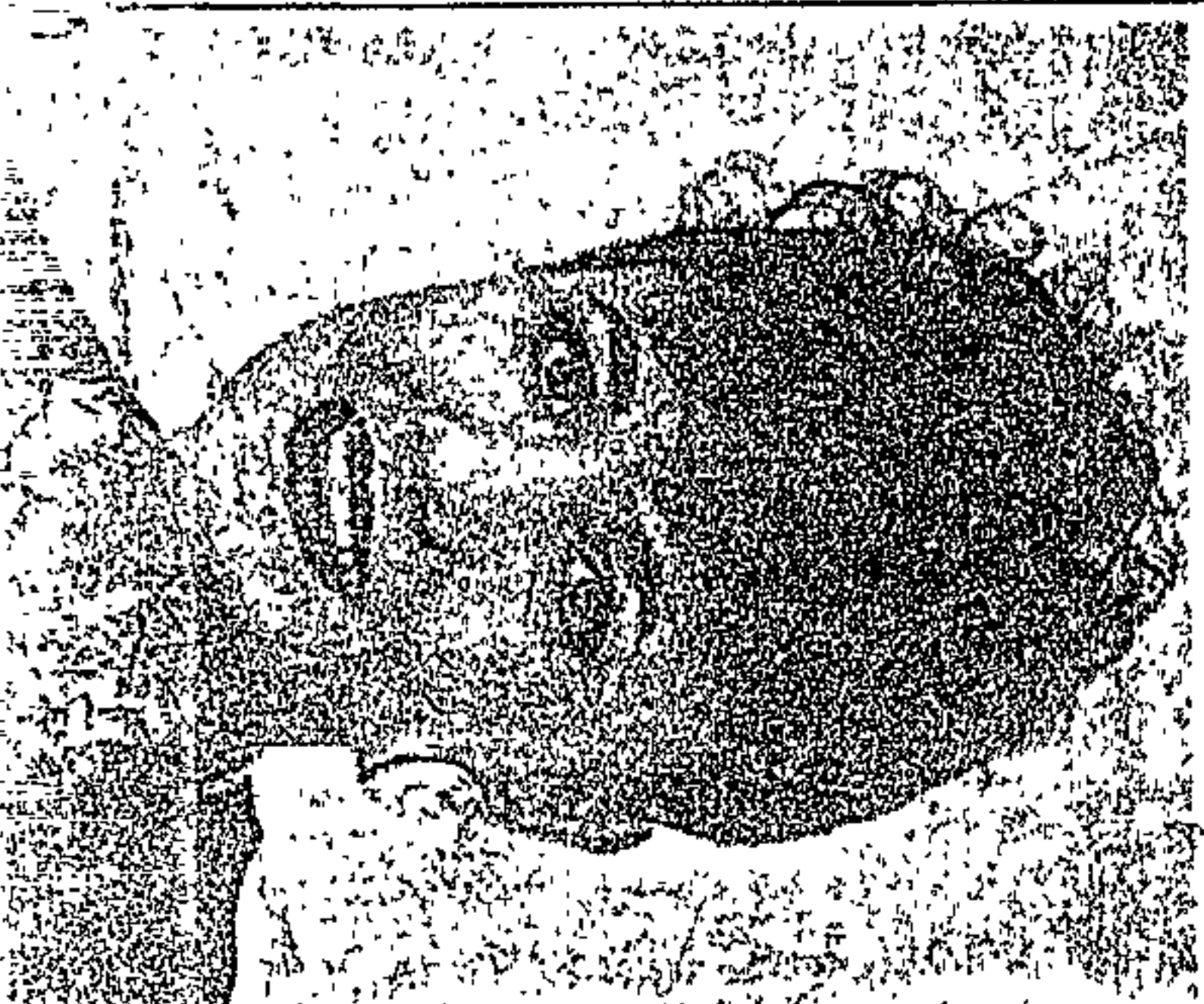
thief

By DE WET POTGIETER

A CAR thief who served time in prison with child-sex and Gert van Rooyen is being sought in connection with the disappearance of five schoolgirls. Arthur William Barrett, 32, of Pretoria

I'm standing by my hit-man, says

Karim Coetzee



demand new ones.

In London, a spokesman for the British Foreign Office said: "We are particularly delighted by the flexibility shown by both sides. We hope the momentum will be maintained."

A spokesman for the Japanese Government said progress had been made towards a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

Committed

Lawyers for Human Rights said: "The talks were a significant leap towards the creation of a truly democratic South Africa. We congratulate all involved."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the accord was "epoch-making".

Mr Nelson Mandela, who led the ANC delegation, unequivocally committed his organisation to "look hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle".

President F W De Klerk, who led the Government team, called the talks a "breakthrough" for the peace process.

A "suspension" of the armed struggle, possibly for three months, is one of the options which the ANC's National Executive Committee will consider when its delegation reports back in Lusaka.

In that time the Government will review security laws. A partial lifting of the state of emergency may be part of this process.

One of the first actions to flow from the talks was a hastily transmitted message from Groote Schuur to Parliament placing the Indemnity Bill on the Order Paper for tomorrow.

The Bill, published yesterday, allows the Government to guarantee people who committed "political" crimes that they will not be prosecuted within a specified period.

Parliament's business has been rescheduled for a night sitting tomorrow. It will end only when the Bill is passed into law.

Avoided

The Conservative Party vehemently opposes the Bill while the Democratic Party and the Houses of Representatives and Delegates support it.

The ANC is said to have taken a strong stand on security legislation.

It objected to the Internal Security Act, the little-used Intimidation Act and aspects of many other laws, for example the definition of "communism".

A Government source described the ANC's points as "worthy of merit".

The Government team nevertheless explained the need to retain essential security legislation. The state of emergency may be lifted generally, for example, but be kept in Natal as long as violence continued.

The ANC is believed to have accepted this view.

Highly placed sources said the minute issued after the talks amounted to an agreement to end violence. It merely avoided terminology that was "sensitive and troublesome" to both sides.

The first paragraph of the Groote Schuur Minute reads: "The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

Contacts

Another passage provides for "channels of communication to curb violence".

Mr Mandela's delegation also told the Government that not all violence could be ascribed to the ANC since it was not fully in control of all activity in black communities.

Mr Mandela repeated this point in a circumpect way at the post-talks Press conference.

Other points, regarded as successes by both sides, to emerge from the talks were:

- A spirit of reconciliation that bodes well for future contacts. One negotiator said it was a "cathartic experience" for the two sides to listen to one another's experiences and that "many as-

PW d in fit

SI Times 6/5/90

By LESTER VENTER

FORMER State President P W Botha has resigned from the National Party.

He bluntly told NP officials who approached him his Wilderness retirement home to renew his political membership that he refused to do so.

He said he was dissatisfied with the leadership of his successor, President F W de Klerk.

He also told a newspaper reporter that he objected to the inclusion of Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the Communist Party, in the delegation that reached a historic peace accord with the Government in Cape Town last week.

Mr Botha had been a member of the NP for 54 years; he was elected to Parliament in 1948.

The main feature of

PW quits NP in fit of pique

SI Times 6/5/90

By LESTER VENTER

FORMER State President P W Botha has resigned from the National Party.

He bluntly told NP officials who approached him at his Wilderness retirement home to renew his party membership that he refused to do so.

He said he was dissatisfied with the leadership of his successor, President F W de Klerk.

He also told a newspaper reporter that he objected to the inclusion of Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party, in the delegation that reached a historic peace accord with the Government in Cape Town this week.

Mr Botha had been a member of the NP for 54 years and was elected to Parliament in 1948.

The main feature of his

last decade as head of government and Head of State was his implacable opposition to the ANC. Much draconian legislation aimed at the organisation was implemented under his stewardship.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC's deputy president, became Mr Botha's bête noir. Mr Botha steadfastly resisted international and domestic pressure to release Mr Mandela from prison.

All this was overturned by President De Klerk in the first major move of his term of office.

Recently the Sunday Times revealed that Mr Botha met privately with Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party. This gave rise to speculation in right-wing political circles that Mr Botha would

□ To Page 2

Bitter PW quits Nats

SI Times 6/5/90

□ From Page 1

return to active politics.

Last night, political sources said that, while Mr Botha had considered making a comeback, he had subsequently decided against it.

The sources said he no longer entertained any political ambitions.

Mr Botha himself would not take telephone inquiries at his home last night and asked to be called during office hours on weekdays.

Ultra-rightists join CP 304A

The Argus Correspondent *M645 7/5/90*

JOHANNESBURG. — The ultra-rightwing Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), unbanned with other organisations such as the ANC and SACP on February 2, has dissolved and joined the Conservative Party.

Former BBB leader Professor Johan Schabert said today he had decided not to reactivate the organisation after its unbanning.

However, in July last year he and several members of the BBB's executive became members of the CP and urged the BBB's members to do the same.

This decision was taken as a practical step to facilitate rightwing unity.

CP, PAC cool towards talks

Sowetan 2/5/90 3048

PARTIES on the extremes of South African politics reacted coolly at the weekend

to successful pioneering peace talks between the government and the ANC.

The ultra-Rightist white supremacist Conservative Party (CP) dismissed as "pious talk" a commitment to ending violence announced by the Government and its chief opponent following their first official encounter.

At the other end of the political spectrum, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) reiterated its opposition to negotiating with President FW de Klerk.

"I don't know what made the ANC approach the Government (to start talks). It's their problem," said veteran PAC president Zephania Mothopeng, whose movement advocates black self-reliance and socialism in the anti-

apartheid struggle.

Political analysts say both the PAC, increasingly popular among black township youths, and the CP, the main parliamentary opposition, would have to be party to any eventual political settlement if it is to have a chance of success.

De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela said on Friday they were satisfied with their three-day talks on removing barriers to full negotiations between the white minority and black majority.

They agreed to form a joint working group to thrash out proposals for the release of up to 3 000 people regarded by the ANC as political prisoners.

Violence

There was no formal mention of the ANC's 30-year-old guerrilla campaign. But Mandela said his officials would look "very hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle," prompting speculation that the movement was ready to edge away from the use of violence.

Mothopeng said the PAC would not suspend its own guerrilla campaign and would only take part in negotiations when the transfer to blacks of the white-owned majority of South African land was on the agenda.

"We will not go to any talks to discuss, but to

make sure (PAC demands) are effected," said Mothopeng.

Despite his comments Mothopeng was at pains not to attack the ANC directly, saying repeatedly Mandela's movement was entitled to use whatever means it wanted to end apartheid.

Pro-apartheid CP leader Andries Treurnicht said Mandela wanted "to intensify the armed struggle to prevent De Klerk from backtracking from negotiation."

Asked if he would accept an invitation to join full negotiations, he replied: "We haven't decided not to participate...but there are certain non-negotiables - our existence as a (white) nation and our claim to our land," he said in a telephone interview.

"Mr Mandela denies the reality of the white nation. We are for peace, but peace has certain conditions, one of which is recognising the variety of South Africa's peoples," he said.

Teargas

The CP advocates old-style apartheid, maintaining that separating South Africa's whites, blacks, Coloureds and Indians is the only way to keep the peace.

In Johannesburg, police fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse 100 former policemen and prison warders preparing to march to police headquarters to protest against racism in the police force and prison service.

Buthelezi

'heartened

by action

Sowetan 11/190 30415

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend it was heartening the Government and the ANC had agreed on the urgency of addressing the problem of violence flaring up everywhere in SA.

He said it was not

enough to undertake to do something about the violence while members of the ANC delegation continued to single him out for denigration and attack as a leader and participant in the negotiating process.

He mentioned specifically Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Japan on Saturday welcomed the results of the talks between the Government and the ANC.

The Japan's consulate in Pretoria said in a statement that the country's that the country's Director-General of Public Information and Cultural Affairs had said his government looked forward to continued progress in future talks.

Japan hoped that the ANC and the SA Government would make further efforts for the commencement of "full-fledged negotiations" to build a new democratic constitution without apartheid.

Lawyers for Human Rights also welcomed the progress made in the Government/ANC talks last week.

"We look upon these talks as a significant leap towards the creation of a truly democratic South Africa, and congratulate all those involved during this period," said an LHR statement. The establishment of a working group to consider the question of political prisoners was particularly hopeful because the release of all political prisoners "will surely guarantee the forward movement we all desire", the statement concluded.



Mr PW Botha

PW quits Nat Party

THE presence of Joe Slovo, SACP secretary-general, at last week's talks between the ANC and the Government, has irked the former State President Mr. P. W. Botha to such an extent that he has quit the National Party. *Sowetan 21/5/90*

The former State President and leader of the NP said he distanced himself from the party leadership and the current direction the party followed adding "if I do not speak up now the monuments of the country would speak". *(304A) (18)*

Botha said Slovo was an arch-communist who planned South Africa's downfall in London and has over a long time planned terror activities inside South Africa.

He said communism was strong as ever and the ANC stood for nationalisation and was dominated by communists leaders who had committed to violence.

turn

ARC 45
7/5/90

3049

W

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

NATIONAL Party leaders today turned on former president Mr P W Botha after his announcement that he had broken with the party after 54 years.

The once powerful leader was accused of "calculated malice".

The Conservative Party was delighted by Mr Botha's move, even though he was not likely to join it.

Nats on P

Nationalist politicians sharply criticised him for meddling in party politics after retiring as head of state and rejected his allegations that the party leadership was gradually abdicating.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Cape leader of the NP, said the party was implementing policy directions which had been introduced by Mr Botha.

Initiatives started by him logically led to the unbanning of organisations and the talks with African National Congress leaders.

Dr De Villiers said it was a pity that Mr Botha was now doing what he had long warned against, that ex-politicians and former heads of state should in all circumstances desist from making political statements.

Mr Hennie Smit, who succeeded Mr Botha as MP for George, disclosed that he had tried to contact Mr Botha after it became known that he was not renewing his party membership, but he had been unsuccessful.

He said he regretted the step because Mr Botha had often told him that the ideal retired politician was one who did not make political statements.

Last straw

In a statement Mr Botha made it clear that the fact that the government had had discussions with an ANC delegation, including Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the Communist Party, had been the last straw.

Addressing an ANC rally in Soweto yesterday, Mr Slovo said he was not hurt by what Mr Botha had said because it made him feel that he had done his job properly.

President De Klerk said Mr Botha's attack was based on the wrong assumptions.

Nothing the National Party and the government were doing clashed with what Mr Botha had stood for during his term in office.

The party remained as anti-communist as ever.

A special caucus meeting of



Look
back
in
anger
— Botha
hits out

Welcomed

Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, deputy-leader of the CP, welcomed Mr Botha's decision to break with the National Party because it had started to negotiate with communists.

The CP had warned against this and against the "gradual abdication" of the government, which had also been attacked by Mr Botha.

Dr Hartzenberg said he was sure there many in the National Party who agreed with Mr Botha. He expected they would leave the NP and later join the CP.

He did not expect Mr Botha to return to active politics or to join the CP, but he would be welcome.

Dr Hartzenberg visited Mr Botha at his Wilderness home early this year and said he had had a friendly reception.

● Culmination of a long sulk — page 8.

the party on Saturday unanimously expressed confidence in Mr De Klerk after he told them of Mr Botha's statement and his reply.

Today some Nationalist MPs felt that Mr Botha's statement could have an effect on some supporters, especially the older ones, and that the party would have to work harder to convince them that it was doing the right thing.

In political circles the general impression was that Mr Botha's move was a culmination of the long sulk since being forced out as president last August.

An editorial in Die Burger said the "calculated malice" of Mr Botha's action harmed him more than it did the party.

It emphasised the tragic development of the last days of a leader who had once enjoyed respect.

Govt

**wants
second**

**talks
in June**

Political Staff

BOOSTED by its breakthrough in last week's talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur, the government is hoping exploratory talks on the setting up of a body to negotiate a constitution could begin as early as June.

The State Security Council meets today and it will be briefed on the Groote Schuur meeting. It will also begin to consider the possibility of lifting the state of emergency, except in Natal.

The NP caucus was briefed on the talks at a meeting in Stellenbosch on Saturday.

And the ANC national executive committee (NEC) meets early this week to review its commitment to the armed struggle. ANC sources indicated it was possible a decision would be taken to initially suspend the armed struggle for three months.

The working committee appointed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to come up with a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence has been told to report by May 21.

Agreement on the issue could pave the way for the large-scale release of people already serving sentences, the granting of immunity to exiles and the stopping of certain political trials.

Today's joint sitting of Parliament will continue late into the night until the Indemnity Bill has been approved.

Once the bill is approved Mr De Klerk will grant temporary immunity from prosecution to the entire ANC executive and certain other key members of the organisation, to allow them to return.

● **Mandela rejects group rights** — Page 5

CP may invite him to join, says Dr T

PW turns

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against Nats

30 44

Political Staff

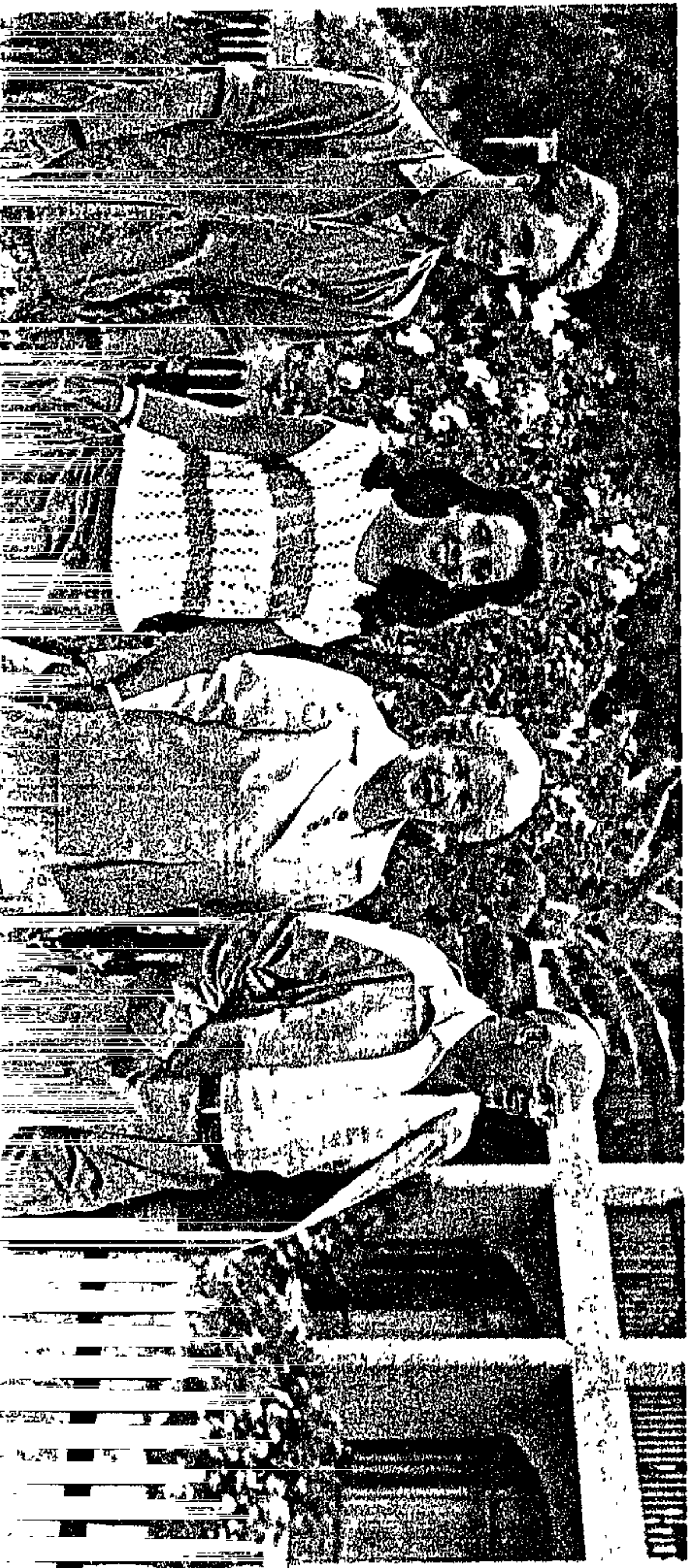
OPPOSITION leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night welcomed former State President Mr P W Botha's break with the National Party and said it was "not impossible" that he would be asked to join the Conservative Party.

The former Nationalist strongman came out of political retirement yesterday to slam the government's reform policies as "progressive abdication".

In a wide-ranging interview with the Sunday newspaper Rapport, he announced that he had quit the National Party after 54 years' membership and said he distanced himself "totally" from its present leadership.

Attacks

The fact that the government had accepted the head of the SA Communist Party (SACP), Mr Joe Slovo, as a





WITH THE NATS... Mr P W Botha and his family this week at their home in Wilderness. With him Elize, who turned 66 yesterday, and children Rossouw and Rozanne. Picture: RAPPORT

Party and said it was "not impossible" that he would be asked to join the Conservative Party.

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Attacks

The fact that the government had accepted the head of the SA Communist Party (SACP), Mr Joe Slovo, as a member of the ANC delegation to the negotiations last week was the last straw.

World communism had not changed its aims, Mr Botha said, and Mr Slovo had long been behind terrorist attacks against South Africa.

Referring to those South Africans who had lost their lives fighting "terrorism", Mr Botha said that if he did not speak out now "this country's monuments will".

Reacting to Mr Botha's criticism, Mr Slovo told a rally in Johannesburg yesterday that the fact that Mr Botha did not like him "makes me feel I have done my job properly — at least De Klerk is big enough to think of the country first".

Although not totally unexpected, Mr Botha's move has rocked his former colleagues.

President F W de Klerk, who briefed the Nat caucus at the weekend, promptly repudiated him. Nothing the NP or the government was doing or saying was in conflict with what Mr Botha had advocated or stood for, he said.

CP leader Dr Treurnicht last night congratulated Mr Botha, saying he "deeply appreciated" his public breaking of ties with the NP "at this point".

Dr Treurnicht also said that early this year Mr Botha had invited some CP parliamentarians to his Wilderness home to express his deep misgivings about the "direction and haste" of Mr De Klerk's policies.

However, there was no talk of Mr Botha joining CP ranks, Dr Treurnicht said.

"He has taken his own standpoint and I do not think he'll enter practical politics at this point." Asked if the CP would approach Mr Botha to join the CP, Dr Treurnicht said no decision had been taken but that this was "not impossible".

Mr Botha's stand enjoyed the broad support of the CP. It was disturbing that Mr De Klerk was treating the ANC and the SACP as "co-planners of a new constitution for me and my people", Dr Treurnicht added.

He had not personally spoken to Mr Botha about his feelings, either before or after yesterday's dramatic public disaffection.

While Dr Treurnicht declined to quantify the impact of Mr Botha's breaking his long-held silence, he expected it to lead to increased support for the CP and confidently predicted a CP win in the June 6 Umlazi by-election.

To page 3

Rebels mum on missing SA family of 4

JOHANNESBURG. — The Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday that it had not yet received confirmation that a South African family of four was being held by the rebel MNR movement in Mozambique, the SABC's Africa desk reports.

A spokesman for the department said the trade representative in Maputo and the South African embassy in Lisbon had not been notified by the MNR of the incident.

Reports said that Mr David Muller and his wife Sandy, together with their two sons, of East London were sailing around the coast of Africa in their yacht Arwin.

The yacht ran aground along the Mozambique coast and they were allegedly being held by rebels.

Meanwhile, it has been confirmed that the 38-year-old architect and his family left East London in their 12-metre steel-hulled sloop on March 31.

Mr Muller's father, Dick, said he had only heard unconfirmed reports about his son's family, but was extremely worried.

Mr Muller said he had, however, received a postcard from his son indicating the family had reached Maputo and were no problems. — Sapa



TRAPPED... The leopard captured near Somerset West in captivity at the Jonkershoek nature reserve. Picture: ANNE LAING

From page 1

In his statement, Mr De Klerk said that under Mr Botha the government had:

- Adopted a policy of power-sharing with voting rights for all and full participation at all levels.

- Established negotiations and reached agreement with Mr Sam Nujoma of Namibia against whom the security forces had long fought. This had happened in spite of Mr Nujoma's friendly links with the communist world.

- Started talks with Mr Nelson Mandela which went on for more than three years, with Mr Botha's agreement.

- Announced a policy that the ANC could be part of negotiations if they unequivocally bound themselves to peaceful solutions.

Mr Botha had also personally met Mr Mandela, laying the groundwork for further discussions. He had also regularly placed the release of Mr Mandela on the agenda.

Leopard

Staff Reporter

THE fate of a leopard caught yesterday on a Somerset West where six goats were killed, will be decided this week by the Nature Conservation of said.

The leopard, an adult, was trapped in a cage on the Knorhoek near Sir Lowry Village after the goat found mauled to death Thursday.

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wants second talks in June

Cap. Times 7/5/90
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Political Staff

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The NP caucus was briefed on the talks at a meeting in Stellenbosch on Saturday.

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Agreement on the issue could pave the way for the large-scale release of people already serving sentences, the granting of immunity to exiles and the stopping of certain political trials.

Today's joint sitting of Parliament will continue late into the night until the Indemnity Bill has been approved.

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● **Mandela rejects group rights** — Page 5

PW has it wrong, says FW

Blom 11/90 (3.04A)
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday the announcement by his predecessor P W Botha that he had allowed his membership of the NP to lapse was based on wrong interpretations.

Botha said yesterday in an interview in the Afrikaans newspaper Rapport that he had quit the party as a protest against the apartheid reform programme of his successor.

He had deep differences with the present party leadership.

The final straw was the inclusion of SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo in the ANC delegation to talks with government.

Slovo, formerly the ANC's top military commander, was branded public enemy No 1 under Botha's presidency.

In reaction to Botha's attack on the government, De Klerk said it was unfortunate he would once again be forced to repudiate the former State President.

It was a painful task because of the valuable contribution Botha had made to the NP and SA.

He said Botha's statement should be seen against the background of the NP's achievements under Botha's leadership — that a policy of power-sharing had been accepted as a result of his direct initiatives.

Negotiations had been started and an agreement reached with Swapo leader Sam Nujoma against whom the SA security forces had fought for years, he said.

Talks with Nelson Mandela had been held for three years with Mr Botha's support.

Botha had initiated the policy that the ANC could be part of negotiations if it committed itself to a peaceful solution.

De Klerk said Botha spoke to Mandela directly, thus laying the foundation for further talks. Botha also discussed regularly the prospect of Mandela's eventual release.

The NP was still as anti-communist as under the leadership of Botha but changed circumstances called for different methods, De Klerk said.

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk leaves tomorrow on a nine-nation European tour during which he will try to convince political and business leaders of his government's sincerity and commitment to bringing about a new SA. The first stop is Paris.

De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha will meet presidents and prime ministers in France, West Germany, Spain, Portugal, Britain, Greece and Switzerland, as well as those of two other European countries which have yet to announce the visit. b10am 715190

In most countries De Klerk will also address businessmen and bankers in the hope that his message will bring loans and

De Klerk sets out to capture Europe

investment to SA. (304A)

A key engagement will be an address to Swiss bankers and businessmen in Bern, and he has also been invited by one of Europe's largest banks to address a meeting attended by representatives of most major industrial and financial concerns in EC countries.

A senior Foreign Affairs spokesman said the trip was the most important yet by an SA president.

In Paris, De Klerk will meet President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister

□ To Page 2

De Klerk b10am 715190

Michel Rocard. In Spain he will be received by King Juan Carlos and socialist Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez.

Another important political engagement will be a meeting at Chequers with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The creation of a single European market in 1992 will feature high on the agenda of talks in the nine countries, and De Klerk will also meet EC president Jacques Delors.

Foreign Affairs officials said last week SA would have to view its relations with European countries in the context of their membership of the EC.

Although the question of sanctions is bound to arise on the tour, the SA delegation insisted it would not be a priority on their part.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that tangible rewards for De Klerk's rapid re-

forms are likely from the moment he sets foot in Europe.

His arrival in Greece is expected to coincide with an announcement that the three EC foreign ministers who recently visited SA are proposing limited easing of sanctions.

Precisely what form the first "reward" will take is uncertain. It could be an easing of investment and loan controls much in line with Thatcher's unilateral decision in February.

Moves to improve diplomatic contacts with SA are already underway and may be made public, along with unofficial proposals to lift some visa restrictions to make travel easier for South Africans.

There is a suggestion that De Klerk will ask some countries to make it possible again for SA sportsmen and women to visit, and they could comply.

(304A) □ From Page 1

NP excited over 'breakthrough'

Fast progress to more talks is expected

8/04/90 7/5/90

304A

CAPE TOWN — Boosted by its breakthrough in last week's talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur, government is hoping exploratory talks on the setting up of a body to negotiate a constitution could begin as early as June.

The State Security Council meets today and it will be briefed on the Groote Schuur meeting. It will also begin to consider the possibility of lifting the state of emergency, except in Natal.

The NP caucus was briefed on the talks at a meeting in Stellenbosch on Saturday. One MP said even the news that former president P W Botha had quit the party did not dampen the excitement over what had been achieved.

● De Klerk answers P W Botha: Page 3
● Comment: Page 8

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) meets early this week to review its commitment to the armed struggle. ANC sources indicated it was possible a decision would be taken to initially suspend the armed struggle for three months.

Speaking at Stellenbosch University at the weekend, ANC international head Thabo Mbeki said: "It would be reasonable to make the assumption we are not very far from a process of negotiations which should involve all the political forces in the country in deciding what kind of SA we would like."

Both government and the ANC committed themselves at Groote Schuur to doing

MIKE ROBERTSON

their utmost to speedily remove obstacles in the way of full-scale negotiations.

Although some actions, like the scrapping of aspects of security legislation, will be possible only next year, senior members of government's negotiating team believe this should not prevent talks about negotiations beginning late in June or in July.

The working committee appointed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to come up with a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence has been told to report by May 21.

Government will then consult with other affected parties, and it is hoped that soon after De Klerk returns from Europe it will be possible to begin implementing decisions.

Agreement on what constitutes a political offence could pave the way for the largescale release of people already serving sentences, the granting of immunity to exiles and the stopping of certain trials.

As a result of the Groote Schuur meeting, today's parliamentary business has been rescheduled and a joint sitting will continue late into the night until the Indemnity Bill has been approved.

Once the Bill is approved De Klerk will grant temporary immunity from prosecution to the entire ANC executive and certain other key members of the organisation.

□ To Page 2

More talks

304A

tion, to allow them to return to SA.

A government source said at the weekend there had been ready acceptance by the ANC of the need for some kind of security legislation during a period of transition. However, the ANC had suggested some valid changes.

Government, he said, had given the ANC an undertaking it would give notice as soon as possible that certain aspects of the Internal Security Act and other scarcely used legislation, like the Intimidation Act, would be amended or scrapped in the next parliamentary session.

If all goes according to schedule, another meeting between the ANC and government to ratify agreements is likely in June, opening the way to the next and far more difficult phase in the process — deciding what form the constitutional negotiating forum should take and who should attend.

In the next few weeks the ANC will also be pushing for the creation of a new structure to ensure efficient communication between it and government.

8/04/90 7/5/90

□ From Page 1

Mandela said on Friday: "Although I have been in touch with the State President as well as with other Ministers, it is always better that the organisation itself, through a recognised structure, should be able to establish channels of communication with the other body involved in the search for peace."

Government sources indicated they had no serious objection to the setting up of such a structure. Since the April 5 meeting between the ANC and government, Mandela has had an almost direct line to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, and government members are pleased with the results.

Reuter reports that the CP and PAC responded coolly to the outcome of the peace talks.

The CP dismissed as "pious talk" a commitment to ending violence announced by government and the ANC.

The PAC said it would not suspend its own guerrilla campaign and would negotiate only when the transfer of the majority of land to blacks was on the agenda.

Revise Abortion Act – Kane-Berman

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A top medical official has joined the call for the revision of South Africa's controversial abortion law.

Dr Jocelyn Kane-Berman, Chief Superintendent of Groote Schuur Hospital, said the Abortion Act should be revised in the interest of society, women and thousands of unborn, unwanted and potentially unloved children.

A few weeks ago the Government joined the debate when it announced that it was to take a look at the Act. A call was also made for people to approach the Department of Health with ideas for changes.

The Abortion and Sterilisation Act of 1975 forbids abortion in South Africa unless the woman has been raped, the baby is abnormal or a medical panel agrees that having the baby will irreparably damage the woman physically or mentally.

In a letter to the editor in the latest edition of the South African Medical Journal, Dr Kane-

Berman said new norms, values, ethical and legal principals must be formulated to meet the needs of societies that lack supportive extended family structures, and who are unable to nurture millions of unwanted children born daily throughout the world.

Since 1980 she said, publications on medical ethics have increased considerably in volume and depth of understanding of these and other important issues.

"It is essential that the abortion issue should be widely debated in the light of contemporary thinking and prevailing circumstances. In this century inventiveness and improved living standards have increased humankind's life span and ability to overcome most ills and deficiencies.

"The problems of this age are not those relating to survival of the species but rather those of longevity, increasing numbers of dependent mentally and physically handicapped individuals, child abuse and overpopulation."

Star 7/5/90

3048

No fuss as ANC men jet into Jo'burg

By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa News Service

Fresh from their historic Cape Town talks several African National Congress leaders jetted into Johannesburg on Saturday night — and nobody seemed to notice.

In sharp contrast to the obsession with security that characterised the Cape Town talks, only a few sleepy-eyed uniformed policemen were on hand to greet Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and other National Executive members at Jan Smuts Airport.

Others to follow

"Now for the first time I feel like I am home," said Mr Slovo, who lived in Johannesburg before fleeing the country almost 30 years ago.

Asked what the ANC planned following the successful conclusion of the Cape Town talks, Mr Slovo bantered that "we have already tackled the improbable, now we plan to take on the impossible".

Included in the ANC group was NEC and leading Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr Steve Tshwete, who revealed that he was the first ex-

iled leader to return to South Africa for good — and that others would be following in his footsteps shortly.

"I'm heading back to the Eastern Cape in the next few days, and if they want to get hold of me after that, they will have to dig me out," he said.

"In the next few weeks others will begin trickling back as well."

Most of the leaders will return to ANC headquarters in Lusaka "after a few days".

"I have a desk back there that is piling up with work," joked Johannesburg-born secretary-general Mr Nzo.

"But it is really good to be back home after more than 26 years in exile, and I hope to return again soon — for good."

● The South African Communist Party has decided to follow in the footsteps of the unbanned African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress and come in out of the cold.

Mr Slovo said the decision to come out in the open had been taken — but he could not give an exact date.

"Sooner rather than later. We have met, and are continuing to meet. It's a process, but the actual decision has been taken."

See Page 11.



Homecoming . . . African National Congress members (from left) Mr. Steve Tshwete, Mr. Joe Slovo, Mr. Andrew Mlangeni, Mr. Alfred Nzo and Mr. Henry Magothi slipped almost unnoticed into Johannesburg on Saturday.

Response to Mandela's challenge

We are flexible over group rights - Nats

5/2 7/5/90 304A

By Peter Fabricius and
Esmaré van der Merwe

The National Party responded diplomatically today to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela's first tough constitutional challenge on group rights, made yesterday at a rally outside Soweto.

Mr Mandela told a crowd of about 40 000 that the ANC would never accept minority rights protection.

NP sources said today the party was flexible on the question of group rights.

Its response takes the sting for the moment out of Mr Mandela's challenge, reinforcing the mood of friendly negotiation created at last week's Groote Schuur talks. But group rights is still expected to be a major issue in future negotiations.

NP sources said there were different kinds of group rights. One was group rights used as the building blocks of a new constitution.

The other was protection of certain minority rights, such as language and culture.

This second form of group rights was universally acknowledged even in a United Nations declaration. The ANC had said it was not opposed to the protection of rights associated with culture.

Mr Mandela revealed that he would have several meetings with President de Klerk before the next round of talks between the two delegations.

He would urge Mr de Klerk, "an honest man whose willingness to discuss politics at the table was highly appreciated", to abandon his insistence on group or minority protection because it implied that "white South Africa does not yet trust us".

He added: "We have to convince them that any form of racialism is a formula for disaster."

Mr Joe Slovo, the crowd's favourite, added: "We know only one kind of democracy, and that is majority rule ... if this is not achieved, there will only be the 'peace of the graveyard'".

Explaining the Government's attitude to group rights in the light of yesterday's tough ANC policy stand, NP sources said the NP was flexible on which sort of group rights it wanted protected.

The NP is engaged in intensive internal consultations to try to come up with an acceptable constitutional model to put on the table.

An extended NP caucus meeting on Saturday focused on a bicameral model with a lower house elected on a common voters roll and an upper house which incorporated minority protection in some way.

NP sources have indicated that the party is moving towards a system where minority rights are protected by deeply entrenching normal democratic principles such as a multi-party system, and also the principle of free enterprise.

● See Pages 3, 6 and 11.



Rail horror ... the wreckage at the scene of a collision about 40 km north of Sydney yesterday between a double-decker passenger train and an old-fashioned steam train chartered by jazz fans. At least six people were

killed and 90 injured. The double-decker passenger train, which was carrying 100 passengers on board, was hit by the steam train.

Strike talks as 'nightmare' continues

By Carina le Grange

Patients at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital last night described the "nightmare" conditions they were enduring, while crucial talks aimed at ending the hospital strike were due to resume today.

Hospitals still hit by the strike by non-medical staff are Baragwanath, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, H F Verwoerd and Natalspruit.

At today's talks in Pretoria between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Nehawu (National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union) the final issue to be settled is wage demands.

After weekend talks hopes are high that an agreement acceptable to workers will be reached later today.

At Baragwanath, patients told The Star of the stench of filthy

wards, sleeping on dirty linen and hunger due to irregular meals. At the height of the strike, no meals were served for a 24-hour period.

Mrs Mabel Ndlovu of Alexandra, in hospital for a thyroid operation, was among those discharged early. With her was her one-year-old daughter.

"I am not healed. But there is no point staying in hospital with an infant and no regular meals, in an unhygienic place," she said. Her baby had survived on tea and she had often gone without meals.

Mr Samson Kubheka believes the strike could cost him a finger. He was admitted two weeks ago with a septic hand because he did not go for treatment after being burnt. He cannot have an operation he urgently needs since he has been told only emergencies are being done.

Nursing staff have doubled cleaners and cooks for the past week, working long hours.

Strikers emptied rubbish bins and scattered litter at Hillbrow Hospital at the weekend after cleaners had cleaned up.

There have been numerous other reports of intimidation. Union officials responded by saying certain people identified as intimidators were unknown to the union and added it was wholly posed to any acts of intimidation.

Emergencies only were being treated at the hospitals and patients not desperately ill have since been discharged.

By late yesterday it appeared agreements in principle had been reached on all workers' demands except wages.

Increases

Workers demand a minimum 14% increase in wages.

Namibian echo in Groote Schuur Minute

The Groote Schuur Minute, drawn up in Cape Town last week, uses the same no-losers approach as did the Namibian peace settlement, reports PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent.

CAPE TOWN — The successful talks which the Government and the ANC held last week have bumped South Africa up to the "high road" to the future — at least for now.

They proved the wisdom of the advice so often given to the Government by its critics — negotiate with the ANC sooner, from a position of strength, rather than later, from one of weakness — as the Rhodesian government was forced to do with its opponents at Lancaster House.

Government — while making important concessions itself — has also won important concessions which it might not have been able to do later.

The talks achieved two main things — a remarkable agreement which satisfied the main demands of both sides, and the establishment of an equally remarkable rapport between the Government and the ANC which could prove vital during tough negotiations ahead.

The agreement — entitled "the Groote Schuur Minute" — is a remarkable example of the no-losers approach to negotiations which characterised the Namibian peace talks.

In the words of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, there were only victors during these talks.

The minute has in effect satisfied the Government's principal demand by committing the ANC to at least suspending the armed struggle — and fur-



The scene of the talks between the Government and the African National Congress, where the Groote Schuur Minute was agreed on.

thermore to co-operating with the Government in trying to end general violence.

And in exchange the Government has agreed to tackle almost all the obstacles to negotiation identified by the ANC in the Harare Declaration — to amend its draconian security legislation, including the Internal Security Act, to set up a joint mechanism to identify political prisoners for release and exiles for amnesty, and to review the state of emergency.

The success of the minute appears to lie in something akin to the "linkage" concept

— ultimately the linchpin of success in Namibia.

In the Namibian talks the South African Government was faced with an internationally-accepted agreement — United Nations Resolution 435 — which called for its withdrawal from Namibia.

UN 435 made no mention of the 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola, whose departure South Africa demanded.

South Africa managed to persuade the other parties to negotiations that the withdrawal of Cuban troops was linked to UN 435, because their pres-

ence north of the border was a threat to Namibian independence.

The eventual agreement synchronised the timetable for the implementation of UN 435 with a timetable for the complete withdrawal of the Cubans.

In similar fashion the South African Government in last week's talks was faced with an internationally widely accepted document — the Harare Declaration — which sets out the obstacles which need to be removed before negotiations start.

These include the lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of security legislation, the release of political prisoners and return of exiles and the removal of troops from townships.

The Harare Declaration is very much the ANC's brainchild, and so not surprisingly it makes no mention of the armed struggle or violence in general as obstacles to be removed to create a climate for negotiation.

In the ANC view the armed struggle would be suspended once the obstacles it had identi-

fied were removed.

The two were not directly linked, in its view. It argued for instance that the state of emergency — like the other obstacles — was merely a device to hamstringing the Government's most effective political opponents.

The Government differed. It insisted that the state of emergency could not be lifted while the struggle and the violence continued, because its object was to curb the violence.

The Government also argued that it could not be expected to release political prisoners and

allow exiled guerrillas to return while the ANC was committed to the armed struggle.

It would be like releasing prisoners of war before the war was over.

During last week's talks — and the vital preliminary discussions — it is clear that the inextricable linkage between the struggle and the other obstacles was accepted.

This is apparent not only from the all-important preamble to the Groote Schuur Minute, which commits both sides to resolve the climate of violence and intimidation and to a peaceful process of negotiations.

The minute also binds the ANC more specifically to co-operative action to help make it possible for the Government to remove particular obstacles. "To assist in bringing violence to an end."

And the minute commits the Government to try to lift the emergency, but adds: "In this context the ANC will exert itself to fulfil the objectives contained in the preamble."

In other words, the ANC has accepted that the Government can only lift the state of emergency if the violence abates.

It also seems to have conceded that it may be necessary sometimes to send troops into the townships, as its demand for the removal of the troops was on the agenda, but disappeared from the agreement.

And the minute also affirms that efficient channels of communication between the ANC and the Government are to be set up "to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively."

What these agreements mean is that though last week's meeting did not achieve its prime objective — of removing all the obstacles to negotiation — it did set up a joint effort to make this possible.

CP certain to make political capital out of
PW's departure from the National Party

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Former president MR P W Botha has left the National Party over President de Klerk's bold reforms — but he seems unlikely to join another party or make a political comeback.

Nevertheless, his departure could do the NP harm, the party has conceded.

Mr Botha told the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport that he had left because of the present party leadership and direction.

The last straw was the presence of SA Communist Party boss Mr Joe Slovo in the ANC delegation at the talks with the Government this week.

NP sources admit privately that this is a sensitive point. The Government had itself asked the ANC not to include Mr Slovo be-

cause of the likely negative publicity.

However, the NP believes the damage will be limited, although the Conservative Party is sure to exploit the party's embarrassment today when the Indemnity Bill is pushed through Parliament.

The Bill empowers the Government to grant immunity from prosecution to ANC and other exiles — like Mr Slovo — so that they can return to take part in the political process.

Embarrass

NP and other sources are convinced that Mr Botha's departure, after 54 years with the party, was carefully calculated to embarrass Mr de Klerk.

But friends of Mr Botha said last night that he had not intended to splash the news. Party membership had to be renewed

annually. Mr Botha had told the chairman of the George branch that he would not be keeping his membership, and this information reached Rapport.

Mr Botha stepped down as head of state with the feeling that he had been deeply wronged.

The CP will be delighted with Mr Botha's attack, in which he accused the party leadership of "gradual abdication" in its efforts to negotiate with the ANC.

Nationalist MPs first heard of Mr Botha's step at a special caucus meeting near Stellenbosch on Saturday. Mr de Klerk also read a statement in which he repudiated Mr Botha.

MPs said it was difficult to judge whether Mr Botha would influence other Nationalists to leave the party, especially as he was not offering an alternative.

Secrecy as FW heads for Europe

3047
Sowetan 7/5/90

SC

TELEPHONE

STATE President FW de Klerk tomorrow leaves on a visit to several European countries.

His schedule includes stops in Germany, France, Greece, Britain, Portugal, Switzerland and Spain. A detailed schedule has been withheld for security and protocol reasons.

After last week's meeting between Government and the ANC in Cape Town, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha briefed repre-

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

sentatives of foreign governments on the deliberations.

A Department of Foreign Affairs source said that news of the talks were well received by European leaders, who had been waiting for moves towards a settlement in South Africa.

At last week's three-day indaba agreement was reached between the two to at least cease

hostilities and ultimately reach a settlement beyond which a free and just society is desired.

History

In the joint communique that will go down in history as the 'Groote Schuur Minute,' plans for a joint working group were announced. The working committee was given a 16-day deadline to advise on difficulties as to what constitutes "political of-

fences" and the norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity.

On the part of the ANC, the movement's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela undertook to seriously look at the armed struggle in the face of the new dispensation and semblance of peace between the two parties.

Mandela also suggested that there would be no further calls for sanctions, but that no existing sanctions would be lifted.



SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo and Mrs Winnie Mandela salute the cheering crowd as they enter the FNB Stadium surrounded by bodyguards.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

Majority rule in SA

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Sowetan 7/5/90

That's
our
goal -
Slovo

Majority rule is our aim - Slovo

* From Page 1

an agreement reached with the Government on how to remove obstacles to negotiating a new constitution for the country.

Slovo said: "The talks are the beginning of the road to peace, a straight line towards a united, non-racial democracy.

"We must not play with words. A non-racial democracy means majority rule which involves every square metre of the country - from the Cape Point to the north, from the Indian Ocean to the Limpopo.

"We are talking about one homeland.

"The only hope for

real peace is that of accepting majority rule. The whites-only general election of September 1989 was the last," he said.

He warned that the agreement did not mean apartheid was dead.

"Whites still have the monopoly of the vote, land and the economy while blacks have the monopoly of the ghettos, unemployment and the bullets of trigger-happy police.

"Those whites who claim we have a secret agenda fear the 'do unto you what you did unto us' - the replacement of white domination by black domination.

"We do not have any secret agenda," Slovo said.

Referring to opponents of negotiations he said: "There are those who scream treason against dialogue, but they do not have any political solution to offer. It is because of the AK-47 that dialogue goes on," said Slovo.

ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo called for a broad unity of all political organisations saying the move had already begun at last December's Conference for a Democratic Future.

Among the ANC delegates at the rally were ANC director of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto We Sizwe commanders Mr Joe Modise and Mr Steve Tshwete, ANC external executive committee member Mrs Ruth Mompati and internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

THE ultimate goal of negotiations with the Government was majority rule, South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo told about 40 000 supporters at a rally at the FNB Stadium

in Johannesburg yesterday.

He was addressing the ANC/SACP report-back meeting on last week's three-day preliminary talks which resulted in the Groote Schuur Minute -

• To page 2



South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo salutes the crowd at a rally at the FNB Stadium at Crown Mines, near Soweto, yesterday.



FOCUS

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

304A

Mandela: "We must remember in making judgement on questions of this nature that we are in totally different positions from that of the Government and other white parties of this country"

"Our organisation has been banned for the last 30 years. Experienced leaders of the organisation have been forced into exile. Other well-trained and experienced leaders of the movement have been thrown into jail and those members who have remained inside the country, have been dead."

"Therefore there was nobody to explain the policy of the organisation, to instil discipline. You must remember that many of the youth who are active today were born during the last 30 years, when the organisation was illegal and when there was nobody to explain the policy of the organisation."

Support

"If therefore any of our members were guilty of intimidation, you must judge their action against this background. Now that the organisation has been legalised, we have considered it to be our duty to stress the question of discipline, the question of tolerance and I think we are getting support from our membership."

"I therefore would urge you to look at the matter from the background which I have outlined."

"We have made it clear, time and time again, that the strategies which have adopted, will remain in place. Insofar as sanctions are concerned, quite apart from the agreement which is outlined in this paper, they will remain in place."

"We are therefore not launching any new calls, nor are we appealing to the international community"



NELSON MANDELA

to do anything other than the strategies on which at our invitation they are busy with at present.

"However, we hope that as a result of the agreement which we have arrived at, as well as future developments, it will not be necessary for us to call upon the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions."

De Klerk: "May I just say in this regard that on this Dr Mandela and I obviously disagree. We in the Government do not believe that sanctions are justified. We sincerely believe that it is to the detriment of the people of South Africa."

"We sincerely believe that inasmuch as it ever might have been argued that it was justified - which we totally disagree with - the time has come for that to fall away."

Mandela: "...I can assure you that we have made progress on almost every aspect of the obstacles which we have identified here. As I have said at the beginning of my comment, we are closer now to one another than we were at the beginning of these discussions. I think that is what is important and that is what you should take away."

"I must tell you what I have told the State President and his delegation."

Twenty-seven years ago when I went to jail, I had no vote. Twenty-seven years thereafter I still have no vote. And that is due to the colour of my skin. The State President and the Government have made several statements in which they announce that they are following a new direction.

"I have not the slightest doubt that the State President means what he says. I have had for the last three days the opportunity of exchanging views with members of his delegation. I have no doubt whatsoever about their integrity and I think in saying so, I am expressing not only my views, but the views of my delegation."

Vote

"But there reality is that I still have not vote. You can then decide whether apartheid is alive or not."

De Klerk: "Can I just say that we have also, I think, a broad consensus on the fact that before a new constitutional dispensation which will grant a vote to all South Africans can be constituted and implemented, there is general agreement that there is a need that there must be real and

fundamental negotiations about it. In that sense of the word therefore, that part of it will have to wait until we really get the negotiation process going."

Talks

"Our talks of the past three days and this document is an important step forward to move to the point where we can negotiate. From that will flow the final solution to the problem stated by Dr Mandela. In lighter vein I can say: While apartheid is going in South Africa, the anti-apartheid movements are keeping it alive. Question: "In view of what you have just said, do you think it was a mistake to wait this long to release Mr Mandela, to unban the ANC? Do you wish it could have been done maybe 10 years ago?"

De Klerk: "Well, with hindsight one could always come to many, many conclusions. Different circumstances prevailed from time to time. I am just glad that we are where we are and we look forward and not backward at this point in time."

Q: "Was the question of an interim administration or an interim government discussed? If it was, was any resolution reached on



FW DE KLERK

that?" De Klerk: "The talks centred solely on the question of stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation and can in no way be described as constitutional talks. In that sense of the word we did not address real constitutional issues in any way whatsoever."

Q: "Has the ANC's strategy on the question of an armed struggle been changed or altered in any way by discussions of the past three days?"

Mandela: "I have pointed out that we will honour every word in this agreement. It is our document and we are, therefore, going to look very hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle in the light of this agreement."

De Klerk: "...I would say that the interaction and the talks had the additional advantage of allowing people sitting around the table to get to know each other, to really form an impression as to the sincerity of people, as to what makes their minds tick, as what motivates them, and in that sense of the word, I think also one would describe it as a very fruitful and a very positive experience in the

304A



State President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at last week's talks, the latest in a series of meetings between the Government and national leaders.



Some of the 40 000 people who turned out to hear Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo speak at the FNB Stadium outside Soweto over the weekend.

LAST week's talks were the most prominent of a series State President FW de Klerk has held with extra-parliamentary and other parties within the parliamentary fold.

When he opened the congress of the Transvaal National Party on October 21 1989, De Klerk committed his government to negotiations. He said there was not a single party or group which could claim it alone spoke for black South Africans.

He also said his government would not allow leaders of black communities who over the years had chosen the way of participation to be manoeuvred out of the negotiation process.

The right of participation by everyone was recognised and domination in any form had to be abolished, he told his party congress.

In his February 2 address De Klerk said: "Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation. However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part are advanced.

"Some of the excuses advanced are valid. Others are merely part of a political chess game."

Ban

With that speech he also lifted the ban on the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party, making it difficult for the organisations to back away from talks with the Government.

When he announced the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, De Klerk set the ball rolling even further.

"I want to emphasise that there cannot be any further doubt now concerning the Government's sincerity to create a fair dispensation which is based on negotiation.

"I call on Mr Mandela and all interested parties to make their contribution to the creation of a positive climate for negotiation," he said.

Then, on March 30, De Klerk delivered yet another speech on the issue.

"All South Africans must be involved in determining the future of our country. The idea that the negotiation process we envisage will involve only two parties is a complete misconception.

"All leaders with

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BoHA

Sowetan

proven and substantial support will be welcome at the negotiating table. There are many potential participants," he said.

De Klerk's office told Sowetan last week that he had reinforced his statements on negotiations by holding talks with "a wide variety of South African leaders".

On October 11 1989 he met a delegation of the South African Council of Churches, comprising Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Alan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane.

"The discussions were aimed at promoting a

Busy for FW in round of talks

BY ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

favourable climate for negotiations," a memorandum from his office said.

A second meeting with the church leaders took place on April 11 this year. This delegation submitted proposals aimed at ending the violence in Natal.

On November 10 last year, De Klerk "discussed general matters concerning negotiation and the co-operation of whites" with Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche of

the Afrikanerweerstandbeweging.

The next day, the State President met a delegation of the South African Chamber of Commerce.

Future

"Talks centred mainly on constitutional reform, the interdependence of economic achievement and political advancement and the role which the business community

could play in creating a climate conducive to reconciliation and negotiation in South Africa," the communiqué said.

Then on November 20 1989, De Klerk met another church delegation including Archbishop Mzilikazi Maziyi, chairman of the Council for Apostolic and Zionist Churches, as well as the Rev Isaac Mokoena of the Association of Reformed Independent Churches.

Prior to his release from prison, Mandela visited De Klerk.

"They discussed ways to remove obstacles to the negotiation process, and Mr Mandela's role in this regard."

De Klerk met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on November 20 and 30, and again on December 30 1989.

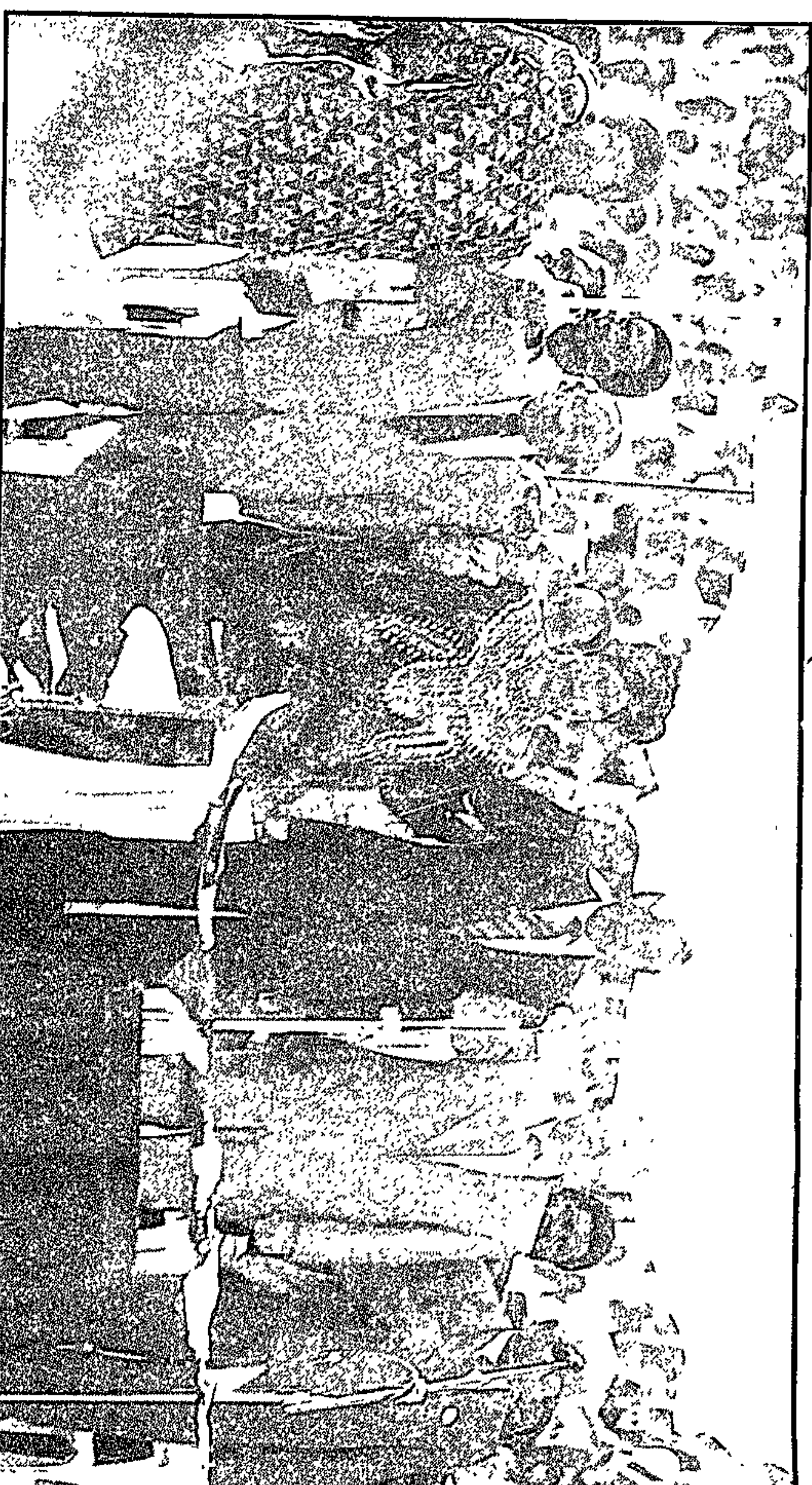
These talks centred on the envisaged summit meeting with leaders of the self-governing states

to establish a joint strategy on negotiations for a new constitution, ways to accelerate the process of negotiation and to remove obstacles.

The two met again on March 7 to discuss negotiations, and the next day De Klerk met the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Nsamenang, to discuss negotiations.

On April 5 Buthelezi showed up again at a meeting with the Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, and House of Delegates leader Dr JN Reddy.

After this meeting De Klerk strongly condemned the ANC for trying to dictate the circumstances in which political parties should talk to one another.



African National Congress leaders briefed a Soweto crowd at the weekend about their talks with the Government last week. From left are Mr Alfred Nzo, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mrs Albertina Sisulu.



ALAN PATON

A tribute to Alan Paton, says judge

So we can

8/5/90

IF HE were still alive Alan Paton would be pleasantly surprised to find a State President and a government "totally and unreservedly committed to the achievement of a new political dispensation", South African Chief Justice Mr Justice MM Corbett said last night.

Delivering the South African Institute of Race Relations' Diamond Jubilee Hoernle Memorial Lecture in Johannesburg, Corbett paid tribute to the late world-renowned author, who was a vocal critic of successive Nationalist Governments and their policies.

Paton, Corbett said, believed South Africa's salvation lay not in any existing party or organisation, but in a new constitution based on a federal system.

Although some of the things Paton decried in his Hoernle Memorial Lecture in 1985 - such as the "hatred, bombs, stonings, shootings and deep anxiety" - were still present, South Africa was today a much changed society.



Steve Biko

304A

The Government and the African National Congress were willing to negotiate the country's future, and the majority of South Africans were "apprehensively joining in this broad stream of human movement towards the creation of a new South Africa"

He called on black leaders to work tirelessly towards ending the violence in black townships.

BEFORE he sets off on his European and US travels, President F W de Klerk would do well to ingrain in himself a new vocabulary. Without one, his constitutional thinking will continue to be misconstrued not only by those who owe their livings to misconstruction but by many of his would-be sympathisers as well.

First he must drop the "us and them" language of race, and talk instead of fellow citizens for whom his heart bleeds. Then he must find words to confront the great canard of majority rule.

To the ignorant and to the biased, De Klerk's opposition to majority rule in favour of "power sharing" is evidence that he proposes to maintain apartheid by other means. Such a view encourages the outside world to persist in flagrantly one-sided policies and rhetoric that can only advance anarchy and a totalitarian outcome.

This is amply demonstrated by the response to the President's speeches on his Budget vote three weeks ago. Three days after a Washington Post report that De Klerk had rejected majority rule, Senator David Boren, hitherto one of Congress's more sensible voices on SA, criticised De Klerk for "backsliding in his commitment to change" and hardened his stance on the maintenance of sanctions.

One US correspondent, in a dispatch on the Groote Schuur talks, observed that a principal difference between Pretoria and the ANC was that while the ANC wanted "Western-style democracy", the SA government wanted a different system, one that would entrench racial privilege.

"Western-style democracy" and "majority rule" are not the same thing.

Yes, some Western democracies do practise a form of majoritarianism. Britain's parliament, for example. The curious thing is that

Take a lesson, FW, from America's founding fathers

SIMON BARBER in Washington

those, like the broadcaster Brian Walden, who most loudly cite Westminster as a model for SA's future arrangements are, by and large, the very same critics who denounce the 10-year majority rule of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on the grounds that she has used the system to usurp dictatorial powers.

That is a point De Klerk would perhaps be better advised to leave unmade. Wiser would be to appeal to the Federalist, the single most authoritative exegesis on the US constitution and perhaps the most profound analysis of democracy ever written. It comprises 85 newspaper columns written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay to convince the voters of New York to ratify the constitution in 1787.

If he has not already done so, De Klerk should pay particular attention to Nos 10 and 51, both by Madison.

It is the human condition, the author begins, that all societies will be riven by "faction". By which he means "a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citi-

zens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community". Only allow that all South Africans are citizens, and this would seem to apply exactly to SA.

There are several ways of dealing with the "mischief" that arises from faction, Madison continues. You can "destroy the liberty which is essential to its existence" — as the National Party has attempted in the past, and as many in the ANC now seem anxious to do in turn. You can hope, in the manner of Azapo's millenarian socialists, to "give to every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests".

Or you can accept human beings for what they are — "not angels" — and devise a system that controls the "disease" without killing the patient, liberty.

"The inference we are brought to is that the causes of faction cannot be removed, and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its effects."

Arguing that the worst of these effects is the dictatorship of a majority faction, Madison goes on to de-

scribe the goals of SA's constitutional planners with uncanny precision: "To secure the public good and private rights against the danger of such a faction, and at the same time to preserve the spirit and form of popular government, is then the great object to which our inquiries are directed."

"By what means is this object attainable? Evidently by only one of two. Either the existence of the same passion or interest in a majority must be prevented, or the majority, having such coexistent passion or interest, must be rendered by their number and local situation, unable to concert and carry into effect schemes of oppression."

"If the impulse and opportunity be suffered to coincide, we well know that neither moral nor religious motives can be relied on as an adequate control. They are not found to be such on the injustice and violence of individuals, and lose their efficacy in proportion to the number combined together, that is, in proportion as their efficacy becomes needful."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu et al please note.

Outright majoritarianism was thus anathema to America's founding fathers. In its place, as Madison

describes in Federalist 51, they opted for a wholesale "partition of power", both between state and federal (central) government and within each. In effect they sought to create as many competing power centres as possible, "contriving the interior structure of the government as that its several constituent parts may, by their mutual relations, be the means of keeping each other in their proper places" and "supplying, by opposite and rival interests, the defect of better motives".

In sum, and as De Klerk himself might have little difficulty saying (if in somewhat updated English), "Whilst all authority... will be derived from and dependent on society (through universal franchise), the society itself will be broken into so many parts, interests and classes of citizen, that the rights of individuals, or of the minority, will be in little danger from the interested combinations of the majority".

There are those, even, regrettably, in the State Department, who believe that American constitutional norms — not to mention multiparty democracy — are too good for SA as they would merely enable the government to continue a policy of divide and rule. Yet, if the motive is correct, what is so wrong with divide and rule?

As Madison wrote to Thomas Jefferson: "Divide et impera, the repro-bated axiom of tyranny, is, under certain conditions, the only policy by which a republic may be administered on just principles."

It is certainly preferable to the unity the ANC's stormtroopers are trying to enforce in Natal and elsewhere.

Madison's principles not only suit SA, they are as close to those of Gerrit Viljoen and his constitution drafters as makes no difference. That being the case, in heaven's name say so. Their crass descendants may yet take some persuading, but the inventors of the world's greatest and most diverse democracy are on your side.

BID 8/5/90 (100) (3041)

Local government must be for all, says De Klerk

PORT ELIZABETH — New local government structures would have to be developed that provided for power sharing as well as non-racial self-determination for communities, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking at the opening of the Cape Province Municipal Association congress, he said government had reached clarity on a number of points on the role of local government in any future dispensation.

Government's goal of each citizen enjoying full voting rights, with provision for minority protection, would also apply at local government level.

There had to be a move away from race-based local govern-

ment, he said.

A new local government system would have to include a fair division of local income resources.

Government was committed to the devolution of authority to the lowest effective decision-making level, a system which would give flexibility to a political system which had to accommodate divergent community needs.

Local communities had to agree with the devolution of power.

Any new system, said De Klerk, would have to be established through negotiation.

"At this stage I do not wish to expand on models or their merits, except to say that I sincerely believe that the status quo cannot be maintained," he said.

"In any new dispensation there

will still be place for the same skill and manpower that is presently rendering service to the public.

"Because of this, no one need be scared of thinking innovatively or of exploring new ground. Reform does not mean suicide: it means progress and survival," he said.

A legal framework would have to be developed in which local authorities would have to operate.

"Part of that, to my mind, should be the availability of a number of alternative models from which a choice can be made."

Besides protecting basic freedoms, bringing government closer to the people and promoting political participation, local authorities played a key role in providing basic services and developing local communities. — Sapa.

304A

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, May 8 1990

5

Support for DP is good for negotiation process — Worrall

MARITZBURG — A vote for the DP in Umlazi would be encouragement for President F W de Klerk and black leaders like Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, DP co-leader Denis Worrall said here last night.

Speaking at a public meeting in the city hall, Worrall said the DP supported President De Klerk in the action he had taken, but also supported Mandela. It was crucial that a significant proportion of whites did so.

"The last thing anybody would wish to see happen is

Own Correspondent

that the negotiation process should be polarised on racial grounds. This would happen if all whites supported the NP."

Worrall said the DP had fielded an excellent candidate in Umlazi in Trevor Coppen and that the DP was going for a win.

Report by Chris Jenkins, 27 Chancery Lane, Maritzburg

De Klerk's tour kicks off in Paris

MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk leaves today for a nine-nation European tour which kicks off on Thursday when he meets French President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

De Klerk and Foreign Minister P. Botha will meet presidents and prime ministers in Belgium, Italy, West Germany, Britain, Spain, Switzerland and Portugal.

De Klerk will also meet King Baudouin of Belgium and King Juan Carlos of Spain.

Prospects for a successful tour were given a major boost last week with the Groote Schuur breakthrough in removing obstacles to negotiations.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday the main aim of the trip was to convince European leaders and businessmen of government's sincerity in bringing about a new SA. (304A)

The Paris visit was especially important as the socialist government had kept relations with SA at arm's length. But there had been a warming in relations recently.

Although SA had limited bilateral links with Spain and Greece, meetings with leaders of these countries were important

□ To Page 2

De Klerk

in an EC context.

If De Klerk were successful in convincing the leaders of these countries of his commitment to a new SA, their support in EC decision-making could be decisive when the 12 met to decide on issues affecting SA, one official said yesterday.

The creation of a single European market will feature high on the agenda of the SA delegation's talks with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti.

□ From Page 1

De Klerk will also meet EC president Jacques Delors in Brussels.

In addition to meeting Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl in London and Bonn, De Klerk will meet prominent newspaper editors in both countries.

One of the most important engagements of the tour will be a keynote speech to Swiss bankers and industrialists in Bern.

● Comment: Page 3

Star 8/5/90

304A

PARLIAMENT

Indemnity Bill goes through

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk is expected to sign the Indemnity Bill to make it law today after it was passed by Parliament in a lengthy joint sitting yesterday.

All the parties except the Conservative Party supported the Bill, which is vital to allow members of previously banned organisations to take part in constitutional discussions with the Government and not run the risk of prosecution.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said the CP was simplistically trying to give the impression that the law would benefit only the ANC. But it could be applied in far right violence against the Government and black people, in black-on-black violence, and in the violence in Natal.

In the face of bitter CP attacks, Mr Coetsee said indemnity was not something the Government had thought up on the spur of the moment.

Laws allowing for indemnity had been passed in 1961 and 1977. In 1957 provision was made for members of the SADF to be immune from civil or criminal proceedings, in certain circumstances.

Indemnity or temporary immunity could be extended to people sentenced for crimes and now in jail. It could apply to people currently awaiting trial, exiles who could face charges on their return, and people currently under investigation.

The aim of temporary immunity from prosecution was primarily to assist people across the whole political spectrum to enter



Mr Kobie Coetsee . . . Indemnity Bill not thought up on the spur of the moment.

the country for a short period to get involved in removing stumbling blocks to negotiation, he said.

Indemnity would be extended to people "who, in the process of conflict and in the pursuance of a cause, may have committed some or other offence."

Payments

In deserving cases, ex-gratia payments from the State Revenue Account could be made to people that had suffered damage, but as a result of the indemnity law had lost their civil remedies, Mr Coetsee said.

Apart from CP members, MPs praised President de Klerk for the steps he had taken to normalise South African politics.

Chris de Jager MP (CP Bethal) said the Bill gave indemnity to those who attacked the State. In the past indemnity had been given to people who protected the State.

Supporting the Bill, Mr P C McKenzie, Labour Party member for Bonteheuwel, said the steps taken by President de Klerk "made us proud to be South Africans".

The nominated member of the House of Delegates, Mr Farouk Cassim, said the essential issue underlying the Bill was peace and the resolution of the country's problems through negotiations.

The Bill was an attempt to walk through the dark gates of ignorance, racism and hatred, he said.

Mr Dave Dalling, the Democratic Party spokesman on justice, said: "The overwhelming majority of South Africans desperately want to see an end to the state of conflict which has afflicted our country. Nearly all of us, black and white, want to see an end to the economic quarantine which has stunted our development."

He said it was never easy to release people who might have been convicted of offences involving injury or loss of lives.

"But we must not lose sight of the fact that agents of the State have, for some three years, in terms of the state of emergency regulations, been granted indemnity in respect of all actions taken by them in trying to quell unrest. In the course of these actions, many black people have died."

Star 8/5/90 306A ~~306A~~

Govt is siding with terrorists in new Bill - CP

By introducing the Indemnity Bill, the Government had irrevocably sided with terrorists against the security forces who had been pursuing these people day and night, and against its own people, Afrikaners, who had been victims of hand grenade, limpet mine and bomb explosions, Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP, Losberg) said in Parliament yesterday.

He said in debate on the Indemnity Bill that the measure took from mothers and children who had lost husbands and fathers the basic right to claim compensation from people who were at least prima facie criminals.

The Bill had serious and even baffling legal and political implications.

Acceptance of the Bill meant that murder, if it was political murder committed by the ANC, would no longer be a crime.

It meant that high treason committed by the ANC would no longer be illegal, though high treason committed by the PAC would remain a crime.

Discretion in deciding who would be given immunity was in the hands of one person only — the State President. The Bill was so sweeping it would not have been accepted by any Western state or parliament.

The ex-gratia payment to victims of terrorism mentioned by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee was in no way comparable to the right to sue for damages.

Compensation would come from the taxpayers' pocket, so victims would be contributing to their own compensation. — Sapa.

306A



FW-Mitterrand talks seen as breakthrough

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk flies tonight from Johannesburg to Paris to meet French President Francois Mitterrand on the first leg of his 19-day tour of nine European nations.

Thursday's meeting with President Mitterrand is regarded as a breakthrough. It will be the first between a South African head-of-state and a French president in many years.

French and South African diplomats agree that the meeting would have been impossible without Mr De Klerk's bold reform moves of the last few months.

EASE SANCTIONS

The socialist French government has kept South Africa at a distance for years, but relations have thawed considerably this year.

So much so that SA government sources believe France could be in the forefront of efforts to ease European sanctions.

French diplomatic sources believe that this could start as early as this year, if negotiations show progress.



President De Klerk

South Africa regards this development as another sign of what officials call "typical Gallic pragmatism".

The prominence of industrialists on Mr De Klerk's schedule points to the importance of economic matters on this tour.

Mr De Klerk can be expected to try to persuade European economic and political leaders that the best way they can contribute to reform in South Africa is to boost the economy with investment.

In Paris, Mr De Klerk will also meet French Prime Minister Mr Michel Rocard, Foreign Minister Mr Roland Dumas and leading industrialists.

This will be the pattern for most of his visits to other Eu-

ropean nations.

He will also meet European Community President Mr Jacques Delors.

The other leaders he will meet are King Carlos of Spain, King Boudouin of Belgium, Portuguese President Mr Mario Soares and Prime Minister Mr Cavaco Silva, Belgian Prime Minister Mr Wilfried Martens, West German President Mr Richard von Weizsaecker and Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Swiss Prime Minister Mr Arnold Koller, Spanish Prime Minister Mr Felipe Gonzales, Italian President Mr Francesco Cossiga and Prime Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti.

The successful meeting between the government and the ANC last week will have considerably enhanced the warmth of Mr De Klerk's reception in Europe.

He will be given various levels of official reception although in all nations the red carpet will be rolled out.

At Paris's Orly Airport, which he will reach at 12.30pm tomorrow, he will be received by a military guard — although the visit is officially described as private.

In Portugal, Mr De Klerk will be accorded the honour which normally goes with a full State visit.

But as the visit is so short, it will be formally described as "official".

Mr De Klerk meets British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher in her country residence Chequers on May 19 for the most important meeting of the tour.

STRONGEST ALLY

Mrs Thatcher has been his strongest ally in Europe and when he saw her in Britain last June she apparently spelt out to him in brutally frank terms what he needed to do to retain her support.

Now he returns having probably achieved all she demanded.

Mr De Klerk will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha with a party of about 20 officials, 20 security men and 25 journalists.

They will fly in a specially fitted and adapted Safair Boeing 707.

The aircraft will show only the presidential seal and no national colours.

Blacks, too, are fearful of the reality of majority rule

IT IS fashionable to speak of white fears and black expectations. Black fear is not mentioned, but it should be.

On the emotional level, solutions are simple. But reality is another thing, and some of us are scared about what will happen when the reality sets in.

It is true that blacks have been denied the privileges whites enjoyed, and a system has to be devised to address the problem. That is not going to happen overnight, and blacks — especially black youths — need to be told that.

Most black people privately harbour fears about any new government, whether it be the ANC or a PAC revival. They want guarantees that their liberties will not be tampered with.

For many years, black South Africans have been angered when their

NOMAVENDA MATHIANE

white countrymen compared them to people in other African states and said blacks are incapable of running a civilised society. Unfortunately our behaviour in recent years has done little to dissuade whites of this opinion.

We have been great ones for suppressing dissenting viewpoints. We still demonstrate our intolerance with the killing fields of Maritzburg, Uitenhage, and now Beekersdal. It is this wanton death that makes many blacks, too, fear what is in store for them when majority rule arrives. It is these actions that will in the end make people run to (President F W) De Klerk instead of away from him. The intolerance displayed by liberation movements forces people to

shout "Viva!" in public and curse in the safety of their own homes.

I wholeheartedly support liberation. I, like many, hope that we won't be betrayed by the liberation.

Many blacks who read the histories of "free" African countries realise that whites stand a better chance of surviving a black government than they do. In Africa, unless you are suicidal, you dare not criticise the government. Africa's writers are all over the world. Africa's academics are lecturing in foreign institutions, because their views are not tolerated in their native lands. While glasnost and perestroika spread in Europe, repression and corruption continue in Africa.

Is there any wonder that businessmen from beyond the Limpopo privately and quickly conduct business in SA? And while they down their drinks at the Johannesburg Sun and

the Carlton, they beg us to ensure that we do not make the same mistake they did of going socialist: "You are our only hope. Our survival lies with you keeping and maintaining a healthy economy."

They whisper in our ears because, where they come from they have to put up a brave front and call for socialism at home and sanctions for SA.

Our hope in SA does not lie in toeing one line or the other, or in showing "unity" on all issues; our hope lies in tackling issues openly and without fear.

We should demand that the leaders of the liberation movements endorse the need for free, critical debate rather than pursue the vain search for unanimity.

Mathiane is assistant editor of Frontline magazine. This article is reprinted from the April edition.

DEVIEW

Hand over unsold housing DP

PRETORIA — Government should look urgently at handing over ownership of unsold state housing stock to current occupants, DP spokesman on housing Brian Goodall said yesterday.

Not only would this be a logical move, and one that would have no adverse impact on taxpayers, but in the present political climate it could strengthen the fragile relations between government and the black community.

It would also help maintain the euphoric glow which followed last week's historic first NP-ANC encounter and help remove a prime source of township discontent and potential unrest.

6/10/90 8/5/90
GERALD REILLY

Goodall was commenting on the fact that government has sold less than half of total housing stock over the past few years.

According to a Planning and Provincial Affairs spokesman, up to the end of last year only 115 400 of a total of 339 187 township homes had been sold.

Goodall said the British government had granted ownership of council houses to occupants where rentals payments had equalled or exceeded the initial costs of the accommodation. A similar scheme could work in SA.

Where occupants' total rental

payments failed to compensate fully, ownership should be granted after the payment of the difference between the rentals paid and the initial cost of the house.

Another important reason why private ownership of property should be encouraged by government was that it would help defuse the demand for nationalisation.

"There are far too few people in this country who might be losers in terms of nationalisation and far too many with absolutely nothing to lose."

Goodall said the maintenance and other risks associated with state ownership could also result in a saving of taxpayers' money.

RCAG 8/5/90

Power to be shared at local govt level – FW

PORT ELIZABETH — New local government structures would have to be developed to provide for power-sharing as well as the self-determination of communities on a non-discriminatory basis, President de Klerk said last night.

Speaking at the opening of the Cape Province Municipal Association congress, he said the Government had reached clarity on a number of points on the role and nature of future local government.

The Government's goal of a dispensation in which each citizen would enjoy full and equal voting rights and participation, with provision for effective protection of minorities would apply at local government level as well, said Mr de Klerk.

There had to be a movement away from a local government system based solely on colour.

The Government was committed to the greatest possible devolution of authority to the lowest effective decision-making level, a system which would give the necessary flexibility to a system which had to accommodate divergent regional and community needs. However devolution of authority was only meaningful if it was accompanied by devolution of sufficient fiscal resources and authority.

Mr de Klerk said that, above all, any new system would have to be established through negotiation. — Sapa.

Rights Bill 'indispensable'

Star 8/5/90

304A

People's attitudes the key - Chief Justice

The Chief Justice of South Africa, Mr Justice M M Corbett, last night said that as a negotiated political settlement in the country now appeared inevitable, many commentators were agreed that any new Constitution would have to incorporate a Bill of Rights guaranteeing the fundamental freedoms of all South Africans.

Delivering the South African Institute of Race Relations' Diamond Jubilee Hoernle Memorial Lecture in Johannesburg, on "Guaranteeing Fundamental Freedoms in a New South Africa," Mr Justice Corbett said he was convinced that a Bill of Rights, reinforced by a power of judicial review vested in the Supreme Court, might form a very useful, indeed probably essential, ingredient of any new dispensation.

His interest in a Bill of Rights for South Africa, he said, dated back to 1976 when he visited the United States for the first time on a leadership exchange programme. There he was very soon struck by the very large number of lawyers and the all-pervasive power of the law.

His impression, he said, was that in many areas ultimate power vested with neither the powerful US Congress nor the US President, but with the courts.

"Heading this hierarchy of courts," Mr Justice Corbett said, "stood the US Supreme Court, confident, within its own sphere omnipotent, secure: a 'supreme court' in the fullest sense of the term."

In his lecture Mr Justice Corbett dwelt on the South African Law Commission's working paper on a Bill of Rights, and called its report an outstanding piece of work.

Part A of the working paper, consisting of 29 articles, provided for the protection of fundamental human rights to which every person in the country should be entitled and which were never to be infringed, and Part B related to the entrench-

ment and enforcement of the fundamental rights.

The Commission's terms of reference, according to Mr Justice Corbett, were to investigate and make recommendations on the definition and protection of group rights in the context of the South African constitutional set-up, and the possible extension of the existing protection of individual rights, as well as the role the courts play in this regard.

The Chief Justice said he had heard that some people advocated the entrenchment of a particular economic policy, such as socialism, in a future Bill of Rights. He, however, did not believe that an economic policy based on socialism or Marxism would benefit the country. Evidence emanating from Eastern Europe showed conclusively that the actual practice of socialism had never been able to match the theory.

The new South Africa would need an enlightened form of the free market system which would ensure economic growth, efficiency and the creation of new wealth.

"Only by means of the free market system," said Mr Justice Corbett, "can the economy grow sufficiently to create the jobs needed to provide our burgeoning population with employment, economic security and domestic stability."

"Only by means of the free market system can sufficient wealth be generated to provide for the socio-

economic reconstruction which will be necessary in South Africa."

Mr Justice Corbett commended article 18 of the working paper, which provided for the right to freely form political parties, to be members of such parties, to practise their political convictions in a peaceful manner and to be nominated and elected to legislative, executive and administrative office.

"I believe this to be of prime importance," Mr Justice Corbett said. "There is a trend in Africa towards what is termed 'one-party government'. I believe that it is an unhappy trend, unsuited to the complexities and diversities of South African society."

He expressed himself in favour of the working paper's acceptance of an affirmative action clause which permitted the legislature to make laws granting a group which had been discriminated against in the past temporary advantages with the object of achieving equality. Affirmative action, which was to be pursued with tact and circumspection, was therefore justified.

Mr Justice Corbett said any Bill of Rights had to strive to maintain a balanced relationship between human rights and State security. Where the State's continued existence was at stake extraordinary steps impinging on individual rights may justifiably be taken, he said.

A justifiable Bill of Rights, Mr Justice Corbett warned, provided no

infallible guarantee that human rights would be respected or that, if infringed, the infringement would be redressed. Its success depended on people's attitudes and their willingness to accept it.

Said Mr Justice Corbett: "If they (the people) accept the concept of human rights and their enforcement by the courts and if all those in positions of power — legislators, government executives, administrators — are willing to bow to the superior authority in this sphere of the courts, if the courts enjoy the power of legitimacy, then a bill of rights can provide a unique form of protection for rights of the individual in a new South Africa."

Mr Justice Corbett said it was important that any new Constitution had to be thrashed out by representatives of all the various interest groups in the country.

He said that he had come to realise, as an advocate at the Bar where he spent much time settling cases, that a good settlement was one which never wholly satisfied either party. The same principle, he said, would have to apply to constitutional negotiations.

"And, above all," Mr Justice Corbett said, "as a prerequisite to the negotiation process, there must be peace in our land. The senseless, vicious violence, murder and arson which have plagued the townships and the black rural areas for so long must cease. It behoves black leaders, at all levels of society, to make their first priority the achievement of a cessation of such conduct."

"They must realise that every minute, every hour, every day that is lost in getting down to the task of bringing about peace means greater loss to life and limb, greater damage to homes and property and greater difficulty in stopping the cycle of violence. The urgency of the task is manifest, the responsibility of the leaders and their followers, grave."

FW to meet Swiss bankers

By Derek Tommey

The State President, Mr FW de Klerk, who heads for Europe today, is unlikely to gain any immediate economic help in the way of additional loans or new investments.

But his visit, which is seen as being a dramatic one, is expected to re-focus attention on South Africa as a major area for investment, bankers said last night.

One of the highlights of Mr De Klerk's tour will be an address to a group of Swiss bankers and businessmen. He can expect a fairly friendly reception. The Swiss, whether they be bankers, businessmen or politicians, have never been overtly hostile to South Africa.

They did take action in 1974 to prevent sanction-busters using Switzerland as a conduit and at the same time put a ceiling on loans by Swiss banks to South Africa. But this was the bottom line.

Swiss bank loans to South Africa, in fact, have been well below the Government's limits for the past 10 years. One reason has been the existence of a small but highly vociferous anti-apartheid group in Switzerland which has violently attacked banks with South African connections.

This produced the remark by a

Swiss banker some years ago to a South African: "We'll lend you to all the money you need — as long as it does not appear on our balance sheet."

The Swiss also respect South Africa for the way it has handled its foreign payments problems. Because of its willingness to take remedial action, the country has been able to meet most its commitments, unlike various South American and African debtors.

The result is that South Africa continues to have a high reputation among foreign bankers.

Swiss investment in South Africa is still substantial, although it has shown a relative decline in recent years, a banker said.

Investments

The Swiss continue to have large investments in gold mining, in companies holding gold mining shares and in De Beers. They also hold a fair amount of South African loan stock and especially Eskom stock.

South African shares and loans are to be found in many private Swiss portfolios, although the managers of the big portfolios still tend to ignore them.

But Mr de Klerk's visit could help alter this.

This visit was coming at an opportune time, he said. At present

much of the funds available for development were going to Eastern Europe. Mr de Klerk's visit should help divert attention from Eastern Europe back to Africa and other developing areas.

The Swiss Government is in favour of increasing Swiss investment in Africa and the developing world. Switzerland is not a member of the United Nations but has indicated it wants to strengthen the "north-south" link.

Mr de Klerk is also meeting bankers and businessmen in other countries and will no doubt be mindful of the need for any assistance which will accelerate the growth rate and help reduce the country's huge number of unemployed.

This boils down to increasing South Africa's inflow of foreign currency. At the moment the country's reserves are committed to paying overseas creditors and has led to a drastic slump in economic growth this year. This outflow of capital is also seriously retarding the growth in new investment and employment.

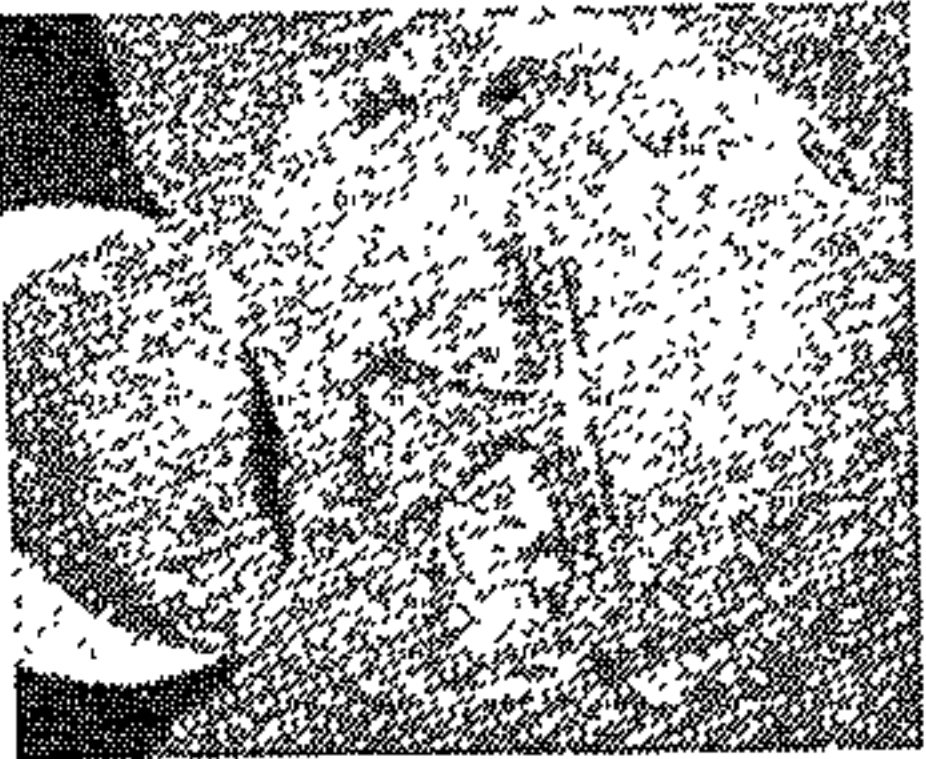
Therefore if South Africa is to earn more foreign currency it needs more foreign investment, possibly more foreign loans, and certainly higher export earnings. This in turn means that foreign markets must be re-opened to South Africa.

SOWETAN Tuesday May 8 1990

304A

NP rocked by PW's move

AN incensed National Party, rocked by Mr PW Botha dropping his party membership, has turned its mighty propaganda machine against the former president.



F.W. de Klerk

Outraged Nationalists spoke yesterday of Botha's "calculated malice", charging him with "petty vindictiveness".

While the Conservative Party was delighted yesterday at what it saw as Botha's "very clear motion of no confidence in Mr De Klerk", Nationalist leaders were trying to downplay the importance of the surprise move and minimise any political fall-out.

The NP's prompt damage control efforts included: a full response from De Klerk at the weekend; a sharp reaction from the NP's leader in

the Cape, Dr Dawie de Villiers; and another from the present MP for George, Mr Hennie Smit, noting that Botha's former constituency backed De Klerk.

Bitter

It became clear from the bitter Nationalist responses to Botha allowing his membership of the Cape NP to lapse after 54 years, that any residual affection for the former leader had evaporated.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said Botha's move showed that De Klerk and his Government were soft on communism.

It had been a damaging blow for the NP, a repudiation of what the party was doing.

"Mr Botha confirmed what we think: that Government and Mr De Klerk have become soft on communism."

Treurnicht was referring to Botha's distress at the Government's talking to the S A Communist Party chief, Mr Joe Slovo, who was part of the ANC delegation last week.

Join

On possibly inviting Botha to join the CP, Treurnicht said the former president had in the past stated he would not become involved again in practical politics.

"But it would be for him to decide", he said.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg noted that his party had, like Botha now, warned against the Government's gradual abdication.

Hartzenberg did not expect Botha to return to active politics or to join the CP. But he would, like everyone else who agreed with its principles, be welcome in the CP.

When the Wilderness branch of the NP approached Botha for his annual membership renewal, the former president said he expressed "grave doubts" about the present direction of the party leadership.

Sources said De Klerk

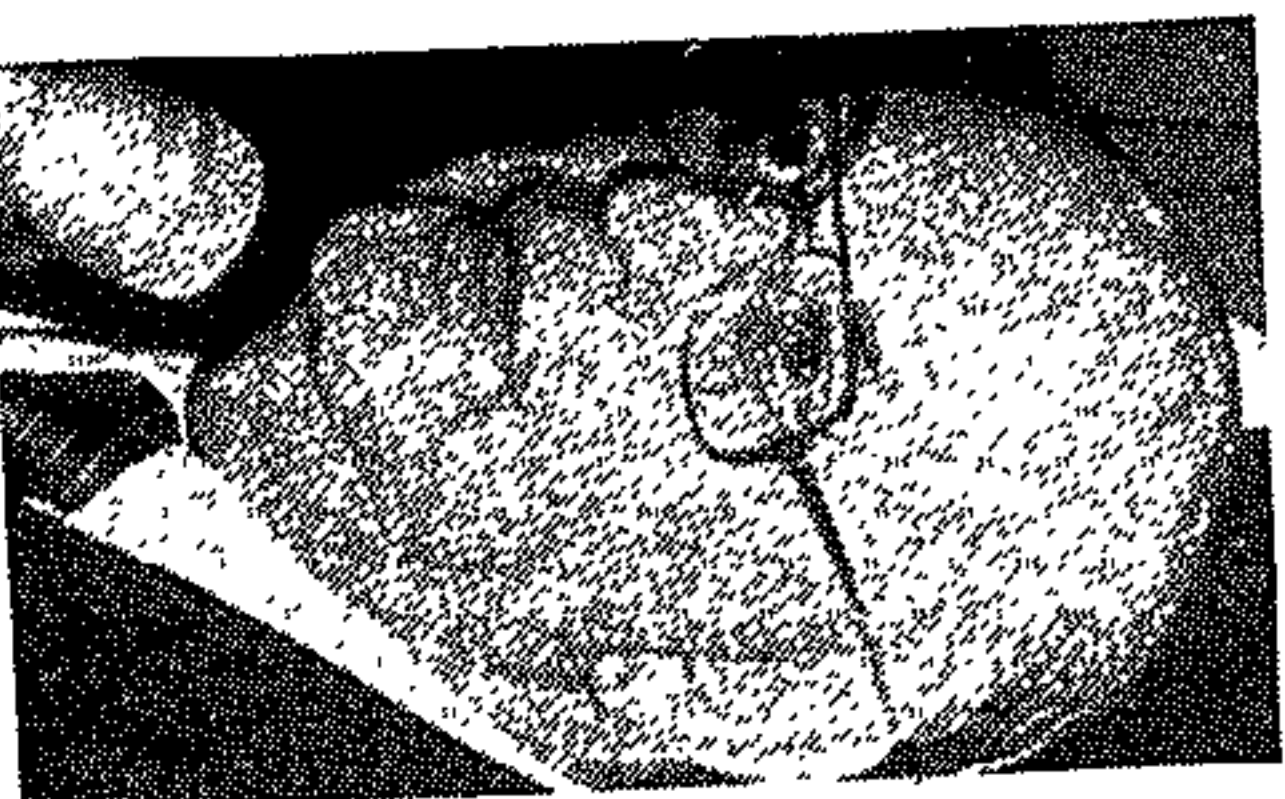
told the annual NP caucus meeting near Stellenbosch on Saturday of Botha's move.

He then read out his Press statement responding to it. He received two standing ovations and a unanimous motion of support for his presidency, his cabinet and his statement.

A pity

De Klerk said it was a pity he had again been forced by Botha to repudiate him. It was painful for him to do it.

The NP had, under Botha, accepted a policy of power-sharing, including votes for all and participation at all levels of Government.



PW Botha

De Klerk said the NP had spoken to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela for more than three years under Botha.

politics, but where would that get us? We would have so much trouble within the Force that we would not be able to deal with it. That is why we say, and this is our considered opinion, that it is in the interests of this country to do this and to take this step. That is why we have taken this step.

The hon member said that this Minister was inefficient. That is his opinion. Other people have already said so, and I am not going to defend myself now. We should simply look at the scoreboard. That is what will count at the end of the day. [Interjections.]

I want to come back to the hon member for Ermelo in relation to the question of the . . . [Interjections.] . . . So many hon members are talking now that I really cannot say what I want to say.

Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon member for Yeoville!

Mr H H SCHWARZ: I was not saying anything!

*Mr SPEAKER: Order!

*The MINISTER: He asked whether I had been blackballed. I do not know what for. [Interjections.]

I just want to tell the hon member for Ermelo . . . [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, it would therefore seem that the hon the Minister's standpoint is that one may not engage in politics by day, but that one may, in fact, engage in underground politics by night. [Interjections.]

In reply to the hon member for Berea, I just want to say that we are promoting the interests of the SA Police because it is the civil right of an officer or anyone in the Public Service to belong to a political party. The SA Police are being deprived of that civil right. Throughout the years the Afrikaner-Broederbond has been that organisation which has promoted the interests of the White Afrikaner. In the past it has been the catalyst which has served to bring Afrikaners together whenever there was conflict between them.

Today, however, there is no doubt that the AB is the clandestine arm of the NP. [Interjections.] There is no doubt about that. It is the mastermind that draws up the blueprints of NP policy,

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

as the hon member for Ermelo said here. The AB is that organisation which conveys these policies, such as for example, that there will be a majority of Blacks in the Government, to the Afrikaner elite and beyond their ranks. It is they who prepare the land on which the NP later sows. It is they who then assist in putting the policy into effect. It is they who take preventive measures when the criticism becomes too severe, and who then provide the Government with feedback.

It is also widely known that insofar as membership is concerned, the AB does, in fact, set its sights on officers in the SA Police, and on its young men insofar as its youth movement is concerned. In this way the NP is succeeding in having its policy subtly permeate through to all the members of the people. Members of the SA Police are openly being refused their normal civil rights, but shrewd attempts are being made in secret to brainwash them and to indoctrinate them for the purposes of promoting the integration and capitulation plans of the NP. [Interjections.] That is unacceptable. [Time expired.]

*Mr M J MENTZ: Mr Speaker, may I just say the following? Our objection is to the actions of the hon the Minister, who is preventing people who belong to a specific political party, from openly being able to say that they belong to that political party. Let me tell the hon member for Berea that this has always been our standpoint. Whether he is a member of the DP, or regardless of what party he belongs to, just as long as he conforms with the requirements for a good policeman, that is good enough for us. He ought to be able to belong openly to his party. That is our standpoint.

However, the Government is driving him underground, and we say that it is precisely this driving of people underground that we find so repugnant. The Government is losing policemen. They are leaving by the hundreds. [Interjections.] It is not only on account of salary. It is on account of this type of thing. It is on account of dissatisfaction and frustration in conjunction with their salaries. Those are the things that are driving them away.

Today the Government cannot afford to lose any more people. I want to tell hon members that as many as 80% of the police reservists of certain towns belong to the CP. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, the hon member has now done precisely what I asked us not to do. Political parties ought not to lay claim to the support of the police for their own gain. They should forget about that. That can only be to the detriment of the Force and the country. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Ermelo also asked a question and attempted to suggest that a certain organisation was prescribing to the NP with regard to what form the NP's policy should take, but surely that is absurd. It is not true. Does Aksie Toekomsgepresk prescribe to them what form the CP policy should take, or is it the Volksweg that prescribes to them? [Interjections.]

The hon member mentioned certain organisations. I said that we would measure those organisations against the yardsticks we had established and then we would see, but we are not going to interfere in a man's home life in regard to what he does in his own time, when he wants to do his own thing. But we say that when he is in public, acting as a police officer, there are certain norms he must conform to, and he must not convey the image of belonging to a political party which labels him as supporting that political party's ideology.

Now the hon member for Brakpan says that we are depriving the police of their civil rights. What nonsense is this? [Interjections.] The police are still able to vote. In fact, we encourage this. They ought to vote for the party of their choice, but we do not want the support of the police to be laid claim to and neither do we want them to have the image and appearance of subscribing to certain political ideologies. That is what this is about. I do not want the CP's cloak of verkramptheid to be draped around the police. I do not want that. [Interjections.] I do not want the police to convey the image of the AWB—people who are intolerant of others. I want to ask the hon member for Brakpan whether he condemns the actions of the AB. He must answer that question for me.

*Mr F J LE ROUX: As they are acting now, yes!

*The MINISTER: Yes, the hon member condemns the actions of the AB. [Interjections.] That is why we say that hon members ought rather to display a sympathetic attitude towards this matter. They should display an understanding attitude towards the police who want to render an impartial service to South Africa and all the people of South Africa, including the CP. [Time expired.] [Interjections.]

ing attitude towards the police who want to render an impartial service to South Africa and all the people of South Africa, including the CP. [Time expired.] [Interjections.]

Débatte concluded.

Open cities

2. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

- (1) What procedures does he envisage for the opening of whole municipalities for residential occupation and related matters to all races; (2) whether he will implement universal adult franchise for municipal government within such open cities?

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, provisions for the opening of whole municipalities for residential occupation and related matters are embodied in the Free Settlement Areas Act, Act No 102 of 1988.

In terms of the Free Settlement Areas Act of 1988 the Free Settlement Board may at the request of a local government body and after consultation with the Ministers' Council concerned, inquire into and compile a written report with regard to the necessity or desirability of that area in respect of which a request has been made being declared a free settlement area by the hon the State President. The Act also prescribes matters and procedures to be taken into account by the board when considering such requests. These matters will also apply to cases where whole local authorities are to be declared open.

The legal position for establishing management bodies after opening whole local authorities as free settlement areas is regulated by the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Act, Act No 103 of 1988. In accordance herewith the Administrator may, by notice in the *Provincial Gazette*, establish a consultative or management committee for such free settlement area or one consultative or management committee for two or more such free settlement areas.

Mr H H SCHWARZ: You are reading that very nicely!

The MINISTER: Thank you very much! I am very pleased that I can read. I hope that the hon

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

member will be able to follow this example. My department is also involved in the upliftment of the community if the hon member is interested! [Interjections.] 304A

In practice, however, this could lead to a situation where so many free settlement areas within the area of jurisdiction of a local authority may have been declared and resultant consultative or management committees have been established that the original local authority may eventually control, for argument's sake, only 5% of its total area of jurisdiction whilst 95% is controlled by—this is important—consultative or management committees. The local authority therefore retains its decision-making powers whilst the majority may only act in an advisory capacity, which is obviously undesirable.

Despite this obvious shortcoming we are limited by the constraints of existing legislation. Due to various circumstances, amendments to this legislation cannot be considered during this parliamentary session. [Time expired.]

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Speaker, it was pathetic to watch the hon the Minister waiting for the bell. If ever a man answered like a bureaucrat, he did. [Interjections.] Yet his department is supposed to be at the cutting edge of solving the tremendous problems of South Africa, and if by reading a regurgitated version of the two Acts he proposes to contribute in any way to this problem, then I want to tell him that we have got serious times ahead of us.

That hon Minister, the hon the State President and the Administrator of the Cape Province have agreed that open cities are desirable. The hon the Minister said he was sympathetic to the concept. The hon the Minister went further and in a similar interpellation he said he was in favour of universal adult franchise. Yet he comes here today and again reads out the Act which makes this impossible. [Interjections.] That is what he does. We ask him how it can be done and he says he does not know how it can be done, but he can tell us how it cannot be done. The DP's policy is the removal of group areas and, by extension, open cities. [Interjections.] We are going to badge that hon Minister until we get our cities open. I tell hon members that right now.

Secondly, we have a mandate. Every one of the 450 000 voters who voted for this party knew they were voting for open areas. [Interjections.]

In the three great metropolises of South Africa—Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town—more than half the voters voted for open cities. Here in the municipal area of Cape Town the figure was 69%.

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Where?

Mr R V CARLISLE: In Cape Town 69% of the voters voted for the DP and for open areas. [Interjections.] There is an enormous majority outside that also wants to see open areas. Other than these two parties there is no political organisation in South Africa—other than the AWP—that does not want open areas. [Interjections.]

Thirdly, Cape Town is ready. We have been working towards an open society ever since the Government made us a closed society. It is only the schools and the suburbs which are still closed by the Government's mandate. The reality is that the suburbs are becoming Brown. The reality is that representatives of Cape Town have been sent overseas to make a study of the open city. The open city meets three critical needs of the Government, never mind the DP! It provides a possible solution to Black local areas, the Government's biggest single problem. It creates desperately needed residential space and provides a safe starting point for desegregating our society.

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, surely the question is not whether larger areas can become free settlement areas. Existing legislation, viz the Free Settlement Areas Act and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Act already make it possible for areas such as Cape Town, Ermelo, Potchefstroom, Nigel or any other town in South Africa to become free settlement areas. [Interjections.] That is the case in terms of the legislation. Provision is also made in those free settlement areas for mixed voters' lists, something the NP has always denied.

The question, therefore, is not that put by the DP, but whether one can rely on the promise of the hon the State President as expressed by him during the by-election in Randfontein in March 1988 when he said the vast majority of legal occupiers should be in favour of free settlement areas and, in the second place, that if there were removals, the people who were moved would be compensated. The question is whether what the

hon the State President said on that occasion has any meaning today. The hon the Minister must reply to that.

There is a further question that is important. In announcing what he announced yesterday, viz that local authorities would be mixed in future, the hon the State President was admitting that he had no mandate to govern the country on those terms, because he had not asked for that mandate during the general election on 6 September. He said emphatically that he would guarantee own local authorities and an own community life. Yesterday he acted in conflict with that, however. We say no one—not only the CP, but not a single voter in South Africa—can believe the hon the State President any more.

*The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I really have a problem with the hon member for Wynberg. Hon members should have been in the Chamber of Parliament on Friday when that hon member praised me to the extent that I actually blushed with embarrassment. Today, however, he berated me to the extent that even the sea would not be able to cleanse me. [Interjections.] The hon member is not consistent in what he said on Friday and what he said today. [Interjections.] He is definitely not consistent! There is an enormous difference. The hon member is undergoing an identity crisis. [Interjections.]

We have had an interpellation on this matter before. I told the hon member I would consider it sympathetically. I stand by that. [Interjections.] The interpellation was submitted to the House by the hon member for Green Point the previous time, but, typically of that party, the left hand does not know what the right wing is doing. [Interjections.] I have replied to this interpellation before. I told the hon member I would consider it sympathetically.

For once in his life the hon member for Losberg referred correctly to the fact that we, as well as the hon the State President on Monday night, had spoken about the entire question of third-tier government. This whole aspect concerns third-tier government. Rome was not built in a day. We are considering all these situations as a matter of urgency. Instead of the hon member's helping us, he is trying to thwart our attempts. [Interjections.]

We in this country cannot have people saying that we simply abolish things left, right and centre without establishing proper structures in their place. [Interjections.] That is the secret of good government. I should not blame the hon member for that, however; he knows very little about government. [Time expired.] 262

*Mr J VAN ECK: Mr Speaker, I knew that hon member for many years in the Provincial Council and in those days he read better than he did today. His reading ability has deteriorated considerably. He said this was the second interpellation on the subject, but we have not received an answer from the hon the Minister yet. Perhaps we should put a third interpellation in order to get an answer from the hon the Minister. This side of the House wants one open city for all South Africans in Cape Town. 304A

It should be clear even to the Government that the race-based third-tier government system has been a miserable failure and that it is collapsing on all levels throughout the country. The reasons are simply, in the first place, that the third-tier system of government is built on racism. It is a race-based third-tier system of government. In the second place that system of government was imposed on Black and Coloured communities in particular, and consequently those bodies have no legitimacy among these people. In the third place, those bodies, especially the Black bodies, have no way in which to collect money. They do not have a tax base as Cape Town's municipality does. All their taxes and revenue come from residential areas. Cape Town's municipality gets only 40% of its taxes from residential areas. The other 60% comes from the business sector. Black residential areas simply cannot survive. [Interjections.] Therefore this party advocates one city for all the people of Cape Town, including the Coloured, Black and White areas, and one city council with one basis for the financing of that city. Our standpoint remains that the entire population of all the people of Cape Town should be represented on the same body, which must form part of a new South Africa.

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Speaker, we raised this matter, as the hon Minister correctly says, on 27 February. He has had more than two months and he comes back with zero in a crisis period. [Interjections.] I want to say to the hon the Minister, he is trying to get rid of racial segregation. The DP says make a start in the cities that they may be the laboratories for the new South

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

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General Affairs:

Afrikaner-Broederbond

1. Mr M J Mentz asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

Whether members of the South African Police or Reserve Police Force may become or remain members of the Afrikaner-Broederbond?

B970 E.INT

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, the question that arises in this interpellation is whether the organisation concerned publicly espouses, propagates, promotes or opposes party-political objectives.

I said in my speech during the discussion of the Police Vote on 24 April 1990 that circumstances in the country had compelled me to clarify the position regarding the SA Police and party politics. For obvious reasons, political parties would very much like to lay claim to the support of the SA Police. This can only be to the detriment of the police and South Africa as a whole. The result of such claims is that the people of the country identify the police with such a political party's policy, its ideology and even its actions.

The police prefer not to have their support laid claim to in this way by political parties and groupings.

*Mr S C JACOBS: Have you conducted a survey?

*The MINISTER: Statutory amendments will consequently be effected as quickly as possible in terms of which members of the SA Police will henceforth be prohibited from acquiring membership of any registered or unregistered political party, movement, organisation, body or association which in any way publicly espouses, propagates, promotes or opposes party-political

objectives. These provisions will be strictly adhered to and every organisation will be evaluated on the strength of them.

I should like to stress that the intention behind the ban on membership of political parties and other organisations is to remove the SA Police from the party-political arena altogether.

Now, more than ever before, it is vital that the integrity and impartiality of every police officer be placed above suspicion. Every inhabitant of this country should have complete confidence in the integrity and impartiality of every police officer. He or she should know that they can rely on the protection of the SA Police irrespective of their political affiliations, colour or creed.

Hon members should be sympathetic towards this standpoint. What we want to do, is to prevent members of the SA Police from practising party politics in public.

*An HON MEMBER: Answer the question!

*The MINISTER: Members of the SA Police may, however, be members of organisations such as the Rapportryers, the Rotarians, Round Table, the Freemasons, the Sons of England, the Afrikaner-Broederbond and Aksie Toekoms-gesprek, as long as that organisation, body, movement or association does not publicly engage in party politics. [Interjections.]

*Mr M J MENTZ: Mr Speaker, we have just heard the hon the Minister making a great song and dance about the fact that a person should not be effectively involved in party politics.

*An HON MEMBER: Are you a member of the Broederbond? [Interjections.]

*Mr M J MENTZ: I want to say the following. He may, as the hon the Minister has said here, be a member of the Broederbond, but he may not be a member of a political party. Therefore, the hon the Minister is allowing him to effectively participate in party politics in secret, and to take part in the planning of party-political ideology, amongst other things. The hon the Minister is therefore allowing him to be actively involved in that way, just as long as people do not get to know about it. [Interjections.] That, then, is the danger.

I do just want to tell the hon the Minister that when all is said and done, we all know, and people in the communities know as well, that that man is a member of the Broederbond. Surely it is no longer a secret. [Interjections.] We are aware of it. Then the hon the Minister says he must be above suspicion. I want to ask the hon the Minister, how actively are the members of the Broederbond, and consequently also those police officers who are members of the Broederbond, involved in politics? I have here in my hand a document pertaining to the Broederbond.

It is a document which came into our possession last year. It contains the guidelines for a constitutional policy. Last year this document came to light as the NP's five-year plan. [Interjections.] That is how it appeared. I have both of those documents here. What is contained in the Broederbond document? It contains the idea of the protection of specific minorities and the idea of a federation. It contains the idea of a bill of rights, free association, open groups. [Interjections.]

All those things appear in this document. It is a blueprint for the NP's five-year plan of action. I now want to ask how the policeman can be said not to be involved in this. This hon Minister wants to rule over the SA Police with the Broederbond, just as the hon the State President is ruling over the NP and the country with the Broederbond. [Interjections.] He is driving people underground. The members of Sabra, which pursues a specific political objective, can no longer be members of the SA Police. They may not and cannot do so, because surely that is what the hon the Minister has said. If he publicly opposes or promotes—or whatever—a specific political cause, he can no longer be a member. If I am a member of Anticom, which seeks to counteract communism, I may not be a member of the SA Police. [Interjections.] That is how absurd the situation has become. [Time expired.]

Dr D J WORRAL: Mr Speaker, I want to respond to the hon the Minister by saying that as far as the DP is concerned membership of an organisation or a political party is not the issue. A couple of weeks ago the hon member for Green Point stated this party's position with respect to membership of political organisations. He pointed out then that as far as the DP is concerned—and we are a democratic party which believes in membership of different organisations—it is important that the membership

must not affect the performance of the duty of that person. That is fundamental and is obviously of critical importance as far as the police are concerned. We made this point in the debate 10 days ago in this Chamber. It is elementary that the police must be seen to be acting politically neutrally in the very important task which lies ahead of them.

*This is actually a distasteful interpellation. [Interjections.] I want to tell these hon members of the CP that they, as a party, like to create the impression that they want to promote the interests of the police. We know that the way this hon Minister deals with the police is totally inefficient. [Interjections.] We accept that the way this hon Minister deals with the remuneration of the police, for example, was extremely poor. It was scandalous. We now want to ask the CP, however, how they are promoting the interests of the police by introducing an interpellation of this nature in which they are scoring petty political points, pure and simple. They are actually anachronistic in relation to the past.

*An HON MEMBER: Dennis is also a Broederbond! [Interjections.]

*Dr D J WORRAL: They have a case and we are telling them that we acknowledge the relevance of their standpoint. . . [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, I want to agree with the hon member for Berea inasmuch as he said that this was a distasteful interpellation which served no real purpose. [Interjections.] However, it is the hon member's prerogative to introduce it and for that reason I should like to reply to it. [Interjections.] I also agree with the hon member for Berea's statement that policemen's actions in relation to the public are important. [Interjections.] The fact of the matter is that one cannot today stand on a platform as chairman of the branch of a political party, and tomorrow stand in uniform behind the counter in the charge office, where cases must be investigated, without an image being created which links the policeman to that political party and its ideology. [Interjections.] That is why we say that the time has come in South Africa to remove the police from the party-political arena. That is why we have taken this step. [Interjections.]

I should also have preferred to throw everything open and to allow policemen to engage in party

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FW's tour slammed ^{304A}

The 19-day nine-nation European tour which the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, embarked on yesterday demonstrates that his recent reform moves were aimed at pacifying the international community, black organisations said yesterday. Soweto 9/5/90

The Cape vice-president of Azapo, Mr Monde Ntwasa, said De Klerk's tour confirmed what Azapo had always suspected, "that De Klerk has been engaged in this apparent reform to please the international community."

Ntwasa said De Klerk now felt confident he had done enough to please the international community to assure himself of a good reception in Europe.



Dr Andries Treurnicht

Dr Treurnicht's tribal attack

AKG US 9/5/70

3044

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was slammed today for an "emotional and tribal call to the blood" as concern mounted over an increasingly tense situation in Welkom.

Police also expressed concern, urging people to be calm and to resist taking the law into their own hands.

Scores of shops in the central business district simply closed their doors as black buyers stayed away en-masse on the second day of a consumer boycott. Streets and shops were empty and anxious shop owners, afraid to be named, said the black trade had dropped to less than one percent.

The boycott stretched to Virginia and intensified in Odendaarsrus. It was mounted by the Thabong community in protest against attacks on them by rightwingers.

"Third freedom struggle"

Dr Treurnicht told a meeting of 1 200 in Welkom last night that if the National Party continued to hand over power to the African National Congress then the third freedom struggle would begin.

Referring to racially divided Welkom, he said the CP fully supported the civilian street patrols established to protect themselves and their neighbours.

Reacting to Dr Treurnicht's speech today, senior National Party spokesman Mr Renier Schoeman said: "This type of emotional and tribal call to the blood is the last thing South Africa needs."

"For Dr Treurnicht, himself, to set the tone for this and give it an aura of respectability in quarters of which he is the spiritual leader, is irresponsible at best and highly dangerous at worst."

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's office appealed to the people of Welkom to remain calm and not to take the law into their own hands.

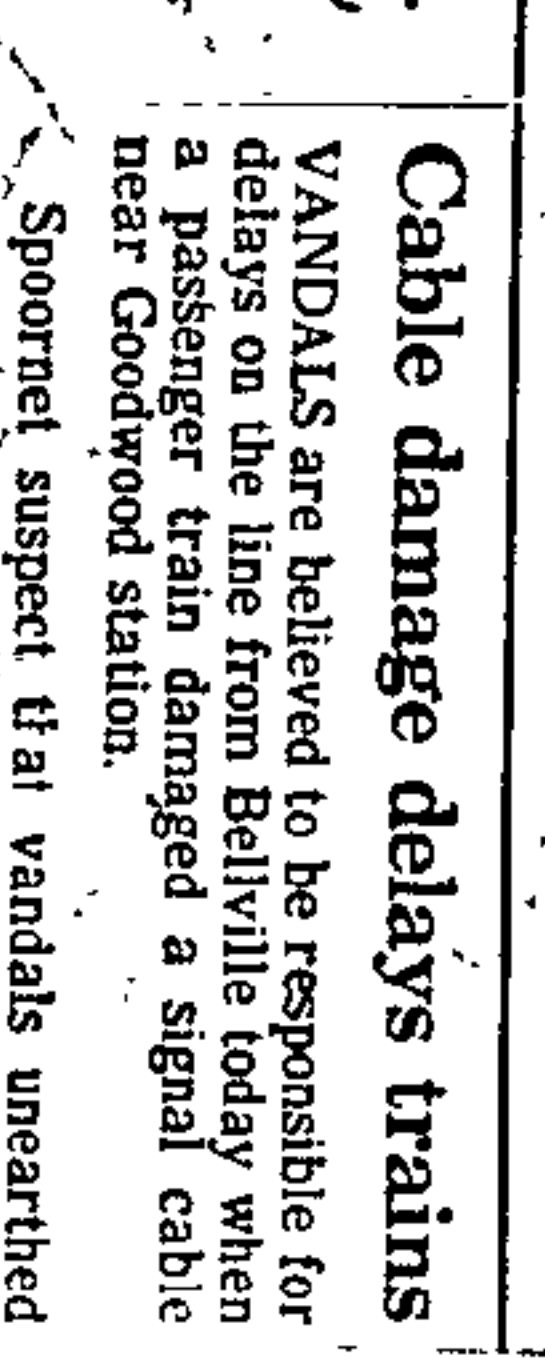
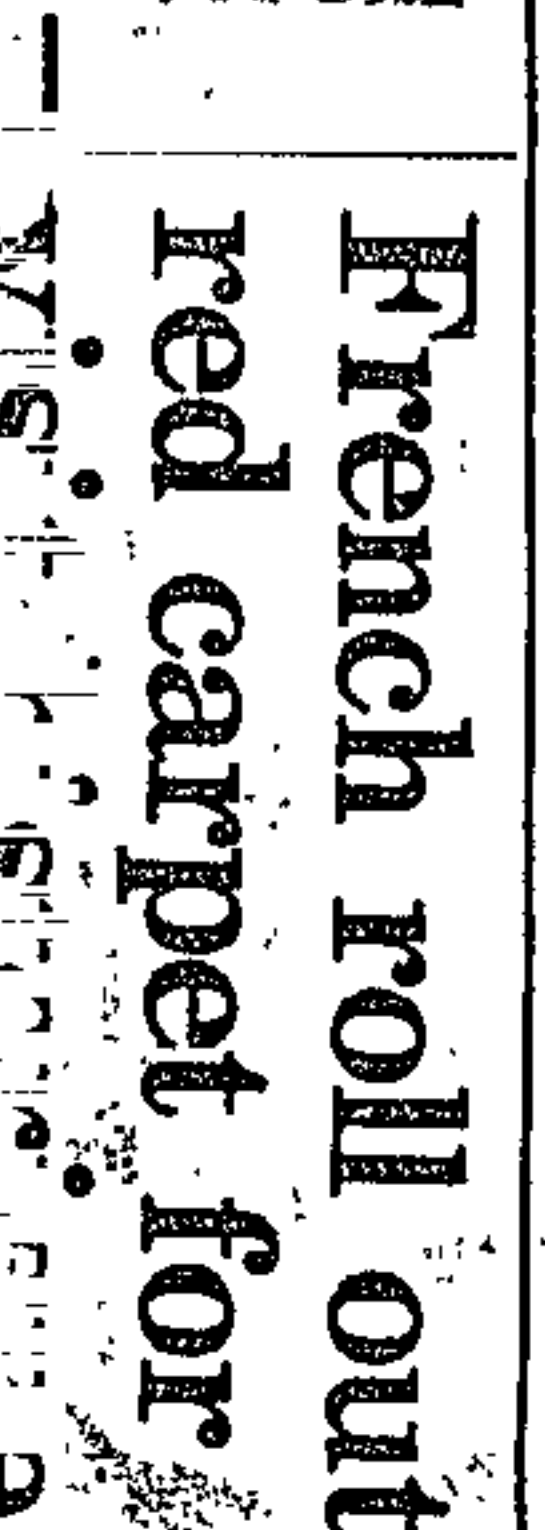
A spokesman said Mr Vlok would visit Welkom tomorrow to assess the situation.

Hundreds of extra police are being ferried into the city to act as a buffer between black township residents and white rightwing extremists.

District Commissioner Colonel Hennie Heymans said the Afrikaner Weerstandsweging (AW) and the Plankie Veiligheids



RACIAL TENSION: Vigilante Hennie Muller, left, points his revolver at a fellow volunteer during a meeting to discuss rising racial tension in Welkom. Blacks are boycotting shops in retaliation for alleged white violence.



French roll out red carpet for

Cable damage delays trains

VANDALS are believed to be responsible for delays on the line from Bellville today when a passenger train damaged a signal cable near Goodwood station.

Spoornel suspect if vandals unearthed

attacks on them by rightwingers.

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Dr Treurnicht told a meeting of 1 200 in if the National Party continued to hand over the National Congress then the third freedom struggle.

Referring to racially divided Welkom, he reported the civilian street patrols established by themselves and their neighbours.

Reacting to Dr Treurnicht's speech today spokesman Mr Renier Schoeman said: "and tribal call to the blood is the last thing."

"For Dr Treurnicht, himself, to set the an aura of respectability in quarters of a leader, is irresponsible at best and highly irresponsible at worst."

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan van der Merwe said he would like to see the people of Welkom to remain calm and take matters into their own hands.

A spokesman said Mr Vlok would visit the area to assess the situation.

Hundreds of extra police are being ferried into the city to act as a buffer between black township residents and white rightwing extremists.

District Commissioner Colonel Hennie Heymans said the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Blanke Veiligheids (BV) organisations had promised to withdraw street patrols until at least Thursday, but splinter groups continued to aggravate a highly volatile situation.

Since the weekend, when two off-duty policemen were attacked and whites shot at blacks in the CBD, no racial incidents have been reported.

Boycott organiser Mr Mbulelo Bongani said: "The outcome of this problem depends very much on the authorities. We need to see the police stopping and dispersing the vigilantes."

"We want no trouble with the rightwingers, but they are being deliberately confrontational and attempting to terrorise our community."

Won't be swayed

He denied emphatically rumours of black aggression.

Area AWB secretary Mr Blikkies Blignaut said: "Blacks are intimidating whites in our own area."

"This is an all-out-war. We have declared war on the ANC." He denied his men were responsible for recent assaults.

BV founder Mr Hannes Muller has called off his street patrols. Assaults on blacks were not the work of his men, he said.

Dr Treurnicht said at last night's meeting that the wheel of white Afrikaner nationalism had been set in motion and could not be stopped, not even by Cape Town or Pretoria.

"Nobody, not the Slovos nor the Mandelas, must think they can intimidate us. The boere will not be swayed," he said.

The National Party was elevating the ANC to such stature that it was being painted as an alternative government.

"I cannot believe we have become so crazy in this country that terrorists are freed and can sit down at the table and discuss constitution."

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THE presence of a Communist Party leader at last week's historic talks between the ANC and Government has triggered a flashing red light which Christians could not ignore, Die Kerkbode, official mouthpiece of the NG Kerk, warned in its latest editorial.

Die Kerkbode said peace at any cost was not acceptable. There was a price for peace which was too high to pay as certain values remained non-negotiable.

Die Kerkbode said it was grateful for progress made on the road to peace in South Africa, but warned about early euphoria.

It was important that the church should state the basic Christian requirements of a new constitution.

The church and Christians remained opposed

Slovo's presence worries Kerkbode

CMC-Tm 73 9/5/90 3049

to communism. The position of communists had recently changed drastically worldwide but communists remained atheistic and the church had to take a definite stand against atheism.

The prominent place taken by a Communist Party leader — referring to Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party — at last week's talks between the Government and the ANC has left a red light flashing that cannot be ignored, Die Kerkbode said. — Sapa

Focus in industrial relations Shifting from political needs

INDUSTRIAL relations in SA were entering a new depoliticised phase in the aftermath of President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech, labour consultant Andrew Levy said yesterday.

Addressing the Levy, Piron and Associates (ALJP) labour law seminar in Johannesburg, Levy said as legitimate forums now existed for organisations such as Cosatu and the ANC outside the workplace, there would be a de-escalation of politically motivated activity on the shopfloor.

Political issues which affected workers might still result in industrial action, but the experience of the Saccola/Nactu/Cosatu agreement on the Labour Relations Act signed on Monday demonstrated new-found capacity for compromise in industrial relations.

But Levy said rising political and economic expectations among the black labour force had already signalled greater union militancy with a projected three-fold increase in strike incidence this year.

The spotlight would be increasingly on industrial relations, mainly in the public sector where state, provincial and municipal workers were poorly organised and underpaid. The hospitals strike showed industrial action was being brought to the doorstep of the ordinary citizen, he said.

MATTHEW CURTIN

FORCES

Everite group affairs and industrial relations manager J P Landman said the shifts in SA labour affairs — only seven years ago union control over provident funds, now commonplace, was rejected outright by employers — were not as dramatic as South Africans painted them. Rather SA was moving closer to the position of established industrial countries.

Landman stressed SA players in the field of industrial relations were increasingly influenced by international forces.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) was keen to play a role in SA as demonstrated by an ILO-convened confer-

ence in Harare this weekend, to be attended by union and National Manpower Commission delegates.

Multinational corporations were playing a role too. All West German-owned companies in SA had signed a West German labour code guaranteeing workers' unlimited right to strike, freedom from dismissal and freedom to picket, moves far ahead of SA legislation.

Landman said as unions became more assertive, employers had to negotiate future legislation today. The price of multilateral employer/employee agreements for management was meeting the rising expectations of all those concerned.

He suggested future strike law would be based on the concept of the "protected strike". The conditions for such a strike would be the correct balloting and mandating of strikers, the exhaustion of conciliatory procedures, the subject of the strike being within the ambit of union and employer control, and legislative structures outlawing the destruction through industrial action of the employer.

Black minorities threatened, says economist

BILLY PADDOCK

of this frontier," Simkins says.

The other group, he says, is a smaller but also important one, consisting of well-educated people working in management and the professions — under threat if one dominant group entrenches itself in power.

Their oppression would be subtler and more "exquisitely frustrating".

Simkins says such oppression will consist of pressure for conformity exerted by a political elite in its own interests, but passed off as what is required for black emancipation, as the general will.

"Has one not already seen the mechanisms: ostracism, cultural desks deciding

which art does and does not aid the cause of liberation, the threat — and performance — of physical violence?"

He warns that if this develops further it will have a material as well as spiritual cost by inhibiting the innovation so necessary to economic growth.

Simkins calls for a debate about how to eliminate poverty, which he says is worse than at any time since the 1930s.

He says it is necessary to devise policies that are affordable, bearing in mind that SA is "rather a poor country", belonging with Malaysia, Lebanon and Brazil in the \$2 000 per capita GNP category.

"No prizes can go to proponents of policies which lie well outside the SA production, possibility frontier," he says.

Call for SA to avoid 'catastrophe' of Death Row in US

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The Death Row catastrophe afflicting the US should be avoided by SA, Unisa criminology department head C M B Naude said in a study released here yesterday.

The present American system where thousands languished on Death Row for years was "inhuman".

He warned that a large number of vital factors would have to be investigated before any decision was taken in SA to abolish the death sentence or retain it only for the most serious crimes.

It was vital, Naude said, that any discriminatory judicial practices that occur be investigated and remedied as far as possible as a biased and unjust legal system was detrimental to all.

SA was a multi-racial country in which the administration of justice based on a Western model was largely administered by whites.

Accusations of racial discrimination especially in cases of capital punishment were often made.

There was also continual and powerful pressure on government to abolish the death penalty, especially from a racial injustice point of view.

After a 1967 ruling by the US Supreme Court that the death penalty was a cruel and unusual punishment many states abolished it. By 1985 37 of the 50 states had reinstated it.

Naude said studies had shown only about 2.5% of reported murderers in SA were executed.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill now before Parliament incorporated measures which could contribute to a more just and humane judicial system in SA.

They included an automatic right of appeal in the case of a death sentence, an automatic appeal court review where no appeal was lodged, an automatic plea for clemency to the State President and certain discretionary powers for the Supreme Court.

Coups for FW as he flies out

Carl Timp 9/5/90 304A

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk achieved two major diplomatic coups even before he left on his 18-day European tour last night.

In two announcements yesterday in response to the progress in talks between the government and the ANC:

- The Spanish state airline Iberia agreed to resume freight flights to SA.
- The Dutch government said Mr De Klerk would be welcome to visit the Netherlands this year.

Spain suspended its flights to SA three years ago.

A Spanish embassy spokesman in Pretoria said flights would resume within the next two months. If they are successful, he said, "there would be a strong possibility of passenger flights resuming".

An SA Foreign Affairs spokesman said Spain was also considering lifting a ban on sport and entertainment visits.

The Hague announcement followed demands by conservative opposition MPs that the Dutch government explain why it told Mr De Klerk he would not be welcome during his tour.

Speaking in Parliament yesterday, the Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans

van den Broek, said that, early last month — when the SA ambassador Mr Albert Nothnagel informed him of the tour — he felt too little change had taken place for the Netherlands to invite Mr De Klerk.

He also remained concerned about the state of emergency and the position of political prisoners.

Referring to last week's meeting between the government and the ANC, he added: "But now there have been talks about talks and it is our hope that things will go further. And if that occurs it is no problem for us for Mr De Klerk to visit later this year."

Mr Nothnagel said soon after the speech that this amounted "to them inviting Mr De Klerk for an official state visit to Holland before the end of the year".

Mr De Klerk left from Jan Smuts last night for Paris. Shortly before leaving he said the days of pressure on South Africa had passed.

"It is wonderful to go to Europe with the knowledge that South Africa is busy taking in its rightful place in the international community," he said.

Tomorrow he will meet President Francois Mitterrand of France. — Sapa-AP-Reuter

● Mandela on African tour — Page 2

Briefing of cadres on agenda

Mandela sets out on Africa tour today

B/Dag. 9/5/90

304A

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela leaves on a 12-day, six-nation tour of African countries today — hard on the heels of President F W de Klerk's departure for Europe.

Mandela is expected to brief Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres on the ANC's recent discussions with government and on decisions taken regarding their return to SA.

He will also give the ANC national executive in-depth feedback on the Cape Town talks.

ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Ahmed Kathrada said last night Mandela's trip was a continuation of his February tour, which took him to Zambia, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Sweden.

With regard to De Klerk's European tour, Kathrada said he could only repeat statements by Mandela and secretary general Alfred Nzo at the weekend that the ANC's strategy on the diplomatic isolation of SA had not changed.

Mandela was attempting to respond to at least some of the invitations he had received since his release, said Kathrada.

His itinerary would only be released today. However, Kathrada said Zambia was the only country Mandela would be visiting for a second time.

Sapa reports that a discussion of government's objections to the release of 200 MK cadres will be high on Mandela's agenda.

Key MK operatives are still in exile and are considered by the ANC to be essential not only to the security of the ANC leadership but also to a "new" SADF.

An ANC spokesman said the release of all political prisoners and the demand for a general amnesty to facilitate the return of

Business Day Reporter

ANC exiles were essential to the reconstruction of the ANC inside SA.

Any delay by government in lifting the state of emergency, releasing all political prisoners and granting a general amnesty to all exiles would be interpreted as a delaying strategy, the spokesman said.

Mandela's African trip — coming so soon after his previous one, and amid pressure to squeeze it in before his talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in July — is considered necessary by the ANC if it is to become fully operational in SA as an unbanned organisation before its national conference on December 16.

TANIA LEVY reports that De Klerk said at Jan Smuts Airport last night SA was in the process of taking its rightful place in the international community.

SA, which had been subject to pressure for a very long time, had an important story to tell. Although he had never believed the reasons for the pressure were sound, these reasons had fallen away.

De Klerk said he would tell European heads of state that instead of interference SA needed encouragement and constructive involvement, because South Africans would find a solution for SA.

"If we do not want poverty to take over, we need international recognition of SA's and southern Africa's economic potential," he said.

There was no doubt that close co-operation between African states lay ahead, and the southern African region represented tremendous potential for overseas trading partners.

'BUG' CAUSED VOTE MIX-UP

CAPE TOWN — The NP's chief whip and one of his deputies were left with red faces yesterday when their names were recorded in the parliamentary minutes as having voted with the CP against government on the Indemnity Bill on Monday.

Keppies Niemann and his Cape deputy Adriaan Jordaan were listed among the "no" voters along with their arch rivals, the Conservatives.

There were only 31 members of the CP — the only party to oppose the measure — in the House of Assembly late on Monday night when the vote was taken. But when the result was announced the CP had somehow managed to get 33 votes.

Political Correspondent

But CP hopes that it had captured two NP defectors, both of whom were party organisers under former President P W Botha, were short-lived.

It was all a mistake. A virus or bug had crept into the electronic voting system.

"We know all about it. They're fixing it," Niemann's secretary assured the media before passing the buck to officials who confirmed they were indeed attending to the computer.

The two whips are to be returned to the fold in a corrected version of the minutes.

3044

Constitution a problem — Sachs

CAPE TOWN — A fundamental problem in drawing up a new constitution was how to cater for the country's enormous cultural, linguistic and religious diversity while ensuring common unity and equal rights for all, ANC legal department member Mr Albie Sachs said yesterday.

Star 9/5/90

Speaking at the University of the Western Cape, Mr Sachs said he had decided to make his first public speech, since his return from exile, in a "liberated zone in Cape Town".

He stressed he was not speaking as an ANC spokesman, "but just as Albie".

He said many whites had been frightened into believing that everything would be nationalised by the ANC, but this was a misconception. — Sapa.

French roll out red carpet for visit historique

From JAMES TOMLINS
The Argus Foreign Service

NAUS 9/5/90 (B) 306A

PARIS. — France's biggest TV network, TF-1, hailed President F W de Klerk's European visit, starting here today, as a major historical event.

He is the first South African leader to get red-carpet treatment here.

The privately-run network sent down its top news anchorman, Patrick Poivre d'Arvoir, and leading diplomatic commentator Regis Faucon to interview Mr De Klerk.

The interview was backed up by a hard-hitting, informative summing-up of the situation in South Africa.

President De Klerk, scheduled to meet President Francois Mitterrand tomorrow at the Elysee palace, played down the importance of "a small group of white extremists".

He said: "I am confident my people will not be influenced by these extremists."

President De Klerk avoided searching questions on the "one-man, one-vote" formula by pointing out that he was not just an idealist, as some critics claimed, but also a realist. Nor would he be drawn on how long he expected negotiations with the African National Congress to last.

He will have to be more forthcoming during his European visit when asked the same questions by government leaders and journalists.



Mr De Klerk

Unfortunately, he came over as stiff and ill-at-ease, perhaps because the interview was conducted in French, and his replies were translated.

However, one remark was considered by many viewers as somewhat unlikely, when he said that his National Party had never considered the white race as being superior and had always regarded "all men as equal".

The well-balanced TV documentary which followed showed conditions in Soweto and in a gold mine.

President De Klerk's schedule in Paris has not been released here yet. However, he is expected to be given a friendly welcome, based on appreciation of his release of Mr Nelson Mandela and his promised reforms.

● See page 9.

Proper structures needed for free settlement

CAPE TOWN — If a new dispensation for third-tier government was to succeed, it would have to take place with proper administrative structures, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying to an interpellation from Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) on what procedure he envisaged for opening whole municipalities as free settlement areas, he said provisions were embodied in the Free Settlement Areas and Promotion of Local Government in Free Settlement Acts.

He had said he would look sympathetically

at the matter. But government could not permit existing structures to be abolished in a half-baked manner before a proper alternative had been set up.

(304A) (300)
Fanie Jacobus (CP Losberg) said the question was not whether larger areas could become Free Settlement Areas but whether one could rely on the President's promise in March 1988 that an area would be declared open only if a large majority of lawful occupiers were in favour of such a move, and that there would be compensation for any removals. — Sapa.

Govt to delay on delimitation commission

Political Staff

THE government plans to postpone the appointment of a delimitation commission for the House of Assembly to allow negotiations for a new constitution to get under way, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

Opening debate on the Constitution Amendment Bill in Parliament, Mr Meyer said an important object of the bill was to extend the period within which a delimitation commission was appointed to allow more time for the negotiations to progress.

Under existing legislation, the House of Assembly's delimitation commission, which defines the boundaries of constituencies, would have to be appointed by October this year, while the commissions for the other two Houses would have to be appointed by June 1994.

Mr Meyer said an important objective of the Constitution Amendment Bill was to bring the delimitation timing of the three houses in line.

Debate on the bill, which was supported by all parties but the CP yesterday, continues today.

'Mandela could be president in

WASHINGTON - It was possible that a new government headed by President Nelson Mandela could be in power by the end of next year, according to a South African

Sowetan 9/5/90 Govt pact'

academic.

Dr Hendrik van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies of the University of Cape Town, made this prediction at a breakfast meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in Washington on Monday.

Three years ago, Van der Merwe predicted at the Carnegie Endowment that South Africa was drifting towards negotiations between all the various groups involved in the country. He also foresaw the National Party moving to the policy positions of the Progressive Federal Party.

Speech

In his speech this week, he warned that the leaders of the NP and the ANC might come to an agreement which they would be unable to sell to their various constituencies.

President FW de Klerk

had promised he would test any agreement with the white voters, and there was a danger that he might not be able to get it through that test, he said.

Mandela was also running the risk that he would alienate the black youth and more militant elements of black society by making concessions in negotiations with the NP.

Nonetheless, Van der Merwe said he expected both sides to make major concessions.

He did not believe a future constitution for

South Africa would contain any racial protections. Such protection was possible in Zimbabwe 10 years ago, but no longer feasible in South Africa of today, he said.

Van der Merwe said the eventual true political division in South Africa would not be along racial lines, but along differences over the form of economic system the country should have.

R5 000 heist in Durban

A gang of armed robbers made off with about R5 000 after holding up a Durban shopkeeper.

Police said the robbers armed with guns entered Jabula Tea Room in South Coast Road and held up Mr. Rajkumar Ramruthan (60) at about 6pm on Monday night.

CRK Tint 10/5/90

304A

Govt to silence white vigilantes?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is poised to crack down on vigilante right-wing whites, and is debating how to minimise the political consequences of such action, informed sources say.

The clampdown could entail using the full force of the emergency regulations, including detentions and the confiscation of arms.

One source said he understood that the situation in Welkom and a similar situation in the Northern Transvaal had been raised at last week's Groote Schuur talks between the government and the ANC. There had been a joint commitment to put pressure on both sides to resolve the problems.

It was also expected that the government would ask the ANC to use its influence to end consumer boycotts.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's planned visit to troubled Welkom today could lead to the security crackdown against white vigilantes in the town by next week.

A period of alleged anti-black violence by vigilantes — members of the AWB and the Blanke Veiligheid (BV) organisation — has resulted in an effective consumer boycott of white-owned shops in Welkom and a number of other towns in the northern Free State.

According to Law and Order spokesman Captain Peet Bothma, Mr Vlok and a

police delegation will be briefed by senior Welkom police officers and will consult separately with representatives of the local township, Thabong, the AWB, organised commerce and the BV. He will then have a working lunch with senior police officers, the local mayor and a local priest, Father Gavin Graham.

"Mr Vlok, representing the police and government, will assess the situation and take all steps possible to pour oil on to troubled waters," Captain Bothma said.

Asked whether there was likely to be a major crackdown on white vigilantes in the area, Captain Bothma replied: "We cannot allow people's lives and property to be endangered by people who take the law into their own hands, whether they be from the left or the right wing. We have warned in the past that we will take action against these people."

Police reinforcements

"If we think it is necessary to provide police reinforcements, we will. There has not been violence in the area before and we cannot allow people to practise politics by violent means," he said.

In the meantime, Captain Bothma said, the Department of Law and Order called on people in the area to remain calm and not to become emotionally involved by taking the law into their own hands.

A businessman said it appeared the security establishment felt the Welkom situation had to be managed decisively to

ensure it did not become a rallying point for more widespread white resistance.

Consumer boycott committee member Mr Frans Baleni, who is likely to be among those to meet Mr Vlok today, said his committee would probably be willing to suspend the boycott if it received a firm undertaking from the vigilantes "to stop the assaults".

He also said his impression was that the increased security force presence in Welkom had been deployed mostly to prevent "so-called intimidators" from enforcing the boycott.

This was because security forces were most evident in front of shopping areas.

He said no intimidation had been used to enforce the boycott.

AWB local secretary Mr Blikkies Blignaut, who denied that his organisation had conducted any patrols which led to assaults on blacks, declined to comment until after his meeting with Mr Vlok.

BV chief Mr Hennie Muller could not be reached for comment.

A statement from the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) yesterday said Free State businessmen would urgently discuss consumer boycotts in Welkom, Kroonstad and Viljoenskroon at today's regional Sacob conference.

Sapa reports that the ANC yesterday said it was keeping close tabs on the black consumer boycott of the CP-controlled northern Transvaal town of Louis Trichardt.

CP offers support on 'group rights' Govt's new stand on group rights

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT. — The Conservative Party would give the government its strongest support in its quest for the protection of group rights, CP leader, Dr Andreus Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Constitutional Development Budget Vote, he said he rejected the Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen's, notion that a single nation could be built from the variety of race, religious, language and cultural groups in South Africa.

"Everyone accepts that this present three-legged (constitutional) model cannot be maintained," he said.

"We support minority rights, what we may call national rights (volks-regte)."

South Africa was a conflict model of pluralism and greater conflict would be built in to the extent that one tried to force the groups into a unitary system.

He rejected the so-called non-racial model. Dr Treurnicht referred to statements by the PAC and ANC rejecting group rights and said the CP would give the government its fullest support in its demands for the protection of group rights. — Sapa

IN what appears to be a significant constitutional compromise, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday that the government did not regard the protection of groups or minorities as a permanent principle.

Rather, it was an "essential method or road — an open-ended road — at this stage in our history towards achieving success in nation-building."

"Unacceptable group definitions in racial terms and with statutory prescriptions will have to be abandoned."

Addressing the deputy leader of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela, who on Sunday rejected the concept of protecting minority or group rights, Dr Viljoen warned that the process of nation-building could be endangered by a "dogmatic refusal to acknowledge and accommodate the reality of minorities in a plural

terms will have to go' 'Racial' 3044

Group rights could not camouflage apartheid, he said, and would have to be defined on the basis of free association.

The biggest challenge facing the government was to make "our concept of 'group rights' acceptable and marketable against the suspicion that it is advanced merely as a disguise for continuing the disparities and injustices of apartheid."

"This suspicion is, of course, due to the abattoirs of apartheid and discrimination hanging around the neck of the historic group concept."

An early and prompt dismantling of the remains of apartheid and discrimination was essential

Reddy for minority rights

THE chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr N J Reddy, said his party stood for the protection of minority rights.

Speaking in the debate on the constitutional development vote, he said only those who did not want to see, denied the reality of trampled minority rights.

The United Nations had not had the guts to stand up against the injustices to minorities in countries such as Fiji, Ceylon and most African countries.

Dr Reddy said one of the misconceptions that needed to be removed was the notion that negotiation was a process of surrender. "No one has the right to dictate what kind of result he expects from the negotiation." —

CP's fears 'not unfounded'

PARLIAMENT. — The Conservative Party's fears that the black man could not maintain a democracy were not unfounded in the light of what had happened in Africa, Mr Myburgh Streicher (NP De Kullen) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Constitutional Development vote, he said he conceded this.

"Many others share those fears. But withdrawing your influence and dividing the country will not obviate the problem."

"If doubt exists over the capacity of blacks, then the territorial option is not the answer."

Unilateral action by whites over decades had brought the country to the edge of a precipice.



Alan Hendrickse

LP: Govt hesitant on change

THE National Party would remain "on trial" for as long as it clung to discriminatory legislation, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Constitutional Development budget, he said there appeared to be a "hesitancy" of the part of the government to move away from apartheid.

Mr Hendrickse said he wished one member of the NP, or the government, would explain to him the difference in language, religion and culture between members of that party and the Labour Party.

He asked what language, culture and religion was peculiar to Afrikaners and not to "so-called coloureds".

Include PAC in moves Malan urges

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE joint government/ANC security management arrangement should be extended to include the PAC and other groups, the co-leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan, said yesterday.

There was no way the PAC could be excluded from the negotiation process and it would be a mistake not to take all possible steps to include them in it. It had been estimated, for instance, that there were about

20 000 exiled ANC supporters to be returned to South Africa, Mr Malan said during the Constitutional Development and Planning Vote.

"Is there any indication how many PAC supporters would be involved in this?"

The removal of obstacles had to be done in a non-partisan manner and arrangements had to be handled in a non-partisan way. For the past six weeks, an informal arrangement between the ANC and the government had ex-

isted so that the ANC could be contacted before any security action against possible supporters of the ANC.

"This is a very positive development, but again the question can be immediately asked: What about the PAC?"

Mr Malan warned that the joint ANC/government security would definitely affect the negotiation process and asked the minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to give his attention to extending the arrangement to include the PAC.

Mercury poisoning 'highest in world'

Political Staff

MR Rupert Lorimer, the Democratic Party's environment spokesman, yesterday called on the government to clarify allegations of mercury contamination of the Mngweni River by Thor Chemicals of Calo Ridge.

There had been claims that the contamination was among the highest in the world, while the Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr Gert Kotze, had claimed the situation was under control.

It also appeared that South Africa was processing mercury waste that American smelters were not prepared to handle.

There was very real cause for concern, he said. Three bodies had conducted investigations on the contamination of water and soil around Thor Chemicals: The Umgeni Water Board, an American newspaper and Greenpeace.

The Greenpeace report had said that a sediment sample at the head of the Mngweni River was contaminated by 1 764 parts per million of mercury which was 8 810 times the US standard for classifying a waste as "hazardous".

Govt takes St Lucia mining line

Political Staff

ONE of the conditions for mining the St Lucia dunes would be that the natural environment would have to be restored to a better state than it was in now, Mr Gert Kotze, Minister of Environment and Water Affairs, said yesterday during the debate on his budget vote.

Govt bans imports of toxic waste

Political Correspondent

THE government has banned the importation of toxic waste into South Africa until the results of a CSIR investigation into the issue had been completed, Mr Gert Kotze, the Minister of Environment and Water Affairs, said yesterday.

He told Parliament the government was very concerned about the matter, especially with regard to the future, when South Africa would be making more and more toxic waste itself.

The CSIR was now doing the most comprehensive investigation ever in South Africa into the matter, so that South Africa would not make the mistakes which had been made elsewhere.

"No application to import toxic waste will be approved, or even considered, until the investigation is complete," said Mr Kotze.

He said it had been suggested that toxic wastes were being brought into the country through "the back door".

The government regarded toxic waste smuggling as a "highly immoral" practice and would do everything it could to deal with smugglers.

FW at Elysee Palace today

CHM 10/5/90
304A



ABOVE: President De Klerk and Mr Pik Botha dress casually but talk seriously on the flight from Johannesburg to Paris this week.
RIGHT: President De Klerk and his wife Marike step off the plane at Paris' Orly Airport yesterday.



By ANTHONY JOHNSON
PARIS. — Today's meeting between President F.W. de Klerk and President Francois Mitterrand is seen by Pretoria as the most important contact yet between South Africa and France.

The Elysee Palace encounter — the first meeting between heads of state from the two countries — was described as being "of great importance to South Africa" by Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha on the eve of the talks. Speaking shortly before the presidential party landed at Orly Airport, Mr. Botha said: "This is the big thing... this is a first ever — it's very important to us."

He expected the talks to be "rather substantive" and to range over "a wide spectrum of matters".

Relations between France and SA have been strained in recent years but the South African team clearly hopes that today's meeting will usher in a new chapter in relations between the two countries.

Although the visit to France is classified only as a private visit, Mr. De Klerk was welcomed by a guard of honour upon his arrival in Paris soon after noon.

He and his wife Marike walked 50 metres down a red carpet towards an airport terminal building which flew both the Tricolour and the SA flag.

Abidjan

A motorcycle escort, sirens blaring, held up busy lunch-hour traffic as they led members of the De Klerk party to the Hotel de Crillon which overlooks the Place de la Concorde, a favourite venue for guillotining dissidents in days gone by.

Much earlier in the day — around 3am South African time — Mr. De Klerk was again accorded red-carpet treatment when his chartered jet landed at the Ivory Coast capital of Abidjan.

While the jet was being refuelled, Mr. De Klerk held a surprise 45-minute meeting with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny at the opulent marble presidency in the city.

During the meeting, described as a working courtesy visit, Mr. De Klerk briefed President Houphouet-Boigny on the recent ANC govern-

To page 2

Concert as new car sales plunge 24%

NEW car sales plunged by 24% in April — signalling tough times ahead for the motor industry, the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of SA (Naamsa) said yesterday.

Naamsa blamed the high cost of finance, and general uncertainty about the future, for deterring prospective buyers.

The statement said the fall in sales was also due to "shortages of vehicles as a result of industrial action and the impact of the stringent fiscal measures."

● Full report — Page 11

Cup Final on M-Net only

Staff Reporter

SATV viewers will not see Saturday's FA Cup Final clash between Manchester United and Crystal Palace at London's Wembley Stadium.

The match will be broadcast live on M-Net and for the first time the pay channel station has refused the SABC rights to screen a delayed transmission.

It is the first time since 1977 that the SABC will not screen any coverage of a final, except as an 8pm news item.

In place of the FA final, SABC's TopSport will broadcast live coverage of the Currie Cup rugby match between Natal and Free State at King's Park in Durban.

SABC viewers will also miss the May 26 Currie Cup match between Western Province and Northern Transvaal at Loftus Versfeld in Pretoria. M-Net will screen the match live. SABC will broadcast the return match at Newlands on September 1.

● Palace confident — Back Page

crack of dawn



Bang goes the white man's identity in Namibia. They're not allowed to call him "baas" anymore!

Rockman in anti-FW protest

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Ex-police-man Mr Gregory Rockman will speak at one of many rallies organised by Anti-Apartheid Movements (AAM) in Europe and Britain, who are co-ordinating a two-week campaign against President F.W. de Klerk's visit.

The first demonstration is planned for Paris today.

British AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said yesterday that he would write to the president of the European Commission, Mr Jacques Delors, stating the AAMs' opposition to the trip. He would also seek an urgent meeting with him.

Former police lieutenant Mr Rockman will address a rally at the Trade Union Congress hall in London on Friday May 18.

Syfrets Cape Times

Share Challenge

TODAY'S PRIZE:
R1 600

TODAY'S INDEX:
(+) R0,17

There were no winners yesterday

If your share price total movement equals exactly R0,17 today, you are a winner!

Prehistoric murder victim found at club

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE skeleton, believed to be about 3 000 years old, of a murdered Khoisan man has been found by construction workers at Club Mykonos, Langebaan. It is the second skeleton to be discovered on the site in two years — the first unpublicised find was recently carbon-dated at 2 980 years old (990BC). The project manager at UCT's archaeo-



P.T.O.

ment talks, the latest developments in the Angolan war and relations between SA and other states.

Mr De Klerk said in pre-discussion remarks: "As I told your minister, I was a very young president and in six months I feel like an old president because a lot has happened."

President Houphouët-Boigny responded that he had followed events in SA with "great interest" and "greatly appreciated the bold and imaginative initiatives" SA had embarked upon.

At an impromptu press conference at Abidjan airport later, Mr De Klerk described the early-morning meeting as a valuable opportunity to exchange views.

Mr De Klerk said: "Things in SA are moving quickly towards real negotiations."

'On the move'

"Things in SA are looking positive and moving towards a lasting settlement."

"South Africa is on the move. There must be a re-evaluation of the situation in our country."

Mr Pik Botha told journalists on the presidential aircraft later that few governments "that matter" still believed that the government was not involved in a process of reform that was irreversible.

Doubts about the government's sincerity towards genuine change were disappearing.

"We trust that this will be basically the atmosphere in which we can go into our European tour."

Mr Botha said he expected European leaders to raise specific questions about the SA government's legislative programme, trade and economic matters.

Peace

"We are not going to ask any European government to lift sanctions."

"We hope that what we have done up to now will mean they will just fall by the wayside."

Mr Botha said that progress was being made in the peace process both in Mozambique and Angola, while recent political developments in SA had also been positive.

"All in all it looks good," he said before the team for today's talks began final preparations.

Minority protection could be temporary

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — The protection of minority rights could be used as a temporary nation-building measure rather than being permanently enshrined in the constitution, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said in Parliament yesterday.

However, he stood by government's commitment to negotiate for minority groups to have a "meaningful" measure of political representation and involvement in decision-making on certain vital or sensitive matters.

Speaking in the parliamentary debate on his department's vote, Viljoen said it was clear the conflicting claims of power-sharing and majority rule — the latter implying a transfer of power leaving minorities with no say — would be a "hot" issue in future negotiations.

In line with the trend in government to de-emphasise group rights, he said racial group definitions would have to be abandoned and definitions of minorities would have to be based on language, culture and ethnicity.

Provision would also have to be made, for the purposes of power-sharing, for people with no group affiliations, who wanted simply to be regarded as South Africans.

Referring to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's rejection of group or minority rights, he said an early and prompt dismantling of apartheid's remnants would be essential in making minority protection acceptable.

304A Tempered

"The National Party now accepts a nationalism embracing all South Africans irrespective of race, language or creed. Within this new context the protection of minority rights for groups requiring it becomes a completely different proposition," he said.

Addressing the issue of minority rights within a democracy, Viljoen said that provided full justice was done to all the characteristics of democracy, absolute rule by an unqualified arithmetic majority could be considerably tempered by the protection of minorities.

He said it should be possible to negotiate a multi-dimensional system of protection through checks and balances consisting of an acceptable definition of minorities, a charter of human rights and constitutional provisions ensuring both political representation and effective participation in decision-making.

"In achieving an acceptable system of checks and balances the concerns of the minorities will have to be accommodated in such a way that the claims of the majority are not disregarded and in fact overridden by minority domination," he said.

Star 10/5/90



304A

By Carina le Grange

The Minister of Health, Dr Rina Venter, had been approached as early as February this year by the recognised body for hospital workers to warn her of threatening strikes, according to senior officials of the Hospital Staff Association of South Africa.

Hospersa is one of the bodies recognised by the Commission for Administration. It has 40 000 members, and represents black and white workers ranging from superintendents to non-medical workers.

The chief executive official of Hospersa, Alwyn Dippenaar, was not available yesterday but a spokesman said Hospersa was the only official mouthpiece through which grievances could be aired.

"We knew this unrest was simmering and

Minister was warned, say officials

approached Dr Venter who said the matter was receiving attention. When we approached her again later she initially did not respond. But on April 30 she informed us that it did not fall within her jurisdiction and referred us to the Minister for Administration and Economic Co-ordination, Dr Wim de Villiers," the spokesman said.

There is now dissatisfaction among Hospersa and other civil servants' bodies because they were not granted interviews while Dr Venter entered into talks with the non-recognised Health Workers Union and the National Educational, Health and Allied Workers Union.

"If Dr Venter speaks to them she recognises them. We have the same grievances. Why did she not use the existing channels instead of speaking to the radical organisations?" the Hospersa spokesman said.

"We are not allowed to strike. We are restricted by civil servants' regulations and cannot register as a trade union."

Mr Dippenaar is reported elsewhere as saying that some of the 40 000 Hospersa members are now insisting on more militant action. He said it would be a sorry day if these members followed the militant unions since it would make the present hospital crisis look small.

FW prepares for 'SA's most important contact' with French govt

(3041)

PARIS — President F W de Klerk begins his quest to convince European leaders of his government's commitment to irrevocable change in SA, at a meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand at the Elysee Palace today.

Foreign Minister Pk Botha, who is accompanying De Klerk on his nine-nation European tour, said yesterday the meeting with Mitterrand and French Prime Minister Michel Rocard represented the most important contact SA had had with the French government.

Speaking before the delegation's arrival at Orly Airport, Botha said: "This is the big thing... it's very important to us. The perception of us, even if not much substantive were to be discussed, is very important." But he expected the discussions to be "rather substantive" and to range over a "wide spectrum of matters".

In a surprise development, De Klerk met Ivory Coast leader Felix Houphouet-Boigny for 40 minutes early yesterday. Houphouet-Boigny had requested the meeting, which took place while De

MIKE ROBERTSON

Klerk's chartered Safair Boeing 707 was refuelled at Abidjan.

In France, members of the Republican Guard were on hand to welcome the SA delegation. The group and the Press corps accompanying De Klerk were then rushed to the luxury Hotel de Crillon, where De Klerk is staying.

The meetings with Mitterrand and Rocard are a breakthrough for De Klerk because in recent years SA's relations with

the French socialist government have been distinctly cool.

De Klerk has insisted he will not be pushing for the lifting of sanctions. Rather, he will seek to convince European leaders of the irrevocability of change in SA so that in the coming months they will take steps to lift sanctions.

Botha said government wanted European leaders to understand its plan for a new SA and, if they were interested, its vision of the country's future.

At the beginning of the Houphouet-

Boigny meeting, De Klerk recalled that his first trip overseas as President was to the Ivory Coast.

"I was a very young President then and in six months I feel like an old President."

De Klerk told the Press at Abidjan airport that he had taken the opportunity to brief his counterpart of recent developments in SA, especially last week's talks with the ANC. "Things in SA are developing in a dramatic way and moving quickly towards real negotiations," he said.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

Get PAC into talks - DP chief

Gowetman 12/8/90 *3048*

THE removal of stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation should be carried out impartially, Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Constitutional Development Vote, he said it was important to show that stumbling blocks were not being removed merely to the satisfaction of the ANC.

There was no way the PAC could be excluded from the negotiating process and it would be a mistake not to take all possible steps to draw them into the pre-talks stage.

For example, there were about 20 000 exiled ANC supporters who had to return. Was there any indication of how many

SAPA
PAC supporters were in the same category?

It was known that over the past month there had been an informal arrangement between the ANC and the Government to liaise with the ANC before any security action was taken against possible supporters of the movement.

Positive

This was a positive development, but what of the PAC?

If there was dialogue only between the Government and the ANC, there was a risk of establishing a new security government run jointly by the NP and the ANC. This would be fatal for SA, he said.

Sowetan 10/5/90

Red carpet treatment for De Klerk

304A

PARIS - South African State President FW de Klerk and his entourage received a red carpet welcome at Paris's Orly airport at noon yesterday when he arrived at the start of a nine-nation European tour.

De Klerk and his wife, Marike, were welcomed at the airport's VIP reception centre by France's Chief of Protocol, Mr Andre Gadaud, and a military guard of honour.

French police maintained tight security around the complex and there were no signs of any anti-apartheid demonstrations.

South African flags, alternated with France's Tricolour, were flown from poles around the building, and a special police escort later whisked the official cavalcade of cars through dense traffic on the 30km route into central Paris.

De Klerk, accompanied by his foreign minister, Pik Botha, is scheduled to meet France's President Francois Mitterand today. Sapa.



French connection could open important doors for SA

10/5/90 3:44

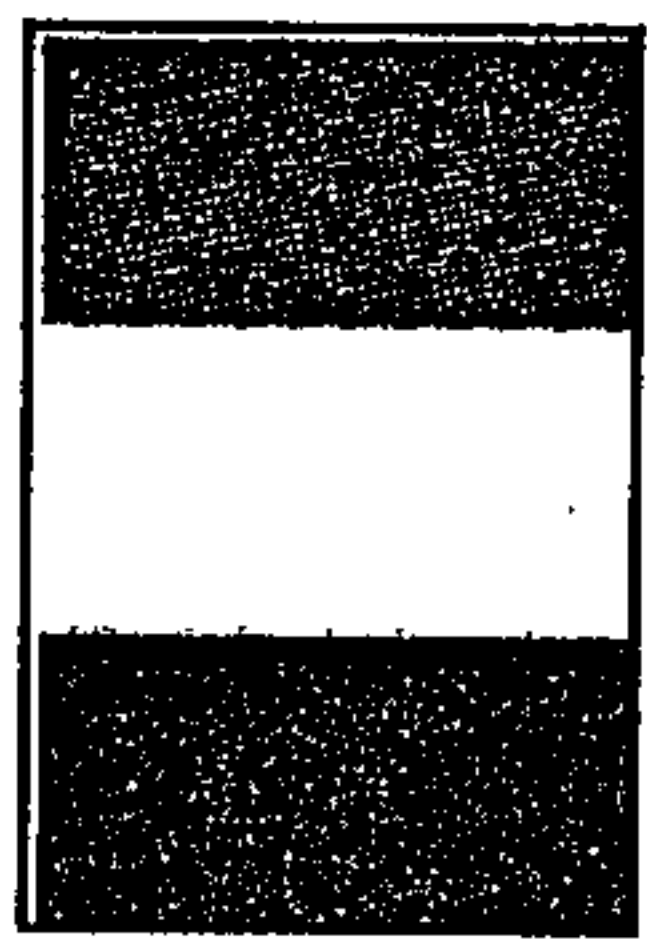
South Africa stands on the brink of a major diplomatic breakthrough in Europe, with a strengthening of relations between South Africa and some of the countries to be visited by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha on their current 19-day nine-nation tour now appearing to be a *fait accompli*.

While the tour may not lead to the immediate relaxation of economic sanctions against South Africa, political observers and commentators are agreed, it could spell the beginning of the end of South Africa's international isolation and enhance President de Klerk's stature as a statesman.

Mr de Klerk, the first South African leader to get red carpet treatment in France since the National Party came into power in 1948, arrived in Paris yesterday on the first stop of his extended European tour. Before his arrival his visit had been hailed by France's biggest TV network, TF-1, as a major historical event.

The cherry on top of Mr de Klerk's cake during his two-day stop-over in France will be his meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand who, together with his wife Dan-

Barely a year after he assumed office as State President, F W de Klerk has managed to do what his immediate predecessor could not do after many years in office — an official red carpet reception in France which could spell the beginning of the end of South Africa's international isolation. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.



The President in Europe

ielle, has been a vehement critic of South Africa's apartheid policies.

The head of the University of the Witwatersrand's Political Studies Department, Professor Alf Stadler, yesterday told The Star the official climate in France was "very favourable" towards South Africa.

He said although some "radical elements" in that country might not be pleased with the South Africans' visit, most of the major parties there were happy with President de Klerk — especially after his Government's historic three-day meeting with the African National Congress in Cape Town last week — and approved of his visit.

Professor Stadler said it was unlikely Mr de Klerk's visit to France could result in any major changes in attitudes towards South Africa.

"What President de Klerk wants in

France is an approval for what has happened here since February this year, to strengthen diplomatic relations between the two countries, to encourage investment in South Africa and to put pressure on France to lift sanctions.

"I think he will try to give them the impression that something quite radical has happened here since February, and that South Africa is a country where decent folks can invest," Professor Stadler said.

The director-general of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Professor John Barratt, said the biggest development regarding Mr de Klerk's French visit was that Mr Mitterrand had agreed to see him. When former State President P W Botha visited France in 1984 he was accorded no official reception.

Relations between the two coun-

tries had improved tremendously since then "due to the fact that negotiations are about to start."

Professor Barratt said: "It is very interesting that President Mitterrand's wife Danielle is very involved with anti-apartheid organisations, especially the African National Congress."

"However, apart from the cementation of cordial relations between the two countries I do not think that there will be any major economic concessions. In France South Africa is not as big an issue as it is in Britain and Germany, but France is important in the influence it has in Europe.

"The fact that President de Klerk will be officially received by President Mitterrand will boost his (Mr de Klerk's) image and credibility in Europe," said Professor Barratt.

AS REGARDS HIS RECOMMENDATIONS, he could say no more. "We'll see after the IRB has said: 'All that has changed now ... they had to.'"

FW keeps Houphouet-Boigny in the picture

PARIS — President de Klerk has started a whirlwind tour of Europe by urging a re-evaluation of the situation in South Africa.

He issued the plea in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, after a surprise 40-minute meeting with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

The 1.20 am meeting with the elder African statesman at The Presidency (presidential offices) took place after hasty arrangements had been finalised between the two countries only hours before on Tuesday afternoon.

Mr de Klerk shook hands with a line of dignitaries as he left the plane, then he and Foreign Minister Pik Botha left their wives Marike and Helena with hostesses in a comfortable airport lounge, and drove in a motorcade through the stifling humidity and 27 deg C heat along 13 km of deserted streets to The Presidency.

The presidential guard — specially selected tall men with cutlasses, colourful capes and gladiatorial helmets — saluted him as he stepped through light rain to greet Mr Boigny.

They sat down on a velvet couch: "Am I correct that the local time is 1.20 am?" Mr de Klerk asked as the

Mr de Klerk took the opportunity to renew a friendship — and launch his European tour — in a surprise meeting with the leader of the Ivory Coast, reports PETER FABRICIUS.

ice-breaker.

"It is really good to see you again, Mr President," he added, referring to their December meeting at Mr Boigny's luxurious palace at Yammasoukro.

"I share the pleasure," Mr Boigny replied through a French interpreter.

Mr de Klerk went on: "I think back with happy memories to our first meeting. As I told your Minister, I was then a very young president. And in six months time I feel like a very old president because a lot has happened since then."

"We have been following it with great interest," said Mr Boigny.

"The advice we received also was good advice," Mr de Klerk said in deference to the elder.

They emerged 40 minutes later, walking to the forecourt of The Presidency, a spectacular marble structure resembling Pretoria's State Theatre.

"It was nice to see you again," Mr de Klerk said as he shook Mr Boigny's

hand. "I will give your regards to President Mitterrand."

Mr de Klerk told newsmen at the airport afterwards that he was visiting Ivory Coast and Europe in a positive atmosphere: "... Where there is a realisation that South Africa is on the move, and there must be a re-evaluation of the position in our country."

He said events were developing dynamically in South Africa and moving towards real negotiations and full participation for all South Africans in government structures and the economy.

"Things in South Africa are looking positive. We are confident we are moving towards lasting solutions," he said.

When he met Mr Boigny, he told him that developments in South Africa had happened very quickly and he wanted to update his host on them.

Reporters were then ushered out of the room, and Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, aided by top offi-

cials, went into closed session with Mr Boigny and his men.

Afterwards, Mr Botha described the meeting as constructive.

He said Mr de Klerk had informed Mr Boigny on the salient points of the discussions last week in Cape Town between the Government and the African National Congress at the historic Groote Schuur meeting.

Mr de Klerk had also told Mr Boigny of the latest developments in the Angolan conflict and in South Africa's relations with other African countries.

"We discussed prospects of peace in Angola and the latest developments in that respect," Mr Botha said.

"They are in agreement on the urgent necessity to create a ceasefire and peace in Angola."

Mr Botha added that Mr de Klerk had paid tribute to Mr Boigny, telling him that his efforts over the years were now bearing fruit in Africa and southern Africa.

Mr Boigny had expressed pleasure at Mr de Klerk's European tour and his talks with the ANC, Mr Botha said. He also signalled appreciation for the bold and imaginative initiatives in South and southern Africa.

By PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Correspondent

PARIS — President de Klerk will spend a gruelling 66 hours in the air on his 19-day whistle-stop tour of Europe, which began in Paris yesterday.

The flight from Jan Smuts Airport to Orly Airport in Paris on Tuesday night alone took 16 hours — of which 90 minutes were spent on the ground in Abidjan for a midnight meeting with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

It is for this reason that the chartered aircraft he is flying in has to be more than usually comfortable.

It is a converted Safair Boeing 707, from which most of the seats have been removed to create more space.

But it is not luxurious. The top members of the delegation are Mr de Klerk and his wife Marike, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, and his wife Helena, the secretary-general in the President's office, Dr

Long hours in the sky but always in fair comfort

Jannie Roux, and his wife Rina, and director-general of foreign affairs, Neil van Heerden, and his wife Evelyn — all have first-class fully-reclining sleeper seats.

Mr de Klerk, relaxing in a tracksuit, said he had a good night's sleep on the flight from Johannesburg.

The delegation comprises 26 people.

The rest of the party consists of 26 security men and 19 journalists and SABC technicians.

The President is constantly in touch with South Africa and the world.

In the air he has a radio telephone within arm's reach.

On the ground, he is linked by ordinary normal telephone.

As a back-up, in case of emergency, the 707 carries a satellite dish.

A military doctor, Dr Hannes Coetzee, is on the aircraft.

The 26 security officials from the National Intelligence Service maintain a 24-hour watch on the official party.

Several are women keeping an eye on the wives.

They work in close co-ordination with host country security.

Generally, the task of the NIS officials is to guard the official party, while host officials are responsible for transport and outriders.

This was demonstrated in Paris where French police motorcycle outriders put on a spectacular display as they cut a swathe through the traffic for Mr de Klerk's cavalcade.

The South African officials are allowed to be armed in most cases, but not all.

The dinner menu on the aircraft was standard first-class fare: crayfish, kingklip, chicken, roast lamb and dessert.

DP welcomes Viljoen's view on referendum

APCUS

11/5/90

304A

By **MICHAEL MORRIS**
Political Correspondent

DR Gerrit Viljoen's view that all South Africans could express opinion on the outcome of negotiations in a single referendum has been welcomed by the Democratic Party.

But there is still uncertainty over whether there will in fact be a single referendum or separate ones for the different race groups.

SOUND PRINCIPLE

Reacting today, DP co-leader Dr Zac de Beer said the principle of testing public opinion on a negotiated constitution through a referendum was a good one.

"There is plainly a need for a new set of constitutional proposals to receive a more weighty authority than merely that of the existing parliament.

"There is talk of a general election, but the disadvantage of that is that you cannot confine it to a single issue as you can a referendum.

"We believe that a general election should be held only after the constitution has been approved and instituted and to that extent, while we do not want to criticise what happened in Namibia, we do not regard Namibia as a suitable pattern to follow."

Dr de Beer's comments follow Dr Viljoen's speech in parliament during debate on the

constitutional development budget in which he said the National Party had committed itself to testing the opinion of its own constituency with regard to the "final product" of the negotiation process.

Then he added: "In my opinion it is probable that there will be general acceptance at the end of the negotiation process for an opportunity to be given for the whole population — as well as the main population groups separately on their own — to take part in a referendum to ensure the legitimacy, acceptability and credibility of a new constitution."

Dr Viljoen also said he had observed the growth of racial ganging-up to form an artificial front of unity which had no political basis, Sapa reports.

It would be extremely regrettable if this were to continue.

He said the CP had undergone a policy shift from the idea of partition to one of secession.

The party had realised that its idea of majority occupation by whites of a volkstaat had to fall away, otherwise it would not be able to sell its policies.

By doing this it was signing away white claims to the rest of South Africa. Its practical implication was that the whole of the PWV area would be surrendered, including CP constituencies in the southern Transvaal such as Overvaal.

Europe to let SA in from the cold

From PETER FABRICIUS
and ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

PARIS — Europe is poised to let South Africa back in from the cold.

President F W de Klerk clearly signalled a "dramatic" improvement in relations and a partial lifting of sanctions after his highly successful meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand here at the start of his nine-nation European tour.

Mr De Klerk said that if South Africa implemented its reform plans — as it intended to do — "great strides" would be made towards normalising South Africa's relations with Europe within months.

Relations had already improved dramatically. "And it is my impression that they are about to improve again in a short time."

Rugby tour

Sources say the European Community is about to lift some sanctions and boycotts — and that a tour of South Africa by the French rugby team may be in the offing.

"It is clear to me that France and Europe stand ready to make a total re-evaluation of the situation in South Africa."

There was no question that within months great strides would be made to normalise South Africa's relations.

Mr De Klerk said at an international Press conference in the King George V Hotel that he had been received in a "most friendly manner" and had been impressed by the warmth of the meetings he had had with Mr Mitterrand and French Prime Minister Mr Michel Rocard.

His impression was that France — after historically taking a strong stance against South Africa — now realised that South Africa had changed totally.

"There is an appreciation and realisation of the irreversibility of changes in South Africa."

Both leaders accepted his assurances that the changes were irreversible.

"I stressed that there is no turning back. South Africa will get a new constitution and it will be fair to all South Africans."

He said Mr Mitterrand and Mr Rocard had understood the time had come to re-evaluate sanctions.

But this would be done only "in a European context", he added, confirming indications from diplomatic sources that the European Community as a whole would make a decision to start easing sanctions.

And on the question of the rugby tour and sports boycotts general, Mr De Klerk said that he had discussed both issues with Mr Mitterrand.

Clearly referring to the recent decisions by Britain and Spain, he pointed out to him

FW signals dramatic shift in relations



Mr Michel Rocard

that some European countries had already decided to relax cultural and scientific boycotts.

"I made a particular request that France should evaluate its position against the background of what other countries had done."

He did not say specifically what Mr Mitterrand's response had been but his general optimism that South Africa's isolation was beginning to crumble had raised hopes that the tour might be on the cards.

Foreign debts

Mr De Klerk said he had not directly raised the question of sanctions. He had not come "cap in hand" with a list of sanctions he wanted lifted. "And I am not leaving with prizes," he added.

However, sanctions were raised and discussed. Both sides gave their views in full and in-depth.

He told them that after the developments in South Africa, the time had come for the total lifting of sanctions.

He said the essence of the problem was that sanctions were not a problem for the South African government itself. It could handle them and repay its foreign debts.

But sanctions were having a negative effect on the country's ability to handle the socio-economic problems it faced.

South Africa needed foreign capital to reach a growth rate of five percent to meet the need for jobs and to have the resources to embark on imaginative development projects.

A total lifting of sanctions would help this process.

Although he had not dealt specifically with any trade sanctions, South Africa's experience since the unbanning of the ANC on February 2 was that trade had intensified and barriers were already starting to fall — even though they had not been formally revoked.

Mr De Klerk also said that he had asked France to join South Africa in a trilateral effort to combat the development problems of its neigh-

bours in Southern Africa.

He said he had met with understanding of the importance to the whole of Southern Africa of stable developing countries.

South Africa could play a constructive role in rebuilding its neighbour economies with its infrastructure and know-how — with European capital. And France, with its strong ties with Francophone Africa especially and intimate knowledge, had an important role to play.

"I sincerely believe we (South Africa and France) will become partners in this process because of South Africa's position in Africa."

"I sincerely hope we will look back on today's meeting as an opportunity used to lay the foundations for further co-operation."

In other points at the Press conference Mr De Klerk said:

- He confirmed he had met French Minister of External Trade Mr Jean-Marie Rausch on Wednesday night for general discussions.

- He had lunched with French industrialists and informed them of the South African situation.

- He emphasised that in a new South African constitution everyone would have a vote of equal weight. How it was structured would depend on negotiations and it would have to be home-made. But there could be no discrimination on grounds of race.

- The Separate Amenities Act would be scrapped within six weeks.

- Asked about the state of emergency, he said that the government, after its talks with the ANC, had reiterated that it wanted to lift it.

The possibility of a partial lifting of the emergency — and leaving it in place in areas like Natal — was being considered.

Earlier, Mr De Klerk was welcomed at President Mitterrand's official residence, the Elysee Palace, by three platoons of presidential guards, who presented arms with bayonets drawn, and a military band which struck up a salute as he arrived and departed.

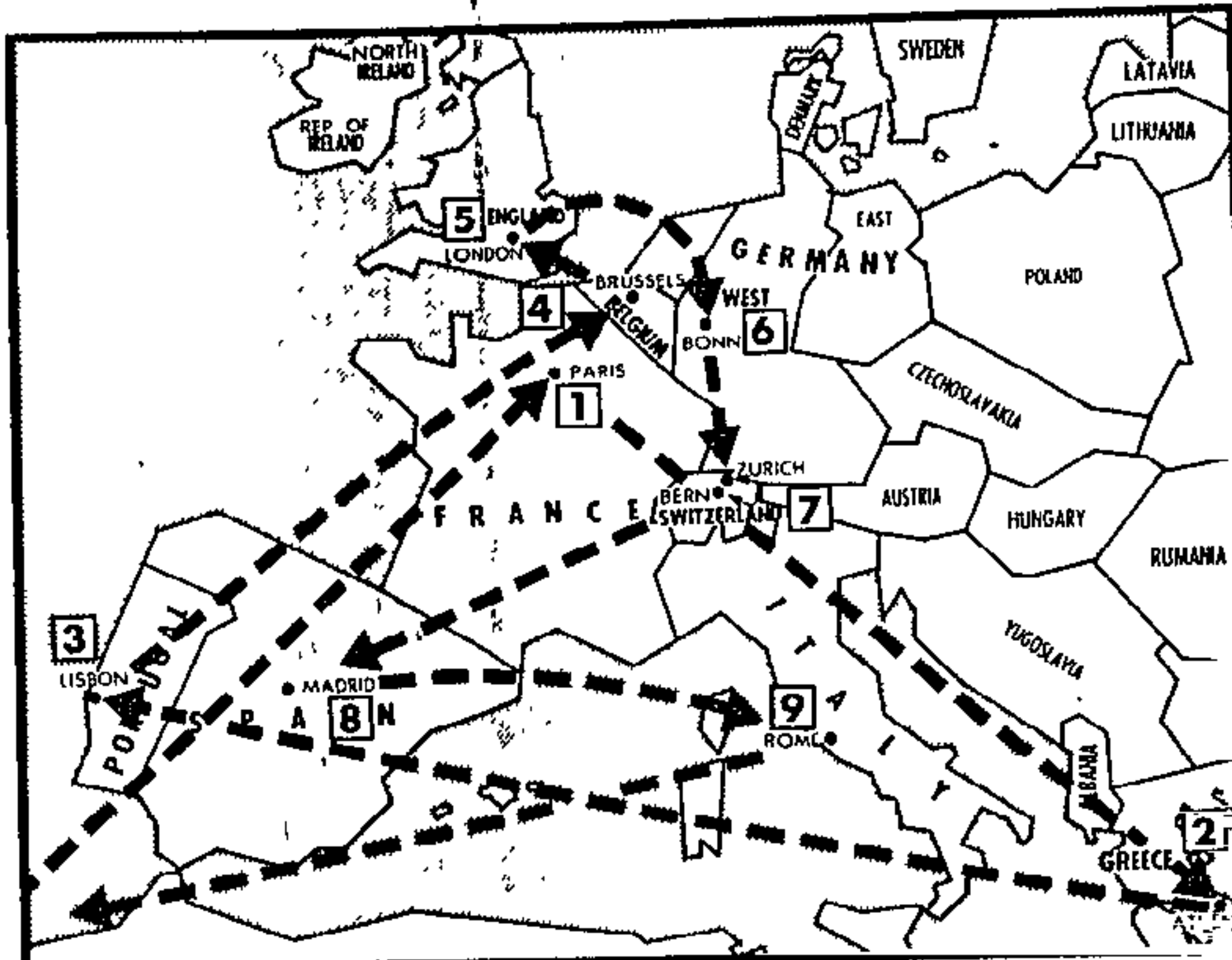
Extended talks

French officials confirmed that although Mr De Klerk's visit was technically "private" the full military turnout was, according to protocol, strictly reserved for official visits by foreign heads of state.

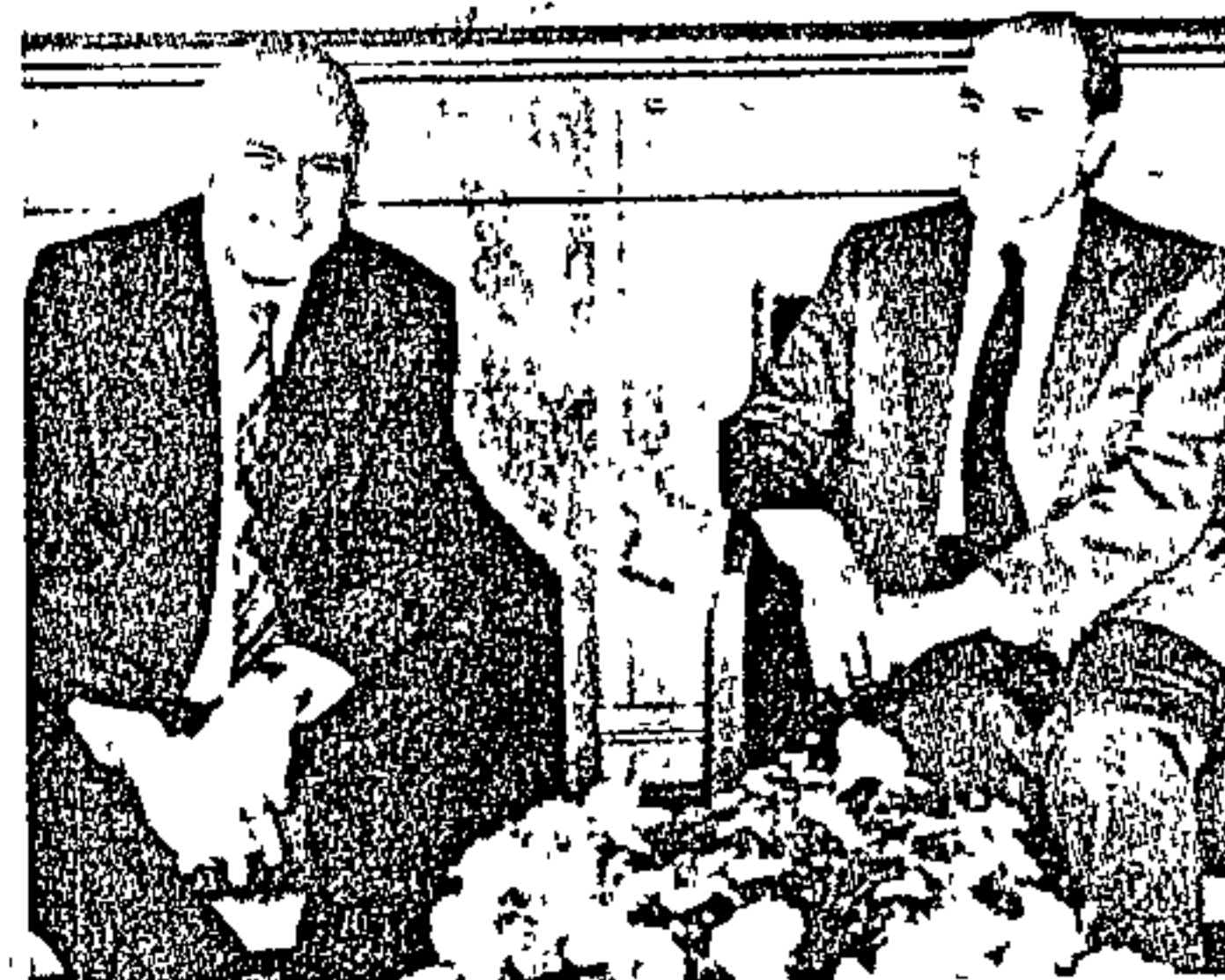
Mr De Klerk's talks with President Mitterrand were due to last only the usual half-an-hour, but extended to 55 minutes as the guard of honour, the Press corps and officials waited in the courtyard.

It was pointed out that the extended talks were a firm indication Mr De Klerk had been warmly and sympathetically received by President Mitterrand.

The two heads of state first held a "one-on-one" discussion in private, and were later joined by Foreign Minister Mr P. J. Botha for further discussions.



ABOVE: The dotted lines on this map show President De Klerk's busy schedule, with visits to nine European countries in 18 days. He and Foreign Minister Mr P. J. Botha arrived in Paris (1) Wednesday and today "on to Athens (2). This will be followed by Lisbon, Brussels, London, Bonn, Zurich and Berne and finally Rome before their return in a special Boeing 707 to South Africa."



LEFT: President De Klerk and French President Francois Mitterrand discuss the situation in South Africa at the Elysee Palace in Paris yesterday.

Judgment on squatters today

Supreme Court Reporter

307

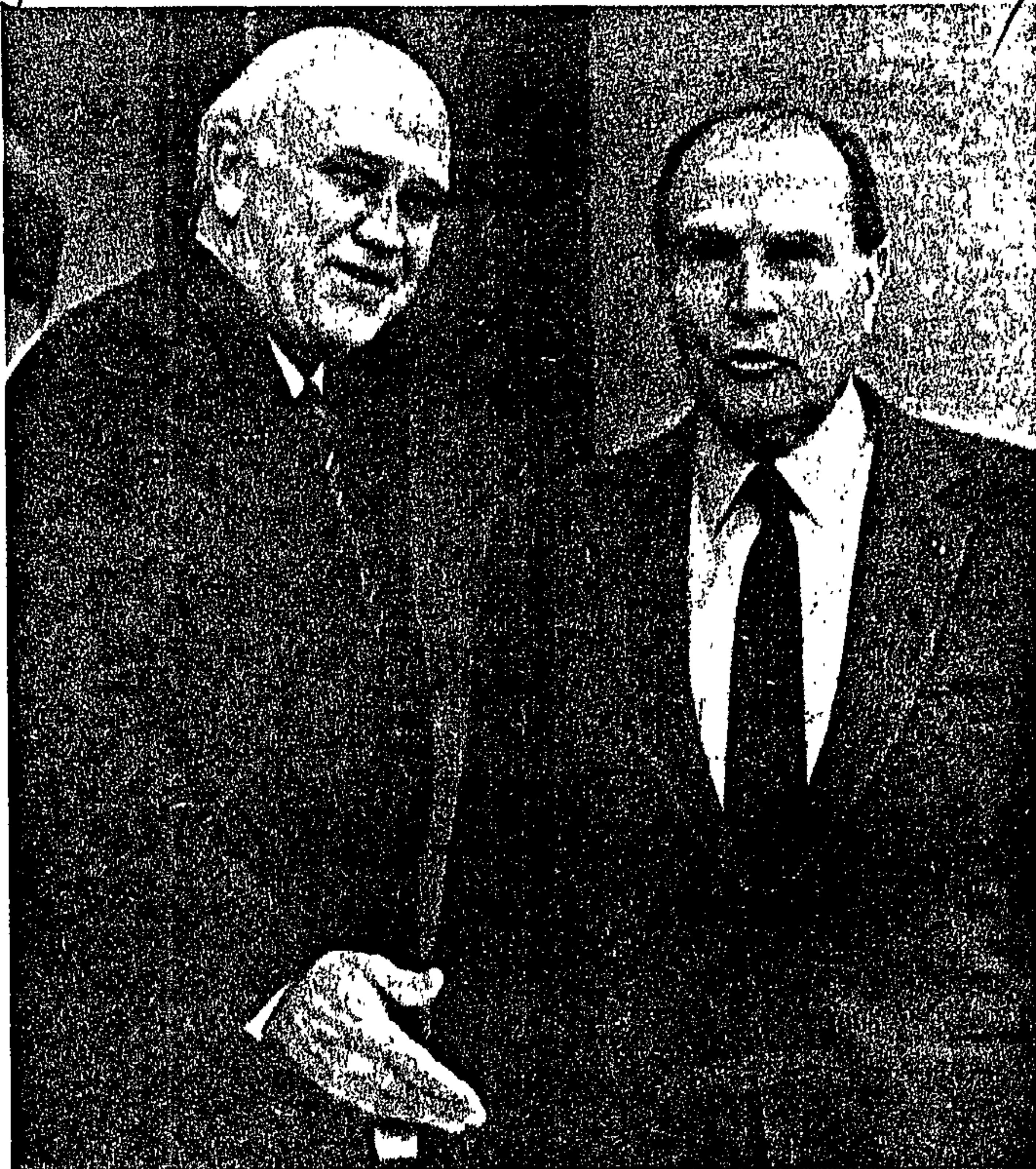
JUDGMENT will be given in the Supreme Court today on whether Regional Services chief executive officer Mr Chris Mocke had the authority to bring an eviction application against some Paarl squatters.

After a dispute between management and workers in 1988, 34 workers were dismissed and evicted from the company hostels. They then built shacks on open land adjacent to the brickfields.

The squatters have disputed whether Mr Mocke and Mr Hendrick Gideon Geyser, an RSC health inspector, had the authority to bring a court application for their eviction from the land.

Mr Keyser had said in papers that the squatters unlawfully moved onto the farm on October 24, 1988 and a notice to vacate was delivered to them. When they refused, their structures were demolished twice. However, the shacks were rebuilt.

Mr Justice J H Conradie presided. Mr Alec Freund, instructed by Mr A Dodson of Mallinicks, Ross Richman and Closenber, appeared for the squatters and Mr J van der Westhuizen for RSC.



PRESIDENTS MEET . . . President F W de Klerk with President Francois Mitterrand of France at the Elysée Palace yesterday.

Picture: REUTER

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

PARIS. — France is re-evaluating sanctions against South Africa and the rest of Europe could follow within months, President F W de Klerk said last night.

The dramatic breakthrough flowed from his "most friendly" and "very positive" separate meetings here yesterday with President Francois Mitterrand and French Prime Minister Mr Michel Rocard.

"Sanctions are crumbling because of the momentum of the situation," said Mr De Klerk.

Beaming and confident, he told a press conference it was clear that France — "and indeed Europe" — stood ready to re-evaluate relations with South Africa.

Asked if relations between France and South Africa could improve as a result of the talks, Mr De Klerk responded: "They have already improved dramatically and will improve further in the short term."

He said the French leaders had apparently realised that the process of reform was an "irreversible process", adding that "within months great strides will be made towards the absolute normalisation of South African relations. There is no turning back".

He said he used the two meetings — which both lasted for about an hour

CART TOWERS 11/5/90
France to
30kA
think again
on sanctions,
says a
happy FW

Mandela for president?

PARIS. — Mr Nelson Mandela said in a French radio interview he had no objection to the warm welcome France gave President De Klerk and hinted he himself might run for the presidency one day.

Mr Mandela said: "Our policy of isolation of South Africa is clear. But Mr De Klerk has started dialogue with credible leaders of the country."

Mr Mandela played down the prospect of his eventual candidature for the presidency.

"That does not depend on me but on the ANC and the South African people," he said. — UPI

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He said he used the two meetings — which both lasted for about an hour — to emphasise that the government did not intend backtracking on constitutional change to a system which would be free of racism and "it is clear that this is not being doubted".

The positive role being played by the South African government was "recognised and accepted".

In another important development Mr De Klerk said he had found acceptance from the French leaders that both France and South Africa "should play a constructive role in the necessary rebuilding" of the economies of Southern African countries.

Mr De Klerk's talks at the Elysée Palace with President Mitterrand took place against a background of pomp and ceremony that belied the "private" status of the visit.

When President Mitterrand finally escorted Mr De Klerk from the building to his car — another positive signal — a smiling President De Klerk told journalists that the talks had been "constructive and very positive".

Earlier, President De Klerk met top French industrialists, bankers and businessmen over a working lunch.

It also emerged yesterday that Mr De Klerk had dined with the French Minister for External Trade, Mr Jean-Marie Rausch.

After the press conference Mr De Klerk met Mr Jacques Chirac, the mayor of Paris and former prime minister.

● A group of about 80 anti-apartheid demonstrators protested outside the South African embassy here yesterday and released balloons when President De Klerk's party drove past.

● FW gets a good press

— Page 3

says a happy FW

Mandela for president?

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Pig trips out through tunnel

PAARL. — Motorists using the Huguenot tunnel near Paarl could be excused if they thought the tunnel was built on Old MacDonald's Farm.

Traffic was almost brought to a halt this week when a big black pig strolled out of the tunnel at the Paarl end.

The pig, thought to have fallen from a farmer's truck, was taken to the Paarl municipal pound where officials are waiting for the owner to claim his bacon. — Sapa

Speeder snaps up 'snail' plate

LONDON. — A British motorist with a taste for speed paid R64 500 yesterday for the car registration number SNA 1 L.

"I want to be pulled over by the police for speeding and see their reaction when they ask my registration and I say: 'Snail'," Ms Christine Priest said after buying the number plate at a government auction.

A two-day sale of special number plates has raised more than R5,6 million. — Sapa-Reuter

Sports award for Greyvenstein

CAPE TIMES assistant editor and sports columnist Mr Chris Greyvenstein won a merit award at the annual sports-writers awards last night.

The three sports-writers of the year were Boiki Mothei of City Press, Edward Griffiths of Business Day and Johan van Wyk of Rapport. — Sapa

crack of dawn



Simple majoritarianism is a load of ... if you'll excuse my French.

Syfrets Cape Times

Share Challenge

TODAY'S PRIZE:
R200

TODAY'S INDEX:
(+) R2,83

There was 3 winners yesterday

If your share price total movement equals exactly R2,83 today, you are a winner! Call (021) 208 4702/4760 between 9am and 2pm today to make your claim. If you haven't already applied call 208 4760 for a free card. No queries or requests for cards will be dealt with on any other telephone numbers.

DAILY LISTING — Page 7
STOCK PRICES — Page 10

WINNERS!

THREE people each won R533 yesterday in the Cape Times/Syfrets Share Challenge competition — Mrs C Borkum of Kenilworth, Mrs Beppe Fortes of Kenilworth and Mrs Helen Tomlin of Rondebosch. Six other potential winners who would have shared the R1 600 prize failed to contact us before the 2pm deadline.



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WESTERN CAPE ONLY

FW gets a good press in Paris

CPL TUB 11/5/90

Political Correspondent

304A

PARIS. — The French media yesterday characterised the meeting between President F W de Klerk and President Francois Mitterrand as "a breakthrough" in relations between the two countries that could lead to a softening in sanctions.

The De Klerk visit was big news on French television and all channels carried reports of his arrival.

The influential national socialist daily Le Monde said in a prominent front-page report that the French government wanted to "support the SA President and his opening-up of the political situation".

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela merited "a gesture" and the socialist government was therefore opening its doors to the one who "unlocked the SA situation".

The newspaper said that since January 1982 Mr Mitterrand had hoped to be "a loyal and sincere interlocutor of SA". Eight years later the French president felt the moment had arrived.

Le Figaro said that while the meeting between the presidents was private rather than official it still had to be regarded as a breakthrough.

In one of the reports with the most positive implications appearing yesterday was in the left-leaning Liberation, which said Mr De Klerk had "irreversibly" changed SA's image.

Mr De Klerk was described as the initiator of realpolitik and France should act now or it would be "left sitting on the station", Liberation said.

Liberation said the European Community as a whole wished to make a gesture. France could possibly play the role of "go-between".

The newspaper predicted that the lifting of the ban on the sale of Krugerrands in France could possibly be lifted and that sport and cultural contacts could be strengthened between the two countries.

Optimistic FW flies to Greece today

Paris talks lift hopes of new stance on SA

11/5/90 304A

by Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent
and Sapa-Reuter

PARIS — President de Klerk arrives in Greece this afternoon on the second leg of his European tour, which is already producing favourable results for the South African Government.

His talks yesterday with French President Francois Mitterrand appear to have been a resounding success and may contribute to hastening the relaxation of European sanctions against Pretoria.

South African officials said Mr de Klerk would meet Greek President Constantine Karamanlis and Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis this afternoon before taking a weekend break with his wife, Marike.

It is the first visit to Greece by a South African head of state, they said.

Mr de Klerk is expected to try, as he did with Mr Mitterrand and French Prime Minister Michel Rocard, to convince the Greek politicians that the Government's reform initiatives are genuine.

Highly praised

He may also try to strengthen trade ties between South Africa and Greece.

Mr de Klerk appears to have made a good impression on France's largest newspaper, Le Monde. He was highly praised by foreign editor Jean-Pierre Langellier.

The columnist described Mr de Klerk as a "convert", who was more credible because his conversion had been so gradual. He said Mr de Klerk understood ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela's dilemma. The bond between them was South Africa's "trump card".

At the end of his talks with Mr Mitterrand, Mr de Klerk emerged smiling and reported a "very positive" meeting. He signalled a dramatic improvement in relations with France and hinted strongly at France being on the verge of at least easing sanctions.

Mr de Klerk said that if South Africa implemented its reform plans — as it intended to do — great strides in a matter of months would be made towards normalising relations with Europe.

At his press conference he stressed:

- That in a new South African constitution everyone would have a vote of equal weight. Its structure would depend on local negotiations but there would be no racial discrimination.

- The Separate Amenities Act would be scrapped within six weeks.

- On the state of emergency, he said the Government, after its talks with the ANC, had reiterated that it wanted to lift the curbs.

The ANC had also committed itself to help reduce violence so the emergency could be lifted.

The possibility of partial lifting of the emergency — and leaving it in place in areas like Natal — was being considered.

- He confirmed he had met French Minister of External Trade Jean-Marie Rausch on Wednesday night for general discussions.

- He had lunched with French industrialists and informed them of the SA situation.

Sources in Paris said yesterday the European Community is about to lift some sanctions and boycotts.

Mr de Klerk noted afterwards that he had "made a very particular request" to Mr Mitterrand to drop a ban on sports and rugby links between the countries.

Mr de Klerk enjoyed some of France's finest cuisine during his stay in Paris. On Wednesday evening, he dined at the Restaurant Laurent with Minister Rausch.

Last night Mr de Klerk and his wife Marike dined after a victorious day of business, with Foreign Minister P. J. Botha, his wife, Helena, and top South African officials.

They dined at the 200-year-old Grand Ve-four, one of the city's most elegant restaurants.

Today, however, it was a pre-cooked breakfast for Mr de Klerk as he jetted to Athens.

● See Page 9.

He said further it was clear to him that France and Europe "stand ready to make a total re-evaluation of the situation in South Africa".

Mr de Klerk's talks with Mr Mitterrand lasted an hour. A 40-minute meeting was usually considered exceptional, said French diplomats.

At the press conference in the King George V Hotel, Mr de Klerk said he had been received in a "most friendly manner and had been impressed by the warmth of the meetings".

DE KLERK AND THE MARKETS

FIM 11/5/90

The human factor

(304A)



It is trite to say that the pace of change has become unprecedented. Lateral-thinking President F W de Klerk and his men, inspired perhaps by some high-road, low-road vision of the future, vault on to new political pastures while everyone — diehard Nats, fading socialists, liberals *et al* — struggle on behind them, trying to keep up. Or so it seems; and certainly many have not yet assimilated the major reforms initiated in February, or cannot come to terms with them.

People are not complete fools: they tend to remember that Oceania has not always been at war with Eastasia and at peace with Eurasia. Even when, as George Orwell pointed out in 1984, faithful party newspapers tell them this is so — yet sides have changed.

Equally, though, there are many genuinely perplexing elements in the processes of change. One is what might be called the national mood, which, judging by the reactions of markets, can't decide on an appropriate optimism or pessimism — or even anything in between. One week, ANC statements of position on nationalisation, the armed struggle and sanctions cause precipitate selling and emigration. The next, a jovial photograph of SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo and Foreign Minister Pik Botha outside Groote Schuur brings a touch of spring to the JSE.

We know that a week is a long time in politics — but an era? Should these sharp extremes really display such manic-depressive peaks and valleys? Surely the issues are in danger of being forgotten?

It is worth recording some of these issues, where they show convergence of opinion and where they do not. Assume that the major players are as at present — ANC and government.

- Everyone will have a vote of equal weight but there is disagreement on the protection of minorities. If there is only so much political power in a country, redistribution creates vulnerabilities and demands for safeguards. Yet protection for a minority might favour that minority if it already holds a virtual monopoly on power in terms of control of the economy and its security.

The debate on what kind of parliament we are to have has scarcely begun. The law still defines voters racially.

- Gross disparities in wealth must be addressed. Here the focus of debate is on nationalisation and equality of opportunity in terms of land reform and public spending. Special funds for socio-economic redress merely scratch the surface and can be construed as charity.

Repeal of the pillars of geographic apartheid — the Group Areas Act and Land Act — will not in itself help much. Barring expropriation, residential profiles might remain un-

altered for quite a while. So any future government will inherit a growing mass of poor and miserable people. Attempts to meet the challenge through populist economic measures — in particular nationalisation — will stifle growth and be self-defeating.

- Political freedom and an actual or potential share in the country's wealth require security. Civil war must be avoided; so must the insidious deterioration of services and the quality of life. Who controls the army, the civil service, the framework of the law (not the same thing as its officers) and the educational structures is pivotal.

That control can be shared but managing the interregnum is immensely difficult when these bodies have long been politicised — for the benefit of a minority — and have their own protected personnel and, therefore, ideological momentum. The CP knows this very well.

What De Klerk has so far done is to say to the ANC: the door is open, everything is negotiable. The ANC has not responded with as much open-handedness because it has a long memory of oppression — and because it is actually very weak, ill-organised and a little confounded by the prospect of actual power. Its ability to call down new sanctions has been radically curtailed and might be even more so after De Klerk's European tour.

Nelson Mandela's announcement this week that, in fact, no new sanctions will be summoned up might simply be anticipating the inevitable.

And perhaps — now that the antagonists have met face to face, always a humanising event — the ANC is also increasingly persuaded of government's sincerity. Whatever the case, the passing of each day locks it further into negotiations like a reluctant bride already halfway down the

aisle. The guests want to throw confetti and swig champagne, not go home in disappointment.

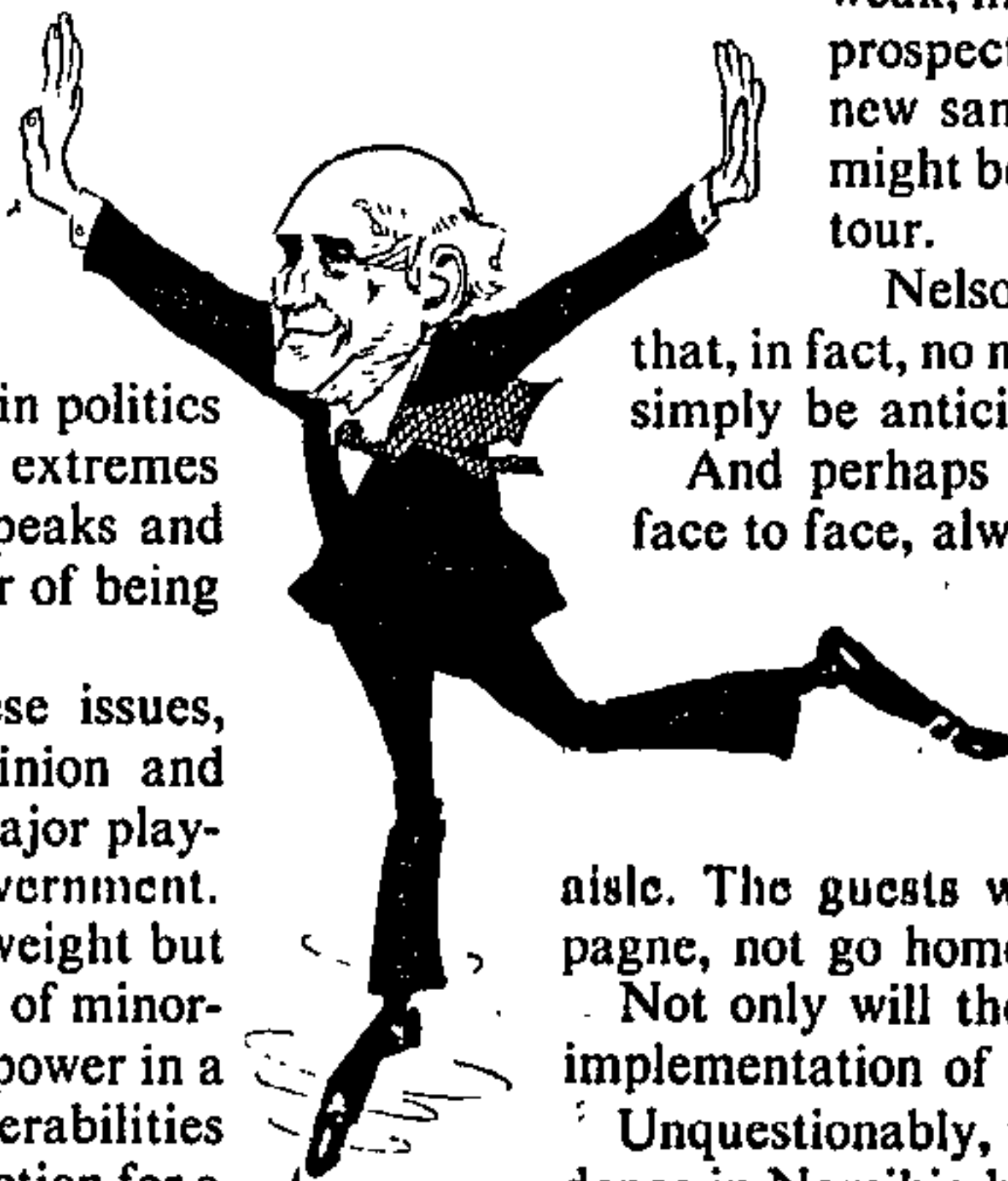
Not only will the process of negotiations be protracted, implementation of any agreements will be far more so.

Unquestionably, the relatively easy transition to independence in Namibia helped nurture the idea that some kind of solution was possible here. But, quantitatively, SA is not Namibia: there are more people, there is more wealth, so there are more problems, if not thirty-fold more.

Nonetheless, even considering those long-term issues there is sufficient evidence for guarded optimism.

Our memories may have become attenuated but, last weekend, P W Botha emerged from cover to remind us all of what kind of society he helped perpetuate.

His refusal to give support to De Klerk indicates that if he was still in power, the penalties — in forgone growth, in an intensifying sense of social entrapment — would still be awful. So much worse than the jittery mood swings of the present.



Thorny issues

Government has, for the first time, formally accepted the concept of political offences committed by members of the ANC and similar groups in trying to achieve their aims. FIM 11/5/90

This was confirmed during this week's parliamentary debate on the Indemnity Bill by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. He agreed with the CP's Frank le Roux that the NP will participate in talks with the ANC and other groups to define what is a political offender. Le Roux argued it was a term that had up to now been rejected with contempt by the NP. Coetsee acknowledged it was a new concept.

Up to now, government argued that people jailed for politically motivated offences (such as Nelson Mandela and his ANC colleagues) were security prisoners. It also argued that even if crimes were politically motivated they had to be regarded as criminal and not political.

Coetsee said though no existing statute provided for "purely political offences," certain actions could now be considered as such in terms of the Bill. "Certain offences may be recognised as purely political, for instance treason directed solely against the State and not involving a common crime such as murder. In certain circumstances a common law crime, yes, even murder, may be a political offence."

He added that one of the principle factors to be considered in common law crime, "even a very serious crime," was the motive of the offender.

The Bill, supported by all parties in parliament except the CP, allows the president to grant a pardon or temporary immunity to people convicted of political offences, standing trial or awaiting trial for such offences, or suspected of such offences. It means members of the ANC and other groups can either be released from prison or return to SA without fear of prosecution to participate in

talks to "remove obstacles" to further negotiations. (304A)

It also allows for the granting of indemnity against civil actions. Government has consequently made provision in the Bill for ex gratia payments to people who may have been in a position to make civil claims against people granted indemnity.

Coetsee says an acceptable definition of political offences and political offenders will be agreed by a working group comprising members of government, the ANC and other interested parties.

The Bill provides for both temporary and permanent immunity, including immunity against civil or criminal action in any court, as well as against detention in terms of any law. People granted immunity will still be subject to other laws.

A more permanent arrangement on how to deal with alleged offenders outside SA, as well as members of organisations serving prison terms for "political" offences and the possibility of a general amnesty, will be negotiated but is unlikely to be implemented for some time.

The Bill is simply an interim measure aimed at promoting the current peace talks between government and the ANC. ■

Smiles for now

President F W de Klerk set off on his grand tour of Europe this week against a background of increasing co-operation between government and the ANC. He will be hoping for a more sympathetic understanding of the process of change.

There is little doubt that last week's Groote Schuur meeting exceeded expectations. One government delegate said afterwards that both sides now have "far more confidence in each other than we expected to achieve." (304A) (47)

Nelson Mandela significantly moderated the ANC's stance on the "armed struggle" by saying its future would be seriously reconsidered by the ANC's National Executive Committee. He also softened his stance on sanctions by saying he would not call for any new measures as long as the talks progress at their current pace. He has previously called for an intensification of sanctions.

Mandela's attitude on both issues was a pleasant surprise for government delegates. One said Mandela went much further at the press conference than he had in either formal or informal discussions during the talks.

There are now indications that a joint ANC-government working group set up to look at the most pressing problems — the definition of political offences, the release of political offenders, and immunity — will form the core of a more permanent committee to examine issues and "obstacles." The group is due to report back by May 21.

The ANC's international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki said there was a need for a joint working group of some sort in the coming months "to resolve problems as they arise." He suggested that unilateral action recently taken by government to curb unrest in Natal was an example of what should not be happening. In reality, both government and the ANC are already moving towards co-operation across a wide spectrum.

At grassroots level as well, government and ANC-orientated organisations are talking peace. In what was regarded as a significant breakthrough in Uitenhage earlier this month, Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and leaders of the local MDM network agreed on methods to end violence, build trust between the SAP and the community and open channels of communication directly between Vlok and the community.

A similar agreement was reached between Vlok and community leaders in Thabong



De Klerk, Viljoen, Mandela . . .

smiles

(304A)

near Welkom in the OFS. They travelled to Cape Town to complain about the detention of some residents. Vlok agreed to release them if they helped restore order in the township and stopped a consumer boycott of Welkom shops. It worked, though the consumer boycott has resumed in the face of growing militancy by white extremists.

Government sources believe similar agreements are possible in many areas, particularly if they are formalised at a higher level between government and the ANC. Deals being considered include the lifting of the State of Emergency in all areas except Natal, in return for a conditional suspension of the armed struggle. It has also been suggested that the ANC could ease its stand on sanctions, in return for a scrapping of certain security laws and the release of "political" prisoners.

Government is hoping to involve the ANC in more decisions, particularly on issues affecting blacks. It's all part of De Klerk's consultative style. The ANC wants the added legitimacy such consultation can give it. After all, an informal working arrangement is only one step away from a formal arrangement, which in turn is not far removed from a joint interim government — which is what the organisation is hoping for at some future date.

But the ANC also faces the very real danger of co-option. Power sharing in P W Botha's tricameral system destroyed Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party because it led to coloured politicians enforcing their people's subjugation. Though De Klerk is a far cry from the manipulative Botha, Mandela will have to be careful not to be perceived to be falling into the same trap. ■

SA IN BLACK AND WHITE

FIM 11/5/90

304A



The racial structure of SA society has played a major role in the production of economic data which can't "capture the complex reality of socio-economic transformation," says the Small Business Development Corp's Wolfgang Thomas.

He suggested at a symposium in Durban last week that deracialising the framework, recognising gaps such as the informal sector, reintegrating the homelands and including more regional, sectoral and enterprise data would produce more accurate figures.

Not only is academic research hampered by these questionable statistics but compilation is complicated by the many different cultures in the community, the existence of the homelands and recent wide-ranging structural changes, including "rapid urbanisation, demographic transition, a reorientation of imports and exports and the rapid growth of self-employment and the small enterprise sector."

Thomas says ethnic differentiation of data is "totally unnecessary" and misleading.

He believes GDP growth rates, the primary indicator of economic growth, are

distorted by an over-emphasis of macro-economic aggregates which are heavily influenced by cyclical or abnormal changes in agriculture and mining. Thomas says GDP figures should look at a far wider range of variables because the narrow focus has led to a gross understatement of GDP.

"The same points can be made about other macro-trends.

These include black urbanisation, which may have reached 60% rather than the official rate of about 48%, unemployment (1989 estimates range from 700 000 to 6m), skilled manpower needs, new or gross investment,



personal savings and the housing stock."

Another problem is the time lag in publishing data. "It is common to be presented with trend figures covering the Seventies and early Eighties." Researchers often base conclusions on these though they are irrelevant to the changing environment.

For all the people (304A)

■ Entrenching privilege could be the surest way of losing it

It is no longer a question of where we want to go politically, but how to make sure we get there. President F W De Klerk has already made it clear that apartheid will go as soon as possible. What was once unthinkable — a nonracial common voters' roll — is now inevitable.

In principle, it is very simple to create such a roll. There will be difficulties with registration and illiteracy, of course, but with proper preparation these can be overcome.

The problem is that a national voters' roll is not a solution in itself. It is nothing more than the end of the beginning. The crucial decision is this: what electoral system would be best suited to our diverse society? What system has the best chance of producing a government that is representative, stable and accountable?

Much has been written about various methods of decentralising power — federation, cantons and so on. But all the major political actors insist that SA will remain a unitary State — indeed, will revert to being a unitary State with the likely reincorporation of the TBVC "countries."

This means that ultimate power will rest, as it does now, with a single central authority (which may or may not choose to devolve some of its power). We are concerned with how that authority can be put in place using a common voters' roll.

One option is to extend the Westminster system that has elected white House of Assembly MPs and produced governments since 1910. (The central characteristics have remained virtually unchanged since then.) The sovereign assembly is composed of a fixed number of members (166 in recent years), each elected to represent a geographic area, or constituency, of voters. By convention, government is then formed by members

of the majority party, or an alliance of parties, and the minority go into opposition.

The theory behind the system is that each constituency should represent a roughly equivalent number of voters and physical boundaries are drawn in an attempt to reflect the population distribution.

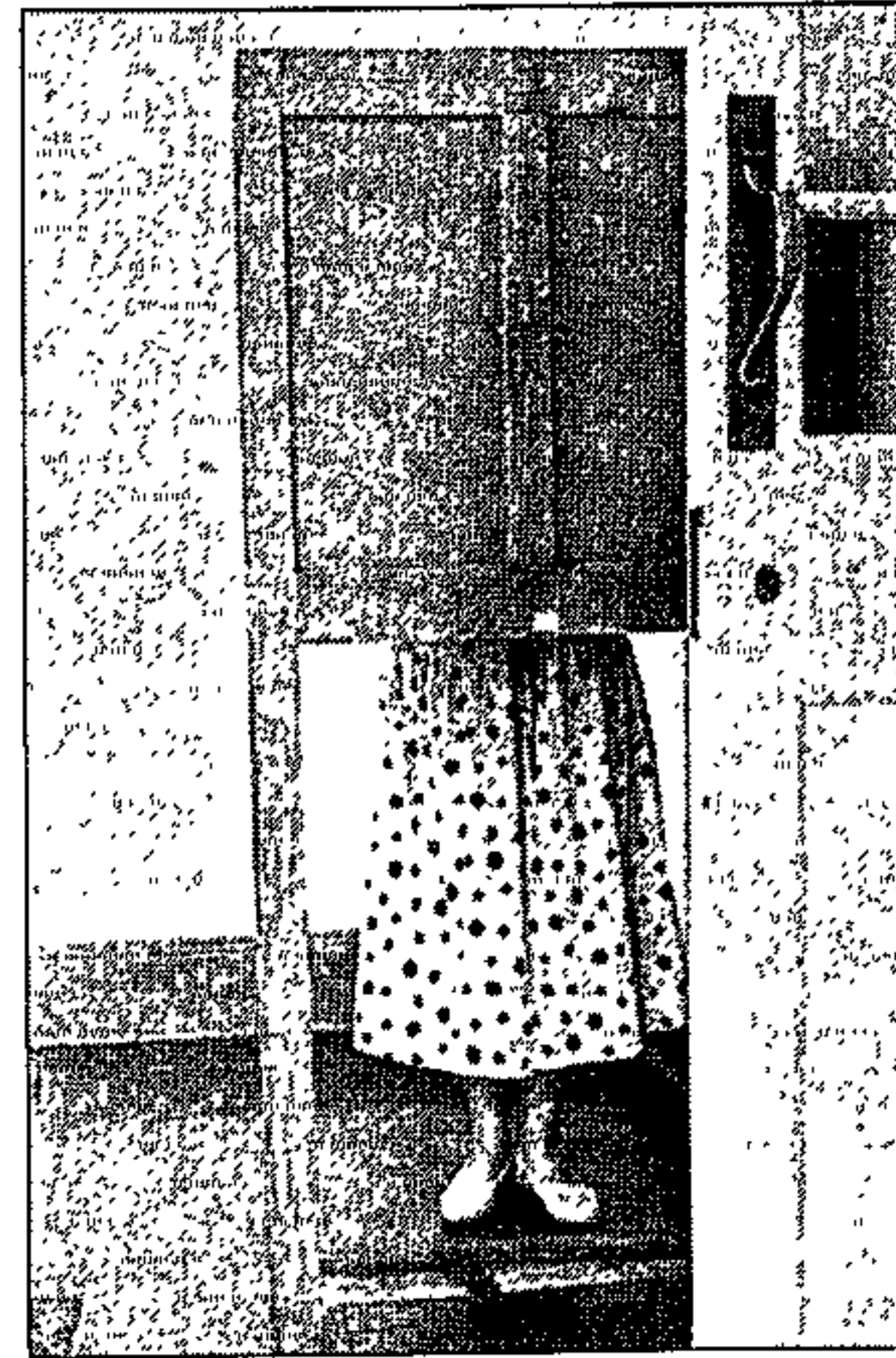
Reality has been somewhat different. For political reasons, the system has always favoured rural constituencies and this imbalance has become worse with steady urbanisation. A vote in Kuruman, for instance, is now worth more than five votes in North Rand.

But such anomalies can be rectified when-

ever a delimitation commission sits: the principle of the system remains. As in Britain, the MP is answerable primarily to the voters of his constituency and they are the only people who can kick him out.

This is important. However great a political party may be, and however tyrannical its leader, they are powerless to deprive an MP of his seat. They can disown him, expel him from the party, even select someone else to oppose him at the next election — but only the voters can remove him from parliament. This tends to concentrate an MP's mind.

The system is far from perfect. In SA and elsewhere, it has always tended to favour



Having their say ... and giving it equal force

Europe ready to re-evaluate stance on sanctions, says De Klerk

PARIS — SA relations with the international community would improve dramatically within months, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He added that France was re-evaluating sanctions against SA and the whole issue would soon be reassessed by the EC.

De Klerk was addressing a Press conference at the George V Hotel here after highly successful hour-long meetings with French President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

The two accepted the irreversibility of change in SA, he said.

The President said that after meeting Mitterrand he had gained the impression that France and Europe as a whole were ready to re-evaluate their position on sanc-

tions because they were impressed at the manner in which SA was changing. Any re-evaluation of sanctions, he said, would be at an EC level.

He had found Mitterrand and Rocard, who both received him in a friendly manner, to be well informed about SA.

He believed France and Europe were ready to re-evaluate their relations with SA. As soon as government implemented steps it had already announced, SA's relations with the international community would — within months — begin to improve dramatically. SA's relations with France had already improved.

De Klerk said he had not come to Europe cap-in-hand to secure the lifting of sanctions, but the issue had been raised.

MIKE ROBERTSON

His view was that SA had survived sanctions but that they were retarding its ability to redress social backlogs. "The time has come for a total re-evaluation of sanctions because if they do that, the international community would help us to start facing the challenges... much sooner."

On the question of specific trade issues, De Klerk said such items had not been dealt with. However, since February 2 barriers to trade with SA had begun to fall.

Despite earlier reports that there would be large-scale demonstrations against De Klerk's visit, the only opposition came from about 80 people who gathered for a few hours outside the SA embassy.

The meeting with Mitterrand overran by 30 minutes, double the normal time allocated for a "private" visit.

The French president accorded the SA delegation a military salute on arrival and departure from the Palais d'Elysee.

Three platoons of the Republican Guard assembled in the courtyard of the Elysee before De Klerk's arrival.

Foreign Minister Pk Botha also attended the talks, but not his counterpart, Rocard.

Mitterrand ushered De Klerk into his ornate personal office — an indication of the "warmth" of De Klerk's reception, a French foreign ministry aide said.

Also unusual for a private visit was the fact that Mitterrand escorted De Klerk to

the steps of the palace after their talks.

After the meeting the SA delegation was again rushed through the streets of Paris, preceded by motorcycle outriders, to the Hotel Maitignon, the office of Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

Late last night he met the mayor of Paris and former prime minister Jacques Chirac.

On his first night here De Klerk attended a dinner hosted by Jeanny Lorgeoux, a Socialist member of the lower House. Also present was External Trade Minister Jean-Marie Rausch.

The delegation flies to Athens today where De Klerk will meet Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis.

● Picture: Page 3

Shock report on cop killings

A TOTAL of 139 people have been killed and 1 429 injured "directly or indirectly by police action" since State President FW de Klerk's watershed reform

SOWETAN Correspondent

speech on February 2.

This shock figure - including the homelands which have been plagued by unrest since the unbanning of the ANC - was given yesterday by the Human Rights Commission in its latest update on political unrest.

Contradiction

The HRC said there was "a contradiction between what the Government is saying to the international community and what the police are doing on the ground".

Much of the current repressive state action was taking place in country towns and rural areas.

Detentions

The legal space created for free political activity by De Klerk stood in question.

The HRC said the number of detentions under the state of emergency had risen to 324 on Wednesday.

A further 43 people were being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and six under Section 31 of the Act.

Its estimate on people killed or injured through police action since February 2 was conservative because it had mainly been compiled from Press reports.

Its breakdown revealed that 89 people through direct or indirect police action in South Africa and 50 in the homelands. A total of 966 people had been injured in South Africa compared with 463 in the homelands.

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Mitterrand, FW meet

PARIS - South African President F W de Klerk arrived at French President Francois Mitterrand's official residence in Paris at 4.30pm yesterday for the first talks on developments in South Africa. *11/5/90*

De Klerk was accompanied by SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and will meet Mr Mitterrand and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

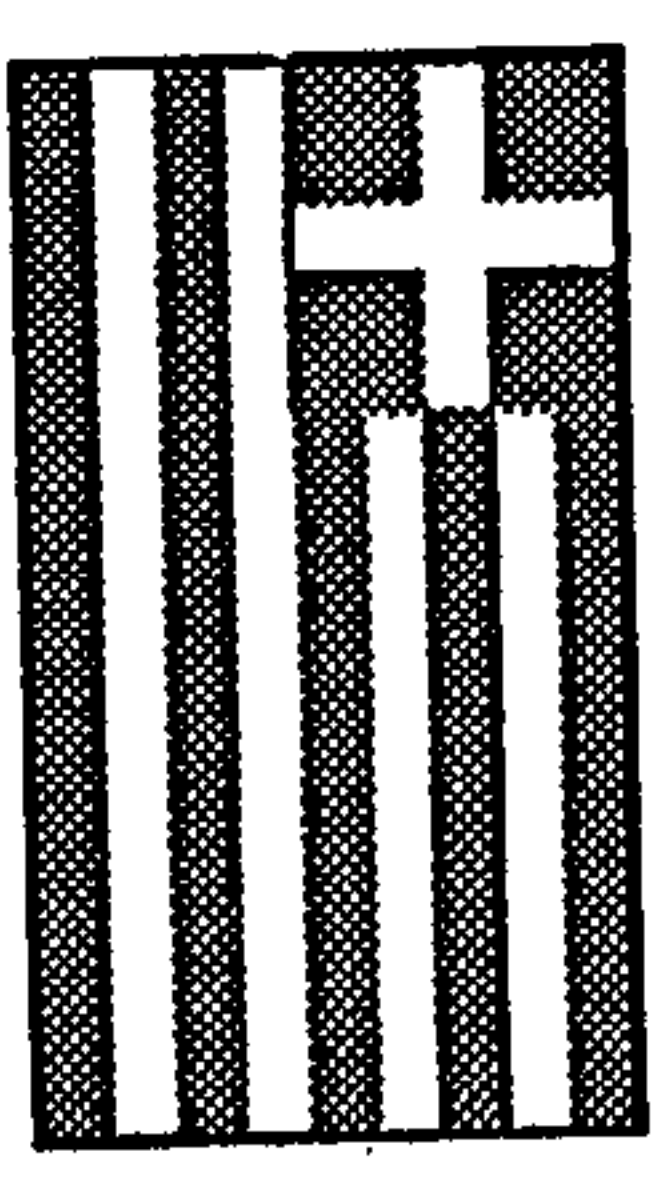
The discussions will be followed up later in a separate meeting with French Prime Minister Michel Rocard. *(3048)*

Three platoons of French presidential guards presented arms and played a military salute in the courtyard for De Klerk before he was welcomed on the steps by Mitterrand and escorted into the historic building to start the talks. - Sapa

Steel 11/5/90 304A

By ESMARE VANDER MERWE

The Greek connection: FW in bid to boost ties



The President in Europe

The Verwoerdburg suburb of Irene, close to Pretoria, was named after Greek Princess Irene, sister of the reigning Queen of Spain, Queen Sophia.

During World War 2, the Greek Royal Family sought brief refuge in SA with the assistance of General Smuts.

Strong historic links exist between the two countries. But cultural and trade relations are surprisingly minimal despite a large Greek community of about 100 000 in South Africa.

Diplomatic ties have existed since 1945, with Greece having an embassy and several consulates in South Africa. South Africa's current ambassador to Greece is Dr Sampie Golden.

A spokesman for the Greek embassy in Pretoria says close ties exist between the Greek community here and their country of origin. However, official relations between the two

countries have been cool over the past 10 years.

"Trade and cultural links are minimal. Greece closely follows the European Community line on South Africa. If the EC decided to lift sanctions, we will follow suit," he said.

He predicted that recent political developments here would boost relations between the two countries.

Institute of International Affairs researcher Gary van Staden believes President de

Klerk's visit to Greece is the first of its kind since World War 2. Former president P W Botha did not visit the country during his 1984 European tour which was the first major overseas trip by a South African head of state in 20 years.

"Greece has had a history of political instability and a fair share of socialist governments. Therefore relations have been cool."

While Greece, an EC member since 1981, has not taken

any unilateral action against the South African Government, it followed the 1986 EC ban on trade, says Mr van Staden.

However, in that year the Greek authorities urged prosperous Greek businessmen to reinvest their money in Greece to avoid losses through political turbulence.

The only other diplomatic event which has made headlines was in 1985 when the Greek government accused a South African diplomat of being involved in a spy scandal between Greece and Turkey.

Mr van Staden says Mr de Klerk's decision to include Greece on his tour itinerary was "part of a general bid to improve relations with Europe".

He will meet, among others, newly-elected Conservative Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis, President Constantine Karamakis and Foreign Minister Anthony Samaras.

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BACKG

By ESMARE VANDER
MERWE

The Greek connection: FW in bid to boost ties

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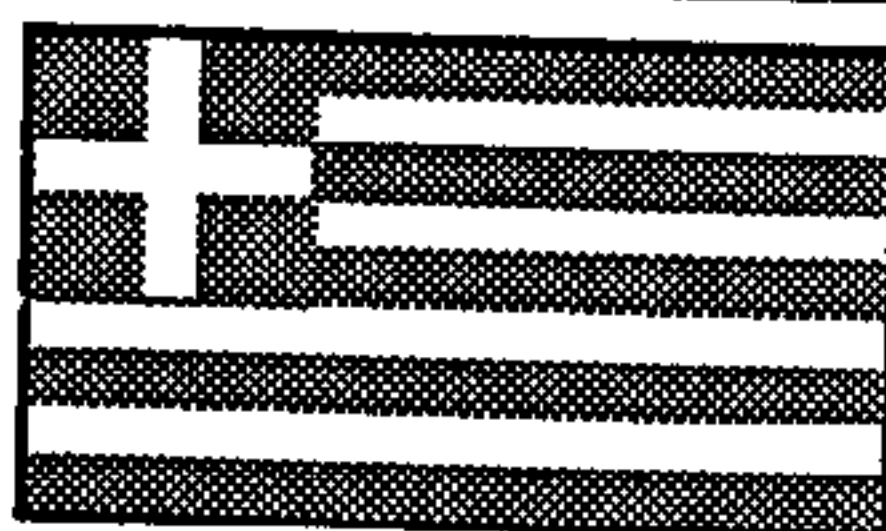
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The President in Europe

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Political rights: NP, ANC moving closer

b/c News 12/5/90

3041

Dr Gerrit Viljoen signalled a significant shift in National Party thinking by accepting that individuals will better be protected in a new South Africa by the protection of common values rather than constitutional groups or minorities, writes Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS.

THE National Party has accepted that the protection of common values, rather than constitutional groups or minorities, is a better way of ensuring that the constitution in a new South Africa will protect individuals.

This emerged after acting-president and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen signalled a significant shift in NP thinking when he said group protection was not necessarily a permanent principle, but was viewed as a method towards achieving a just and effective dispensation.

Speaking on the first day of debate on his department's budget, the government's chief negotiator spoke of constitutional protection for minorities as being "an essential method or road — an open-ended road — at this stage in our history towards achieving success in nation building".

In the interim, he argued, the existence of minorities — which was undeniable — should not be ignored and it would be "wiser to acknowledge and accommodate its conflict potential rather than sweeping it under the carpet".

Senior Nationalists say they recognise that constitutional stability must be founded on common values shared by all South Africans, irrespective of race.

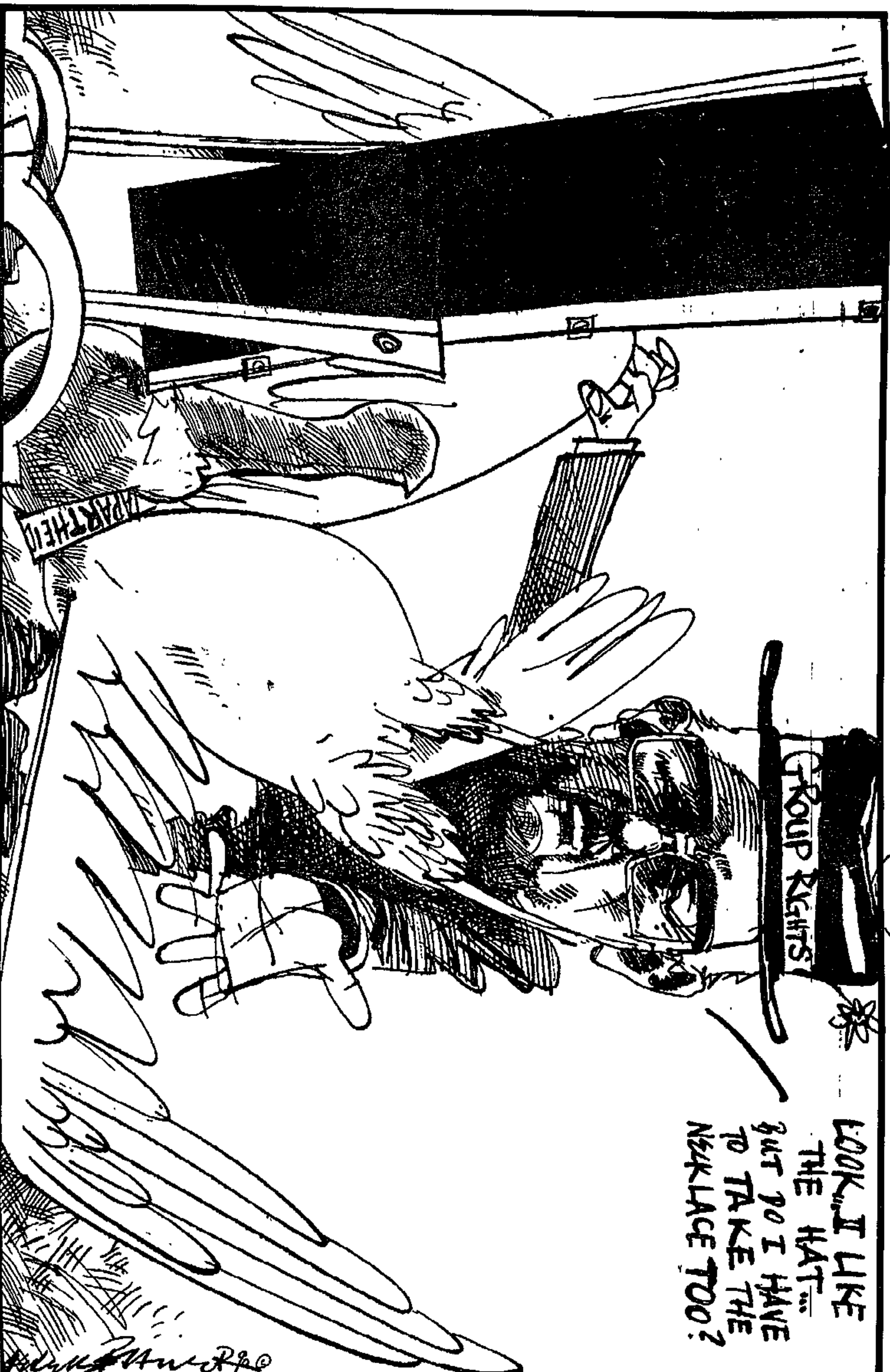
But, they say, certain constitutional guarantees will be necessary in the beginning to accommodate what Dr Viljoen called the "conflict potential" inherent in the reality of group diversity.

WHAT emerges, however, is that there is already a measure of compromise in the National Party's once-rigid stance on groups, so that they now seem a step closer to the ANC's position of recognising, and being prepared to protect, only language, cultural and religious rights over and above individual rights.

Interestingly enough, it could be argued that this is a significant example of the "convergence" which the Democratic Party predicted and indeed towards which it committed itself to work.

It is equally interesting to note that as part of his justification for this shift of emphasis, Dr Viljoen cited in his speech the 1969 Lusaka Manifesto of African States which "recognised the need for protecting certain group values or rights, albeit in a transitional period".

Managing such a transition with the greatest possible success and effect is in fact at the core of the National Party's gradual shift (conver-



gence?) towards a position more readily acceptable to other important power-players.

The group concept — which even Dr Viljoen recognised had become discredited because of its association with the power privilege of apartheid — is one of the stickiest issues in the forging of a new South Africa. It is tainted by the notion that it could be the basis for a new form of race-linked inequality.

It is of concern to the National Party precisely because the whole thrust of its present effort is aimed at dismantling and removing race-

based inequalities and being seen to be doing so.

One of the key figures in the ANC's constitution-making process, lawyer Mr Albie Sachs, sums it up when he says a problem arises when an attempt is made "to attach political rights to the right of the individual to be different".

THE right to expression through groups and communities, he argues, can be protected in other ways.

In a statement that seems to come close to the thinking in the inner circles of the National

Party, he says: "What we should look for is not protection of groups, but protection of interests."

Mr Sachs observed in an interview this week that while the gap between the government and the ANC on the question of group political rights was still large, it was no longer "enormously large".

The ANC believes — and the same sentiment was repeated often by the DP in last year's election — that special protection for whites would be the worst thing for whites themselves.

HOW REAL IS THE

w/e Argus

30kA

12/5/90

Rightwing threat?

INCREASED incidents of rightwing terrorism from a small but vicious lunatic fringe are inevitable if the Conservative Party is unable to constitutionally stop the process of reform by forcing and winning a whites only election.

However, in view of the absence of any definable, workable policy, the rightwing will eventually accept the inevitability of reform.

This is the view of experts who say that alternatives facing the right wing are:

- To gain sufficient support to control the white legislative assembly and to stall the legislative process,

- To consider armed insurrection, if sufficient support can be relied on from the security forces;

- To resort to terrorism and vigilante attacks,

- There was also the "Unita option," with rightwingers seceding and defending a designated geographic area, as Unita leader Jonas Savimbi had done in southern Angola.

Professor Pierre du Toit, head of the Department of Political Science at Stellenbosch, believes the immediate objective of the rightwing is to derail the present process towards political reform.

"The foremost thing in their minds is that if a deal goes through between the National Party and the ANC, they are gone, they will simply be out of the political game," he said.

The second rightwing objective would be to take control of the reins of political power.

ACCORDING to Professor Du Toit the CP can still potentially get the majority vote in the House of Assembly as long as there are separate voters' rolls and as long as separate elections are held for whites.

He pointed out however that from a constitutional point of view it would almost be impossible for the CP to make changes to the constitution.

"The 1983 constitution is very rigid and can be extremely difficult to change. In this the coloured and Indian houses have a veto. If you can't get their consent, you can't change the constitution."

So even if they gained control over the House of Assembly all they could do was to stall the political processes.

Professor Janis Grobbelaar of the University of South Africa's sociology department is co-author of a University of Natal study last year on the rightwing, Vir Volk and Vandal, with Professor Simon Bekker, also of the University of Natal. The study looked at the protest actions of the CP were geared towards institutional, white parliamentary politics.

The rightwing rank-and-file membership of the CP and its leaders still believed in using pressure and resolutions to influence the government and were mobilising support by organising marches and "saamtrekke".

Professor Grobbelaar said within rightwing circles there was growing "excitement" about the growth of support among whites despite growing talk of military options, and of them still favoured using parliament



Housewives watch a self-defence demonstration this week by two members of a vigilante group which has clashed with blacks in Welkom. Blacks launched a consumer boycott in retaliation.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, this week visited Welkom where the rightwing was showing signs of becoming increasingly militant and blacks were boycotting white businesses. GRAHAM LIZAMORE and DEON DELPORT examine the growing threat from the right.

as a way of stopping the government's reform direction.

"They have a strong perception of growth in this climate of doom and damnation and believe the government is selling out white interests."

She said the CP head office in Pretoria was a "hive of activity" but the real test for party leaders would be if they could get a million signatures in their campaign to force President De Klerk to call a general election for whites, and the size of the crowd they were able to muster on May 26 during their protest meeting.

HOWEVER Professor Du Toit believes that if they do not succeed in the constitutional option they might then look at extra-constitutional politics where they have to gain control through a coup d'etat. This would involve gaining enough key support within the security establishment.

It was difficult to say whether this option was on the cards.

"But in my view these people are so escapist that they are potentially motivated to do extreme things in order to escape what is happening around them, just imagine if they do take political control — the economic im-

plications, the international implications?"

Professor Grobbelaar said that among some rightwing groups there was increasing talk of arming their supporters and training people along military lines to protect themselves against the day the National Party caved in to the ANC and the SA Communist Party — or to overthrow the state.

She said analysts and historians had pointed out that if rightwingers grew increasingly doubtful of their ability to influence the State through winning at the ballot box, they would look at historical precedents where Afrikaners rebelled against the State, as in 1914 and during the Rand Revolt.

She warned that another shooting outbreak like that of Barend Strydom in Pretoria would have a major impact on the country.

Another obstacle rightwing leaders faced was being able to develop a strategy that "delivers some goods to their supporters". "At the moment, like the ANC, they are a bit all over the place."

DESPITE the increasing militancy of those on the right, a likely scenario was that most whites would accept the inevitability of changes. Most whites stayed on in Zimbabwe after independence and unlike white

colonists in pre-independence Africa Afrikaners had no other home. This was where they had their properties, children, history and culture.

"There is a lot of fluidity in rightwing circles and a strategy is in the process of being formed. Increasingly the leadership core is looking at some kind of white homeland."

Parliamentary groups were growing in number but they did not dominate the right's political arena, which was still tied to Verwoerdian grand apartheid.

The CP and more fringe rightwing groups were not yet giving attention to the conditions under which they would be prepared to sit down and negotiate and with whom.

"Their position is that they are not prepared to negotiate themselves into oblivion," Professor Grobbelaar said.

The February 2 speech of President De Klerk that announced the unbanning of the ANC and SACP had given the failing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging of Eugene Terre'Blanche a "shot in the arm".

However, in spite of increased uncertainty among the rightwing President De Klerk does not see them as a threat to his reform policies.

In a TV interview with France's biggest TV network he played down the importance of a "small group of white extremists" saying he was confident his people would not be influenced by these extremists.

The ANC views the rightwing with more alarm.

MR Thabo Mbeki, ANC director for foreign affairs, said at a Cape Town Press Club luncheon recently: "As South Africans we have inherited products of apartheid such as Barend Strydom who clearly believes he was correct in what he did."

"There are probably Barend Strydoms out there who are armed who believe that the apartheid system was a God-given system and the closer we get to real change, one would presume, the more desperate this sort of person would be."

This realisation, Mr Mbeki said, was not new.

"We have been dealing with problems of hostility towards the ANC for many years. We have had people who visited us in Lusaka to shoot us, to bomb us and so on, and when we caught some of them, you could see it, they were people who believed they had almost a divine mission to destroy the ANC — that is the principle danger that inevitably arises out of this process of change."

Mr Mbeki's view is shared by Mr Mark Swilling of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand who said there was a very real danger of increased terrorism from the right.

"If you have a small group of highly motivated people with a total ideology that includes origin, land, history and God, and you couple that to them having access to resources, money, skill and weapons, then the potential for the creation of highly motivated small terrorist groups becomes a reality," he said.

He therefore had no doubt that these groups would start appearing in the future.

DP 'turned down ANC'

CPI 7/1/95 12/5/90 (20) 384
PARLIAMENT. — The Democratic Party had turned down an ANC invitation to become part of a United Patriotic Front at the negotiating table, Mr Wynand Malan (DP Randburg) said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Constitution Development Budget Vote, he said the DP had turned the invitation down because it would hamper a democratic debate in a two-way confrontation with the government.

"We are democrats and we want to see the democratic process advanced," he said.

"We are not looking for a confrontational debate but one in which we can seek, really search, for answers." — Sapa

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De Klerk wins Greek support

CMB TIPS 12/5/90 3048

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ATHENS. — President F W de Klerk yesterday capitalised on his successful French visit by convincing the Greek government that his reform programme was "irreversible" and would eventually lead to the "total abolition of apartheid".

Mr De Klerk's meetings yesterday with Greece's President Konstantine Karamanlis and Prime Minister Mr Constantine Mitsotakis are expected to boost trade and lead to a relaxation of foreign exchange restrictions between the two countries.

Mr De Klerk said during the talks that blacks would be given an equal vote in an undivided South Africa with equal rights for all. Details of a new constitution would have to be negotiated with leaders of all communities in the country, he added.

Mr Mitsotakis said the EC would re-examine its anti-apartheid policy in the light of SA's political reforms.

A South African government source said Greece could play a pivotal role if there was a move at



IN ATHENS . . . President F W de Klerk and his wife Marieke.

next month's EC summit to review sanctions against Pretoria.

And in a meeting expected to have further important implications for SA relations with the EC, Mr Pik Botha is to meet his Canadian counterpart, Mr Joe Clark, in Athens tomorrow.

Speaking at an international press conference, Mr De Klerk said he regarded the inclusion of Greece on his European tour itinerary as a "historic event" as this was the first time since World War II that an SA head of state had paid a visit to Greece.

Meanwhile, international opposition is growing to Mr De Klerk's European tour, our London correspondent reports.

The UN Special Committee against Apartheid has described the official visits as "entirely premature".

In the UN statement issued from Nigeria, Special Committee chairman Mr Ibrahim Gambari said they were concerned that the visit by Mr De Klerk to nine EC countries "may be used by Pretoria as a manifestation of, and an instrument for, the relaxation of pressure against apartheid".

● Street protests against Mr De Klerk's visit erupted after he left Athens on a two-day island cruise, with students throwing stones at shops and hurling fire-bombs outside the parliament building.

A police spokesman said at least five people were arrested and another four were injured.

● The entire presidential touring party leaves Athens for the third leg of the nine-nation tour, Portugal, early on Monday morning.

The future in black and white

South

Feb 12/13/96

THE time has come for the advertising industry to move beyond shallow and empty interracial mixing that does not contribute to the sought-after new South Africa.

Creative directors, copywriters and strategic planners need to dream up concepts and ideas that will radically point to new possibilities for the future of all our people — black and white.

Little doubt exists that advertising is the most powerful medium to paint the type of society SA needs, wants. Failure to do that will condemn the people of South Africa to a creative wasteland through sheer neglect and illusion tinged with money-mongering.

Campaigns like *Jungle Oats* have shown that resources and talent are available for creating radically new ideas that influence the minds of TV audiences and makes hearts pump with pride to be South African. The question is: For how long are advertising agencies to continue being fearful of their clients?

The kind of advertising that the country needs now will not be easy to accomplish, nor will it happen without careful analysis and intelligent planning. If we are to enjoy integrated TV campaigns — which of course will largely be addressed to blacks in the near future — it will take a genuine African approach.

If today's advertising is to play an important role in the transformation of our society, then it is the duty of all creative people, media planners and general staff in agencies to come up with campaigns that will be a source of pride to their black audience.

Of course, the vision for new campaign that the country needs should not be taken from black people alone. But it is impossible for white creative directors and copywriters to produce work that pleases the black market. They just cannot do it — unless they are firmly committed to the ideals of the African majority.

The vision for new campaigns should be the result of a group

In February a reader's letter on this page questioned the local advertising industry's treatment of multiracial advertisements. The letter elicited considerable interest from the advertising industry with regard to whether multiracial advertising could or should play a part in creating a post-apartheid South Africa. The writer of the letter, journalist and former advertising executive SANDILE MEMELA explores the issue further.

of people whose love for this country is more than their desire to make more millions. The members of creative teams should include blacks and whites, and represent a cross-section of the total South African society.

The initiative for the new vision of integrated advertising and the creation of concepts meaningful to the African audience should come from black creative people. Because they are the only people who are tuned into the needs and nuances of the ever-growing black market.

Of course, they shall need to team up with their white counterparts. Because the whites hold the expertise, wield the power and own the resources to do the job properly.

It would be ludicrous to hope that black advertising expertise will fall from the African skies. It is the responsibility of agencies to train their black executives and expose them to hands-on experience of the creative challenges that exist in the advertising industry.

Fat cheques

What the advertising industry needs to guard against today is to allow black executives and professionals in its employ to fleece it of its fat cheques and company perks.

Blacks must earn their living! Whites must not be tricked into believing that they need to keep blacks who do nothing except translate white views to the black market.

As long as the advertising industry frustrates the desire of blacks for meaningful involvement and keeps them in its employ for window-dressing, South African advertising is doomed to remain what it is: a feeble at-

tempt to recreate the ideas of America and Europe.

Integrated campaigns will need to include an emphasis on national unity through an affirmation of the value of a new South Africa culture. There can be no new South Africa without the unity of the Afrikaner, the Englishmen, the black, the Indians and so-called coloured people of this nation.

Advertising has alienated the black audience and divided the nation because it has withheld reflection and appreciation of the black past and history. Blacks who do not know and recognise themselves on TV screens cannot possibly identify with white-created commercials.

Integrated advertising that has a black perspective does not mean exclusion of white lifestyles, culture and values. Indeed, SA advertising cannot be called integrated unless it sustains the combination of both black and white culture, lifestyles, histories and values.

Whatever vision of integrated South Africa is created, it must

be derived from and include at its centre love of the new society — the new culture of what ordinary people want the country to be.

To think that integrated advertising is doing well in the black market because it captures the imagination of the handful of well-to-do blacks is self-deception.

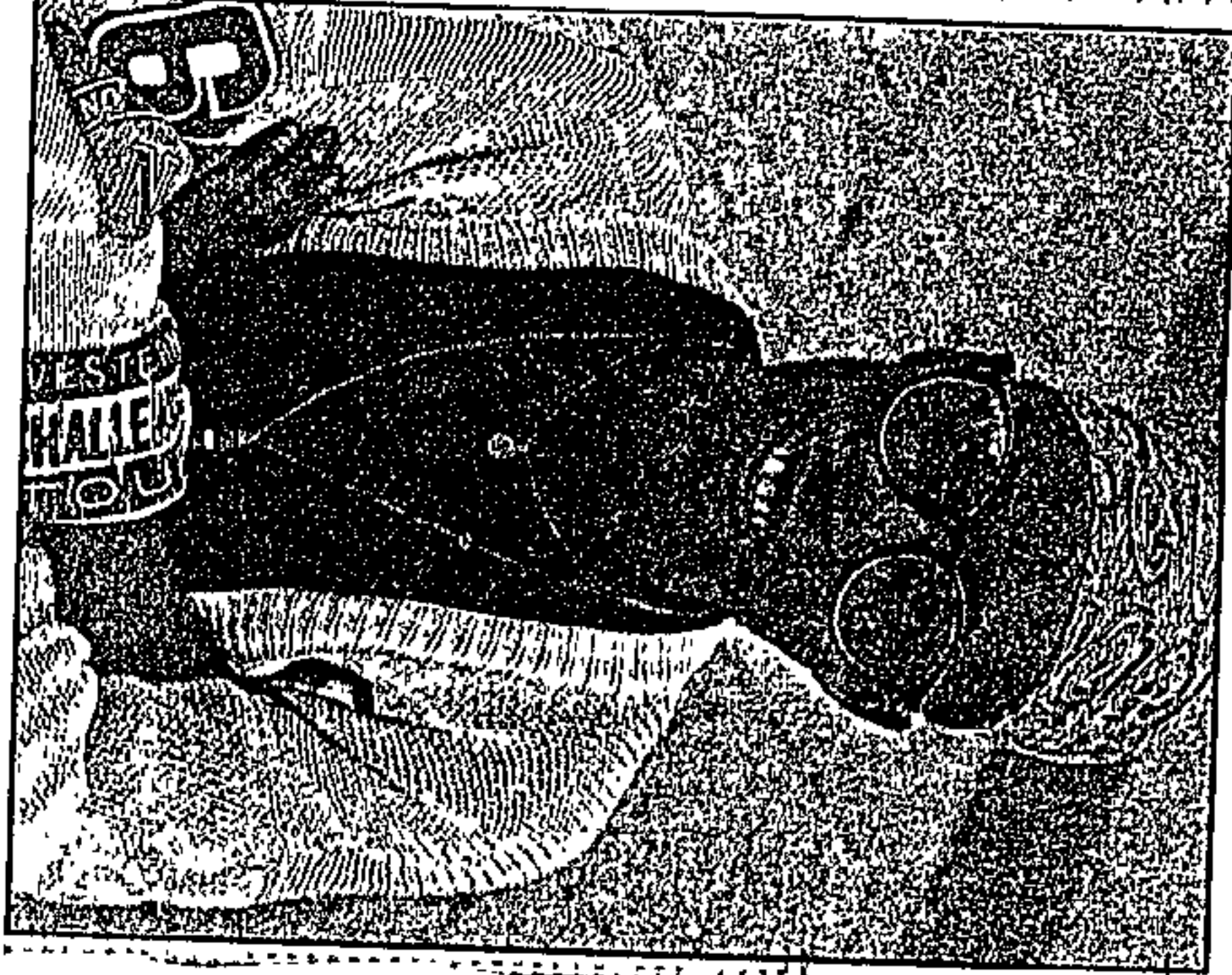
South Africa is full of black men who do not carry attaché cases to the office, do not speak fluent English and do not put on white shirt and tie to go to work. No advertising can catch a significant portion of the black market if it is largely directed at the black middle class.

Flight of fancy

If advertising continues to exclude the African heritage and ignores the contribution that black can make, it is doomed to be a flight of fancy that is not grounded on the realities of its situation.

The creativity and thought behind the *Jungle Oats* commercial is the best example in South Africa of the creative role that advertising can play in the transformation of our society. It has combined the innocence of our children, the aspirations of their parents and the political commitment to what South Africa ought to be.

But it has refused to allow either the politics of its creators or their race or ideals to separate them from the South African Dream of a single, nonracial and democratic society.



BLACK MAC: One of the most talked-about commercials on television nowadays is the amusing Cadbury's Lunch Bar "Jug-rah", played by local actor Denis Sechele (above). The commercial is the latest in many local productions that emphasise South Africa's multi-ethnic society. But, are these types of commercial simply a sop to integration or do they have a part to play in creating a new and better South Africa? See left.

FWT

304A

84 12/5/90

triumphs in Greece

EC to re-examine apartheid policy, says Greek leader

**PETER FABRICIUS,
ALAN DUNN and SAPA-REUTER**

ATHENS — President de Klerk's swing through Europe continued yesterday with a diplomatic triumph in Greece.

Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said that the European Community would re-examine its anti-apartheid policy in the light of Mr de Klerk's political reforms.

"I am impressed by Mr de Klerk's programme. In the light of the most recent developments in South Africa, the European Community will re-examine its (anti-apartheid) policy," Mr Mitsotakis told a news conference.

His comments, after a private meeting with Mr de Klerk, were the strongest sign yet that the EC may reconsider economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Plan to lift sanctions

This followed highly successful talks this week with President Mitterrand of France and the Dutch government announcement on Thursday that it had drafted a plan under which the European Community would lift sanctions against South Africa in six stages.

The details have already been circulated to EC Foreign Ministers, and will probably be discussed at their next meeting in Dublin on May 19.

More good news from the tour yesterday was that Foreign Minister Pik Botha is to hold a surprise meeting here with his Canadian counterpart, Joe Clark.

Mr Botha will see him in an Athens hotel tomorrow night to discuss bilateral relations between the two countries.

Mr Botha and Mr Clark will then have a working dinner at the hotel.

Mr Botha's office would not say what the meeting with Mr Clark was about, but it is understood that it may concern Commonwealth matters.

South African delegates

The South African delegation consists of Mr Botha, his director-general Neil van Heerden, head of the European section Jim Steward, South African Ambassador to Greece Sample Golden and D de Klerk.

The Canadian delegation consists of Mr Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs; De Montigny Marchard, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; Lucy Edwards, chairlady of the Southern African Task Force; policy adviser Larry Hagen and press secretary Abbie Dunn.

On his arrival in Greece, amid stringent security, Mr de Klerk was greeted by demonstrations staged by the local Communist Party and other anti-apartheid organisations.

As his talks with Mr Mitsotakis started, a series of small-scale demonstrations took place in the city centre. They were staged by the Communist Coalition Party, the youth branch of ex-Premier Andreas Papandreou's Socialist Party, and a number of other

Triumph

● FROM PAGE 1.

anti-apartheid and trade union organisations.

Mr Mitsotakis said after meeting President de Klerk in Athens yesterday that he firmly believed positive moves away from apartheid in South Africa were irreversible.

He emphasised Greece had always taken a strong stance against apartheid, but added: "I want to wish Mr de Klerk great success in the very important but difficult task ahead of him".

Commenting on the series of talks he and Mr Botha had held with the Greek Government, Mr de Klerk said his delegation had been "overwhelmed with friendliness".

The central issue of the discussions had been South Africa's belief that Europe should substantially re-evaluate its current policies on the country and the region as a whole, following dynamic developments in Southern Africa.

Referring to last week's talks with the African National Congress, Mr de Klerk said: "We are making

progress at a very acceptable tempo".

"There is a growing realisation of the new reality of change in South Africa and an acceptance that it is part of an irreversible process".

Other bilateral issues concerning the two countries were also discussed in detail.

Mr de Klerk also undertook to consider representations for fewer foreign exchange restrictions for South African Greeks wishing to send money to Greece.

The President also confirmed he would seriously consider the position of a Greek citizen being held prisoner in the Republic.

A Greek government spokesman later identified the prisoner only as "Skoularikis".

Dimitrios "Jimmy" Skoularikis (36) was given the triple death sentence in March 1987 for the murder of a prominent Greek businessman and his daughter and son-in-law. His sentence was later commuted.

Mr de Klerk and his wife, Marike, are due to be taken on a private sightseeing tour near Athens at the weekend before departing for Lisbon on Monday morning. — Sapa.

Indaba ideas come full circle

304A

S/Tues 13/5/98

al experience contained
ial for South Africa's
stitution builders, says
awid van Wyk of Unisa

proach has its advantages, but also its pitfalls. A lesson from the Indaba for the national heavyweights is: Don't omit anyone who can ruin the plan.

Namibia has shown there is no sole and authentic representative of the people. Overwhelming evidence points to a plurality of political interests in South Africa that can hardly be represented by two or three players.

A related lesson is: Don't be misled into the belief that because the constitutional plan is a good one it will be accepted by those who did not participate in its framing. The Indaba had to dis-

cover that even some who shared in the process eventually denied their role because they were not altogether happy with the outcome. Imagine the feelings of those who did not participate at all!

The second reason why the Indaba can be said to be on the return is evident from the events of the last weeks.

Haunted

Like happiness, the smiles and cooing oozing from Cape Town after the first formal meeting between the Government and the ANC will mean different things to different people. Whatever the

meanings, and whatever the interpretations, it is clear a pleasantly surprising discovery was made, especially by some of the "Boere": "One can talk to these guys ..."

The Indaba had its share of hard-nosed opponents learning they could actually talk about sensitive matters quite pleasantly, especially if the setting is conducive as well — like the imposing city council chamber in Durban or the stately Groote Schuur.

There is a third reason for the return of the Indaba.

The basic question that haunted the Indaba was how to marry the cry for universal suffrage with the need of certain groups for meaningful participation in the process of government and protection from sheer majority domination.

The same question hangs ominously over South Africa today.

The demands are quite explicit: the Government wants group participation

and protection while the ANC has made it clear in emphatic terms it will pursue every avenue to prevent groups from even being mentioned at the negotiation table.

The Government's position may explain its recent references, in terms more gracious than before, to the Indaba and, specifically, its two-chamber system.

A salient lesson from the Indaba, and one often missed in the effervescent, if not paranoid, debate about groups and minorities, is that groups or minorities should not be regarded as given for constitutional purposes.

Decide

In other words, it should not be said that groups or minorities are a fact and in need of participation and protection.

White South Africans, in particular, fall prey to this kind of reasoning.

They refer to ethnic experiences elsewhere and tend to speak on behalf of "all the other South African minorities", working on the assumption that what they perceive to be the other minorities feel the same.

In the Indaba, Afrikaners reached a point where they said, in so many words: "We want to be recognised as a group, regardless of how others feel."

Fears

The importance of this was fourfold — first, they were speaking for themselves only, and they demanded a solution had to be found to accommodate them; second, it was left to other groups or minorities to decide for themselves whether they wanted to be constitutionally recognised.

Third, it showed that one party claiming group participation and protection was sufficient to put the item on the agenda — to keep it off the agenda, all participants will have to be convinced.

Finally, it showed clearly that the question whether groups would be discussed at the negotiation table was not dependent on the fact that groups existed, but on the constitutional self-awareness of any such groups.

The ensuing debate, then, was not about how given groups should be protected, but about mechanisms to accommodate the fears of persons with a strong sense of group identity.

The Namibian experience underscores this point. In spite of a rich variety of ethnic groups, the overwhelming majority of Namibians felt it was unnecessary to reflect that fact in their constitution.

Agreement

The Indaba, on the other hand, concluded in 1986 that it had to do so to some extent in order to reach agreement.

Hence its well-known two-chamber system with background groups and limited vetoes, guaranteed participation in the Cabinet, cultural councils, economic advisory council, proportional representation, bill of rights and rigid constitution.

In the spirit of "let bygones be bygones", it might not be a bad idea for all concerned to dust off their personal copies of the Constitutional Proposals of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba.

They abound with food for constitutional thought at a time when the same old problems will have to be addressed by a new Indaba.

Those have

LIKE happy days, the Indaba is here again.

However, before the hackles rise over a connection between the Indaba and happy days, let it be known: the Government has yet to agree that implementation of the Indaba proposals in Natal would make sense, and the ANC has yet to admit that the Indaba was not just an Inkatha thing.

Why the fuss, then?

At least three points are worth mentioning.

First, it is clear to anyone who was involved in the Indaba experience of 1986 that the same scene is playing itself out at the national level today.

The KwaNa
useful mate
current cons
Professor D

hard and defiant line: "We don't talk unless ... it's on our terms."

Part of the dilemma lies in the lack of a challenge to participate. And the best challenge history and the nature of politics would suggest is to have an election, ideally based on proportional representation.

Pitfalls

Take the attempts to get participants to the negotiation table. The details differ, but the essence is similar.

Some profess their belief in the peaceful and negotiated settlement of disputes and are willing to commit themselves.

Others prefer to take the

So far, the Government appears to be going for the Indaba principle in assembling the round table. Participation is by invitation and, furthermore, open to anyone who can convince the convenors that he or she should be present. This ap-



Sunday Times Political Correspondent LESTER VENTER, touring with F W de Klerk in Europe, witnesses a bizarre pop concert in tribute to the South African president in the shadow of the Eiffel Tower ...

OKAY, it wasn't Wembley, where 70 000 celebrants gathered recently to honour Nelson Mandela and where Tracy Chapman, Neil Young and Terence Trent d'Arby were among the performers who gave of their talents.

There didn't seem to be more than 300 or 400 people at any one time on the steps of the awesome Museum of Man in Paris, with about half that number again sprawled round an ornamental lake and on a carpet of lawns running to the Eiffel Tower.

The unknown performers were billed not by name, but as being "African, French and Anglo-Saxon".

But this *was* the centre of Paris. And it *was* a pop concert, spontaneously organised in tribute to the South African President, Mr F W de Klerk, and reconciliation in SA.

And that's downright bloody amazing. The crowd, one in five of them black, hopped and jived unconcernedly against a backdrop of stencilled banners reading:

"Bravo De Klerk, Bravo Mandela."

"De Klerk is an African. Mandela is his brother."

"Mandela, De Klerk: Africa is watching you. Go ahead."

Admittedly, the signals are still a little mixed. A day after the concert an anti-SA protest was mounted outside the country's *Quai d'Orsay* embassy.

AND NOW IT'S THE PRO-SA POP SHOW

South
11/1/90
13/5/90



POMP AND CEREMONY ... the French presidential guard strikes up as F W de Klerk arrives at the Elysée Palace

...with coloured balloons, the mood of the 60-odd demonstrators seemed more festive than angry.

That President De Klerk should be given discreetly complimentary receptions by government leaders in Europe is perfectly apt in the circumstances.

Hushed

But when, as shown in the Paris pop concert, his name starts becoming as much a part of the lexicon of street people in foreign cities as the name Gorbachev, then surely things are really changing for South Africans.

Mr De Klerk's brave leap into the spirit of the age, taking SA with him, seems to be the cause of the change.

As the banks of bass speakers boomed their beat over spring-time Paris and rush-hour traffic curled round the massive feet of the Eiffel Tower, it seemed more than a little strange for white South Africans to be there, not the vilified ones but — dare one say it — celebrated?

While this was going on, the man around whom it all revolved was doing his quiet work in the hushed rooms of the heavily-guarded Hotel de Crillon — this time convincing Paris's top five editors that he was genuinely committed to a new and fair SA for all its people.

That crisis of belief — and getting over it — is really what President De Klerk's exhausting 18-day stump through Europe is all about.

After realising the simple truth that evaded his predecessor — namely that SA cannot live without the rest of the world — the civilised nations now need to be convinced that SA deserves to be taken back into their collective embrace.

Suspicious

Is what is happening in SA today not just another white man's trick? There have been many in the past, you know. Will the Boers not renege once again, revealing they have been using a familiar vocabulary with peculiar meanings?

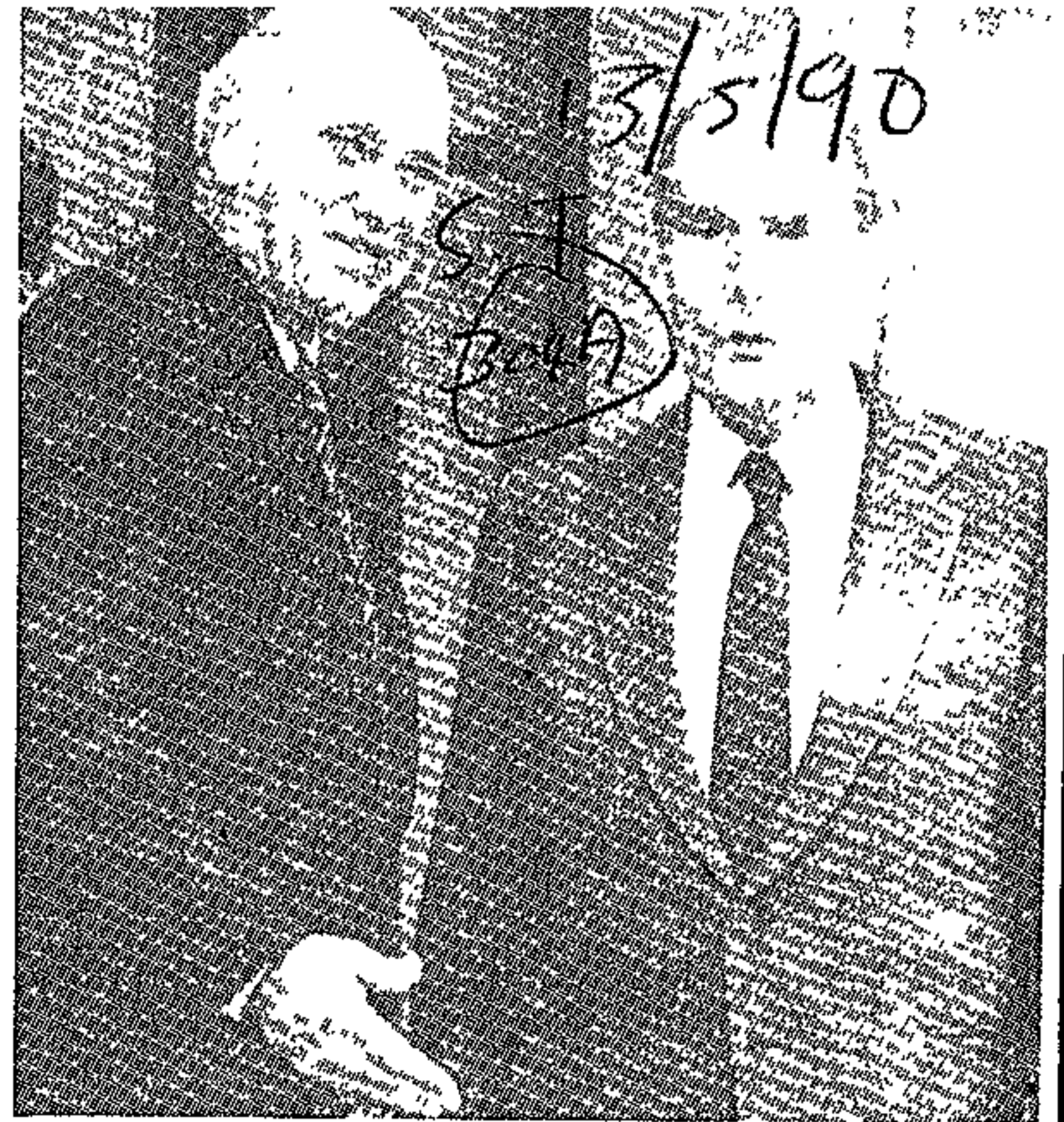
These questions and suspicions linger in the power-flow between SA and other nations.

The best way to deal with them is to let other leaders sit down with Mr De Klerk and speak their minds, and let him speak his.

Bear in mind, too, that Mr Mandela is currently engaged in a similar programme.

With France — with which SA's relations are the frostiest — as the first stop this week, the portents for the trip seemed good.

France styled the visit as



FRENCH WELCOME . . . President Mitterrand meets President De Klerk on the steps of the Elysée Palace

"private" — international protocol designates such visits, in ascending order, as private, working, official, and state. (Mr De Klerk's other visits are designated either working or official.)

Nevertheless, France bent protocol by giving him a red carpet at Orly airport and a full protocol reception — complete with guard of honour and a siren-blaring entry to the city.

Motorcycle outriders intimidated Paris's anarchic motorists into making way for the fleet of black limousines carrying the South Africans.

It was a biting reminder for the South Africans of the way things used to be. When they last visited France, in 1984 and 1986 in the company of Mr P W Botha, the official party was ignored. In fact, they had come in spite of a direct request from the French Prime Minister not to.

The new mood was ultimately reflected in President De Klerk's watershed meetings with his French equivalent, President François Mitterrand, and the French Prime Minister, Mr Michel Rocard.

Sumptuous

Mr De Klerk's arrival at the Elysée Palace was accorded all the pomp reserved for a visiting head of state. His limousine crunched the white gravel at the palace entrance and, when he alighted, it was to a drummed fanfare from the presidential guard.

Inside President Mitterrand's sumptuous office — the meeting there itself an expression of cordiality — the niceties of a "private

visit" were once more dismissed.

The two leaders spoke for an hour, the protocol time allotted to more upscale visits. And when it was over, the notoriously taciturn French President walked to the door with Mr De Klerk and shook his hand in front of a battery of cameras — another gesture, French diplomats noted, that was normally reserved for those with whom a "warm" relationship existed.

In giving an account of his meetings, President De Klerk used two key words.

He characterised the atmosphere as "warm" and "constructive". Earlier, the French Government's favoured newspaper Liberation reported — in what was said to be a government leak — that relations would be officially elevated from "cool" to "warm".

Artful

In a pre-meeting interview, the French Foreign Minister, Mr Roland Dumas, said sanctions could be lifted once the "irreversibility" of the process of ending apartheid was set.

President De Klerk said after talking to President Mitterrand and Mr Rocard there was "apparently a realisation of the irreversibility of the process in SA".

So, when President De Klerk's Safair Boeing 707 left Paris for Athens on Friday, he may have appeared at first sight to have accomplished little more than an artful pirouette through the arcane nuances of French diplomacy.

In reality, another milestone in casting a new SA in a new international role had been accomplished.

DE KLERK'S EUROPEAN SUCCESSES MAY MEAN A CUT IN ANC'S FUNDS FROM FOREIGN SOURCES

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's dramatic advances in Europe could lead to major cuts in the ANC's funds from foreign governments.

(304A)
The threat results from changing perceptions in foreign capitals of the way in which the Government and the ANC are squaring up in the search for peace. *STimes 13/5/90*

President De Klerk's meetings this week with the heads of government of France and Greece improved SA's credibility. In Paris and Athens there was recognition that the government is genuinely and irreversibly committed to negotiations about an apartheid-free society.

By LESTER VENTER: Athens

The view from abroad is that since it was unbanned in February, the ANC should participate in the peace process on equal terms — as a political party.

And it is against SA law for a political party to receive funds from abroad.

The ANC does not disclose its source of funds, but it's known to be almost wholly reliant on foreign aid.

Diplomats said in Europe the matter was not discussed in meetings between President De Klerk and President Francois Mitterand of France and Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis of Greece.

The issue will have to be faced before negotiations begin.

The ANC will be facing the National Party across the table — and not the Government. All parties will be on an equal footing.

The ANC has already experienced reduced international enthusiasm to fund it, and had added financial problems looming with the impending return of refugees. Numbers are not known, but they could exceed 20 000.

The ANC asked the Government at the recent Groote Schuur talks to help financially with the return of exiles — but was told Budget restraints made it impossible.

Talks may be

3048
By BRIES van HEERDEN
S1 207 131 5190

THE next round of talks between the Government and the ANC may begin within days of President F W de Klerk's return from Europe.

Both sides said this week they were anxious to speed up the talks-about-talks phase, aimed at removing obstacles to the real negotiations.

Much will depend on the progress made by the technical committee appointed after the Groote Schuur talks to investigate the tricky problem of which ANC members in jail for various offences — including violence and terrorism — should be given amnesty.

The committee is headed by the Government's chief constitutional adviser, Mr Fanie van der Merwe, assisted by the Commissioner of Prisons, General W H Willense.

The ANC is represented by its chief of intelligence, Mr Jacob Zuma, and its legal adviser, Mr Pennuel Maduna.

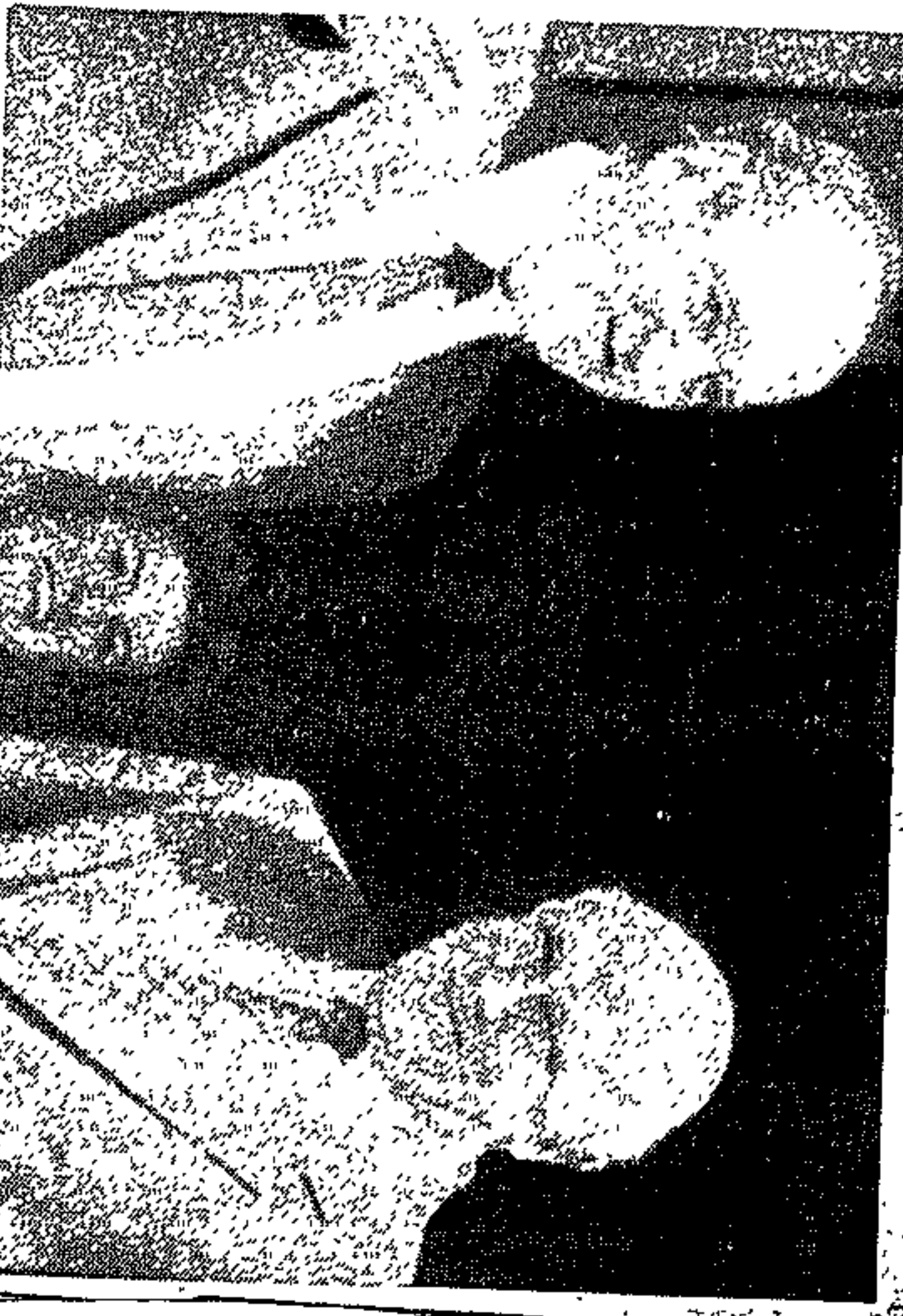
In terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, the committee must report by Monday, May 21.

Both Government and ANC sources said more progress was made at the first meeting than was expected. This may considerably advance the timetable for future talks.

One suggestion is that the technical committee be retained after May 21 with new instructions to draft a preliminary agenda for the next meeting.

At least one more meeting on "obstacles" — or what the ANC calls "preconditions" — will be needed to discuss the position of the remaining prisoners, the estimated 22 000 ANC members in exile across the world, and the continuation of the state of emergency.

Subsequent talks will be multi-lateral, with other major political groupings expected to join — including



ANOTHER SUCCESS... De Klerk with Constantine Mitsotakis

Timetable hinges on 'obstacles'

Inkatha, homeland and black urban leaders, the Democratic Party, the Labour Party and, if they can be persuaded, groupings on the right and left fringes like the PAC, Azapo and the Conservative Party.

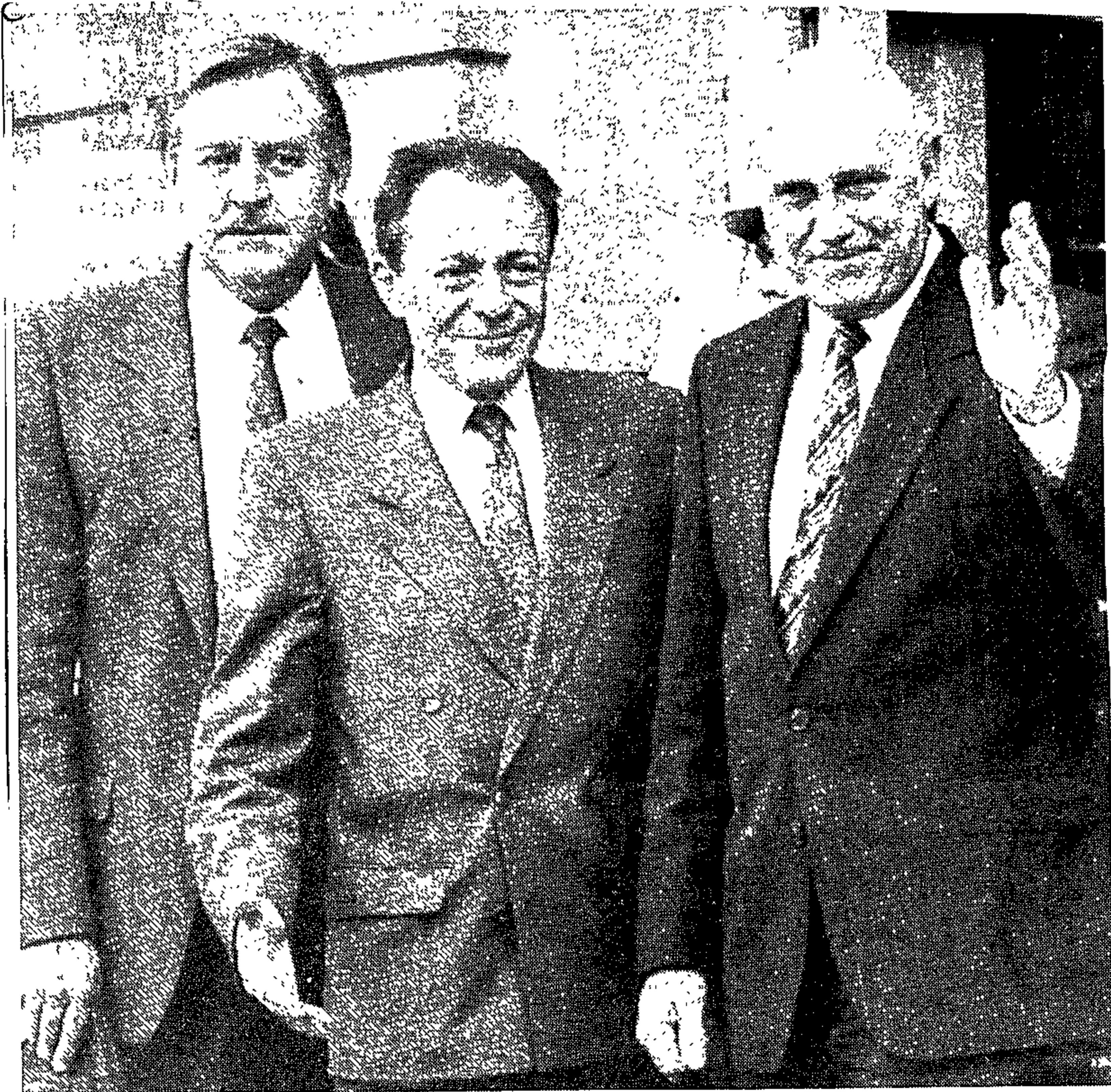
However, the talks leading up to such a "national convention" may be the most difficult part of the process. Agreement will have to be reached on who should attend, how large each delegation should be, how it will be

constituted and whether each will have veto powers or not.

The biggest bone of contention is expected to be the ANC's insistence that an interim government be formed to rule the country while negotiations are in progress.

The Government has so far rejected this idea, stating that it will continue governing until a new constitution has been approved by the electorate and ratified by Parliament.

Speeded up



Foreign Minister Pik Botha (left) and President FW de Klerk flank French Prime Minister Michel Rocard this week on the first leg of their nine-nation European trip.

Europe rethinks its hard line on SA

EUROPE seems to be revising its hardline attitude towards South Africa following President FW de Klerk's move to negotiate a democratic deal for the country.

De Klerk, now on a nine-nation European trip, said after an hour-long discussion with France's President François Mitterrand: "It was constructive and very positive."

The European Community has indicated it would be

willing to lift sanctions if South Africa provided clear evidence of irreversible change. This would be on the cards if France or West Germany was to back Britain's anti-sanctions stand.

De Klerk met Greece's Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis and President Constantine Caramanlis on Friday. Foreign Minister Pik Botha will meet visiting Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clarke in Athens today.

FW takes a rest before jetting off to Portugal

By LESTER VENTER: Athens

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk travels to Lisbon tomorrow for talks with Portugal's President Mario Soares on the third leg of his nine-nation tour of Europe.

President De Klerk and his wife, Marike, were resting in Greece this weekend after the week's vital, tone-setting diplomacy in Paris.

France's influence in Europe's Economic Community is great and, as relations between Pretoria and Paris have been cool until now, President Francois Mitterrand's response was decisive in determining what further reactions President De Klerk will encounter.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the reception at the Elysée was "more than we could have hoped for".

Mr and Mrs De Klerk were guarding their privacy closely this weekend. (304A)

On Friday night, Mr Botha was guest of honour at a diplomatic reception for 200 people aboard a ship in the Aegean.

He presented two Greek businessmen — Mr Emmanuel Paterakis and Mr Basil Korusis — with the Order of Good Hope for their work in promoting trade relations.

Tonight Mr Botha is scheduled to meet Canada's Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Clark, in Athens.

CAPL Tint 14/5/90 (304A)

FW has six weeks in which to win EC concessions

whites-only election, but some, at present only a few, fear that if he fails to show the benefits of reform quickly he could lose control of the government.

If the European Community does not judge in June that Mr De Klerk deserves a reward, it will be at least six months before the 12 leaders get another chance to grade his performance and issue a more favoura-

ble report.

Mr De Klerk flies to Lisbon today, then travels to West Germany, Britain, Belgium, Spain and Italy in his bid to muster an EC majority for a softening of the community's anti-apartheid restrictions on South Africa.

Sources travelling with him said Greek Prime Minister Mr Constantine Mitsotakis would

back EC moves to relax the curbs and Portugal is expected to do the same.

And British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who has already unilaterally suspended some sanctions, favours a co-ordinated move to reward Mr De Klerk for what he has already done.

But it is French President Francois Mitterrand, the sources said, who could be the key to a South African victory in the court of EC opinion.

"He has an established anti-apartheid track record and he has more credibility in Europe than Thatcher," one South African said. "He could emerge to be a pivotal player on our behalf." — Sapa-Reuter



Mr De Klerk

THE new South Africa lies across a distant horizon but the path towards it is gradually becoming clearer. When a thousand people turn up, as they did last week, to listen to the Chief Justice deliver a lecture about the Law Commission's proposed bill of rights, something is stirring.

Mr Justice Corbett, in the course of his Hoernle memorial lecture to the Institute of Race Relations, put his finger on it: "The majority of South Africans (are) hopefully, purposefully and, if one is to be totally frank, to some extent apprehensively, joining in this broad stream of human movement towards the creation of a new South Africa."

Political thinking is converging so rapidly, and often in such startling ways, that it is difficult to keep pace. Three months ago, the ANC's proposal to nationalise "the commanding heights of the economy" was a fundamental obstacle to agreement, now ANC-UDF-Cosatu leaders are falling over each other in their haste to retreat from nationalisation.

Some are willing to confess they don't quite know how the economy works, and that's a start. When corporate chief executives (perhaps as many as 400 of them) meet the ANC later this month, they may find more common ground than either side suspects. If the ANC has had a crash course in economics, the corporate chiefs are getting a crash course in the politics of rising expectations.

An agreement is gradually taking shape that ways must be found to meet the expectations of the deprived and urbanising masses, but that socialism is not the way to do it. The nationalisation debate has cleared away a lot of underbrush, and all sides now expound the virtues of economic growth, the next question is how, technically, it can best be achieved.

This groping for common answers to common problems — the "broad stream of human movement towards the creation of a new South Africa" — stretches far beyond economics. It reaches into every corner of national

We lack the words to make a vision of the new SA

KEN OWEN

1990/14/5/90

life, and it is profoundly changing the national consciousness.

As a nation we are redefining ourselves, a process that seems to be releasing reserves of spiritual and intellectual force. I don't want to exaggerate, but it is reminiscent of the bursts of creative energy that followed both the American and French revolutions. The pace is breathtaking.

But as the debate progresses — as the stream of human movement towards creation of the new South Africa broadens and gathers strength — the need for a new political vocabulary grows evident. We lack the words, the common language, to define the South Africa that, I believe, most of us want.

When SACP member Albie Sachs warns against excessive government power, does he mean what liberals mean when they warn that government is the instrument of oppression? Has he shed his past association with totalitarian ideology, or is he using a special terminology? When President de Klerk repudiates apartheid but talks of minority rights, does he mean liberty and safety for the weak, or is he reconstructing apartheid in disguise?

The difficulties of proceeding without an adequate political vocabulary were demonstrated vividly when President de Klerk rejected "simple majoritarianism", thus echoing the central theme of American politics — the impulse that produced federalism, the separation of powers, the independent judiciary, the justiciable bill of rights, and indeed the very style of politics in that country.

He was immediately denounced by the American Press which, unable to interpret what Chester Crocker once called the idiom of a foreign culture, discerned in his language an undertone of racism reminiscent, I suspect, of the Deep South. Nationalists who talk of protecting groups, when they mean making South Africa safe for diversity, have simply not mastered the terminology needed to conduct political discourse in free societies.

The difficulty is compounded by problems of translation. Afrikaans has not, so far as I know, found an adequate translation of the fundamental term, "the rule of law". As a result, Afrikaans often talk as

though it meant something like "the authority of the state" or the "sovereignty of Parliament", which are the opposite of what is meant by the rule of law.

The problem goes far beyond the normal use of language (though I think, in a world where English is a *lingua franca*, Nationalists might be wise to consult an outstanding legal linguist like Professor Ellison Khan before they choose the terminology to describe their policies); agreement is lacking on the meaning of key words, on the very content of the words in common use.

If the Nationalists are trapped in the vocabulary of apartheid — a kind of perverted social science terminology which isolates those who use it — the Left is trapped in the terminology of a revolution that has failed, and the rest of us in the terminology of protest and resistance that has become obsolete.

Few of the travellers in Mr Justice Corbett's "broad stream of human movement" have yet mastered the language of liberty. Some speak of dismantling or indeed of destroying "apartheid society", when the need is actually to create, not to destroy the place where we all live.

Others have become adept at the politics of protest and posture, issuing a continuous stream of demands — for wealth, justice, power, charity, health, education, happiness, security — without expecting anything much to ensue. Some who protested last year at the concentration of power and patronage in the parastatals, now recite the virtues of parastatal companies in order to condemn privatisation. Those who cursed controls, now curse deregulation.

Much of it is just noise, but some of it is pernicious. We have spent 40 years developing devil words to counter the Newspeak of apartheid. If the Verwoerdian Nationalists created, with transparent mendacity, terms like "separate freedoms", their opponents invented, as mendaciously, terms like "structural violence" to justify the use of the real thing.

If "law and order" is a code for shooting unarmed people, or beating women with sjamboks (called "quirts"), then "armed struggle" is a code for blowing up the lower middle class customers at lunch counters.

Apartheid has been dehumanising, so, if we are truthful, has the struggle against apartheid. From the language of race classification to the vividly named necklacing, this country has manufactured a vocabulary of obscenity unmatched outside the great totalitarian empires. South Africa, like Joseph Conrad's Congo, has become one of the dark places of the earth.

Now we need the language of liberty, and we do not remember the words. We grope in foreign cultures: "liberty, equality, fraternity"; "all men are created equal"; "give me liberty or give me death". But these phrases do not properly describe the richness, the diversity, the hungers and fears, the soaring promise and the terrible threat, of South African life.

We need a new vision of South Africa, and a new vocabulary to create it, and the task begins with finding an appropriate definition of liberty.

LETTERS

FW arrives for Portugal visit today

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON

ATHENS. — President F W de Klerk arrives this morning in Portugal — the country Pretoria hopes will become South Africa's "door into Europe".

The Portuguese leg of his European tour is the only "official" visit on the nine-nation agenda — a reflection of the closeness of SA-Portuguese relations.

The two-day visit will be jam-packed with ceremonial functions, military parades, banquets and substantive discussions on a wide range of issues.

However, the role Portugal might be able to play in facilitating co-operation between SA and the 12-member European Community is likely to form the chief focus of the visit.

Portugal is part of the EC's influential political co-operation group which meets every month to pool information on SA.

Other matters certain to crop up in discussions between Mr De Klerk and President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Mr Cavaco Silva are the status of peace moves in the two former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

Mr De Klerk leaves for Brussels tomorrow night.

● Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and his Canadian counterpart, Mr Joe Clark, met for over two hours in Athens last night for what were described as completely straightforward and open discussions on the latest developments in South Africa.

Mr Clark, en route to Nigeria, said the talks had been very constructive but he doubted they would lead to a shift in attitude on South Africa.

... to maximise profits, and regional destabilisation policies

... level in East Germany, famous for its polluted air." Lacking sulphur-removing

... for every ton of gold SA produced, a black miner died in

To page 3

PW says no to Dr No — and to political comeback

304A
Political Staff Art 7-15 14/5/90
EX-PRESIDENT Mr P W Botha has said he is not joining the Conservative Party or making a political comeback.

The Nationalist newspaper Rapport yesterday said Mr Botha had confirmed that CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had telephoned him and he had confirmed he had not renewed his membership of the NP.

Mr Botha said he was out of party politics and was planning to stay out.

He created a sensation last week when he confirmed that he had refused to renew his National Party membership because he no longer agreed with the party leadership.

It brought immediate speculation that he was about to join the CP, which ironically split from the NP because of Mr Botha's reform policies.

However, senior Nationalists appeared to be unconcerned and described him as a "spent force".



Mr P W Botha

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Vlok, AWB meeting on

Boycott costs white business R7m

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Welkom's white businesses have lost more than R7 million as a result of the consumer boycott which began a week ago in protest against attacks by white vigilante groups.

Welkom Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mr Graham Lloyd described the boycott as "pretty serious".

"More than R1m a day is lost in turnover, and that is not including the losses suffered by the chain stores," he said.

Some people estimated losses at about R1.5m, but Mr Lloyd said that was a little high.

Mr Lloyd said he could not estimate chain-store losses because their trading figures were not available to the chamber.

"Not everyone is losing out though," he said. "The concession stores on the mines have not been badly affected, they are actually recording an increase in profits."

Mr Lloyd also drew attention to inflated township prices faced by boycotting consumers.

"People in the township are paying exorbitant prices on everything, even bread and milk," he said.

Police have described the situation as quiet.

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, is to meet an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) delegation in Cape Town today in an attempt to cool down far-right emotions and confrontationist strategies.

Tough talking is likely at the meeting after Mr Vlok's warnings to the right wing not to take the law into its own hands and the AWB's bitter attacks on the government — particularly on Mr Vlok himself, whom the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, derisively calls 'Vlokkie' at public meetings.

Today's talks follow Mr Vlok's visit last week to Welkom where he invited the AWB to hold discussions with him.

The AWB walked out of round-table talks in Welkom on the grounds that the ANC was present, although it left one member behind who, it was reported afterwards, made a useful contribution.

I'm not a nazi, says Rudolph — Page 7

Today's meeting was confirmed last night by Mr Vlok's liaison officer, Brigadier Leon Mellet. He declined to make any comment about the proposed agenda.

Mr Vlok is expected to appeal to the AWB to cool down its approach and to act responsibly and within the law.

It is also likely that the para-military display by AWB supporters at Ventersdorp on Saturday will be discussed.

UPI reports that khaki-clad men and women, wearing the swastika-like emblem of the AWB and defending a "holy war" against President FW de Klerk's reform initiative, for the first time opened their weekend training sessions at Ventersdorp to the press.

Gunfire rumbled across the veld on the outskirts of Ventersdorp as young women and grandmothers took target practice. Men drilled along a dusty road through the makeshift camp.

Mr Terre'Blanche, proudly declaring his people would be ready for war, said: "Sixteen years ago I committed myself to one single task... that I could talk to my people, so that when the government gave away our country we would defend ourselves with violence."

Today's talks were welcomed last night by a Democratic Party law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe. He added that the AWB's para-military gathering at Ventersdorp was "repulsive but not surprising".

"I think it is a good thing that Mr Vlok has called a meeting with them, but he clearly has a very difficult task explaining to them why they should calm down and why they should have understanding for the government's political turn-about in respect of the ANC and SA Communist Party."

Mr Van der Merwe said that if reports that serving

To page 3



From page 1

Vlok talks to AWB in city

members of the police were involved in the exercise were correct, Mr Vlok had to move quickly to restore some discipline in the ranks of his own department.

"The DP has made it clear that the ban on policemen belonging to political movements was not necessarily a helpful move by the government.

"But I would say that for policemen to participate in para-military exercises on behalf of a political organisation is clearly completely in conflict with their own duties," Mr Van der Merwe said.

The government believes that the groups promoting militancy are small and do not represent many people, even among conservative whites. But it is highly concerned about the consequences of their confrontationist approach in areas such as Welkom and their effect on the negotiation process.

Tensions between the government and the AWB have been rising for some time, as reflected in statements by Mr Terre'Blanche, the ban on policemen on belonging to the AWB, and the warrant issued for the arrest of a prominent AWB member, Mr Piet Rudolph, in connection with the theft of arms from South African Air Force headquarters in Pretoria.

Today's meeting could be the government's last warning to the AWB and if it is ignored, as seems likely, tougher action against far-right militants appears inevitable.

TEST TUBE PARTY

... Children from across the country attended a special party at Tygerberg Hospital on Saturday in celebration of the birth of the 250th "test tube baby". Among those present were little Jonathan Saville of Johannesburg seen here celebrating his first birthday at the party with the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring. Also present was six-year-old Falcon de Vos of Bonteheuwel, the first such baby born in South Africa.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

I'm a boer not a nazi, says Rudolph

Staff Reporter

POLICE said yesterday that they had no further news about the whereabouts of right-wing activist Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, wanted in connection with an arms raid on SAAF headquarters in Pretoria. Mr Rudolph, in hiding after the raid, has allegedly sent a letter to a Sunday newspaper to set the record straight about his motives.

Apparently mindful that he was becoming a "historic" rebel figure, he said he was an Afrikaner and not a nazi seeking to obtain a foothold in South Africa for a foreign dictator.

"I am a boer prepared to fight to regain the land that my fathers fought for," Mr Rudolph said.

Lt-Col Suiker Britz confirmed that the letter, dated May 1, was in Mr Rudolph's handwriting.

Two-chamber govt to aid minorities rejected

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu yesterday dismissed the idea of a future two-chamber government which would guarantee minority rights.

Sisulu's comments were made in response to the 12-point plan outlined by Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen in Parliament on Friday to guarantee minority rights.

"Minority rights have only one meaning — apartheid," Sisulu said. "The purpose of minority rights is solely to retain power."

"I am not in principle opposed to a two-chamber system of government, but I am absolutely opposed to it in the purpose for which it was proposed. Counting 'units' or groups rather than counting heads is not democracy. We are committed to a one person, one vote government."

Viljoen said during debate on his budget vote that the NP saw itself as part of a political grouping which would seek protection of rights to benefit the entire nation. He said these rights were not special privileges intended exclusively for the benefit of the political groups seeking their protection.

"These minorities, because of their particular values and aspirations, should have a special voice in the new constitutional dispensation," he said.

The rights which the government wanted to see protected were the holding of free regular elections, a bill of individual human rights, the preserva-

DANIEL FELDMAN

tion of the free market system, the prevention of a one-party or communist dictatorship, freedom to live in particular communities and attend specific schools, the honouring of existing property rights, an independent judiciary, well-run security forces and no unjust tax systems.

Sisulu rejected several of the points, especially that own schools be run with equal state funding, saying: "We will tolerate no discrimination in any form in the schools."

Sisulu said the ANC agreed in principle with several of the points. Holding free elections, maintaining an independent judiciary and creating a bill of rights were fundamental tenets of the ANC's democratic principles, he said.

On the free-market system, Sisulu said a mixed economy combining free enterprise and nationalisation was "the ideal answer". He also said the ANC had never considered expropriation.

Viljoen said the steps were necessary to protect SA from being misled by "an unsophisticated majority vote".

However, Sisulu said: "Some blacks had the vote in SA in the 19th century, and our people always used the vote well. Majority vote is a system that works in nations around the world — there is no reason that it should not work well in SA."

Call for increased trade

SA's reforms irreversible, says Greece

ATHENS — President F W de Klerk flies to Portugal today, having already convinced Greek and French political leaders of the irrevocability of change in SA.

Today's meetings with President Mario Soares and those tomorrow with Prime Minister Cavaco Silva will be among the tour's easiest as Portugal has been a staunch ally of SA and has strongly resisted pressure for sanctions at an EC level.

In addition to briefing the Portuguese on developments in SA, De Klerk will also discuss peace initiatives in Angola and Mozambique. Soares and Silva will brief the South Africans on recent talks between the MPLA and Unita in Lisbon.

Meanwhile, Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark flew into Athens yesterday morning, set for talks later in the day with Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

On Friday after meeting De Klerk, Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said he was convinced positive developments in SA were not reversible.

He was addressing a joint Press conference at the end of the first day of the SA delegation's three-day stay in Greece.

De Klerk was the first SA head of state to visit Greece since Jan Smuts. He also became the first head of state to meet President Konstantine Karamanlis since he was sworn into office last Friday.

Mitsotakis said Greece and the EC regarded measures introduced by De Klerk as positive steps giving rise to expectations that soon the necessary conditions would exist for the creation of a new SA.

MIKE ROBERTSON

The EC, he said, would be re-examining its policy towards SA in the light of recent developments in the country.

As Greece would be participating in forthcoming discussions, De Klerk's visit had provided him with the opportunity to acquaint himself with the facts in order that he might make the right decision.

Mitsotakis called for the imbalance of trade between SA and Greece to be rectified. SA exports to Greece, he said, totalled about \$130m while Greek exports to SA were only \$30m.

There was a refusal on the part of the Greeks to develop further bilateral links because the "right climate" did not exist in SA. However, it was possible bilateral relations could take a positive turn.

At the Press conference De Klerk said it was an emotional experience for him to come to the place regarded as the birthplace of democracy.

The SA presidential jet touched at Athens Hellinikon Airport at midday.

De Klerk was met at the top of the gangway by Greece's head of protocol, Apostolos Animos, who introduced him to Foreign Minister Adonis Samaras. Karamanlis met De Klerk at the door to his presidential palace and the two then spoke for about 20 minutes in his office.

From there De Klerk was driven to the parliament building to be met by Mitsotakis. The two spent about 15 minutes alone before being joined by the delegation.

Yesterday the delegation accompanied Botha to Mycenae. De Klerk, however, having concluded the official part of the trip on Friday, spent the rest of the week.

□ To Page 2

SA-Greek talks

end on a private sightseeing tour. After the President had left Athens, violence erupted outside the Greek parliament when a group of about 200 protesters hurled Molotov cocktails, flares and burning oil at police. They were part of a crowd of about 1 200 that marched to parliament protesting against the visit. The crowd screamed: "De Klerk go home," "Death to racism" and "Burn baby burn". Four people were arrested and seven injured.

Meanwhile, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid has expressed concern about European governments agreeing to meet De Klerk, Sapa reports from London. Committee chairman Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria said he and his colleagues were concerned the visits might be used to have "pressures against apartheid" relaxed, and urged European leaders to impress on De Klerk the need for irreversible change first.

□ From Page 1

Canadian consultation with Pik 'significant'

St-14(1)90 By Alan Dunn, (304A) Political Staff

ATHENS — Commonwealth countries aim this week to set about defining what South Africa must do before they shift policy towards the Government.

This was disclosed here last night by Canada's Minister of External Affairs, Joe Clark, after more than two hours of talks with Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

The two men had a "pleasant and constructive" meeting as Mr Clark was heading for Abuja, Nigeria, where he will chair a meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on southern Africa, starting on Wednesday.

South African officials found it highly significant that the Government was being consulted for the first time before one of a series of six-monthly Commonwealth meetings on South Africa.

Mr Clark said he appreciated the fact that Mr Botha had not tried to persuade Canada or the Commonwealth to change their policies. He had informed him of developments on South Africa, which was the reason he Mr Clark had asked for the meeting.

"We have been struck by the generosity of approach both by leaders of the ANC and the South African Government," he said.

"We think this difficult and complex process has been very well begun and we would encourage both sides along that path."

Security firms seek talks with Vlok on regulations

Star 14/5/90 304A
Labour Reporter

The SA National Security Employers' Association (Sansea) has called for urgent talks with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on new regulations for the security industry which it fears will spark labour unrest.

Sansea, whose members employ about 120 000 security guards, held a high-level meeting in Cape Town on Friday to plan moves on the regulations.

Gazetted last month in terms of the Security Officers Act, these require workers to register with the Security Officers Board by October 11. The initial registration fee is R35 and the annual fee R70.

Arguing that the levy is exorbitant in a low-paid sector, the Transport and General Workers' Union is to stage a national day of protest on June

1, with marches during working hours. Workers will demand the scrapping of the Act and an industrial council to regulate the sector in place of the board.

Sansea secretary Mr Peter Sharlman said his association had written to Mr Vlok asking for a stay in the regulations.

Sansea was concerned both with the size of the fee and the mechanics for payment. Many firms would have to pay on behalf of employees and there was no statutory provision for the recovery of loans.

"We are not saying some sort of levy won't be needed," he said. "The industry has a bad reputation because of fly-by-night operators and control will be in workers' interests."

Employers estimate that the levy will raise R15 million a year and they want clarity on how the money will be used.

Violent protest mars Greek visit

Star 14/5/90
304A

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

ATHENS — A violent protest, during which anarchists threw Molotov cocktails at police, distracted media attention away from the positive results of President de Klerk's Greek trip which ended yesterday.

The Greek newspapers over the weekend mostly focused on Friday's demonstration outside Parliament shortly after Mr de Klerk met Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis of the newly elected centrist Nea Demokratia party.

Several newspapers reported the story with screaming headlines such as "Athens became Soweto for two hours".

An otherwise peaceful protest addressed by ANC local representative Khulu Mbata and Margaret Papandreou — wife of former Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou — turned ugly when a small group of anarchists threw Molotov cocktails at police guarding Parliament.

Some damage was done to the parliamentary complex, several vendors' kiosks were burnt down, two journalists and one policeman were injured and one 21-year old student was arrested.

Local observers said, however, that they did not believe the an-

archist violence was directed against Mr de Klerk.

They said the anarchists attached themselves to all protests and tried to turn them to violence.

However much of the newspaper commentary about the visit was unfavourable — more so than in France where the press was generally good.

Newspaper coverage

Foreign Minister Pik Botha put this down to the fact that most of the newspapers are either owned or support the ousted Pasok government of Mr Andreas Papandreou.

Pasok and its press described the visit as "unfortunate and untimely". It was the first visit by a head of state to the new Greek government — and the first by a South African head of state since Jan Smuts' visit during World War 2.

The famous singer Melina Mercouri — a member of the committee which will welcome ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela here early next month — issued a statement saying that Mr de Klerk was "undesired in Greece beyond description".

The Mandela reception committee read out a resolution at the protest demanding that the Greek government and the EC

continue to uphold UN sanctions until the final abolition of apartheid.

A few pro-Mitsotakis newspapers reported the positive outcome of the de Klerk/Mitsotakis meeting and also concentrated on the Greek leader's firm statement against apartheid — or Mr de Klerk's promise to consider allowing Greeks in South Africa to repatriate earnings to Greece.

The South African Government delegation did not seem overly concerned about the protest which was not witnessed by any of them.

Mr de Klerk had already left Athens for a brief Aegean yacht cruise — which ended last night — when it occurred.

Friday's meeting with Mr Mitsotakis was definitely successful from the South African Government's point of view as Mr Mitsotakis said at a press conference afterwards that he believed Mr de Klerk had "definitely entered the road for the total abolition of apartheid".

This meant that he had acknowledged the "irreversibility" of change in South Africa — the key condition which the European Community demands must be met before it will consider lifting sanctions.

● See Page 11.

Government plan for future peace talks

THE Government has spelt out its policy for future negotiations with blacks, proposing a 12-point minority rights plan.

But the plan was immediately criticised by anti-apartheid leaders who said it would perpetuate racial division.

The plan would prevent a one-party state or communist dictatorship being imposed by an

"unsophisticated majority vote". The phrase has angered black and white liberal leaders, who said it referred to blacks.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen, outlining the plan to Parliament last week, said protection for minorities such as whites, Asians and coloureds was essential to build a new South Africa. - Sapa.

02/5/70
14/5/70
50 votes

ANC ready to lay down arms

Sowetan 14/5/90

MR JOE MODISE

lay down arms

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

THE military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is prepared to suspend the armed struggle to give negotiations a chance.

This was the message delivered by MK commander Mr Joe Modise in an interview with the *Indicator*, Johannesburg-based community newsletter.

Modise indicated a ceasefire might be initiated if the working group, comprising the ANC and the Government, reached agreement on removing obstacles to further negotiations.

The working group is due to report back by May 21. Modise, who was a member of the ANC delegation at the historic talks at Groote Schuur, warned that MK had the capacity to "create real trouble" but if there was a better alternative "we will opt for it".

He pointed out that apartheid was still in operation and this remained a major obstacle which would have to be overcome.

The ANC had always taken the view that the problems of South Africa were political and as such, should be resolved peacefully.

Positive response

Modise said the ANC had only taken up arms when its efforts talk to the white establishment failed.

"The reasons that led to the taking up of arms have not changed - they are still there," he said. "Fortunately, there has now been a positive response, hence the talks at Groote Schuur."

"The cause of the suffering and violence in our country was largely brought about by apartheid and if this question is resolved, there is no need for armed struggle which would then fall away."

"The greater part of the violence that we are seeing here has been State-sponsored, directed against the people to defend apartheid, to force apartheid on the

Talks need a chance

MK prepared for ceasefire

From Page 1

people.

"So if that question is not resolved, there is no way in which the armed struggle can stop."

Asked if MK soldiers would accept a decision to call off the fighting if the negotiating process succeeded, Modise said he did not foresee any problem.

The question of nego-

Leadership

At each stage of the negotiations, the leadership would go back and explain every aspect. In this way, the rank and file would be kept solidly behind the movement.

Modise said MK did not have the means of

communication available to the Government with men scattered over the country.

"It is possible some of them may not get the instructions to act differently because there is an agreement and you may find the odd action here and there."

"But the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are basically disciplined and committed to the policies of the ANC and they respect its authority."



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

From Page 1

Wooing the Europeans

Stavros 14/5/90

304A

ATHENS - President F W de Klerk has six weeks to persuade Europe he has unconditionally repudiated more than 40 years of Afrikaner racism known as apartheid.

Unless the 12 European Community (EC) leaders decide at their summit in Dublin on June 25 that he has given irrefutable evidence of his sincerity, it might be at least a further six months before he could reap a tangible economic reward.

Some people, including sources close to him on his mission to eight EC countries and Switzerland, believe De Klerk cannot wait as long as that.

"If he does not get recognition from Europe during this trip, he could be in real trouble," said one source on De Klerk's official Boeing 707.

The specially-equipped aircraft spent the weekend at Athens Airport while the president rested for two days on a friend's yacht before flying to Lisbon on Monday to resume his 18-day tour.

Some Afrikaners regard him as a traitor because of his agreement to negotiate with blacks on ending 350 years of white supremacy and 42 years of Afrikaner domination.

Report card

Members of his ruling National Party largely accept that he could not win a new whites-only election, but some, at present only a few, fear that if he fails to show the benefits of reform quickly he could lose control of the government.

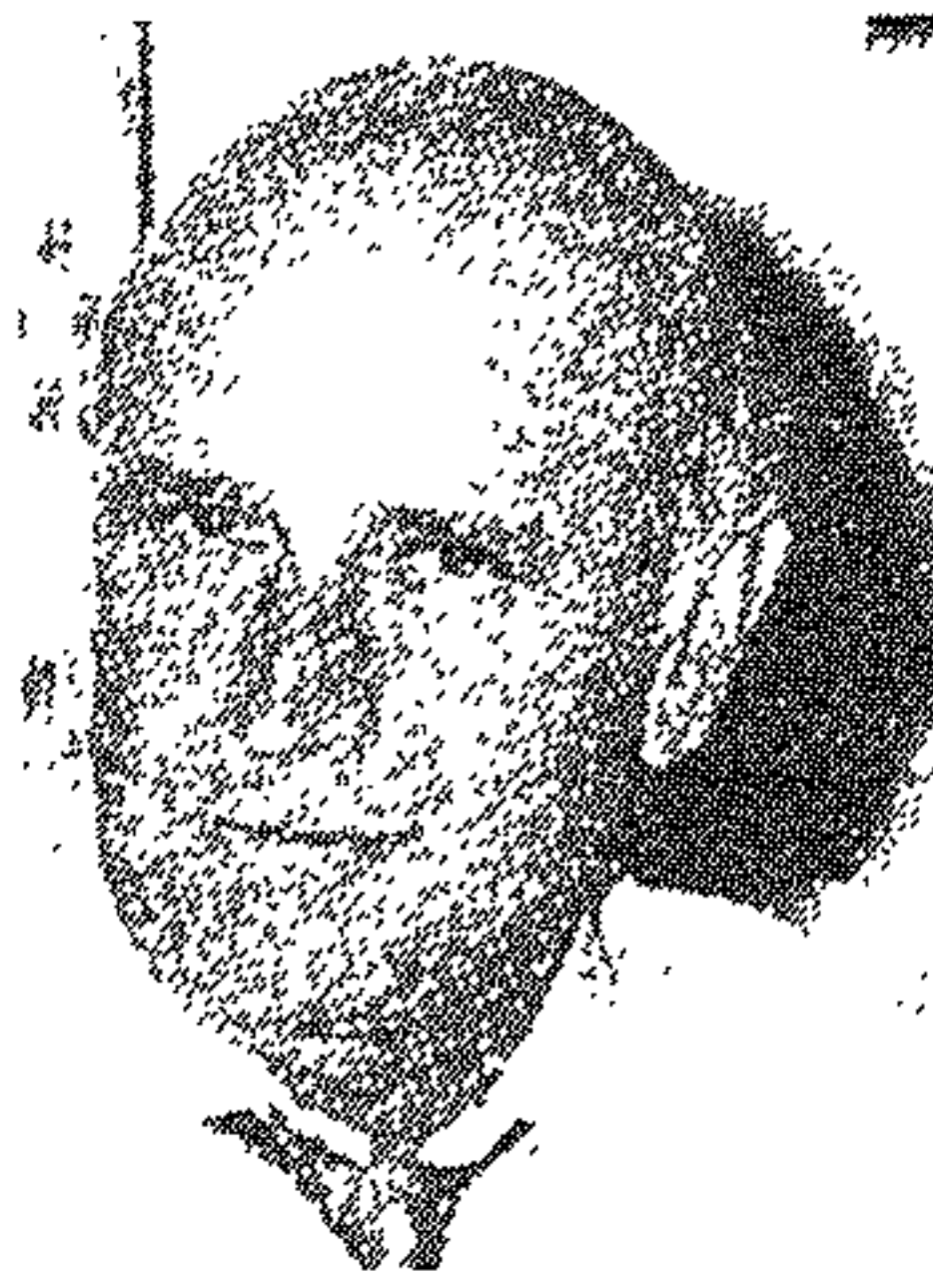
If the European Community does not judge in June that De Klerk deserves a reward, it will be at least six months before the 12 leaders get another chance to grade his performance and issue a more favourable report card.

He has visibly enjoyed being the first South African leader since World War Two to travel through Europe without having to defend a policy which the world finds repugnant.

He beamed on the steps of President Francois Mitterrand's Elysee Palace and revelled in a high-speed motorcade led through Paris by motorcycles with sirens screaming.

From Lisbon, he travels to West Germany, Britain, Belgium, Spain and Italy in his bid to

Mitterrand could be De Klerk's key



France's President Francois Mitterrand and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher are central to De Klerk's European initiative.

muster an EC majority for a softening of the community's anti-apartheid restrictions on trade and technology exchanges with South Africa.

He will try to exercise his personal persuasiveness to convince Europe's leaders that it is time to stop penalising South Africa and start encouraging apartheid's replacement through a negotiated political settlement.

Negotiations

The community has called for clear evidence of profound and irreversible change before it will consider easing sanctions, including a ban on new investment in South Africa.

De Klerk said in France and again in Greece that he had met that condition by repealing many apartheid laws, releasing Nelson Mandela from prison, ending a 30-year-old ban on the ANC and beginning talks with the ANC on a format for full-scale negotiations.

Sources travelling with him said Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis would, after meeting De Klerk on Friday, back EC moves to relax the curbs.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has already en-

raged her EC colleagues by unilaterally suspending some sanctions. She favours a co-ordinated move to reward De Klerk for what he has already done.

Portugal, long one of Pretoria's best friends in Europe, is also ready to vote for a phased reduction of sanctions.

But it is Mitterrand, the sources said, who could be the key to a South African victory in the court of EC opinion.

Crockery

"He has an established anti-apartheid track record and he has more credibility in Europe than Thatcher," one South African said. "He could emerge to be a pivotal player on our behalf."

Mitterrand met De Klerk on the first day of his tour with warmth and dignity at the Elysee Palace in Paris and surprised him with a gift of crockery.

De Klerk, expecting what one French journalist in the Elysee courtyard called the "Grade C welcome", had come without a gift and had to send an aide round afterwards with a pair of finely wrought gold cufflinks.

In an hour-long meeting, Mitterrand urged De Klerk to give

further evidence before the Dublin summit of his commitment to change and appeared ready to support a reciprocal gesture by the EC, South African officials said.

"If, between now and June 25, we could put together a package of practical steps, we believe we

'If the European Community does not judge in June that De Klerk deserves a reward, it will be at least six months before the 12 leaders get another chance to grade his performance and issue a more favourable report card.'

could go back to Mitterrand and say: 'We have done it', one official told reporters.

De Klerk told Mitterrand that the 40-year-old Separate Amenities Act, which segregates public facilities, would be repealed within six weeks.

One aide speculated that partial lifting of a three-year-old state of emergency early in June could be another concession aimed at Mitterrand and the Dublin summit. - Sapa-Reuter.

FW the real victor

304A

Saslan 14/5/90

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk was the real victor in the talks between the Government and the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng said yesterday.

Addressing more than 2,000 mourners at the funeral of top PAC official Synod Madlebe in Umtata, Mothopeng said De Klerk had succeeded in breaking down South Africa's international isolation.

He had apparently also

warded off the imposition of stronger sanctions under consideration by the United States Congress.

Mothopeng said De Klerk was now likely to obtain financial and investment assistance with which "to build a bigger army and police force".

Mr M Manqangwana, the PAC'S Queenstown representative, told the mourners that the future of black people was being decided behind closed doors. Sapa.

.....

THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, I do not fault the hon member for Hillbrow in his pronouncement on principle. I do not fault him. I agree that criminals should be arrested and brought to trial. I agree with him. [Interjections.] I want to emphasise that, even at this very moment, we will go to great lengths to ensure that justice is done, not only in Namibia, but also elsewhere. We will do everything within our power to bring about these arrangements that will empower us to do as they have requested. [Interjections.] That is a firm commitment because there are still four people in South Africa who should be apprehended and brought to trial in Namibia. With regard to these gentlemen we have not received the necessary documentation and we do not have a firm basis to act upon.

*Having said that, I also want to tell hon members that they must please take into consideration that just as we are, they are striving for a point where the rule of law will take priority, which means that one will honour and respect the individual and all his rights. This also holds good for possible accused, because a man is innocent until found guilty. [Interjections.] We cannot simply grab someone and extradite him. That would be wrong, and that is what those hon members want. [Interjections.] That is what they want. They want us to grab witnesses, etc. We are therefore not legalistic—we do not go by the letter of the law. We talk about an absolute minimum and what we stand for is that we shall grant the necessary absolute co-operation . . . [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Postal votes: irregularities

*1. Mr W A BOTHA asked the Minister of Law and Order:† Hansard 15/5/90 (304A)

- (1) Whether any irregularities in connection with postal votes during the 1989 general election were brought to the attention of the South African Police; if so, (a) in how

many cases and (b) what political parties had handled the ballot papers concerned;

(2) whether the Police took any steps in connection with these irregularities; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) with what result? Hansard B889E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) As far as could be ascertained, 7 instances

(b) 1 by the Labour Party

1 by the Freedom Party

1 by the National Party

1 by the Democratic Party.

(2) Yes.

(a) In all the instances, cases were registered and investigated.

(b) In the instance that was handled by the Labour Party, the case was withdrawn at the request of the complainant.

In the instance that was handled by the Freedom Party, the Senior State Prosecutor withdrew the case.

In two of the instances which were handled by the National Party, it appeared that the complaints were unfounded. In the remaining two instances the Senior State Prosecutor withdrew the cases.

The instance which was handled by the Democratic Party is still under investigation.

Plumstead/Southfield area: police station

*2. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:† Hansard 15/5/90

- (1) Whether, in the light of the crime levels in the Plumstead/Southfield area, he is prepared to establish a police station there; if not, why not; if so, (a) when will it be established and (b) what will be the (i) police and (ii) vehicle complement of the station;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? Hansard 15/5/90 B918E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No, not at this stage. The area is at present effectively served by the Diep River police station which is situated 3 kilometres from there. If it later appears to be essential, the establishment of a police station in the area will be reconsidered.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(2) No.

Exploding fireworks/crackers: banning

*3. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he has received any representations regarding the banning of exploding fireworks and/or crackers; if so, (a) from whom, (b) when and (c) what was the (i) purport of and (ii) response to each such representation;

(2) whether he has given any consideration to banning such fireworks and/or crackers; if not, why not; if so, with what result? B921E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2)

Since 1988 representations have been received from time to time from a number of organisations, members of Parliament and individual members of the public.

The purport of these representations included *inter alia* the following:

that negligent use of fireworks could cause injuries to people and animals and also damage to property;

that the use of fireworks causes animals to become terrified;

that the celebration of so called "Guy Fawkes" in South Africa was not warranted.

The prohibition on less dangerous fireworks was partially lifted during 1986, after representations in this regard were received from certain communities who use fireworks during religious festivities. However, the prohibition

on fireworks such as rockets and crackers larger than 25 X 4 mm, etcetera is still in force. Since 1986, the easing of the prohibition has been exploited by certain dealers who are set on pure profiteering and who have illegally imported prohibited fireworks. I requested that this matter be thoroughly investigated. Certain recommendations are at present being considered in order to try and find an acceptable solution to the problem.

Smutsville: Coloured community

*4. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

(1) Whether approximately 35 Black families are living among the Coloured residents of Smutsville, near Sedgelyield; if so,

(2) whether the Coloured community of Smutsville recently approached his Department regarding this matter; if so, (a) what are the circumstances surrounding this matter and (b) (i) for what purpose did the community concerned approach his Department and (ii) what was the response thereto? Hansard 15/5/90 B931E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS (Mr A Fourie):

(1) Yes.

(2) No.

The rest of this question falls away.

†Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, the Coloured communities have, according to reports, decided in a referendum that they are going to request the town council of Sedgelyield to remove the Black families. Now I should like to know whether the Department would favourably consider such a request from the Coloured community.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have just said no to the hon member. I do not know why he is now asking a further question. What I can say to him is that there are apparently problems there, but the community is busy sorting out the problem among themselves and it is being solved.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy

NELSON Mandela proposes to be adamant in his opposition to "group rights", he may find somewhat less support from the ANC's traditional sympathisers in this country than he might expect. "Group rights" are practised here. Indeed, they are an integral part of the civil rights programme.

Black Americans, who comprise roughly the same fraction of their population as whites in SA, have successfully campaigned for a series of special protections against domination by the majority. These include electoral laws which have been interpreted by the courts to guarantee blacks proportional representation not only in the House of Representatives but in state and local legislatures and on elective judicial benches as well.

Furthermore, to call for a colour-blind or non-racial society, as Mandela does, is the mark in this country of a conservative. The civil rights community fully endorses a whole array of such race-based policies as hiring quotas and affirmative action designed as much to redress past wrongs as to protect their beneficiaries (if they may truly be so called) from present and future discrimination. Senator Jesse Helms, by contrast, regards such things as racist.

This is not the only irony in Mandela's position. The fact of the matter is that the special status accorded black Americans has tended rather to dilute their share of power than to enhance it — so much so that the Republican Party is now actively encouraging Democrat-prone blacks to demand their minority political rights to the fullest extent possible.

Next year, state legislatures will redraw the boundaries of congressional districts to reflect the findings of the 1990 population census. To combat the Democrats' natural advantage in this process — they are likely to control the majority of state governments after November's elections — the Republicans have decided to make common cause with minority activists who are seeking to

Drawing the voting lines is the first step to a new SA

SIMON BARBER in Washington

maximise their representation in Congress by creating as many districts as possible with black and Hispanic majorities.

By effectively segregating out voters who nearly always vote Democrat, the Republicans correctly figure that the creation of such districts will dilute Democratic strength in the surrounding constituencies, which will in turn be more likely to send Republicans to Congress. To be sure, the result will also be a larger Congressional Black Caucus. But the overall strength of the party to which its members all belong will be diminished and with it their power to promote their policies.

Another, and perhaps even more perverse effect, is that the more minority voters are separated out so that they can elect their own, the less will white politicians owe their elections to minority votes. The influence of the minority over the majority will thus be reduced. Far from having a greater say in the running of the country, blacks will become yet further marginalised.

One can only assume that SA's minorities would seek to avoid the same fate. If so, it is they, and not Mandela, who should be calling for

colour-blind politics.

The trouble, of course, is that colour-blindness in SA is a fatuously romantic idea and likely to remain so for decades, even on the most optimistic projection. For all the hopeful talk of a politics whose cleavages are principally along class and ideological lines, race and ethnicity cannot simply be wished away. The question is whether the divisions can be comprehended within a workable democratic system that does not depend on the marginalisation of whites and other minorities through entrenched privileges and protections.

point of departure should instead be to "legitimise" the self-evident but, thanks to apartheid, unspeakable fact that "SA has serious divisions" and that "you can't just cover over the divisions by saying let's all unite".

For its part, the government should commit itself to the notion of universal suffrage on a common roll, and "one man, one vote, one value". That rules out, among other things, any system that would concede a veto to any minority group, since this would effectively give the votes of different groups different values.

The trick then is to devise mechanisms that force conciliation by obliging what will inevitably be group-based parties to win support across SA's racial, ethnic and other fault lines as the price for gaining and holding power. First-past-the-post elections fail the test. Even assuming the ANC only won 40% of the overall vote, this method might still give it a majority of seats without its having to take anyone else's views into account.

List-based proportional representation fares little better. "It is not a system conducive to appeals across racial lines. Whites would never have occasion to vote for blacks and

vice versa." Conciliation would be required only if no one gained an outright majority. "But by then it's too late. The parties are locked into hardline positions and will merely paper over their differences to form a government. The government will fall at the earliest opportunity."

The goal must therefore be to lock the parties into conciliatory commitments by the time the election is over and before any government is formed. This can be achieved in several ways. One might be to adapt the Nigerian federal system which requires that a successful presidential candidate not only win a plurality of votes cast nationwide but also garner more than 25% of the poll in no fewer than 14 of the country's 21 states. The result is that "if you're a Hausa, you can't get elected on Hausa votes alone. You have to be conciliatory to others."

Another method is the so-called "alternative vote" which requires voters to rank their preferences among the candidates on offer. Losers' votes are then redistributed until one candidate has an outright majority. Assuming that no one can be sure of a first round victory, this encourages contestants to appeal to voters outside their natural constituencies to ensure they at least come in second on as many ballots as possible.

Horowitz offers neither as a panacea. What matters is that any proposed system should instill a "culture of compromise" and ultimately make for the kind of "floating majorities" that are the essence of Western majority rule. That parties in SA will continue to be racially or ethnically based is not only a given but must be accepted as legitimate. The key is to make them appeal for votes across racial and ethnic lines instead of demanding special rights and protections.

The negotiation of a system that will do this, Horowitz concludes, will take time but is rather more important than a bill of rights or an independent judiciary. Though essential, such institutions will be worthless unless SA gets its politics right first.

False start ^{15/5/90} for ET party ^{30/4/90}

Staff Reporter

WHEN AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche arrived for yesterday's meeting with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, his khaki-clad bodyguards mistakenly led him into the adjoining post office.

Mr Terre'Blanche — who arrived in a gleaming white stretch limousine — was overheard telling his bodyguards, "Guys, you will have to do better than this", before they regrouped and entered the right building.

On their arrival Mr Terre'Blanche and his party were almost mobbed by foreign and local media representatives.

The five bodyguards — adorned with the swastika-like AWB symbol and some armed with pistols — were told by police officers to wait in a glass-walled waiting area, where they were later served tea.

Outside the building AWB members in plain clothes, including local member Mr Keith Conroy, kept watch.

When Mr Terre'Blanche emerged shortly before 2pm, he made a brief press statement and then, flanked by his bodyguards, drove off in his Hermanus-registered limousine.

Mandela to meet Bush next month

WASHINGTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela is to meet President George Bush at the White House next month.

He will address a joint session of Congress — the highest honour lawmakers can pay visiting dignitaries — and hold meetings with congressional leaders.

An ANC source in New York said Mr Mandela would visit Washington and five other US cities at the end of June.

The invitation was issued by Mr Bush in a personal telephone call in February, soon after Mr Mandela was released from prison.

It is believed Mr Mandela will urge America to keep economic sanctions against South Africa.

However, the Bush administration has indicated it might be willing to ease some of the restrictions.

Mr Bush has also invited President F W de klerk to visit Washington, and officials on both sides are trying to arrange the dates. — Sapa-AP

A whites-only national state

304A
80

A CONSERVATIVE Party Government would negotiate coloured and Indian homelands before claiming the rest of the country - excluding the existing black homelands - as a white national state.

This was said yesterday by CP founder-member and MP for Roodepoort, Advocate Jurg Prinsloo, during a debate on a new South Africa with Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer at the University of Pretoria.

The CP believed that the National Party's view of a new South Africa was not democratic be-

CP favours own areas for groups

SOWETAN
Correspondent

cause democracy revolved around self-government by the different population groups.

Prinsloo said the NP's new South Africa would be a conglomeration of different population groups in an unitary system.

He said the NP's policy of protection for minority groups was a temporary measure until a new South Africa was created.

Replying to a question, Prinsloo said it was his

party's ideal that most of a population group's members should live in their homeland, but the presence of blacks in a white homeland was not a problem.

The CP would, however, encourage population groups to live in their homelands by investments and creating infrastructures in the national states.

Meyer told the students that the NP realised during the 1970s that a policy of partition would not succeed, particularly as a result of economic factors.

During the last decade the party had realised the only alternative would be one undivided country - a view expressed by former State President PW Botha in 1985.

Meyer pointed out that the NP had won the previous two elections on this policy.

The NP wanted to create a democracy in South Africa where everyone would have an equal vote.

This would be achieved through negotiations with all political groups, including the CP and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Referring to negotiations, Meyer said the Government had transferred the "game" from a conflict area to a political area.

He was asked to read a section of the NP's 1989 election manifesto dealing with negotiations with the ANC.

After Meyer had read only part of the section, Prinsloo accused him of not answering questions properly and read the rest of the clause.

Meyer said the CP was promoting a policy the NP found was not practical.

The result of the debate, judged on the students' reaction ... an overwhelming success for the NP.

Red carpet treatment for FW in Portugal

LISBON - President F W de Klerk arrived in Lisbon on Monday and was accorded a full state welcome by President Mario Soares on the third leg of his nine-nation European tour. ~~304 ft~~

Two Portuguese Air Force Corsair trainer fighter jets escorted De Klerk's chartered Boeing 707 in to the Portella Airport after it crossed the border from Spanish airspace. *Soares* 1515190

De Klerk and his entourage were due to spend two days in Lisbon, attending a string of official functions and holding talks also with the

Portuguese government. (304 ft)

A 64-car official cavalcade escorted the two Presidents and the entourage to central Lisbon for a spectacular military guard of honour welcoming ceremony at the Praca do Imperio,

De Klerk inspected the guard of honour after which he and President Soares laid wreaths at the Jeronimos Cathedral before meeting again for an exchange of gifts and official talks, followed by a private lunch at the historic National Palace Belem, which is Pres Soares's official residence and office. - Sapa

NEWS

Star 15/5/90

304A



President de Klerk (left) and his Portuguese counterpart, President Mario Soares, raise their glasses in a dinner toast to each other last night during the South African leader's two-day visit to Portugal.

Picture by Reuters.

De Klerk receives five-star welcome

By Peter Fabricius
and Alan Dunn

LISBON — President de Klerk was warmly and ceremoniously greeted by Portuguese President Mario Soares here yesterday as a man who would change the history of south and southern Africa.

Mr Soares immediately gave Mr de Klerk his seal of approval by saying he believed reforms he had started would lead to peace in South Africa and southern Africa.

He said Mr de Klerk was much admired in Portugal for the courage he had shown in embarking on change.

Mr de Klerk flew into Portela Airport yesterday morning with an escort of four Corsair air force jets at the wingtips of his chartered Safair Boeing 707.

The escorts suddenly appeared as Mr de Klerk's aircraft flew into Portuguese airspace.

It was a thrill which sent the VIPs — and even the pilot —

rushing back into the 707's rear cabin to take pictures.

Mr de Klerk was greeted by Mr Soares at the airport and given a 21-gun salute on Lisbon's main square, the Praca do Imperio — the Imperial Square — as a military band played the South African and Portuguese anthems.

March past

After inspecting a military guard of commandos and taking the salute at a march-past, he laid a wreath at the tomb of Portugal's national poet, Luis de Camoes, in the 16th century Jeronimos Monastery.

He was then escorted by cavalry to the Belém Palace, Mr Soares's office, for formal talks with the president.

The two presidents first exchanged gifts, Mr de Klerk receiving a silver model of a 15th century Portuguese caravel like that of Vasco da Gama.

Mr de Klerk's wife Marike received a silver container.

Mr de Klerk gave Mr Soares an abstract painting by Belgian-born South African artist Jan Vermeiren. Mr Soares's wife Maria Barroso received a diamond-studded gold bracelet.

Mr Soares said he was happy to host Mr and Mrs de Klerk and was sure the majority of Portuguese people shared his feelings. He also said he was sure the 600 000-strong Portuguese community in South Africa was happy that Mr de Klerk was visiting Portugal.

Mr de Klerk said the silver ship reminded him of the big role the Portuguese seafarers had played in South African history.

"We are now no longer looking for new continents and new discoveries, but for a new way of life which will make it possible for all people to live in harmony, while retaining dignity

and honour."

They would also share a common destiny while retaining pride in their particular cultural heritage.

Palace

Last night, Mr and Mrs de Klerk, being accorded the trappings of a full state visit although their visit is too brief to be classified as such, slept at the 18th century Queluz Palace.

Customary accommodation for visiting heads of state, the palace was once the residence of Portuguese royalty. Queen Elizabeth II and former US President Ronald Reagan have both stayed there.

The throne room, the queen's dressing room, the Don Quixote chamber, the music salon and the gardens designed in 1762 by French architect J B Robillion, give the palace the ambience of a little Versailles.

● See Page 11.



Hopes for peace after AWB, Vlok meeting

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

HOPES are high in the government that talks between Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche will lead to a breakthrough in peace efforts in conflict-torn communities.

While the sensitive issue of uniformed AWB members carrying arms is likely to be tackled at further meetings between the two, Mr Vlok said yesterday he was satisfied that he had forcefully conveyed the need for the AWB to help keep the security situation calm.

In an interview yesterday Mr Vlok said he believed the meeting had been successful in furthering the principle of co-responsibility on security matters, in seeking the help of all sides in communities where conflict and tension were high and in setting an example of impartiality for the police to follow.

The meeting focused entirely on security issues and had nothing to do with party political principles.

"Terrified" public

While supporting Mr Vlok's decision to call the meeting, the Democratic Party warned that the joint statement which emerged from it sounded "so positive" that it might be difficult to convey it in a credible form to a public "terrified by what they see as threatening in the AWB's activities".

One of the party's law and order spokesmen, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said that for the AWB's assurances to be accepted it would be necessary for Mr Vlok to arrange multilateral talks including for instance the AWB and the ANC, "so that political groups and institutions can get impressions from their own leadership of the sincerity and commitment of assurances to keep the peace".

The Argus Correspondent reports from Durban that the DP has called on Mr Vlok to say if he was for or against the AWB staging public demonstrations of its fire power, as it did at Ventersdorp at the weekend.

DP co-leader, Mr Wynand Malan, said today that Mr Vlok had to say what his position on such displays was. "I would have hoped that Mr Vlok would have made himself clear as to what he expected of the AWB."

"Meeting worthwhile"

Earlier yesterday Mr Terre'Blanche emerged from the longer-than-expected three-hour exchange in Mr Vlok's parliamentary offices satisfied that the meeting had been worthwhile.

However, he answered the DP's call for the AWB to be curtailed with a warning that "no force in the world can stop the boer from defending himself, least of all the DP".

He added: "You cannot make a man a bandit and outlaw him if out of the love he has for God and his country he is preparing to fight lawlessness of a communist regime victory."

Mr Vlok and Mr Terre'Blanche issued a joint statement after the midday meeting saying the talks took place in a "friendly" atmosphere and that there was agreement to meet again if and when necessary.

● See page 13.

Liver transplant scheme for W Cape

By ANDREA WEISS
Medical Reporter

A LIVER transplant programme for children is to start in the Western Cape this year, according to the annual report of the Medical Research Council.

Lifting the veil on the liver transplant programme at Groote Schuur Hospital, Professor Ralph Kirsch, director of the Liver Research Centre, said five transplants had been completed since October 1988 and all the patients were alive and well.

Three of the five patients, ranging in age from 18 to 56 years, had returned to work. The longest stay any of the patients had in hospital was a month after the operation.

Professor Kirsch pointed out that liver transplant patients had been sent abroad at the cost of hundreds of thousands of rands in the past.

He did not anticipate more than one liver a would be transplanted but he hoped more patients have the transplants be was too late.

He ascribed the success of the transplants, done in conjunction with Professor Terre'Blanche of the University of Cape Town Medical School, to better surgical and nursing techniques and improved drugs.

However, he warned that unless the young doctor whom the programme were able to do research might leave.

Surgeon Dr Del Kirsch, a member of the transplant team, had learned his technique in Pittsburgh in the United States where he had on an MRC post doctorate fellowship.

● See page 4.

Man, baby daughter in Hout Bay shack fire

Staff Reporter

A MAN and his baby daughter burnt to death and his wife was seriously injured in a vain attempt to rescue them after a fire swept through their wood-and-iron hut at Kronendal Farm, Hout Bay early today.

Mr Dicky Andrews, 35, and his 20-month-old daughter, Sarah Lotte, died in the blaze at 5am.

Regional services council firemen extinguished the blaze

and treated Mr Andrew's mon-law wife, Ms Eileen, for burns on her hands and face before taking her to hospital.

Police said she had been entirely woken and left the house shortly before the fire broke out and had found it ablaze on return.

The fire was believed to have started when an electrical plug fell over.

You can stay as young
rest of your life

Chano

I dread black exam results – Marais

The present system of education was unacceptable to most blacks, Deputy Minister of Education and Training Pieter Marais said in Parliament yesterday.

Several breakthroughs had been made, said Mr Marais, but as long as blacks believed, rightly or wrongly, that the system was disadvantageous to them, no general success would be achieved.

The chances of good results this year were disturbingly limited because of the disruption already experienced in many schools, said Mr Marais.

"It would be irresponsible for me not to say at this early stage that I experience a feeling of dread when I think of what is going to happen to thousands of Std 10 pupils at the end of the year.

"Even at this late stage, I still invite our pupils, teachers, communities and politicians of all persuasions to join us in an extraordinary effort to try to save what can still be saved."

15/5/99 Homelands

Minister of Education and Training Stoffel van der Merwe said more than 7,5 million blacks were at schools in South Africa and the homelands. Forty years ago the figure was 750 000.

Dr van der Merwe said in his budget vote that a great part of the resources for black education had been lost over the years because schools had been made the focal point of a political struggle.

His deputy, Mr Marais, said South Africa was a land of promise and opportunities for all its people, but those promises would only be fulfilled if people were willing to work hard.

In the new South Africa, the colour of one's skin

would not be a deciding factor, only what kind of training had been received, said Mr Marais.

Over the last 10 years, an annual average of 2 100 classrooms had been built, 2 000 teachers appointed and 45 schools opened, and the department was still unable to cope.

"I can only be honest and say we are busy providing more and more pupils with an unsuitable education and the results are getting weaker every year.

"The growth in pupil numbers and teachers is forcing us to make watershed decisions."

Adapted

Too many children were being educated too similarly, and the teaching programmes would have to be adapted.

Senior certificates were being issued with less and less relevance to an increasing number of children.

"We will have to concentrate on giving all citizens of the country the same basic, generally formative education for a certain period of time.

"Together with that, we will have to provide a large variety of opportunities for career education for all who want to qualify themselves for a useful job," said Mr Marais.

"The career education must be available at many sites, also at employers in the private sector. It must be planned and provided on a regional basis and a trainee must receive a certificate on completion of a course.

"These certificates must have market value as a top priority. They must be useful and practicable, they must enable people to earn a living." — Sapa.

'Untenable race law out of step, must go'

Stow 15/5/90 304A

The race classification law was unacceptable and undoubtedly discriminatory, Minister of Home Affairs Gene Louw said in Parliament yesterday.

The Government wanted to get rid of it as soon as possible.

However, a moratorium on the Population Registration Act was impractical, and it could not be scrapped immediately. In the meantime, his department would try to apply it with as much compassion as possible.

There were no legal provisions for a moratorium, as requested in the debate by Mr Desmond Lockey (LP, N Cape).

Mr Louw said the Act was completely out of step with the dynamic constitutional developments under way.

It was clear it had to be amended, with the constitution.

"We cannot enter a new constitutional dispensation while retaining the contents of this Act ... its description of race, of groups, is simply unacceptable."

The Act left no room for freedom of choice.

He said it was becoming extremely difficult for him to make decisions on reclassification applications, because free association of people was becoming a pattern of everyday life.

It was also becoming more difficult to decide whether a person was accepted by another group, or merely tolerated.

Heartache

Mr Louw said he treated cases sympathetically.

"But we can't be too lenient, because the Act is on our statute books and there will always be pressure

from members of the receiving group."

His department had got legal advice that one could not ignore the sections of the Act dealing with acceptance into another group.

"The present Act is discriminatory, there can be no doubt about that. The Government wants to get rid of it as soon as possible. My department has had 40 years of heartache in this connection."

It was absolutely untenable that a family could be divided among two or even three racial groups. The status quo could not be maintained.

Alternatives to the Act had not been formulated and could not be debated.

But the process had begun. The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, had said that the Act would receive attention in the constitutional process. — Sapa.

THERE has been much speculation about the meaning of the Groote Schuur meeting agreed between the South African Government and the ANC on May 4 1990. In many cases these statements have been at variance with the wording and spirit of the agreement.

It is necessary to correct such misunderstanding so that the future actions of both parties can be measured against what has actually been agreed on, and what expectations lie behind such agreement.

There has been speculation of various deals, in particular that the ANC has agreed to suspend the armed struggle in exchange for the release of political prisoners.

The ANC's approach at the talks was in conformity with its commitment to the process set out in the Harare Declaration. Within this process the question of suspension of hostilities is addressed to both sides, the ANC's people's army and that of the Government.

The agreement

Such a suspension of hostilities is to be negotiated after the removal of the obstacles identified in the Declaration. These "obstacles" refer to factors whose removal helps create a climate suitable for negotiations. Included here are the need to unconditionally release all political prisoners, including those on Death Row, lifting the state of emergency, and repeal of all security legislation.

The ANC does not, and has not, renounced any form of struggle that may advance its cause. At the same time, we do look ahead to the future phases of this process when it will be possible for both sides to suspend warfare and ultimately lay down arms entirely.

In this context, how do we interpret the agreement? The preamble refers to a "common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

The way we interpret this preamble must be seen within our understanding of violence in South Africa. In the first place, the overwhelming cause of violence is the system of apartheid which operates, inherently, through repressive means. We need only think of the violence of forced removals, eviction of so-called squatters, violent,

Clearing the air on talks

South Africa 15/5/90

11/11/90
304A

Harare document guides ANC

suppression of peaceful protests, and so on.

Apartheid repression has also spawned many "unofficial" forms of violence, for example hit squads and vigilantes.

While we interpret the reference to violence and intimidation as addressed, in the first place, to the forces of apartheid and further to the right, we recognise that some of our followers have been involved in acts of indiscipline.

It is part of our duty in establishing the ANC as a mass legal presence to ensure that this does not continue and that we spread understanding of our policies by reasoning, not by any form of intimidation.

Short-sighted

This is a commitment born out of confidence in our policies and also a sense that it is both morally wrong and short-sighted to believe that followers can be won over by violence. This goal can only be won through establishing strong grassroots structures, organised on a disciplined basis.

The reference to a "commitment" to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations is nothing new, nor a compromise on the part of the ANC. The entire history of our organisation is related to attempts to seek peace.

The path of armed struggle was not chosen by us, but forced on the ANC by its banning and the violent response to our protests.

In South Africa, as in any society, whether or not a people has to resort to violent or illegal means is not determined in the first place by the oppressed, but

FOCUS

by the response of the oppressor to their demands.

If a non-racial democratic society can be established without further bloodshed, we would prefer that. We want peace. But we want a just peace where democracy is assured.

Flowing from this commitment, in the preamble, the Government and the ANC agreed to establish a working group, composed of ANC and Government representatives, "to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the SA situation."

The mandate includes discussing "time-scales" and advising on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity to people who may have committed political offences inside or outside the country.

The working group is mandated to bear in mind the experiences in Namibia where the release of political prisoners included a process of defining who would qualify for such status. The urgency of the group's task is emphasised by the statement that it "will aim to complete its work before May 21 1990."

Immunity

Special arrangements are envisaged to enable the ANC to operate as a normal political organisation.

The agreement states that "temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before today, will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the National Executive Committee and other selected members of the ANC from outside the country."

The ANC's historic meeting with the Government early this month drew a mixed reaction from the community. In this article Raymond Suttner, academic and leading member of the ANC, justifies his organisation's decision to begin talks. Tomorrow we will carry the PAC viewpoint and on Wednesday that of the Black Consciousness Movement. Meanwhile what do you, the reader, think of negotiations. Tell us in not more than 200 words. The first 10 letters will be published.

cution for political offences committed before today, will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the National Executive Committee and other selected members of the ANC from outside the country."

This will "enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations."

"The Government undertakes to review existing security legislation and to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency."

There are numerous factors that impact on Government decision-making and we realise that some of these may militate against implementation of this agreement.

Constituency

There are many factors in the Government's constituency that may, at some stage, cause them to hesitate in implementing the spirit of the agreement.

But our constituency demands that we ensure that the agreement be speedily implemented and thus bring us to the point where obstacles to negotiations are removed.

The agreement does not entail any limit on our normal political activities. That is why we will not relax in our struggle to free South Africa and create non-racial democracy. It is through such struggles that we force the Government to address these issues and meet our representatives.

Smiling A WB

chief sees Vlok



ALL SMILES . . . An air of bonhomie is evident as A WB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche talks to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok before their meeting yesterday.

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By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, yesterday walked away smiling from his meeting with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok — and denied that the AWB had any plans for a private police force or army.

But he stressed that AWB "commandos" would remain intact and that his militant right-wing organisation would defend its "boere" people against any attacks from the communists and the ANC. The commandos, he claimed, were a long-standing right Boers had to protect their own. During their three-hour meeting in Cape Town, Mr Vlok promised the three-man AWB delegation an urgent investigation into the alleged intimidation of white minners in the Free State goldfields. The joint statement issued afterwards stressed the "friendly atmosphere" of the talks. It also seems clear that Mr Terre'Blanche has not been challenged on the right of the AWB to maintain para-military structures.

Condemned

Yesterday's talks followed the refusal of the AWB to meet Mr Vlok last week when he visited Welkom — because of the presence of an ANC representative — and Saturday's events at Ventersdorp where the AWB opened a training camp to the media. In an angry statement in Johannesburg last night, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, condemned the "open mobilisation" of the right wing. Mr Chikane called on the government to take immediate action against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging which, he said, had been allowed to mobilise with impunity in direct contravention of security legislation.

Commenting on reports and pictures of armed and uniformed AWB commando leaders receiving military training on a Transvaal farm, he said: "The security legislation has been used, and continues to be used, to repress and outlaw the armed struggle conducted by the liberation movements. The obvious conclusion is that the state is reluctant, for political ends, to prosecute white South Africans."

In their joint statement, Mr Vlok and Mr Terre'Blanche said the discussions, held at the invitation of the minister, mainly concerned the security of whites in South Africa. "Both parties expressed their aspirations for the safety and security of the peoples of South Africa."

To page 3

From page 1
and also advocated the necessity for normalisation of the situation in the country. The AWB had expressed its concerns for the safety of whites, particularly white minners in the goldfields area. According to the AWB, aspects that especially cause concern are the question of intimidation, the arming of black minners, as well as allegations that some black members of the SA police have taken part in intimidation. Mr Vlok also undertook to hold discussions as quickly as possible with the Chamber of Mines and the White Mineworkers' Union about the safety of white minners as well as the safety of other minners. Regarding the question of the AWB's so-called "boere army" that was presented to the media during the weekend, Mr Terre'Blanche gave the minister the assurance that the AWB was not establishing a "boere army", but was only training people to defend themselves. "He said the AWB's motive is defensive and not offensive and this movement does not have any plans to establish its own police force or army."

After the meeting, Mr Terre'Blanche, asked about DP calls for action to be taken against his organisation, said: "There is no force in the world that will stop the boere from defending themselves, least of all the DP." Mr Terre'Blanche said further talks with Mr Vlok were envisaged and, it is understood, discussions with other right-wing groups, including the Conservative Party, are being planned.

AWB fires its Joburg leader

By BARRY STREEK

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has fired its Johannesburg leader, Mr Leonard Veenendal, because he contradicted the organisation's leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, about the existence of military units.

The AWB decision was made after the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said either Mr Terre'Blanche or Mr Veenendal had lied.

Yesterday Mr Veenendal, who is wanted for murder in Namibia, said he was a commander of an AWB unit which would kill Mr Hein Grosskopf, an ANC member allegedly responsible for a car bomb in Johannesburg, if Mr Grosskopf returned to SA.

Mr Vlok said the existence of the AWB unit directly contradicted the statement issued after his meeting this week with members of the AWB.

Mr Terre'Blanche said he had informed Mr Vlok about the AWB decision.

● 'Cosy chat' raises fears — Page 2

Protection of minority rights 'vital' to new SA

8/10am 16/5/90
304A

DANIEL FELDMAN

A DEMOCRATIC constitution which protects minority rights is fundamental to the new SA, but must also include a Bill of Rights and separation of powers, according to a leading legal academic.

Unisa Constitutional and Public International Law Department head Prof Marinus Wiechers made the remarks while addressing the SA-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry yesterday on constitutional options for SA.

Wiechers said the protection of minority rights would be a crucial factor in this new constitution, because "minorities play the balancing role against majority rule in a true democracy".

He stressed, though, that skin colour could not be a basis in formulating minority groups. "Rather, special acknowledgement must be given to different cultural, religious and linguistic groups."

These groups must be protected so they have freedom of expression, association and movement.

"Democracy is not consensus and not unity, but the ability of parties to criticise and fight with each other", he said.

Two fundamental aspects of a

new democratic constitution would be a comprehensive Bill of Rights which would protect all individuals, and the separation of powers. This would maintain an independent judiciary and separate the legislative and executive branches of government.

Wiechers credited the business community for taking a leading role in establishing a business charter and realising that "free enterprise cannot exist in a society which is unfree".

He said the developments of the last few months "have made a democratic constitution the only option for SA. The Vervoerdian stage of apartheid has become only a historical phase of SA".

"We may have bumps and difficulties in devising it along the way, but it is the most workable option," he said.

Wiechers said a federation would be an ideal solution for SA, but federations could not be imposed from the top down and had to be the decision of the various factions wanting to unite.

Grappling with the new SA

The dramatic recent events culminating in the Groote Schuur talks calls to mind the observation of a Prague psychotherapist about the effects on her patients of the political upheavals in Eastern Europe.

Without being facetious in any way, she said: "The neurotics are getting worse and the psychotics are getting better."

For neurotics, whether they live in Prague or in Johannesburg, a stable order, even if it is detestable, is far preferable to change which forces one to make choices and which opens up frightening prospects if the wrong option is taken.

Psychotics, on the other hand, thrive on the prevailing mood. Where normal people tend to be guardedly pleased about positive developments, psychotics are euphoric.

The psychotics in South Africa believe there is every reason to be euphoric. To them, the talks signified a great meeting of minds.

And the press conference of Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk symbolised the graceful demise of the old order and the advent of a new era of peace and prosperity.

More depressed

The neurotics, on the other hand, had much to make them even more nervous and depressed.

The ANC delegation, with two or three exceptions, were all members of the South African Communist Party. Those who are not are firmly committed to retain the ties between the ANC and SACP. The entire organisational structure of the ANC is in SACP hands.

ANC-supporting publications continue with the rhetoric of war, depicting negotiations as yet another site for struggle on the road to full, unqualified victory.

To make matters worse for neurotics, the National Party, as the other major pillar in the negotiations structure, looks bewildered and bemused.

'Neurotics getting worse, psychotics getting better'

Only when the goals have been defined can the question of political options be addressed in seeking to solve South Africa's problems, argues Professor **HERMANN GILIOME**, political academic from the University of Cape Town.

Having been told they will not have to face the Conservative Party in another election, most caucus members are prepared to countenance any agreements reached by the leadership.

But there does not seem to be any coherent thought about how the NP can win a constitutional referendum or how it should re-formulate its identity from a racial party to a vehicle for minorities across racial lines.

Psychotics and neurotics do not have things all wrong, but one must look for a more balanced perspective somewhere between the two extremes.

So where does South Africa stand after the Groote Schuur talks?

There is none of the personal animosity between leaders of the main antagonists which has bedevilled peace negotiations in other communal conflicts.

Equally positive is the fact that South Africa at this stage is blissfully free from any foreign intervention on behalf of one or more of the parties.

The Groote Schuur talks demonstrated a common commitment to resolve the issue as an internal South Africa affair.

It is foreign meddling which has made communal conflicts elsewhere so intractable.

On the negative side, it is clear that the parties are still far apart about the purposes and goals of negotiations and about a mutually

acceptable process to achieve these goals.

The ANC leadership at the Soweto rally following the talks made it quite explicit that for the movement the purpose of negotiations was to settle once and for all the issue of political power.

Only by granting the majority power would the dignity, status and honour of blacks be secured.

It is in line with this demand that Mr Mandela does not even want to have group or minority rights discussed at the negotiations.

This must be very disconcerting to the Government since Mr Mandela last year started the current process by writing to Mr P W Botha that the demand for majority rule must be reconciled with "the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks".

For the Government, on the other hand, negotiations are seen as a framework for problem-solving.

If the main problems of South Africa are a stagnant economy, low worker productivity, discrimination and massive poverty, the solution is for the Government and the ANC to sit together and shape the conditions for economic growth, social renewal and a system free of discrimination.

Due to those conflicting approaches there is also a clash over an acceptable process of negotiations.

Best options

Once there is agreement about the definition of the problem, goals can be defined such as security of identity and the practical means of development.

Only once this is done can the search begin for the most appropriate political options. The negotiations then move to details within an agreed political structure.

In Professor Burton's view, divided societies elsewhere failed to address the internal conflict by elevating power to the central issue.

The only proper way is to consider negotiations as a method for problem-solving.

At this stage, the most appropriate step for the ANC and NP to take is to appoint study commissions to come to an agreement about definitions, goals and options.

This may seem like a laborious process, but, on the other hand, the very future of the country depends on such a process being completed successfully before the final round of negotiations begins.

tions.

If negotiations are ultimately about resolving the issue of power, the only route is a constituent assembly which will enable the majority to impose its will.

If, on the other hand, negotiations are about problem-solving, both parties would do well to look at the methods proposed by Professor John Burton, a world-renowned expert on conflict resolution from Genep Mason University currently visiting the country.

Speaking at the University of Port Elizabeth's Institute for Study of Conflict Resolution, Professor Burton emphasised how important it is to ensure "that there are no proposals put forward until there has been a thorough analysis and an agreed definition of the problem".

This task could be assigned to people appointed by the main adversaries.

16/5/90

304A

PARLIAMENT

Govt 'delaying extraditions'

The Government had been less than enthusiastic in dealing with extradition requests and was committing a grave injustice, Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

"The consequence of these actions is that the Lubowski murderer will probably never be prosecuted," he said during an interpellation.

The Government knew this was an urgent case. The Minister of Justice knew time was of the essence and there was no excuse for any delays in complying with extradition requests from Namibia.

Minister of Justice Kobie

Coetsee said Donald Acheson had been arrested in South West Africa on September 13 1989 and held in custody until the withdrawal of the case against him on May 7 1990.

Namibia became independent on March 21 1990 and, from that date, SA laws were no longer applicable there.

"The question is in what way could South Africa lawfully assist Namibia with the prosecution in any given case after March 21."

SA's willingness to co-operate could be gathered from the fact that documents pertaining to the Extradition Act and Foreign Courts Evidence Act 1962 had already been in

the Attorney-General's hands on the date of independence.

Nothing further was heard from the Namibian authorities until April 22 1990 when the extradition of certain persons was sought in a letter from the Attorney-General in Windhoek dated April 21 1990.

"While we will do everything we can to see that justice prevails, we also have minimum requirements in our law. It is the magistrate who must decide whether a *prima facie* case exists."

Twice, when documents were submitted, State legal advisers said there was no *prima facie* case on which to extradite these persons.

"I want to emphasise we will go to great lengths to ensure justice is done in Namibia and elsewhere. There are still four persons in South Africa who should be brought to trial in Namibia but we have not yet received any documents," Mr Coetsee said.

Lester Fuchs (DP Hillbrow) said the Minister had justified his actions with technicalities. SA should not harbour alleged criminals, and people of the ilk of "Veenendal and Stopforth" should be sent back to Namibia to face the music.

"Why have we taken so long to act against these thugs? Has the Government gone soft on security?" — Sapa.

Talks today on 'political offences'

By TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff

THE working group of the government and the African National Congress is having its first meeting in Pretoria today.

Since the appointment of the group, announced after the Groote Schuur talks at the beginning of the month, both sides have been preparing separately for the meeting.

The South African side is led by Mr S S van der Merwe, constitutional adviser in the Department of Constitutional Development, and the ANC side by Mr Jacob Zuma, head of ANC intelligence.

The group has to make recommendations on defining "political offences" in South Africa and to discuss time scales in this regard.

MECHANISMS

It also has to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity for political offences inside and outside South Africa.

Legal formulas which could lead to amnesty for security prisoners will have to be worked out.

The group has been given a May 21 deadline.

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — ANC officials yesterday called on President George Bush to cancel his planned meeting with President F W de Klerk on June 18 — a week before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrives in Washington — and to “intensify” US sanctions against Pretoria.

At a press conference here arranged by the ANC's US lobbyists, Fenton Communications, chief ANC representative to Britain Mendi Msimang termed the meeting “a slap in the face of the ANC... an insult”.

He called on the ANC's US supporters to engage in “solidarity action” to protest against De Klerk's visit, adding, “It is not too late for the State Department to take corrective measures.”

ANC fumes over FW-Bush talks

He suggested that the US administration had deliberately violated “understandings” with the ANC that Mandela would precede De Klerk in visiting the White House.

It was unclear, however, whether Msimang and two colleagues who appeared with him, chief US representative Lindiwe Mabuza and UN representative Tebogo Mafole, were following instructions from Lusaka or advice from leading anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson.

White House spokesman Alix Glenn

□ To Page 2

US visit

confirmed that Bush expected to see De Klerk on June 18.

Mabuza said Mandela would arrive in New York on June 20 and expected to meet Bush between June 24 and 26. The White House said no firm date had yet been fixed.

Robinson, who is co-ordinating Mandela's visit, said the US president's decision to see De Klerk “the week before Nelson Mandela comes to the US is a demonstration of insensitivity of which I did not know George Bush to be capable”.

At least one prominent member of Congress has already indicated that because of the timing of De Klerk's visit, he will not be able to give the SA leader the kind of welcome he would have liked.

Mandela's schedule includes a ticker tape parade in New York and an appearance before a joint session of Congress — an honour most recently accorded to Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel.

His proposed ten-day itinerary takes in New York, Boston, Washington, Atlanta, Miami, Detroit and Los Angeles where he will be feted at an “entertainment community event” and a rally in the 120 000 seat Coliseum.

Mafole said Mandela would “emphasise that there has been no change in SA” and call for sanctions to be “intensified”. He would also make an appeal for funds.

According to a Press release, the trip is being arranged with the help of “a broad range of American citizens”.

Mabuza said organisers had already raised \$250 000 to pay staff and other trip expenses. This included \$70 000 raised in donations at a single function in Los Angeles.

Mandela also intends to meet US business leaders to discuss their role in a post-apartheid SA.

□ From Page 1

Portuguese president will visit SA soon

LISBON — Portugal's President Mario Soares will pay an official visit to SA soon at the invitation of President FW de Klerk, marking a breakthrough in efforts to end years of international isolation.

The visit was confirmed at a joint media conference the two leaders held in Lisbon yesterday afternoon following two days of highly successful talks De Klerk held with the Portuguese government.

De Klerk is on the third leg of his nine-nation tour to convince the European Community (EC) it must re-examine its attitude to SA in view of changes he has initiated recently to end apartheid.

It will be the first official visit by a Western head of state in 15 years, and officials in De Klerk's delegation indicated it amounted to a clear breakthrough in SA's relations with the outside world.

The last non-African head of state to visit SA was Paraguayan dictator Gen Alfredo Stroessner in 1975.

Clearly pleased with the success of his mission to Portugal — and last week to France and Greece — De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha left Lisbon at 6pm local time (7pm SA time) after an official farewell by Soares.

His next stop is Brussels for discussions

with the Belgian government, and to visit the headquarters of the EC.

Soares and Prime Minister Cavaco Silva have made clear Portugal's acceptance of irreversible change away from apartheid, and its intention to intervene on behalf of SA at the EC's Dublin summit next month for a re-examination of policy towards SA, including the sanctions issue.

Speaking at a luncheon he hosted for De Klerk, Silva said: "We should now find ways to correspond to the evident need for re-examination of the sanctions applied previously, vis-a-vis the progress and

□ To Page 2

Soares visit

openness which have occurred (in SA)".

"With this attitude the EC should simultaneously be encouraging current negotiations and preserving the improvement of living conditions for the peoples of southern Africa.

"Portugal will raise this matter with its community partners because, although it respects the rule of consensus, it assumes its particular knowledge of SA and seeks to be an interpreter of the many wishes coming to us from all over Africa."

Soares said that after talks with De Klerk last June, last October in Pretoria and over the last two days:

"We are convinced in the policy of the reforms currently under way ... in all circumstances ... the time has arrived for us to support the policy of reform of President de Klerk.

De Klerk said he was leaving with a number of conclusions.

The first encouraging one was that there was, in Portugal, a broad consensus on the

policy that should be followed regarding SA and the region.

"From our point of view this assures us there will be realistic decisions ... we do not ask for anything more than realistic decisions.

"Also, I leave with a sense of the necessity of broadening and tightening our friendship and the bonds which tie us together. We share many common values with Portugal."

The two countries shared a common commitment to play a constructive role, as partners, in Africa and more particularly in southern Africa.

"I want to reiterate that I believe the time has come for a thorough re-evaluation in the EC of its policies and its attitudes towards SA."

De Klerk said he was greatly encouraged after talks with the Portuguese government that such realism would be part of the EC's debate. — Sapa.

□ From Page 1

Govt talks with AWB slammed

304A

THE Government treaded softly on security when it came to right-wing organisations such as the AWB, Democratic Party deputy spokesman on Law and Order Mr Lester Fuchs said yesterday.

Why was the AWB not charged under the Dangerous Weapons Act and the Inciting Racial Hatred Act?, asked Fuchs.

He accused the Government of selective morality and of having a hidden agenda when it dealt with Right-wing militancy.

Fuchs was reacting to Monday's meeting be-

By THEMBA MOLEFE

tween the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche at which Vlok undertook to investigate several AWB's allegations against black mineworkers in Welkom's Goldfields.

The investigation will also include claims that black members of the SA Police were taking part in the intimidation.

Fuchs also said it was surprising the Government had not extradited Mr Leonard Veenendal, the Johannesburg AWB leader wanted in Namibia. Lawyers for Human Rights national director, Mr Brian Currin, however, said: "I do not hold any brief for the AWB, but the Government speaks to Nelson Mandela who has not forsworn the armed struggle.

"I am pleased that Vlok spoke to the AWB, perhaps with the possibility of persuading him to participate in negotiations for a peaceful future", he said.

Minister speaks of single education system for country

Big shift in schools policy

Star 16/5/90

3044

Political Staff

The Government has made a major shift away from its strict apartheid education policy. A single education system is now on the agenda.

Three important developments towards a changed education system were reported yesterday.

● Education Deputy Minister Piet Marais said in a television interview on SABC-TV news last night that the Government was prepared to sit down and talk about a single education system for the whole country.

● Mr Marais disclosed that white schools closed for lack of pupils would be bought for black pupils, to relieve overcrowding in black schools.

● The Human Sciences Research Council has released the results of an opinion poll it conducted showing that a majority of white adults favoured racially open schools.

Financial side

In his interview, Mr Marais said he foresaw a future in which there would be a single education department such as that which existed in the Department of National Education. This education department would plan the policies and the syllabi as well as look at the "financial side of matters".

A future South African government would be non-racial, and the department would also be non-racial.

On the subject of using empty white schools for blacks, Mr Marais said the Department of Education and Training has started the selective purchasing of empty white schools to be used by black pupils to solve overcrowding.

A primary school at Saurbekom near

Bekkersdal in the Western Transvaal is the first empty white school in South Africa earmarked for this purpose.

In a new approach, empty white schools will be purchased by the DET to help alleviate the overcrowding.

Mr Marais said a number of considerations had to be taken into account, like the proximity of these schools in relation to the needs of specific communities.

The HSRC survey, conducted with 1 856 respondents across the country, showed 52 percent of whites "strongly" or "predominantly" favoured racially open schools provided the standards and admittance requirements were maintained.

There were, however, almost 41 percent of respondents who were either "strongly" or "predominantly" against open schools.

The HSRC survey explored public reaction of whites to two education models, recently announced in Parliament, providing for admittance of other races to white schools.

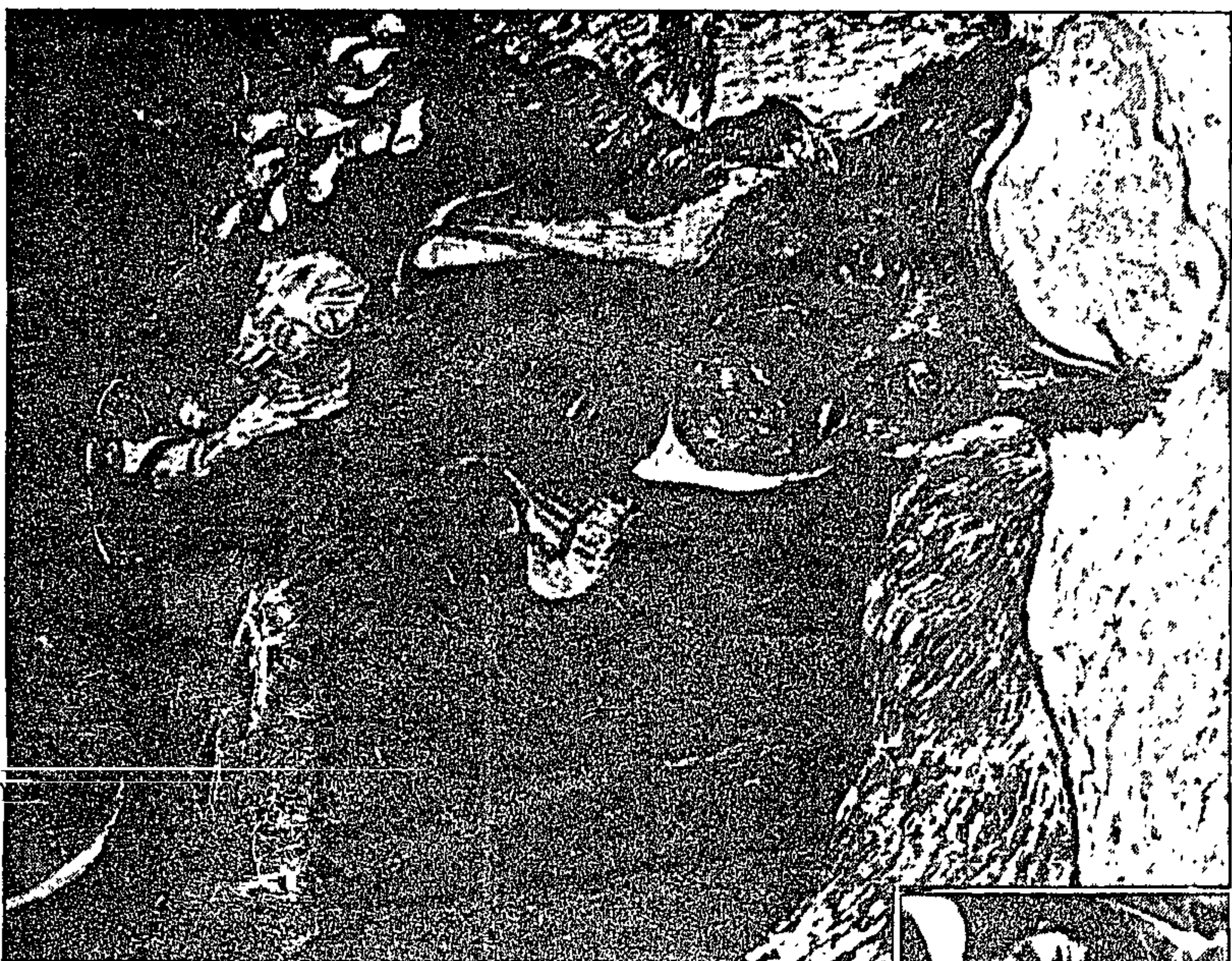
More than two-thirds of respondents were positive about the model providing for existing white schools being privatised, if supported by the majority of parents.

For the second model, which provided that white government schools could admit other races if this was favoured by a majority of parents, there was 54 percent support.

Just over two-thirds of respondents felt parents should have the final say. More than two-thirds also supported the use of empty white schools for pupils of other groups.

There was 33 percent support for a central education department, with 16 percent against.

The HSRC survey was conducted by Chris de Kock and Nic Rhoades.



Top Van Gogh fetches R218-m

NEW YORK — An outstanding blue portrait by Vincent Van Gogh of his doctor stunned the art market yesterday by selling for \$82.5 million (R218.6 million) smashing the world record for the sale of a painting by R80 million.

"Portrait of Doctor Gachet" was bought by a Japanese dealer — who had apparently been willing to go even higher — for an unnamed Japanese corporation.

But the record sale failed to allay fears in the art market, fuelled by two disappointing contemporary art sales last week in which many works remained unsold, that the five-year art boom is over.

At the end of the evening auction at Christie's, 24 of the 81 art works offered remained unsold. Said head auctioneer, Christopher Burge: "People won't be making double their money in a few months any more." — Reuter.



THE Big White Baas has spoken again, and we the unsophisticated majority are expected once more to swallow his insult.

In the 1940s and beyond, The Big White Baas came to power in South Africa by campaigning among his flock on a crude racist ticket: "Would you let your daughter to marry a ...?"

It was unthinkable that he would allow us to fraternise with him - until he needed to boost the apartheid numbers on his side. He promised to maintain "civilised standards", so he created "national councils" for those whom he classified 'coloured' and 'Indian'.

He argued that the people classified 'coloured' were *bruin Afrikaners* and that South Africans of Indian (and Chinese) descent had a "culture and civilisation" going back thousands of years.

The dark upstarts started asking: If that is so, why can't they have an equal vote and a say in running the country?

Boycotted

When those classified "coloured" overwhelmingly boycotted the first Coloured Persons's Representative Council elections and did not vote for the Labour Party in 1968, the Voice of the Baas, SABC, claimed they were "politically immature"!

So the Baas created the tricameral Parliament. The vast majority of *bruin Afrikaners* saw red and boycotted the parliamentary elections, as did the majority of "Indians" who felt their thousands-of-years-old "civilisation" did not cater for segregated parliaments.

Virtually overnight, we have changed from "uncivilised" to "unsophisticated", just as most of us changed from *kaffir* to "native" to "plural" to "black".

Presumably, the ex-chief of the Broederbond means the white minority is sophisticated. So I checked in the dictionary.

Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary defines "sophisticated" as follows: "to adulterate; to falsify; to give a fashionable air of worldly wisdom to; to make (eg. a machine) highly complex and efficient."

All these descriptions, no doubt, apply to the white people on whose behalf Dr Viljoen speaks.

That would mean that we the unsophisticated majority are un-

The Big White Baas has spoken again

OPINION

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA



The PAC position paper on negotiations has been held over and we today publish Ameen Akhalwaya's comment on Dr Gerrit Viljoen's remarks about 'sophisticated and unsophisticated voters'.

adulterated - that is, pure; we do not falsify; we do not give a fashionable air of wisdom to anything; and as workers whose sweat enables him to make more money so that he can become more sophisticated, the Baas probably wants to make us highly complex and efficient machines.

Sophiatown

Interestingly, the word "sophisticated" is derived from 'sophia', which Chambers describes as "wisdom, divine wisdom".

Now those dark upstarts with long memories will recall that great place of wisdom, Sophiatown, a suburb on the western edge of Johannesburg.

It was teeming with "unsophisticated" humanity, with people of all shades, sizes, morals and intelligence. The Baas in his sophisticated wisdom threw all of us out, bulldozed all our houses, shanties and shops, built a spanking new all-white suburb and named it "Triomf".

It was mainly for sophisticated new immigrants arriving triumphantly from Europe.

So what happened? Instead of the sophisticated Baas having a

lasting triumph filled with sophisticated bliss, "unsophisticated" Sophiatown inhabitants such as Joe Modise left the country to take up arms against him. Modise became commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Baas' followers accused Modise's men of using sophisticated arms. They regard people such as Modise as "uncivilised" or "unsophisticated." Now they are preparing - or say they are prepared - to take up arms to ensure that such "unsophisticated" people never rule over them.

Which means that if black people take arms or strive peacefully for their democratic rights, they are "unsophisticated" or "uncivilised".

If white people take up arms or strive peacefully to ensure that black people do not get their democratic rights, they are doing so in the name of preserving "sophistication" and "civilisation".

Such is the sophistry (also derived from "sophia", and meaning, according to Chambers, "specious or fallacious" reasoning) of the Baas as he contrives to keep economic and political power while trying to give the impression that he believes everybody must have equal opportunity and a fair stake in the country.

Germans

An ANC spokesman, quoted in the *Sunday Star*, quite rightly demanded in reaction to Dr Viljoen's speech: "Did sophisticated whites vote the Nats into power? Are sophisticated whites voting for the Conservative Party? Did sophisticated Germans vote for Hitler?"

The Germans, regarded as highly sophisticated and highly ef-

ficient people, plunged the world sophisticated and unsophisticated into a murderous war because of their philosophy of racial superiority. And Hitler, it must be remembered, was voted into power by a majority.

One need only remind the Baas of all the violence and deaths caused by other "sophisticated and civilised" people in the name of preserving sophistication and civilisation.

One merely needs to watch movies to see what "sophisticated and civilised" settlers did, for example, to "unsophisticated and uncivilised" Indians in America.

Soccer violence

Today's newspapers tell us of violence among soccer fans in countries such as Britain, Holland, Germany and Yugoslavia - all in the Baas' definition, sophisticated nations.

Assaults, pitched battles with police, destruction of property - caused by people with the most sophisticated educational, economic and social systems. Heavily armed, highly sophisticated Italian police will be out in force during next month's World Cup finals to ensure that sophisticated people are not brutalised by other sophisticated people.

To turn the Baas' own crude historically-rooted question around, we should ask: "Would you let your daughter marry a sophisticated European football fan?"

Or: "Would you let your daughter marry a sophisticated man who has been voted to power by a football hooligan?"

On an equally racist note: "Would you let your daughter marry anyone from such a sophisticated 'race'?"

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Sowetan
16/5/90



JOE SLOVO: South African Communist Party leader ... blames human error rather than fundamental Leninist ideals for Stalinism.

JOE SLOVO'S thoughtful paper "Has Socialism Failed?" constitutes the first theoretical attempt by the chairman of the South African Communist Party to shed the ideological ballast of a Stalinist past.

Slovo does not go nearly far enough in coming to terms with the tyrannical system whose terror is akin to fascism as well as apartheid. By blaming human error rather than fundamental Leninist ideals, Slovo fails to recognise the intrinsic causes of Stalinist tyranny.

Lenin introduced the one-party state and abolished independent unions. Celebrating a Leninist vision of the state contradicts the proclamation of democratic pluralism.

Conceiving of itself as a "vanguard party" with "moral superiority" remains incompatible with liberal equality. Even if the vanguard role is to be earned rather than imposed, as Slovo now realises, commitment per se is no criterion of truth or higher morality.

Peripheral issues

Slovo now claims he had his personal doubts since the mid-Fifties. However, he remained silent on the subject and the party continued to endorse Stalinist practices. When pressed as to why, the answer amounts to expediency. He said in 1988: "It became almost risky and counter-productive to battle this issue out in our party. It would have caused an enormous split and it had less and less bearing on our own work."

Such opportunism on a vital issue disproves Slovo's current claim that there has always been internal democracy in the party. If the party cannot take a principled position on Stalinist crimes for fear of a split (or more likely for fear of being denied Soviet assistance) then its internal debates on peripheral issues are meaningless distractions.

Slovo defines Stalinism as "socialism without democracy". He repeatedly refers to "distortions" from the top. It is pilot error, rather than the structure of the plane, that is responsible for its crash.

Slovo, like Marx, conceptualises

Joe Slovo's a Stalinist p a democrati

CAR trip 16/5/90

304A



By HERIBERT ADAM

... a leading analyst of South African affairs and, with Kogila Moodley, author of "South Africa without apartheid". He is doing research at UCT.

Rather than joining ANC, the few who flock to the neo-Deep resentment over and security drives the camp of those who vain restoration of a was one of the lessons Nazi Germany.

By building its black working-class SACP not only starts assumptions but neglecting significant split movement: the employed and unemployed.

Neither the ANC devised a strategy to 33% of the national is unemployed. The ingly represent only

Underclass

Mere employment almost qualifies for a "labour aristocracy" ing a job is a mark of range of life-chances to housing, medical and pensions — ment.

Those millions out economy — in shacks around the huts in the countryside permanent under-ation movements nise these permanent lised outsiders, the u to address the re-mployed and unemploy-

In Slovo's sensible assessment, the South my cannot be without risking Instead of bureau-along Eastern Europe now advocates p through effective ticipation by "pro levels".

'Off guard'

This amounts to a democratic pro- mination where publicly accountable representatives sit such widely legitim also considered much of economic among former lapse of Eastern En- cialism has finally on some of its last fe-

The SACP, by its was caught "off g- nning on February 2 paring for 30 years the ANC found its

Believing its own fascist, racist never took seri- about the adapting, pabilities and tial of the opponen- quate theory of the opposition wasted with doubtful and gies.

Yet the test for African democra- the SACP's past - internal practice - culture. The recogni- dependence by the with the end

an abstract working class but the working class comprises blacks and whites, women and men, skilled and unskilled workers who live in urban and rural settings. Above all, there are employed and unemployed.

Common action

To expect solidarity because of common exploitation lingers as a long-standing illusion. Yet it is such a self-deception on which the ANC and the SACP bases its strategy.

Despite the long tradition of similar failed strategies, the Left apartheid opposition hopes that resentment of big business by white workers would translate into common action with black unions.

It is a vain hope to bank on the superior rationality of interests winning out. The appeal to emotional rewards wins over the calculations of material interests.



ADAM

Joe Slovo's problem: a Stalinist past and a democratic future

CAC: 7/1/90 16/5/90

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Conceiving of itself as a "vanguard" with "moral superiority" remains incompatible with liberal democracy. Even if the vanguard role is earned rather than imposed, Slovo now realises, commitment is no criterion of truth or morality.

Peripheral issues

Slovo now claims he had his doubts since the mid-Fifties. However, he remained silent on the past and the party continued to use Stalinist practices. When asked as to why, the answer was to expediency. He said in 1984: "It became almost risky and unproductive to battle this out in our party. It would have had an enormous split and it had less bearing on our own future."

Such opportunism on a vital issue undermines Slovo's current claim that he has always been internal democracy in the party. If the party does not take a principled position on these crimes for fear of a split (or for fear of being denied assistance) then its internal debates on peripheral issues are meaningless distractions.

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By HERIBERT ADAM

... a leading analyst of South African affairs and, with Kogila Moodley, author of "South Africa without apartheid". He is doing research at UCT.

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Despite the long tradition of similar failed strategies, the Left apartheid opposition hopes that resentment of big business by white workers would translate into common action with black unions.

It is a vain hope to bank on the superior rationality of interests winning out. The appeal to emotional rewards wins over the calculations of material interests.

Rather than joining Cosatu or the ANC, the few remaining white workers flock to the neo-fascist AWW. Deep resentment over loss of status and security drives its victims into the camp of those who hold out the vain restoration of a lost past. That was one of the lessons of fascism in Nazi Germany.

By building its strategy on white-black working-class alliances, the SACP not only starts from false assumptions but neglects an increasingly significant split in the labour movement: the competition between employed and unemployed.

Neither the ANC nor Cosatu has devised a strategy to cope with the 33% of the national workforce which is unemployed. The unions increasingly represent only the employed.

Underclass

Mere employment in South Africa almost qualifies for membership in a "labour aristocracy". Merely having a job is a mark of privilege. The range of life-chances — from access to housing, medical care, education and pensions — depends on employment.

Those millions outside the formal economy — in township backyards, in shacks around the cities and in huts in the countryside — form a permanent underclass. The liberation movements have yet to organise these permanently marginalised outsiders, the unions have yet to address the relation between employed and unemployed people.

In Slovo's sensible, pragmatic assessment, the South African economy cannot be transformed "by edict without risking economic collapse". Instead of bureaucratic state control along Eastern European lines, Slovo now advocates public control through effective democratic participation by "producers at all levels".

'Off guard'

This amounts to a classic social-democratic programme of co-determination where large firms are held publicly accountable and union representatives sit on boards. Since such widely legitimate visions are also considered negotiable, not much of economic orthodoxy is left among former Leninists. The collapse of Eastern European state socialism has finally shown its impact on some of its last fervent adherents.

The SACP, by its own admission, was caught "off guard" by its unbanning on February 2 1990. After preparing for 30 years for liberation, the ANC found itself unprepared.

Believing its own propaganda of a fascist, racist enemy, most exiles never took seriously the warnings about the adapting, deracialising capabilities and modernising potential of the opponent. Without an adequate theory of the antagonist, the opposition wasted precious years with doubtful and ineffective strategies.

Yet the test for the future South African democracy may not lie in the SACP's past alliances but in its internal practice of a democratic culture. The recognition of union independence by the SACP together with the endorsement of a multi-

party system and traditional liberal freedoms bodes well for South African democracy, despite the Leninist relics and a repressed Stalinist past.

Because SACP members are the major force that dominates the theoretical debates and strategies within the broad apartheid opposition, its own practice of internal democracy influences the style of the entire movement. Whether the SACP declarations for democracy should be taken at face value or treated with scepticism is best tested by the behaviour of the party itself.

Will the SACP continue placing its members into strategic political and union positions, as the secret Broederbond infiltrates influential Afrikaner and government institutions?

The leader of a past Stalinist party, as Mandela's right-hand man, obsesses white South Africa. In fact, dedicated SACP members occupy most of the influential positions in the ANC and the unions as a separate vanguard underground. To reveal its secret membership, as would be normal under democratic conditions, could embarrass the SACP. It would show its dominance in the ANC. This would vindicate government propaganda.

What white South Africa has not yet understood is the recent development that turned rhetorical Stalinist ideologues into the more pragmatic and moderate force in the ANC. With a disintegrating Soviet bloc seeking peace and investment instead of world revolution, South African communists have nowhere else to go but home.

This makes them unexpected allies of Pretoria's negotiation project, whether or not they are "without a hidden agenda", as Slovo assured the government during the first Groote Schuur talks.

Red flag

The SACP's professed socialism in the second stage depends, in Slovo's words, "on the class forces in play at that time". In practical terms this puts socialism on ice: once non-racial capitalism delivers the goods relatively colour blind, Marxist socialist parties shrink or turn into social democrats, as has been demonstrated the world over.

Because of its past radical image, the SACP leadership can entice a sceptical youth into the negotiation process. From this perspective the government should welcome the red flag rather than fear it. If anyone can prevent a latent counter-racism and make a rational, colour-blind attitude prevail, it is the ideological indoctrination in internationalist universalism by traditional Marxists. That is the historical merit of South African communists, their undemocratic Stalinism notwithstanding.

Pressure for democracy from below, particularly in the unions, may well finally force the SACP to part with the relics of Stalinism both in theory and in practice.

The self-critical Slovo account of the failure of socialism constitutes the first indication of a democratic renewal that may lay to rest Pierre van den Berghe's sceptical comment in 1989 that "South Africa, which has already spawned the world's last official racists, may also see its last Stalinists".

* Maskew Miller-Longman



ADAM

FW 'pips' ^{CAPE TIMES} Mandela to US

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Reports in the press here yesterday indicated that President F W de Klerk had stolen the march on Mr Nelson Mandela by securing a meeting with President George Bush a week before Mr Mandela.

Both the Telegraph and the Guardian said the timing of Mr De Klerk's visit had angered ANC officials.

The Telegraph report said the news was a "diplomatic triumph for the South African leader".

ANC publicity department head, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, referred the Cape Times to the ANC in Lusaka when asked whether the demand of the ANC's British representative, Mr Mendi Msimang, that President Bush cancel his meeting with Mr De Klerk carried the approval of the national executive committee. The Lusaka office could not be reached.

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COPENHAGEN. — Denmark will appoint an ambassador to SA this year, but will continue sanctions, a foreign ministry spokesman said yesterday. Mr Peter Brueckner, currently number two at the Danish mission to the UN, will take on the SA post.

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WASHINGTON. — Mr Randall Robinson, director of the TransAfrica group which is campaigning to block President De Klerk's visit to Washington, has been granted an SA visa, a spokesman for the SA embassy confirmed yesterday.

wealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal.

Both men attacked British calls for a relaxation of sanctions.

Sir Shridath said that easing sanctions now would be "to squander the moment of opportunity".

He said external pressure from all quarters was a vital complement of the anti-apartheid struggle.

FW set for key Thatcher meeting

By Peter Fabricius and Reuter

LONDON — President de Klerk has arrived in Britain for his key meeting with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at Chequers tomorrow. A small group of demonstrators staged a protest on his arrival.

His stopover in Britain until Sunday marks the fifth leg of an 18-day European tour.

"I am not coming with a begging list. I have no specific requests. I am coming to improve relations across Europe," Mr de Klerk said on arrival yesterday amid tight security at Heathrow airport.

Asked if he had already received strong support from Britain, Mr de Klerk said: "Yes, things are going very well."

Anti-apartheid demonstrators staged a feeble protest at Mr de Klerk's hotel as he arrived in London last night. About 25 of them waited for him outside the entrance to his hotel at Chelsea Harbour, waving an African National Congress flag and holding posters aloft saying "De Klerk go home".

Chanting

In Brussels four hours before, 26 protestors chanting "Apartheid must go. Sanctions must stay" timed their action at the International Press Centre for Mr de Klerk's appearance at a news conference at the end of a two-day visit.

"I can assure you that it would have been 2 600 two years ago," said a top South African official, noting the fast ebbing ferocity in the anti-apartheid campaign.

Across the road from the press centre, in front of the European Commission's headquarters, stood the British Anti-Apartheid Movement's secretary, Mike Terry. Among those chanting with him was Helene Passtoors, former activist who was imprisoned in South Africa,



Lending an ear . . . President de Klerk listens to British Deputy Prime Minister Geoffrey Howe yesterday after touchdown at Heathrow airport.

● Picture by Reuter.

and local ANC representatives.

The group tried also to torpedo Mr de Klerk's talks with Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission. It delivered a letter to him shortly before his meeting yesterday with Mr de Klerk, expressing "deep regret" that he was doing so.

Accepted

Speaking at a press conference at the European Commission near the end of the Belgian leg of his nine-nation tour, Mr de Klerk said he felt Europe had

accepted the irreversibility of the changes taking place in South Africa.

"I feel a sense of involvement — not interference — and almost friendliness."

He was asked what Europe's message to him was.

"At this stage I think there is a broad acceptance of the new dynamics in South Africa; an acceptance of the irreversibility of the process we have started; and a full understanding of the gravity of the steps taken . . . and a positive wish that we succeed."

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De Klerk pledges further reforms to Europe

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

BRUSSELS — President de Klerk is indicating to Europe that more reforms are on the cards in South Africa within the next month after the opening of hospitals to all races was announced in Parliament yesterday.

European leaders have been pressing him for further steps to enable them to ease sanctions.

Mr de Klerk pledged yesterday to tend promptly to the release of political prisoners and indemnity for exiles.

These are two of the crucial requests European leaders are putting to him to facilitate a quid pro quo.

Mr de Klerk meets the in-

fluent Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission here today — the first meeting between the head of the EC and a South African head of state.

SA diplomats believe the meeting — requested by the socialist Mr Delors — is an important sign of the thawing of relations with Europe.

Reward

They say Mr Delors has been rather aloof until now, but predict a reasonably clear change in attitude is coming.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, addressing MPs in the Belgian Parliament yesterday, said Mr de Klerk needed a reward from Europe to show his white voters — or he could "go like a goose to

his doom".

"He cannot continue like this indefinitely at this rapid pace without getting some reward or some recognition which we can show to the white electorate, which is our electorate," he said.

Mr de Klerk, in his address to the Belgian MPs, said the report of a joint Government-African National Congress group on identifying those eligible for release or indemnity would be on his desk when he returned home.

"It will receive immediate attention. We don't want any delay. We want to take the process of normalising the political process to its logical conclusion as soon as possible," he said.

There had been substantial progress.

"We are talking about weeks and months, not years."

Earlier, Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha saw Gerard Collins, chairman of the Ministers' Council of the European Community.

Summit

Mr Botha said afterwards they were able to brief him on matters that did not appear in the Groote Schuur Minute, the Government-ANC accord reached early this month.

Mr Collins said he would convey what he had been told to a meeting of EC Foreign Ministers on June 18 as they prepared for a summit of EC heads of state on June 25-26.

This suggests that Mr de Klerk must make some more reform moves by June 18 if he intends tipping an EC decision.

● See Page 21

De Klerk for talks with influential EC president

Political Staff

17/5/90

BRUSSELS. — President De Klerk is to have talks with influential Mr Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, here today — the first meeting between the head of the EC and a South African head of state.

Diplomats believe the meeting, requested by socialist Mr Delors, is an important pointer to a thaw in relations between South Africa and Europe.

They said Mr Delors had been "rather aloof" until now but predicted a change in attitude.

Mr Delors, a former French Minister of Economic Affairs, is one of the architects of the European Community and wields huge influence personally and officially.

As sanctions against South Africa have increasingly become an issue decided on a Europe-wide basis, the grip of the EC on South Africa's fate has tightened.

South African diplomats constantly complain that even European nations sympathetic to South Africa and opposed to sanctions will not budge from European sanctions policy unless the whole community budges.

Mr Delors's power rests on several foundations.

He heads the commission which formulates most of the policy eventually agreed to by the Council of Ministers.

REAL POWER

He also exercises influence because as president of the commission he sits in on the meetings of the council — although without voting rights.

But his real power lies in the reputation he has built up as one of the leading champions of the EC. As its reputation and power grows, as it is doing rapidly, so does his.

In Euro-politics he is regarded as an equal to British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher or West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Mr De Klerk will also meet Belgian Prime Minister Mr Wilfried Martens for discussions and a working lunch at the Val Duchesse, Mr Martens's office.

Last night Belgian Foreign Minister Mr Mark Eyskens met Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at the Stuyvenberg Castle, where Mr De Klerk he is staying as a guest of Belgian King Boudouin.

FW could 'go like goose to his doom'

From ALAN DUNN
and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

BRUSSELS. — President De Klerk needed a reward from Europe to show his white voters — or he could "go like a goose to his doom", Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told Belgian parliamentarians.

He was addressing about 40 MPs at the parliament here yesterday on his tour with Mr De Klerk.

He said Mr De Klerk had in his brief term as president seized the world's imagination.

"He cannot continue like this indefinitely at this rapid pace without getting some reward or some recognition which we can show to the white electorate, which is our electorate," he said.

"Otherwise they will start saying the violence has increased and he has done all these wonderful things — but the only thing the Europeans are doing is giving him a pat on his shoulder and saying 'Very nice, very nice, a step in the right direction' — like a goose on its way to its doom.

MASK BEING LIFTED

"We are not here to ask favours — we are here simply to state the facts," he said, noting that Mr De Klerk wanted to save not only his country but all southern Africa.

He said the government hoped there was a growing understanding in Europe of the complexity of South Africa's situation.

Apartheid had been a mask, preventing people from understanding



President De Klerk chats with King Baudouin of the Belgians yesterday.

the problems. Now that it was being lifted people were beginning to see the reality of South Africa.

On his meeting with the Centre for European Policy Studies, a key private body advising the European Community, Mr Botha said it was encouraging to hear their views on southern Africa.

The governments of Europe were more and more inclined to be against the transfer of public resources for African development.

And the private sector would not invest unless there was stability on the continent, he said.

"We will miss the boat completely unless we come forward with sensible, realistic macro-economic policies which will make South Africa safe for investment."

The effect of events in eastern Europe was that governments would not supply more than 15 percent of capital to developing countries. The rest would have to come from the private sector.

"We will cut our throats unless we seriously take a sober and close look at events in Europe," he said.

Keeping an eye on Parliament

B1014
SACOB'S Parliamentary Information Service monitors activities in Parliament and provides the chamber with a flow of relevant and up-to-date information, says Sacob legal manager Ken Warren.

This facilitates timeous reaction where necessary.

All documents tabled in Parliament are dispatched to the Johannesburg office by express post or priority mail and short summaries and ratings of Bills are pre-

17/5/90 (304A)
pared to indicate their broad content and significance from business, industrial relations, legal and socio-political points of view.

From a central database, the parliamentary office prepares daily status tables charting the progress of the various Bills through Parliament.

Warren says: "This information service enables Sacob staff to seek comment or input via the Sacob network.

"It also allows them to prepare memoranda and submissions timeously for consideration by parliamentary joint committees, government departments and agencies."

The parliamentary office not only acts as "the eyes and ears" of Sacob in Cape Town, but also attends to the logistics of arranging meetings with, and presentations to, cabinet ministers, key parliamentarians and government officials.



● DE KLERK

FW: Action on obstacles within weeks

B10am 17/5/90

304A

MIKE ROBERTSON

BRUSSELS — Government wanted obstacles to negotiations removed within weeks and months, not years, President F W de Klerk said here yesterday.

De Klerk told about 50 Belgian parliamentarians the joint government/ANC report on the release of political prisoners and the pardon of exiles would be on his desk when he returned to SA and would receive immediate attention.

Earlier, after meeting De Klerk for an hour at Stuyvenberg Castle where the SA President is staying, Irish Foreign Minister Gerard Collins reiterated that EC foreign ministers had decided in February they would reconsider sanctions only once they had been satisfied the state of emergency had been lifted and political prisoners released.

"This is the position as I was authorised to give it. We will discuss the situation again on June 18 (a week before the EC summit in Dublin) bearing in mind the developments that have taken place."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said after the meeting with Collins that he and De Klerk had briefed the Irish minister on matters that did not appear on the Groote Schuur Minute. "My impression was that he was very sympathetic."

Botha said later in an address at the Belgian Parliament to the SA/Belgian Interparliamentary Society that while De

Klerk had instituted rapid change in SA "he cannot continue at this pace without getting some reward or recognition which we can show to the white electorate".

The President told the same meeting that the lifting of the state of emergency was constantly on the agenda. The ANC had undertaken to do it all it could to enable government to accomplish this.

"The talks between the two delegations proved to be a success. . . . We have made substantial progress towards a real negotiating process."

Not only had major obstacles been addressed but they were in the process of being removed, he said. "We are talking weeks and months and not years."

"What has happened in SA deserves a fundamental re-evaluation by European governments . . ."

He added: "We intend, within the shortest possible time, to concretise our ideals and goals so that SA can return proudly to its rightful place in the international community."

"There is no turning back and there is no wish to turn back, however vociferous opposition might be."

Later De Klerk was asked by Belgian

□ To Page 2

... rising

● Sacob survey Page 12 and 13

FW B10am 17/5/90

Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Jeanne Gol to outline how he envisaged minority rights being protected without "recognising whites and blacks as such".

He said the solution lay in a combination of checks and balances including the devolution of power down to local government level, decentralisation, a Bill of Rights and a strong constitution.

Some ideas for protecting minorities in a constitution were:

- Ensuring certain important decisions could be taken only on the basis of consensus or with an overwhelming majority.
- A two-chamber system in which a Senate or second chamber would be constituted on the basis of recognition of the interests of different communities.
- Built-in, depoliticised conflict-resolving mechanisms.

304A

□ From Page 1

De Klerk said that as far he was concerned the technical provisions in any new constitution were not as important as the need to create a consensus that measures to protect minorities were necessary.

Early yesterday morning the SA President met Belgium's King Baudouin for an hour at his Royal Palace.

Last night Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens paid a courtesy visit to De Klerk at Stuyvenberg Castle.

About 300 people staged an anti-apartheid demonstration to coincide with De Klerk's arrival on Tuesday. Another is planned for today outside the EC where De Klerk is to meet EC President Jacques Delors.

De Klerk will also meet Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens today.

STW 17/5/90 (308A)

The areas where FW has failed

As President de Klerk prepares for his summit meeting this weekend with Margaret Thatcher, **ALLISTER SPARKS** examines the SA leader's reform task and the mistakes he has made on the way.

When President de Klerk visits Britain this week, he will do so as the most internationally acceptable and publicly applaudable South African leader since General Jan Smuts.

No doubt there will still be demonstrations when he arrives, but they will not have the fervour of the past. Mr de Klerk may not have attained the degree of acclaim outside his own country that Mikhail Gorbachev has, but there is a sense that he, too, is a man of political courage who is trying to change the evil system that nurtured him and that this deserves acknowledgment.

It is an awesome task he has taken on. To dismantle apartheid, to allay white fears of the black majority, to demythologise Afrikaner Nationalism after generations of indoctrination in the notion that theirs is a special nation with a right to rule in their own God-given land, is an undertaking that may be even more daunting than Mr Gorbachev's.

The man must be given credit for that. Yet his performance is not above criticism. In several areas he has bungled and compounded his own difficulties.

The most serious of these is in failing to explain adequately to his own followers why he is making such a remarkable U-turn and where it is that he is taking them. The result has been to strengthen the right-wing backlash against him.

As recently as last October, Mr de Klerk was still fulminating against the ANC, leading his National Party into an election campaign in which he accused the liberal opposition of treasonous behaviour for meeting the ANC and suggesting it should be unbanned and engaged in negotiations. Six months later, he did ex-

actly that himself, with no attempt to explain his startling change.

To thousands of loyal supporters of the National Party it was bewildering. They felt betrayed.

When Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, accused Mr de Klerk of acting without a mandate from the white electorate, it struck a responsive chord. Angry Nationalists turned to him in droves.

What is worse, they felt insecure. All their lives, these loyal Afrikaners had relied on the NP Government to guarantee Afrikaner security by keeping the black majority in its place. Now it seemed to have lost its will to do that, with the result that many decided they had better do the job themselves.

So vigilante groups like the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging have flourished, and the police force has become something of a vigilante group in itself, often acting with a repressive violence that is completely out of tune with the Government's reformist rhetoric and periodically threatens to derail the negotiating process.

Mr de Klerk's other failure has been in not acknowledging the guilt of the past. There has been no equivalent of Mr Gorbachev's de-Stalinisation. At no time have Mr de Klerk or any of his Ministers renounced Hendrik Verwoerd, the chief architect of apartheid, who put most of its laws on the statute book between 1948 and his assassination in 1966.

In an interview with The Washington Post late last year, Mr de Klerk refused to concede that the Government's policies over the years had been reprehensible or wrong. He even defended the homelands policy. It had contributed to the eventual solution of the race problem, he insisted.

The implications of this reluctance are serious. If there is no acknowledgment of past wrongs, then there is no acknowledgement that blacks have legitimate grievances, or that these now require redress. So there is no acceptance of a need for affirmative action. — Observer News Service.

3044- Sep 17/1990

Pictures of Boer POWs on show

By Joe Openshaw

Pictures of Boer prisoners and their British guards taken in the Bellevue prisoner-of-war camp near Simon's Town during the Anglo-Boer War will be exhibited for the first time today at the National Museum of Military History in Saxonwold, Johannesburg.

The unique photographic display and other new exhibits, including the baton presented to General J.C. Smuts on his elevation to rank of Field Marshal, and a statue of General Dan Pienaar, are to mark International Museum Day.

Decades

The pictures were processed from 400 plates of photographs taken by schoolteacher and public prosecutor Colie Martins, who served under General Piet Cronje between 1899 and 1902 and was captured at Paardeberg and sent to Bellevue.

"The plates were in the possession of the Simon's Town Museum for decades and there was nothing they could do with them so we offered to process them

and send them copies." Commandant Ossie Baker, public relations director of the museum, said.

Jacobus Marinus (Colie) Martins was born at Graaff-Reinet in 1863 and began teaching at Cradock in 1887. He became public prosecutor at Cocks-coord, near Randfontein, and after his release from Bellevue continued to teach.

On show with the pictures will be two cameras identical to those he used to take pictures in the camp — a half-plate Thornton Pickard and a Kodak No 4 Bulls Eye of 1898.

It is clear from the photographs there was a good spirit between the prisoners and the guards because they are often together in groups.

"The Bellevue POW camp was used from 1900 to 1903 and was also a transit camp for prisoners sent to Berrima.

"Before the camp was erected — the men lived eight men to a bell tent and Boer officers two to a tent — prisoners were kept on board ships offshore.

"Guard ships illuminated the area — now a golf course — with searchlights," said Commandant Baker.



Armed women in rebel attack

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Armed women were among the group of about 50 rebels which ambushed a train near the Mozambique/South African border on Saturday, killing 18 people.

Amelia Curruco, who was shot in the buttocks, told journalists she had seen a group of women with firearms among the attackers.

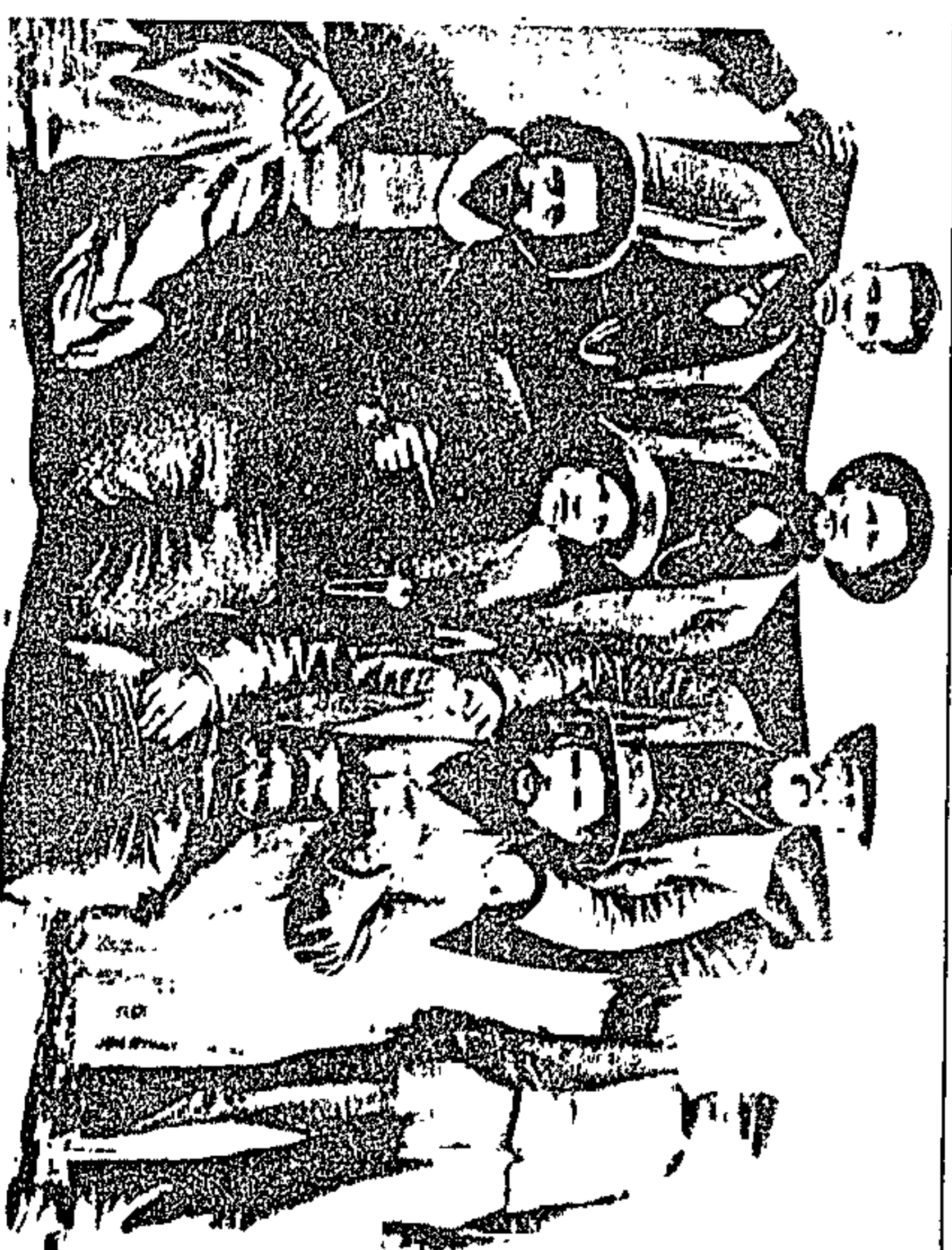
At least 53 people were wounded in the attack about 72 km north-west of Maputo. The train was carrying Mozambicans work-

ing in South Africa.

Jose Luis Trinta said from his hospital bed that the rebels had opened fire after the train had been immobilised by an explosive device.

A large number of people had been kidnapped by the rebels to carry the goods stolen from the train, he said.

Survivors said at least 50 rebels had taken part in the attack which occurred just one kilometre from the site of a previous attack in February during which 66 were killed.



Photographs from a collection taken by Colie Martins in the Bellevue POW camp during the Anglo-Boer War show (above left) officers from regular Transvaal Republic regiments who were captured when General Cronje surrendered, and (above right) a group of Boer POWs. The collection goes on display for the first time today.

STAX Super Buys

Soares visit a vital breakthrough for SA

For the first time since 1975, a head of state will be greeted with the pomp and ceremony of guards of honour and gun salutes when President Mario Soares of Portugal visits South Africa in the near future.

His acceptance of State President F W de Klerk's official invitation has been interpreted as an important breakthrough in South Africa's international relations.

It is also a clear indication of the success of President de Klerk's visit to Portugal this week, one of nine countries included on his current European tour.

The significance of President Soares's decision is accentuated by a look in the history books, which reveal that the heads of state who have visited South Africa — particularly since the Nationalists came to power in 1948 and the subsequent introduction of apartheid — can be counted on one hand.

The British Royal Family under the leadership of King George VI visited the country in 1947.

President Soares will be the second Portuguese head of state to pay a state visit to South Africa, following that of President Lopez in 1956.

President Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay came out on an official visit in 1975 at the invitation of President Jim Fouché. His visit was hailed by South African

Portuguese president Mario Soares will pay a state visit to South Africa in the near future. Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE puts his visit — one of a very few since the Nationalists came to power — in historical context.

commentators as an exceptional and remarkable event during a time of international diplomatic isolation.

His visit was fiercely attacked by the United Nations, which has vigorously campaigned against South Africa's apartheid policies and has played a major role in the country's international isolation.

The first black head of state to pay a state visit to South Africa was President Hastings Banda of Malawi. A believer in "killing apartheid with kindness", he visited the country in 1971.

Other senior government officials, prime ministers and members of royal African and Western countries have visited, but their visits have not been official state visits in terms of protocol.

Rand Afrikaans University political analyst Deon Geldenhuys believes the state

visit by President Soares is an acknowledgment by Western leaders of President de Klerk's reforms as well as South Africa's role in southern Africa.

"The mere fact that so few heads of state have ever visited South Africa already indicates the importance of the visit. It is a feather in the cap of President de Klerk."

"First, this is tangible evidence of Western acceptance of his seriousness about reform. Second, it indicates acknowledgment of South Africa's role in southern Africa."

"President Soares is an esteemed leader in Europe and definitely not a right-winger. It is highly significant that he has accepted the invitation, particularly in the light of Portugal's ties with Angola and Mozambique," says Professor Geldenhuys.

Political analyst Willem Kieynhans also stresses the significance of President Soares's visit, but adds: "Western leaders should visit the country to realise that change cannot happen overnight. The current euphoria does not take into account the reality of political inexperience, poverty and disadvantage."

"It is important that they not only ride around in limousines and be entertained in banquet halls, they should also visit the backyards of deprived black South Africans."

'A reward needed to show white electorate'

By PETER FABRICIUS and ALAN DUNN

BRUSSELS — President de Klerk needed a reward from Europe to show his white voters — or he could "go like a goose to his doom", Foreign Minister Pim Botha told Belgian parliamentarians.

He was addressing about 40 MPs at the parliament here yesterday on a tour with Mr de Klerk to try to persuade Europe to end South Africa's isolation.

He said Mr de Klerk had, in his brief term as president, seized the world's imagination.

"He cannot continue like this indefinitely at this rapid pace without getting some reward or some recognition which we can show to the white electorate, which is our electorate," he said.

"Otherwise they will start saying the violence has increased and he has done all these wonderful things and the only thing the Europeans are doing is giving him a pat on his shoulder and saying 'very nice, very nice, a step in the right direction' like a goose on its way to its doom."

Mr de Klerk promised to tend promptly to the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnity to exiles.

These are two of the crucial requests European leaders are presently putting to him to enable them to ease sanctions. Mr de Klerk was speaking in a parliamentary committee room to the South African

Belgian Interparliamentary Society, a 50-strong voluntary group of liberal and conservative MPs saying they wanted the truth on South Africa.

He said that the report of the joint Government-ANC group given the task of identifying those eligible for release or indemnity would be on his desk when he returned home.

"It will receive immediate attention. We want to take the process of normalising the political process to its logical conclusion as soon as possible."

Re-evaluation

He said that what his Government had already done deserved a fundamental re-evaluation by European governments.

Earlier, Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha saw Mr Gerard Collins, chairman of the Ministers' Council of the European Community. Mr Botha said afterwards they were able to brief him on matters that didn't appear in the Groote Schuur Minute.

It was important the Foreign Ministers of the EC 12 be kept informed of the Government's visions, predictions, interpretations and assessments of events in South and southern Africa, Mr Botha said.

"It (the meeting) was very encouraging... We don't know what he will report but his reactions seemed sympathetic."

Racism — a monster in the making by AWPB

Racism on the Reef has begun to take a violent, and even deadly form. CLAIRE ROBERTSON of The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports.

A senior member of the editorial staff of The Star was travelling from his home with his wife and daughter last week when he stopped near a controversial in a blue-collar white neighbourhood.

A red Cortina with tinted windows slowed as it drove by and the white men inside yelled abuse at him, shouting "Kaffir! Kaffir!" repeatedly.

Joe Latakomo had not noticed the car before — there had been no interaction between the two drivers which could have antagonised the men.

He looked at his wife and daughter, saw the men were spoiling for a fight. He did not react to the taunts.

Discretion is increasingly the better part of valour in a city where the colour of your skin can mean a roadside execution.

And rather than "antagonise" a passing white man simply by being black, Pretoria's township dwellers are increasingly reluctant to travel on certain roads after dark.

Random choice

Nine men and women have died in or near Pretoria since November 1988 in racial killings characterised by their apparently random choice of victims.

The recent trend began with the shooting of seven black people in Strijdom Square, Pretoria, in November 1988.

A spate of minor incidents followed until — two weeks ago — the incidents again took a deadly turn with two men being killed and two injured in attacks by whites.

Those listed below were sifted from the many attacks on the home or person of even minor public figures and concern victims with no public political or social office. They were apparently killed, wounded, threatened or insulted solely because they were black.

● Ismael Mogalle (35) was shot in the leg while walking on the

Ventersdorp-Klerksdorp road on the evening of May 12.

● On the previous Saturday Petrus Makena (28) and Simon Koba (27) of Soweto were killed and a companion wounded when unidentified white men opened fire on the men and a friend near Cullinan.

● In January Indian residents in Mayfair and Forsburg reported harassment by a group of whites who approached their car with knuckle dusters, baseball bats and sticks in a threatening manner before the men and women managed to escape.

Death sentence

● In June last year Lesotho tourists at a Rustenburg hotel had their cars vandalised, with the words "Wit Wolf" scratched on one.

● On November 15 1988 Barend Hendrik Strijdom killed seven black men and women in a bloody rampage through Pretoria's city centre. He was sentenced to death in May last year.

Fred van Staden of Unisa's Department of Psychology is surprised there have not been even more killings since Strijdom Square.

Dr van Staden described territorialism as "a strong instigator of senseless racial killings" by whites who see what they perceive as their rights being eroded with no visible compensation.

"Possibly frustration with someone at work is generalised on to all black people — any black person can then represent (the white's) bone of contention."

"In a strange way, an organisation like the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging can act as a way for these people to channel their energy. But it then becomes potentially even more damaging," he said.

"Eugene TerreBlanche (AWB leader) is creating a monster. I hope he can control it."

Size 14 1/4" (344) (SEE)

BACKGROUND

Compromise on the cards to save FW's visit to Bush

By DAVID BRAUN,
The Star's Foreign News Service

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk's visit to the United States is rapidly running into trouble, and there is a real possibility that it could fall apart, just like the trip he was supposed to make last year.

Once again, a leak to the press about the date of the trip has triggered the problem, which is complex.

The Washington Post reported on its front page on Tuesday that the planners of Nelson Mandela's visit to the US were angry that Mr de Klerk would be received at the White House on June 18, a few days before the visit of the deputy president of the African National Congress.

The scheduling of the two visits — and which would come first — had been a sensitive protocol problem ever since President Bush invited both to come to the US after Mr Mandela was freed from prison on February 11, the newspaper reported.

In fact, the scheduling of the visits has not been a protocol problem, as the South African Government had all along told the US State Department that it did not mind if Mr de Klerk visited Washington after Mr Mandela.

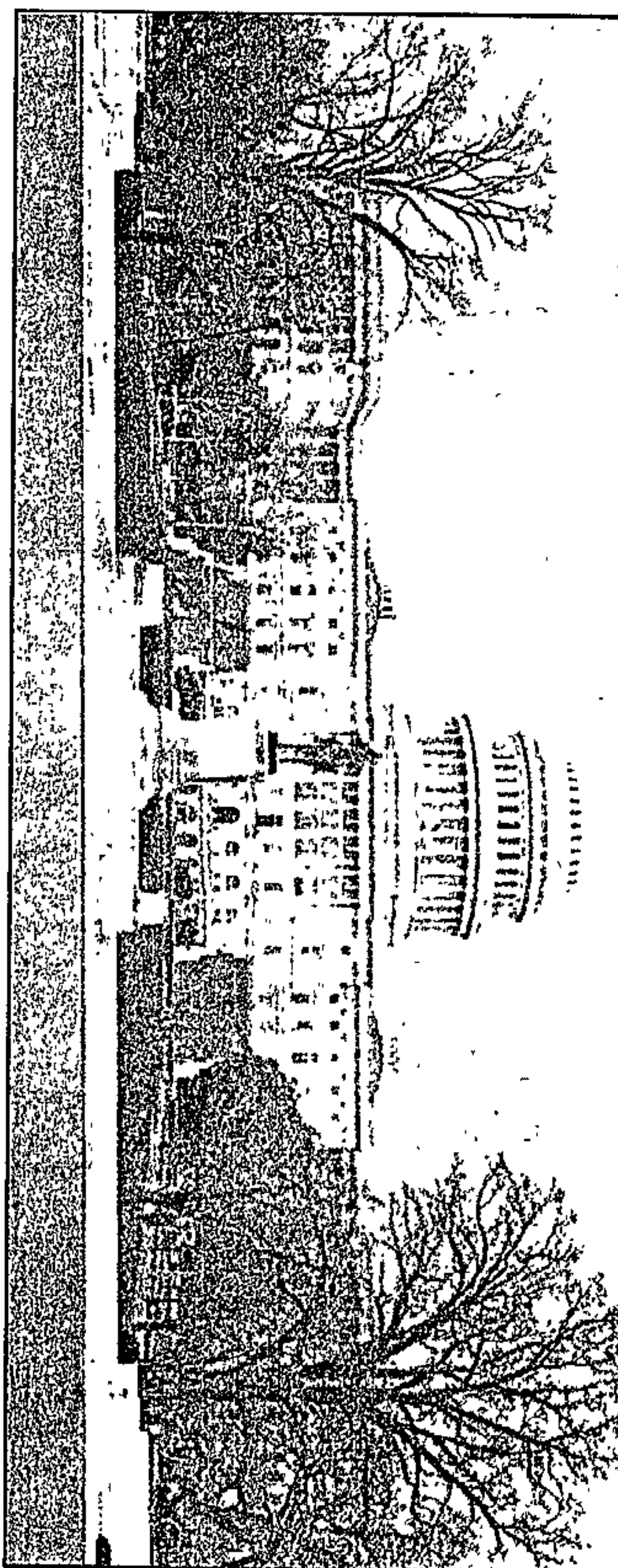
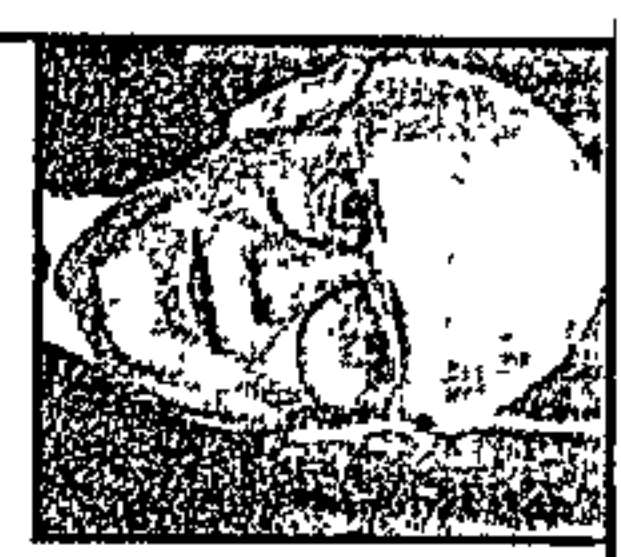
Some people in the SA Government had in fact always preferred the idea of Mr de Klerk coming second, after the full impact of a free Mr Mandela had sunk in in America.

Mr Mandela originally accepted an invitation to visit Washington at the end of May, according to US sources. However, the ANC later requested a postponement of the meeting because of advice that it would not make sense from a publicity point of view to visit the US so close to the superpower summit between Presidents Bush and Gorbachev.

The ANC and the State Department later agreed on the date of June 25 for a meeting between Mr Bush and Mr Mandela. By then, negotiations between Washington and Pretoria had centred on June 18 for Mr de Klerk's visit.

The State Department neglected to test the opinion of the order of the visit with the ANC and its Congress supporters, despite a warning by prominent black US leaders only a few weeks ago that it would be intolerable if President Bush received Mr de Klerk before he met Mr Mandela.

The Congressional Black Caucus and other US black leaders believe Mr Bush should not receive Mr de Klerk until apartheid has been dismantled. Diplo-



Trouble in the Capitol... US President Bush invited both Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk to visit Washington after Mr Mandela was freed from prison on February 11. Now the scheduling of the two visits — and which would come first — is a sensitive protocol problem.

matic isolation is seen as an effective sanction against South Africa and black leaders are opposed to easing the restriction prematurely.

The Bush Administration believes a good working visit to Washington by Mr de Klerk, including perhaps a lunch with President Bush, would send an appropriate signal of approval of the reforms made so far, and as encouragement for more.

Many Democratic members of Congress who supported sanctions against South Africa have also been

inclined to allow a De Klerk visit, regarding it as a deserved carrot while keeping the stick of all the other sanctions against South Africa in place. They, too, would have been prepared to receive Mr de Klerk privately on Capitol Hill, to hear his plans, test his sincerity and impress upon him their concern for a speedy settlement in South Africa.

Mr De Klerk may be the head of apartheid South Africa, but he is genuinely regarded with respect in the US for the steps he has taken in recent months.

Mr Mandela has called Mr de Klerk a man of integrity, as have the many US lawmakers who have visited him in South Africa recently. A majority of congressmen know the South African leader is deserving of applause and encouragement.

Mr de Klerk is regarded so highly only because he is perceived to be the man who will do away with white minority rule. He still represents that minority rule and all its injustices of the past, however, and as such is not regarded as a person who should be

showered with honours.

Mr Mandela is perceived as a grant of the human race, a figure whose name belongs with those of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King. That is why the cities of New York and Los Angeles will mark his visit with huge parades, and Americans will turn out in their thousands to listen to him.

If the perception has now been created that the Bush Administration is granting a higher status to Mr de Klerk, by inviting him before Mr Mandela, there is going to be a lot of anger in the US.

The ANC in the US this week described the invitation to Mr de Klerk as a slap in the face, a sentiment quickly echoed by black US leaders.

This perception has plunged the Bush Administration into a difficult dilemma. Mr Bush is the first Republican president in decades to hold a high approval rating among African Americans — the latest opinion survey found a staggering 80 percent of US blacks liked the way he was doing his job.

The Republican Party believes this unprecedented popularity will easily double Mr Bush's share of the US black vote in 1992, from the 11 percent he received in the 1988 presidential election.

Mr Bush showed his extreme sensitivity to his black popularity ratings only this week by making a remarkable reversal on civil rights legislation, suddenly offering to endorse it (whereas he had previously threatened a veto) if only minor changes were made. He is, therefore, unlikely to want to press ahead with Mr de Klerk's visit if it is going to cost him his black support.

There is room for a deal, however, and there need not be any losers.

Pretoria could offer to postpone Mr de Klerk's visit until after Mr Mandela has visited the US.

The SA Government could make the gesture in a spirit of goodwill and generosity to the American people.

Congressional leaders who are suddenly leaning away from Mr de Klerk's visit, because it precedes Mr Mandela's and the ANC and the US black leaders, ship is up in arms about it, could be asked in return to undertake not to oppose a postponed visit.

There is even a possibility that Mr Mandela might be more conciliatory, by not objecting to the visit in the same way that he did not mind Mr de Klerk recently visiting President Mitterrand of France.

There is an appreciation in the US that the destiny of South Africa depends on both Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk. Both should find a visit to the American people useful for that process.

MIDWAY into his European tour President F W de Klerk seems to have broken the backbone of the sanctions lobby. One after the other, government leaders he has met have announced a willingness to reassess the issue.

De Klerk goes to Chequers tomorrow to see Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher — a meeting which only last year would have been an isolated instance where his sincerity would have not been doubted nor his intentions challenged.

Now, even long-serving socialist French President Francois Mitterrand believes De Klerk when he says he wants to bring about a totally changed SA. Mitterrand has suggested a few steps that SA should take before agreeing to a gradual lifting of punitive measures. But these are steps such as the freeing of political prisoners which De Klerk has said will be resolved within weeks.

Mitterrand's close friend and fellow socialist, Portugal's President Mario Soares, wants the EC to lift all sanctions against SA now. Amibal Cavaco Silva, the Portuguese prime minister, agrees.

Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis has said he accepts the irreversibility of change in SA and believes there is a case for re-evaluation. Gerard Collins, the Irish chairman of the European Council of Ministers, who stopped off on his way to Strasbourg to be briefed by De Klerk, said the EC would reassess its policy towards SA in the light of recent developments.

In the dark days of Emperor P W Botha, Thatcher almost single-handedly stayed off further restrictive measures. But because of stands taken on matters like sanctions and more significantly on questions like a common European currency and political union, she is deeply unpopular with her EC colleagues.

The South Africans have realised this and because any move to roll back sanctions needs to be unanimous, they will be banking more on Cavaco Silva and Mitterrand to put the case for re-evaluation.

In February the European Council of Ministers said the emergency would have to be lifted and political prisoners released before they could reassess sanctions. The suggestion

As sanctions recede, FW looks ahead to investment partners

§ Daily 18/5/90

Political correspondent MIKE ROBERTSON reports from Brussels on the impact of President de Klerk's visit

now is that rather than adopt a hard line on the issue of the emergency (the political prisoner question should be resolved by the time the council meets on June 18), they will base their decision on whether there is a "reasonable prospect" of democracy in SA.

Given that none of the European leaders De Klerk has met believes change in SA can be reversed, it is likely Europe will send an initial signal by lifting some measures and as progress is achieved towards full-scale negotiations, this process will be stepped up.

However, the President now faces a more complex challenge which he identified in a speech at a banquet hosted by Soares at Ajuda Palace this week — persuading Europeans they need to become active facilitators of change in SA. This goes beyond dropping sanctions to encouraging new investment and providing assistance, and possibly even working in tandem with government to eradicate backlogs.

Put simply, now that the SA government is finally intent on doing what the Europeans have been insisting on, De Klerk is asking them to dip into their collective pockets to assist him.

Selling such a facilitating role to a Europe growing introspective on the eve of the creation of a single market

will be difficult. The collapse of the communist regimes of central Europe and the uncertainty surrounding the Soviet Union's Mikhail Gorbachev makes the task doubly so. Add to this the prospect of investing in the unstable environment that will inevitably accompany change in SA and the task facing De Klerk takes on awesome proportions.

At the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels, Foreign Minister

Pik Botha was told that EC countries would provide only 15% of development capital from public funds. The rest would have to come from the private sector.

Later in talks with Viscount Etienne Davignon, chairman of Belgium's largest industrial company Société Générale, Botha was told in blunt terms that, without stability and a commitment to free enterprise, private sector investment in

SA would not be forthcoming. Botha remarked that unless the main players on the SA political stage — he listed government, the ANC and Inkatha — soon woke up to the reality that Europe was undergoing rapid and dramatic change and worked together to create stability, the country would "miss the boat" and be doomed to a future of deteriorating poverty.

It is for this reason that De Klerk's visit to Portugal this week assumed an added significance.

Unlike other European countries that have been downgrading their links with Africa, Portugal is attempting to expand relations. Given the 600 000-strong Portuguese community in SA as well as its colonial ties with Angola and Mozambique, Portugal has greater reason than the rest of the EC 12 to care about the economic development of the southern African region. With this in mind De Klerk said in his speech at the Soares banquet that he envisaged Portugal becoming SA and Africa's "gateway to Europe".

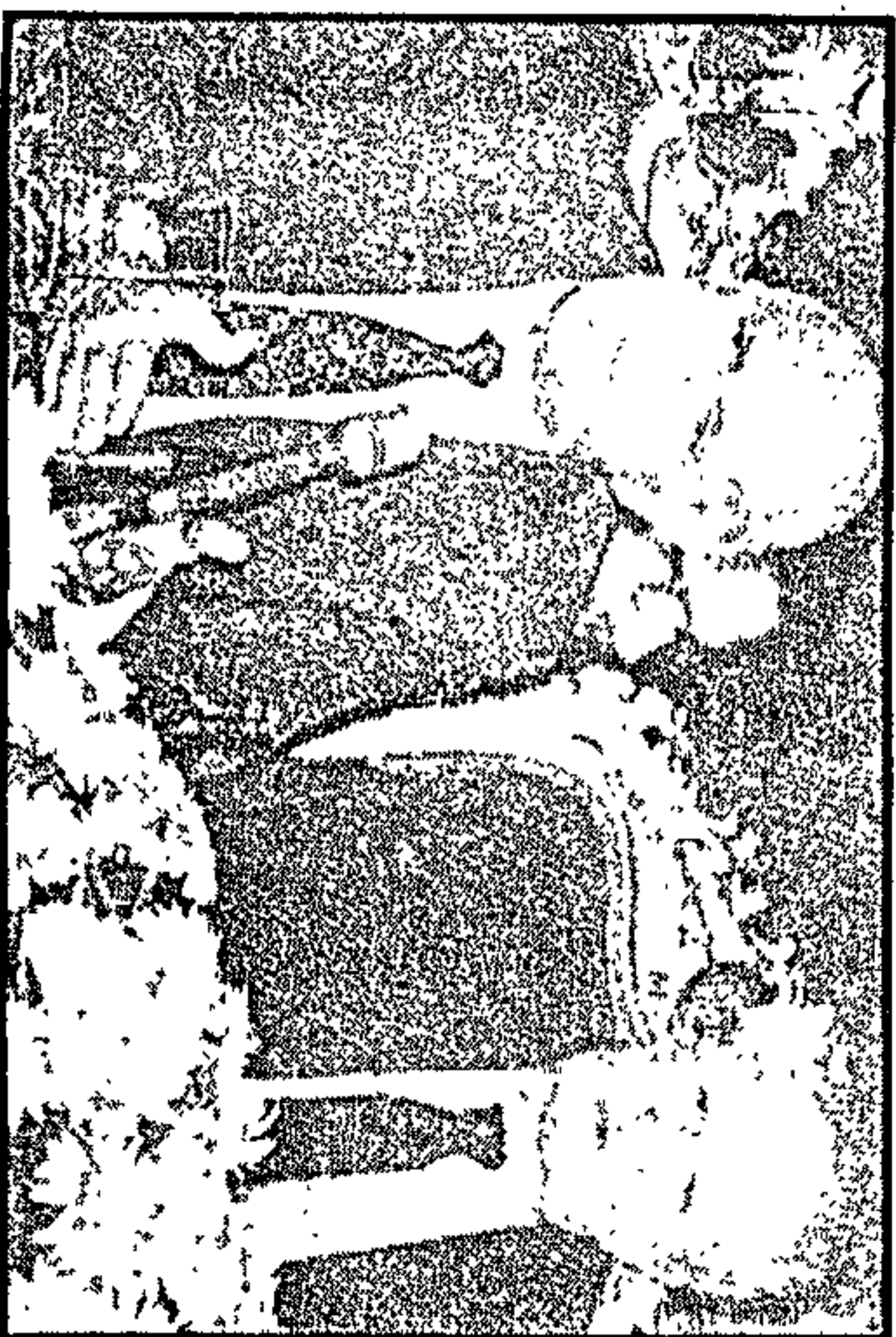
Although prospects of increasing trade with Portugal are limited, the fact that both the ruling Socialist Democrats and opposition Socialists want sanctions dropped now makes them a reliable interlocutor on behalf of SA in the chamber of the EC.

In the tour De Klerk has repeatedly and with seemingly increasing success put forward the proposition of a partnership of European capital and SA "knowhow" in developing the southern African region. This development, he has added, should be centred around the mining and beneficiation of those minerals and metals unique to or found in great quantities in the region.

According to De Klerk and Botha the proposal has found acceptance by both the politicians and businessmen they have met.

What is needed before the idea can become reality is stability. Which is why, in an address to Belgian parliamentarians, De Klerk stressed with perhaps greater determination than ever before that obstacles to negotiations would be removed within weeks and months, not years.

South Africans can only hope that this added determination will be matched and more by Nelson Mandela and his colleagues.



President F W de Klerk and his Portuguese counterpart Mario Soares.

The Broederbond ^(204A) getting well into the SABC's picture

W/Mant 1815-2415190
DESPITE talk of deregulation and privatisation, the state is covertly tightening its control over what has traditionally been its chief propaganda arm, the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Far from reflecting the spirit of *glasnost*, which State President FW de Klerk is selling to such effect in the outside world, the task group appointed last month by the government to look into broadcasting in South Africa is heavily weighted towards older forms of Afrikaner control. The group is made up of securocrats and state bureaucrats and reflects the resurgence of the Broederbond as a secret political force.

More than half of the task group's membership is made up of known members of the Afrikaner secret society, and at least 50 percent are believed to be connected to one or other of the state's intelligence agencies.

The announcement of the task force comes against the background of a warning last month by African National Congress international affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki that control of the SABC would become a definite problem in future negotiations between the ANC and the government.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club Mbeki described the SABC as a "powerful voice" but went on to express concern that it remained the property of the National Party and that the people who ran it should be appointed by only "one of the parties in the conflict".

Mbeki stressed the SABC would have to be seen to be acting impartially, even before an interim government was in place, if there was to be progress in negotiating a settlement.

Observers have expressed surprise that no apparent effort was made to include interest groups other than that of the government in the task force.

"What is suggested is that the task

Do not adjust your sets — the spirit of 'glasnost' that's sweeping the country won't reach the SABC, if the Broederbond has anything to do with it, reports IVOR POWELL

force is looking more deeply into means of continued control by the Nationalists than it is into anything else," one media watcher said.

Appointing the group Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw described the task force as consisting of "experts in the fields of broadcasting, communication and technology".

But in reality they include: a major general attached to the Bureau for Information in Pretoria; a South African Defence Force brigadier whose job description is that of "Director: Telecommunications and Electronic Warfare" at SADF headquarters in Pretoria; a representative of the National Intelligence Service; a veteran of Eschel Roodie's discredited Department of Information; and a Foreign Affairs Southern Africa director with a special responsibility for the "independent homelands".

Even appointments seemingly less security oriented, may be less innocent than they seem. Though listed as dean of the faculty of engineering at Stellenbosch University, Professor HC Viljoen, apart from being reportedly an influential member of the Broederbond, is known to have close links with the military establishment.

Since De Klerk's ascent to power the Broederbond, whose power had been diminished in the wake of scandals in the late 1970s, has become increasingly influential again as a policy-making body.

De Klerk is a prominent member of the organisation and has been in the secret society from the age of 28. His

brother, former *Transvaler* editor Wimpie de Klerk, is one of its leading figures as is FW's chief political advisor, Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Hans Strydom, co-author of *The Super-Afrikaners*, the book which blew the lid on the Broederbond, noted that the entire negotiating team which met the ANC earlier this month was made up of Broederbond members.

"Since FW became president the Broederbond has been getting stronger. It's not surprising that they should be especially strong in broadcasting. Propaganda has always been acknowledged as a special domain by the Broeders," Strydom said.

The task group was appointed by Louw, who is also a Broeder, on March 23 to investigate the broadcasting industry in South and southern Africa, to "cover among other matters future broadcasting requirements, international trends in broadcasting, new technologies eg satellite transmissions, privatisation and deregulation, guidelines for the orderly development of the broadcasting industry, and resources influencing broadcasting services such as availability of frequencies, advertising income, manpower, etc".

Commenting this week in parliament on the task group, Democratic Party broadcasting spokesman Peter Soal described its position as "unfortunate in that it is comprised mainly of securocrats and bureaucrats."

"Admittedly there is a representative from M-Net but all members are male — there are no blacks, 'coloureds' or Indians, there is no representative from parliament, none from the advertising industry, no one to represent the viewers and listeners or the market research organisations. There is no representative from the independent radio stations, nor from the press, nor from the education field."

Soal also regretted that SABC board chairman Professor Christo Viljoen had been appointed as chairman of the task group. As chairman of the SABC — which "is to all intents and purposes, the monopoly holder of broadcasting" — Soal said "he might have some difficulty when it comes to the disposal of some of the SABC empire".

The Film and Allied Workers Organisation (Fawo), which represents progressive filmmakers, has called for an immediate halt to the activities of the task force.

"The task force is a totally unrepresentative body," said Fawo spokesman Laurence Dworkin.

Fawo argues that broadcasting, because of its pivotal nature in society, should be included in the negotiating process for a new constitution and that any probe must include "relevant" political organisations.

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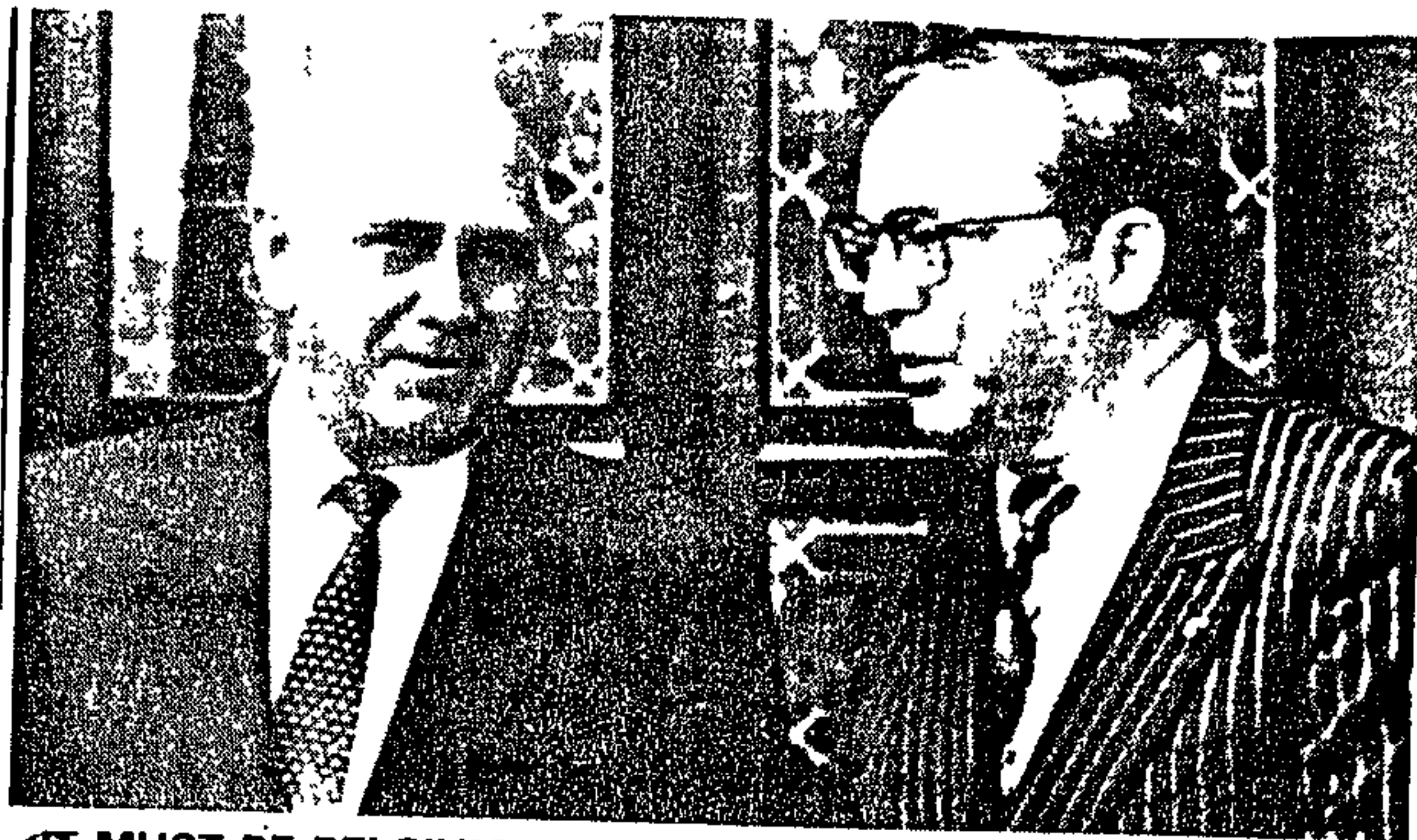
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IT MUST BE BELGIUM ... President F W de Klerk chats to Belgian Prime Minister Mr Wilfried Martens yesterday. Mr De Klerk has asked Europe to renew investment in SA. *apt time 18/5/90 (16) 306A*

Picture: REUTER

No demo at UK talks, say cops

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Scotland Yard has pledged that anti-apartheid demonstrators will not be allowed anywhere near Mrs Margaret Thatcher's Chequers residence when she meets President F W de Klerk there tomorrow morning.

However, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) said yesterday that they planned to hold sizeable protests at the entrances to the sprawling estate in Buckinghamshire outside London.

The Black Sash will indirectly be involved in a symbolic women's protest at Downing Street today when

participants would be wearing black sashes, AAM spokesperson Ms Karen Talbot said yesterday.

The protest would be led by Mrs Glenys Kinnock, wife of the Labour Party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock.

Meanwhile, Britain's opposition Labour Party believes it is premature to change the policy of sanctions pressure against South Africa.

Asked what the LP's view of Mr De Klerk's visit was, foreign affairs spokesman Mr Donald Anderson, MP, said pressure should be maintained until "irreversible progress" had been made in scrapping apartheid.

Change in SA 'could be aborted'

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Should the EC send a signal to Pretoria that it has done enough to normalise its relations with Europe, it could abort the whole process of change under way in South Africa.

This warning was contained in an open letter to the EC president, Mr Jacques Delors, and the president of the EC Council of Ministers, Irish Foreign Minister Gerry Collins.

It was delivered yesterday morning, just prior to Mr Delors's meeting with President F W de Klerk.

The letter, from the Liaison Group of the Anti-Apartheid Movements of the EC, warned that "the processes now under way in SA are at an extremely critical stage. If the Community sends a signal to Pretoria ... then it may well lead to the aborting of the whole process which is now under way — the very danger against which Nelson Mandela has so eloquently warned."

FW visit to US *CHT Times 18/5/90* 'okayed by ANC'

AP *ABC* *BCA* *BBP*
From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — An official of President George Bush's administration says the ANC leadership has assured the US government that it has no objection to President F W de Klerk seeing Mr Bush next month.

The administration sought this assurance from the ANC after its local representatives endorsed demands by anti-apartheid activist Mr Randall Robinson and the Reverend Jesse Jackson that Mr De Klerk's proposed visit be stopped.

It was reliably learnt that the ANC's chief US representative, Mr Lindiwe Mabiza, has been instructed to back away from statements that Mr De Klerk's visit, coming only a week before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's arrival in the US, was an "insult".

However, this does not appear to have eased the election-year concerns of leading senators and congressmen who believe they will have to take a tough line with Mr De Klerk if he comes on June 18.

A number of key legislators have informed the White House that if Mr De Klerk comes after Mr Mandela, they will be able to give him the far warmer welcome they feel he deserves.

Amid expectations that the State of Emergency will not be fully renewed on June 12 and that Pretoria may soon accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the lawmakers have indicated this welcome could include a number of concrete benefits to SA.

Tale of two tours flips double-side coin of SA sanctions

By GAVIN EVANS

STATE President FW de Klerk touched down in London yesterday for the final week of a trailblazing European tour which has produced much in terms of international kudos but few concrete rewards.

After 10 days of the most significant international visit ever by any Nationalist head of state, De Klerk prepared himself for his meeting with his closest European ally, British Premier Margaret Thatcher.

Before arriving in London, he met European Community president Jacques Delors and Belgian Premier Wilfried Maartens.

Meanwhile Nelson Mandela was winding up his 12-day African tour, which has served in part to offset some of De Klerk's diplomatic gains.

The ANC deputy president attended the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee in Abuja, Nigeria on Wednesday and Thursday — something no South African minister has achieved in three decades.

Mandela told ministers from 10 countries that he was "amazed at the suggestion that sanctions should be eased" and called for the international community to keep up the pressure.

No call for the immediate relaxation of sanctions is expected from the Commonwealth, while in Oslo, foreign ministers from the Nordic and frontline states agreed that "despite recent positive developments in South Africa" sanctions would not be lifted.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Kjell Magre Bondevik said Pretoria had yet to give a "firm commitment" to end the State of Emergency.

De Klerk's tour has seen him receive several titbits from Europe, but the real test will come at the meeting of the European Community's heads of states meeting in five weeks' time. By then the government will need to show that substantial moves towards eliminating apartheid, ending the Emergency and releasing political prisoners have been made.

De Klerk however can return home with several promises and symbolic gains in his pocket:

● Later this year Portuguese President Mario Soares will become the first Western head of state since 1948 to officially visit South Africa.

● Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva assured De Klerk that Portugal would move for the easing of sanctions at the EC meeting on June 25.

● Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said the EC would re-examine its policy towards South Africa, but stressed that further bi-



Highest award ... Nelson Mandela receives the Order of Niger from Nigeria's President Babangida

Picture: ASSOCIATED PRESS

PRESIDENT Chadli Benjedid yesterday presented African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela with Algeria's highest award in recognition of his struggle against apartheid.

Mandela was presented the Wisam al-Athir medal of distinction for his "courageous struggle to free South Africans from exploitation".

Mandela last visited Algeria in 1961 when he received military training from Algerian guerrillas fighting against France.

lateral links could not be created "because the right climate does not exist in South Africa".

● French President Francois Mitterrand said he accepted the "irreversibility of change in South Africa". He said that sanctions would be re-evaluated and relations would improve as soon as the steps outlined in the ANC-SA government "Groote Schuur Minute" were implemented.

● According to a report in the left-leaning French daily *Libération*, French businessmen are now anticipating the lifting of coal sanctions against South Africa.

De Klerk is expected to receive positive feedback in Britain and Switzerland, but his team is clearly pressing for more substantial breakthroughs than have been made so far.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Wednesday that his government could not continue with the rapid pace of change in South Africa without "some reward from the international community".

He warned that without such "rewards" the white electorate would say: "De Klerk has done all these

wonderful things and the only thing the Europeans are doing is giving him a pat on the shoulder and saying, 'very nice, step in the right direction' ... like a goose on the way to its doom."

Botha added that De Klerk and gold were South Africa's best exports, "with the only difference being that his value is going up".

Shortly before leaving Brussels yesterday De Klerk said his impression so far was that the European Community "had a broad understanding and acceptance of the dynamics in South Africa" as well as of the "irreversibility of the process" which his government had started.

SA Institute of International Affairs director Professor John Barratt said that while De Klerk's visit might not extract much in terms of sanctions being lifted, "it has definitely enhanced his position and given him much greater international credibility".

"There's no question that this is the biggest and most significant visit by any South African president or prime minister since the days of Smuts."

Barratt added that he believed Mandela's African tour was also of considerable significance, and that it had been underplayed in the media.

Professor Peter Vale, director of the University of the Western Cape's Institute of Southern African Studies, says the past 10 days of foreign travel indicate a two-track policy on the part of the international community.

"The one track is into Pretoria and the other into the ANC. The De Klerk and Mandela visits are indications of the maturation of both of these."

3044

Apartheid still at a peak - visiting exile

By Marika Sboros

Horst Kleinschmidt, director of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF) in London, jetted into South Africa this week, 14 years after he fled the country.

Mr Kleinschmidt, a former executive member of the Christian Institute, is in South Africa to attend a conference on repatriation, an issue in which IDAF will have an important role to play.

He said he would return to London at the weekend with the message that despite important developments in this country, apartheid and repression were still at a peak in many ways.

He would recommend that anti-apartheid organisations keep up the pressure until irreversible and fundamental changes were made.

Wave of detentions

The unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations was important because it had produced a "new terrain of struggle", but the struggle was far from over, he said.

"It appears there has been a new wave of detentions. Violence seems more vicious than at any period that I have known," Mr Kleinschmidt said.

"Those in power continue to use violence to maintain its supremacy."

Despite all that, Mr Kleinschmidt said President de Klerk was the first South African leader in his position ever to understand that in con-

ceding that things had to change, substantive steps had to be taken.

Mr Kleinschmidt said that when he fled South Africa in 1976 after being detained for 73 days in solitary confinement because of his anti-apartheid activities, he never doubted he would return.

Although he was born in Namibia, he lived in South Africa from the age of three, and always considered himself "a true South African".

"It's good to be back. And I look forward to returning permanently as soon as it's possible."

He was not bitter about the circumstances that forced him to flee.

"I would rather have had those 14 years here, to have been able to contribute to developments here. Exile is never an easy experience, but I'm excited at the prospect of being active inside the country again."

IDAF's role would have to be re-evaluated because it could now interact freely with those who needed its help in the country, such as political prisoners, their families and returning exiles.

The organisation was established in SA in 1956 to provide funds for the legal defence of those who stood trial for political offences, as well as to help their families. After its banning in 1966, IDAF continued to work from London.

Its aim is "to work for peaceful and constructive solutions to the problems created by racial oppression in southern Africa" and for a "free, democratic, nonracial society in South Africa".

IDAF's range of publications, formerly banned, will soon become available in local bookshops.



Horst Kleinschmidt . . . will recommend that anti-apartheid organisations maintain pressure until fundamental changes have been made. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

De Klerk finds EC reaction encouraging

BRUSSELS — President F W de Klerk said yesterday he believed the EC had a broad understanding and acceptance of the new dynamics in SA and of the irreversibility of the process his government had started.

"There is full understanding for the gravity of the steps the SA government has taken," he said after a two-day visit to Belgium and the EC headquarters.

"There is concern and a sincere interest that the government must succeed.

"My impression is one of a sense of constructive involvement not interference — almost friendliness — that greatly encourages me," De Klerk said.

Earlier yesterday he met Belgian premier Wilfried Martens after Wednesday's

discussions with Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens.

Eyskens was quoted after the meeting as saying: "It is time Belgian-SA relations were normalised."

"Mr de Klerk set out to me what he aimed to achieve and it sounds hopeful. We are receiving (ANC deputy president) Nelson Mandela here within three weeks, so we will hear both voices. (But) we have the impression that in SA an historic process has been started and that their standpoints are growing closer together."

De Klerk was warmly greeted by Martens at their meeting at the Hertoginnendal Castle. Flanked by the SA flag and the Belgian colours of black, yellow and red,

they posed for photographs at the main entrance before going inside.

They were joined later by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and senior officials.

On a separate programme, Marike de Klerk addressed the wives of SA diplomats attached to the two missions in Belgium — one to Brussels and the other to the EC — on the important role she felt they could play in encouraging acceptance abroad of the vision her husband had for a new SA.

De Klerk was also scheduled to meet EC president Jacques Delors, before flying to London to prepare for weekend discussions with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. — Sapa.

THE RIGHT

Armies of the night

How to deal with growing rightwing militancy without alienating either the ANC or an increasingly nervous white community has become one of government's biggest headaches.

Talks this week in Cape Town between Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre'Blanche served more to underscore the problem than resolve it. Though Terre'Blanche, in a joint statement with Vlok, committed himself to work peacefully towards security for all South Africans and the "normalisation" of the situation in the country, the AWB chief gave no indication that he was prepared to halt the mobilisation of what is fast becoming a rightwing private army.

Vlok in turn gave no indication that he had used the "strong words" called for by opposition MPs to condemn Terre'Blanche's tactics. On the contrary, their meeting appeared to have been cordial, verging on friendly. They emerged smiling after a three-hour session which was also attended by the AWB's goldfields regional leader Blikkies Blignaut and one of the organisation's "security" chiefs Dirk Ackerman.

Vlok's apparently soft attitude towards the AWB angered government's black opponents — who argued that an array of security laws had for years been used against them for actions far less serious than "armed aggression" now being threatened by Terre'Blanche's followers.

There is a real danger that failure to be seen to act against rightwing militants will alienate black groups to government's Left. Reacting to weekend reports and photographs of AWB supporters at a military-style training camp in the western Transvaal, SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane said government's apparent reluctance to use security laws against the organisation in the same way it had acted against black "liberation movements" over the years lead him to conclude that it was reluctant, for political reasons, to prosecute white South Africans.

Chikane urged government to curb the AWB's activities "in the interests of peace and the successful outcome of talks with the ANC."

But curbs at this stage appear highly unlikely. While government is, according to police sources, "extremely concerned" by the upsurge in rightwing militancy, particularly

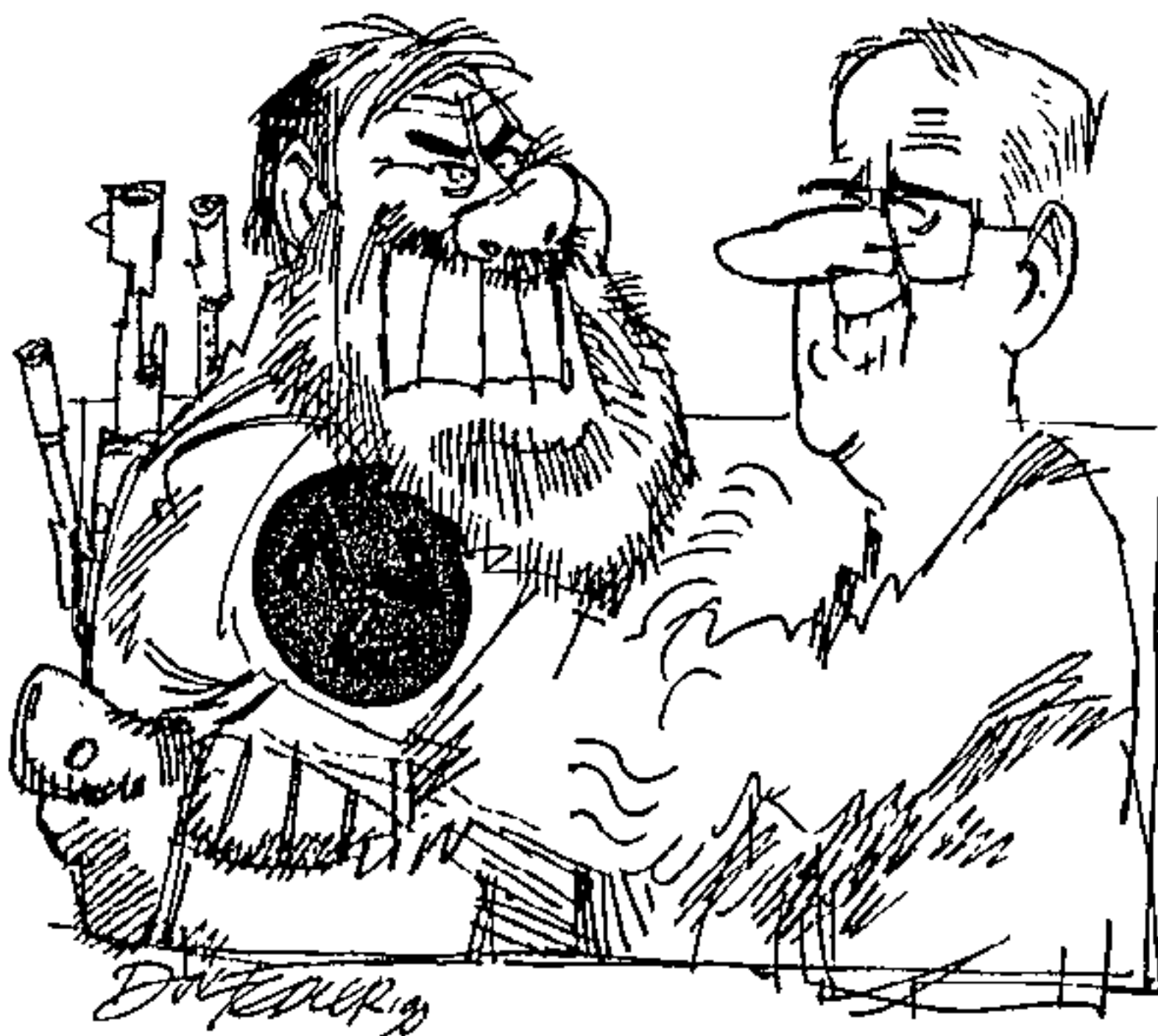
in the Free State goldfields, it believes that negotiations remain the best course.

It is felt that heavy-handed action against the AWB and similar organisations would worsen rather than defuse the situation. The sources point out that last week's series of talks between Vlok and a wide range of political leaders in Welkom were generally successful in "lowering the temperature" of a tense situation.

Government also regards this week's talks with Terre'Blanche as an integral part of the broader negotiation strategy in which it hopes to include as wide a range of political views as possible.

Sources say in essence there is no difference between Vlok talking to Terre'Blanche about obstacles in the way of change, and a government delegation talking to the ANC on similar issues.

It's clear that cool heads are needed to keep the Free State situation in particular from boiling over into serious racial conflict. The boycott of white-owned shops by blacks in Welkom is continuing and could spark a



backlash.

Local white vigilantes agreed in talks with Vlok last week to suspend street patrols and the intimidation of blacks — but were clearly hoping for an end to the boycott in return. (Vlok, of course, cannot negotiate any such thing.)

Terre'Blanche alleged in Cape Town this week that black miners were arming themselves and becoming more militant towards the white community and this justified the forming of "Boer" commandos. Vlok undertook to investigate.

On the broader front it's not only the AWB that government needs to worry about. There are a number of other smaller, but

more shadowy, rightwing groups that are even more militant. Piet Rudolph, the man allegedly involved in the theft of SADF weapons, and his followers are just one example.

A rightwing source said this week that the AWB's weekend "training camp" demonstration was little more than a publicity gimmick because Terre'Blanche was worried that his organisation was losing its image as the leading Afrikaner "resistance movement."

The source said nearly all the rightwing groups had "private armies" and were generally better trained and better equipped than the AWB's.

Chris Freimond

ANC DETAINEES F/M 18/5/90

Official line

The issue of ANC-held detainees, maintains its security chief Jacob Zuma (see *People*), is — as was the case with those of Swapo — a "diversion" from the real business at hand and from their role as hit-squad operatives.

However, Zuma added in a rare interview: "I'm sure that when the time comes and as the process moves, we'll reveal who we have and explain their particular circumstances. For example, we have people in our hands who have booby-trapped hand grenades of ANC guerrillas, who participated in the gunning down of Joe Gcabe and perhaps also in the Victoria Mxenge murder. We have many spies sent by Pretoria; serious evidence of hit-squad members who've murdered people in and outside SA, people sent with specific tasks."

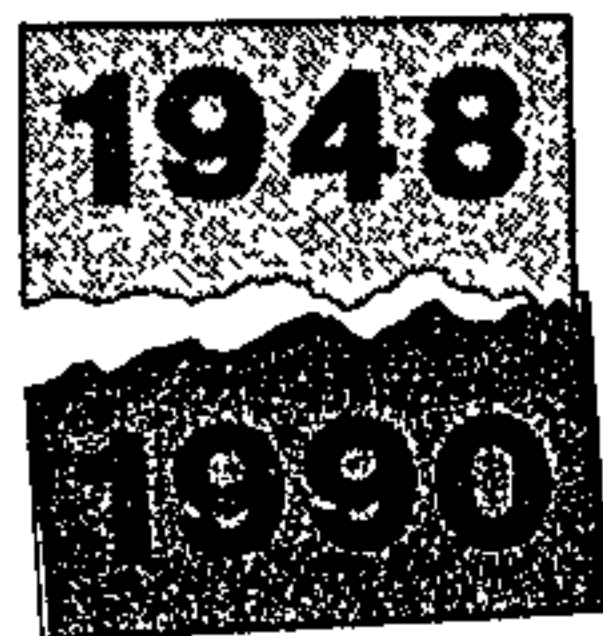
While the organisation had generally avoided talking about the matter, Zuma said it would be naive to think there is any war where there are no casualties. The ANC had at least kept them alive: "In other guerrilla struggles such people are killed ..."

"I think people should be happy that, at the end of the day, a national liberation movement is able to produce not corpses, but people it had kept under very difficult conditions and in other people's countries. It cannot build prisons. Look at the conditions under which our guerrillas operated. This matter becomes a diversion from looking at these people sent by the regime to spy, kill, poison. And it diverts us from the real purpose of solving our problems."

Asked about the reported friction between Umkonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise and his deputy, Chris Hani, Zuma said this was a figment of the imagination. Nor were there reservations on the part of the ANC's armed wing about the decision to enter into

A way over the chasm

■ Coalition between the NP and ANC is emerging as a serious possibility



Who could blame President F W de Klerk for being so cheerful last week when he stepped out into the French sunshine in the amiable company of Francois Mitterrand? No Nationalist leader has ever before been welcome at the Elysée Palace: F W's European tour had begun on a triumphal note.

The Europeans want him to succeed. So do most South Africans, though he obviously cannot deliver everyone's idea of the best possible future. As for those who oppose him... their potential for disruption will one day have to be met head-on.

It is appropriate to consider where De Klerk is leading us; and whether he can completely shed his inheritance of 42 years of Nat misrule in order to get us there.

In some ways, victory overseas — certainly in the short term — seems almost assured. That is a matter of convincing world leaders of his sincerity and he is scarcely lacking in that department. De Klerk seems to impress world leaders (and the ANC's Nelson Mandela), which begs the question: are we witnessing, possibly for the first time in history, a Western leader voluntarily negotiating himself out of power?

It looks that way to many Afrikaners. Long-serving Nat-watcher and confidant of the party hierarchy, Naspers chairman Piet Cillie, comments: "Recent developments are the most far-reaching ever in the history of the Afrikaner." Cillie voices concern that De Klerk may not have fully calculated the risks — or that he is not completely clear on what the end of the reform road holds in sight. "It is imperative that De Klerk's reforms result in material benefits, economic growth and peace. Continuing violence in 1977 broke John Vorster," he says.

More outspoken on the downside is Gerrit Veldhuysen, editor of the Pretoria-based *Transvaler*, flagship of the Perskor stable. Government, he feels, is not doing enough to eradicate the fears of white voters: "The people are in the dark. They believe that government itself does not have the answer. They believe that they do not know where they are going."

That's why many turn to the CP, ideological heir of Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

Nic Rhodie, head of the Human Sciences Research Council's Centre for Conflict Ana-

lysis and Management, is not overly concerned about an exodus to the CP. In *Democracy in Action*, Rhodie says the NP is no longer seen as a tribal party; it has a high degree of viability, he feels.

Voter fears are partly due to ignorance, he says, which "leads them to interpret the crisis wrongly — as well as the claims of the ANC, (and) the pronouncements of President De Klerk."

In some ways the Afrikaner is demoralised. After all, *Die Burger*, under Cillie's editorship, endorsed Verwoerd's vision of blacks streaming back from the cities to "their" homelands. This was what Grand Apartheid was all about, giving it a tenuous moral legitimacy. But, Cillie notes wryly, it "didn't happen — we did not have the will or ability to succeed and the vision of such a policy was systematically dismantled."

The resultant about-turn which confronted Nat thinking took place in 1982 when leading Afrikaner academic Flip Smit prophetically denounced the homeland policy. "We were confronted with the idea of a united

Klerk's strong moral convictions. They could be part and parcel of his make-up as a Dopper, a member of the Potchefstroom-based Reformed Church group, he believes. "I do not think that De Klerk is just busy with fancy footwork; I think there is a strong moral commitment on his part. The fact that Nelson Mandela says he accepts De Klerk's integrity is more revolutionary than his statements on nationalisation."

Esterhuyse — who along with other influential Stellenbosch academics became an outcast towards the end of the P W Botha regime — says the difference of style between Botha and De Klerk is that of coercion and conviction. "The disappearance of the domineering personality of Botha resulted in the psychological emancipation of the political culture within the Nat caucus. Intellectuals like De Klerk's chief negotiator, Gerrit Viljoen, are now for the first time enjoying their rightful position. The same can be said for the influential role business leaders are playing. All this is strengthening De Klerk's hand."

This seems true of the NP caucus — but what of the electorate?

To whites it may seem as if concessions are being made from one side only. Mandela has said the ANC would *reconsider* the armed struggle but De Klerk has announced that the Group Areas Act would be scrapped. Responding to Mandela's hard line on group rights — that they are not even for discussion — Nat insiders have meekly said the issue was not a sacred cow, forgetting that guarantees on group rights were precisely what De Klerk and Viljoen held out to the white minority not all that long ago.

Voters have come to understand that what is said during election rallies, congresses and in

parliament may differ vastly from agreements actually reached at negotiation tables. From that they can easily draw their own conclusions about the consequences of fully-fledged negotiations. In terms of sheer numbers, the NP's chances of winning an election under universal franchise must be zero. Not even protection of group rights would avert that — unless of course the group concept is a disguised form of entrenching white rule, like the tricameral parliament. De Klerk knows that would wreck the talks.

An imaginative leap seems necessary — and possible.

Esterhuyse sees no other alternative for the NP but to open its ranks. "I am sorry that they have not done so now. I would go as



Pik Botha, F W, Viljoen ... reform beyond the party

SA," Cillie recalls. "The message, however, was never relayed by politicians, who often ration the truth."

One implication of accepting this failure of policy — and all that goes with it — is that the days of Afrikaner hegemony centred upon Tuynhuys might be numbered. That is what De Klerk is apparently willing to risk. While some British politicians (Enoch Powell is one) have been willing to sacrifice the highest office because of principles, such scrupulousness is not common in the NP where many have waited out their time under rulers with whom they have sometimes violently disagreed.

Stellenbosch political philosopher Willie Esterhuyse attributes the change to De



Nationalist ghosts from the past: (L to R) Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster, PW Botha ... end of a line?

far as saying the NP should opt for a name change as well — the NP should forget the notion that a white ticket can play any future role. The party, if it hopes to be a force, has to be fully multiracial. This, coupled with De Klerk's leadership, would be the only way to mobilise support."

ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki had this to say in a recent interview with the *FM*: "I think basically the question is: has the NP accepted the notion that it should no longer be the ruling party? That power must pass out of its hands ..."

"Has the NP accepted that outcome? I don't know. If they have we might very well be closer to a solution to the problem. Fundamental to that must be that power passes out of their hands. In any democratic setting, if tomorrow you said let all the people of SA elect a new parliament, the NP would be a very tiny minority party."

Esterhuysen has no doubt the Nationalists will eventually open membership to all races: "De Klerk has a blitzkrieg approach to problems. He has made some drastic changes and will now consolidate his position. As we move along it will become clear to all that the opening up of party ranks is imperative for survival. De Klerk is waiting for that moment."

Cillie — though apparently still uneasy about the consequences — agrees that the NP should look across colour barriers.

Such a step, for a traditionally white party, spells discomfort in the ranks. Viljoen's deputy Roelf Meyer is not prepared openly to support the idea of an open party. "I cannot pre-empt party decisions," he says. "Constitutional changes will be decided by the party organs." But, he adds, "Natural development is of course part of the new SA, which will comprise all the people of this land. And the NP wants to be part of the new SA ..."

Esterhuysen believes strongly that an alliance with the ANC is the only viable prospect for NP survival. "As far as I am con-

cerned, the ANC, together with the NP, will form part of the middle ground. That would include the majority of people in SA ... Anyone in the NP who thinks that the party could form an alliance with any group to the Right of the NP and survive is insane."

He estimates that 17m people would be eligible to vote in a new dispensation and that "anyone who thinks less than 8m of those people would support the ANC does not know black politics."

Inkatha, says Esterhuysen, is losing support daily though he foresees that a sort of political understanding could develop between Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC — without the former necessarily merging with the ANC.

DP co-leader Zach de Beer agrees that SA needs a broadly based coalition government. Unlikely as it may seem, the leaders of the NP and ANC would one day be seated in one government, he recently told a DP meeting. Where would the DP stand then?

The idea of a coalition government is gaining ground — it is supported by UCT's David Welsh, for example. Esterhuysen favours a lower house based on a one-man, one-vote system and an upper house with representation on the basis of political groups. That too would mean that "the NP has to broaden its support base by opening ranks. The bottom line is a multiparty system. That

must be guaranteed in a future constitution." He believes a constitution based on the US federal system would satisfy all South Africans. ("And the Americans would buy it immediately.")

Rhodie says his centre's research indicates De Klerk enjoys significant support in all population groups — making him an excellent candidate for the presidency in a federal system.

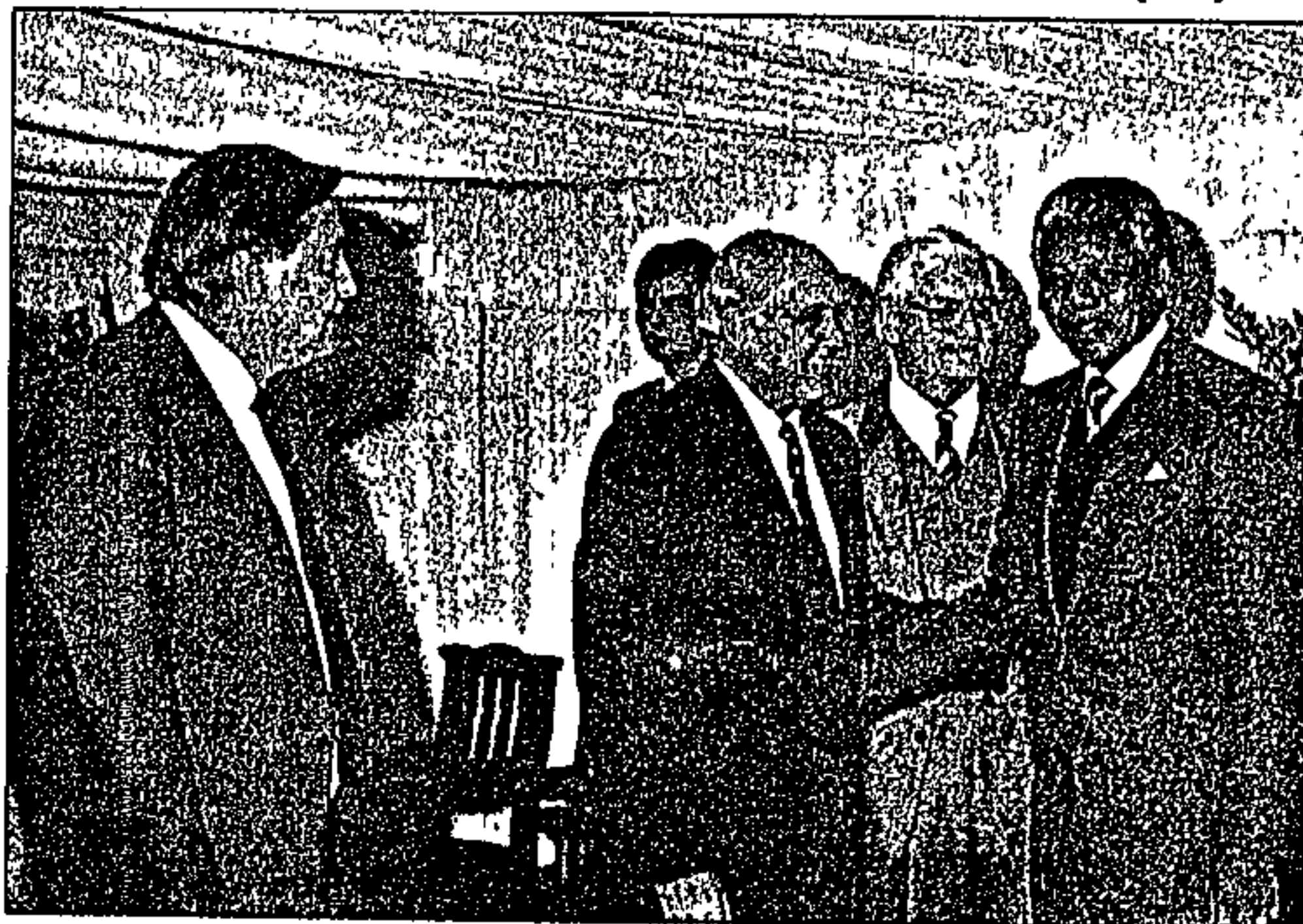
Since De Klerk has unconditionally committed his party to negotiations, the demolition of all the pillars of apartheid must follow. The NP itself may or may not go in this process — but until then, it cannot be expected that De Klerk would relinquish power, Esterhuysen believes.

The crucial compromise would be to accept de facto leaders of political parties as representing the claims and aspirations of wider constituencies, he says.

Like Esterhuysen, we believe that a party name-change is imperative, for him and his New Nats to play a significant role in genuinely national politics. The NP has lost many of its white Afrikaner supporters and, as De Klerk continues to throw old NP ideologies overboard, will continue to do so.

The name-change would be profoundly symbolic. It would signify more than anything else the de facto emergence of a new party — one which has rid itself of inhibiting links to past influences. In such a party, converted Nats, the majority of English-speakers and, most importantly, moderate blacks could join together to look to the future rather than dwell on the prejudices, injustices and mistakes of history.

De Klerk's actions are manifestly at variance with what his own party once stood for. While the policies of all political parties tend to vary over time, the NP has undergone a metamorphosis. It needs to give, through a new name, public recognition to this fact as well as to exorcise the past. And to prepare itself philosophically for coalition government.



New Nats and Mandela ... shuffling towards coalition

Heavy weather

F/M 18/5/90

Local and provincial government procrastination has jeopardised plans for a R110m shopping centre and black taxi terminus on the fringes of Alexandra Township near Sandton, according to the would-be developer.

Developer Gary Pearlman, of the Logaro group, claims the project has already been delayed for three years — during which anticipated development costs have virtually doubled — because of the inability of the Sandton Town Council and the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) to make a decision over the relocation of squatters on the development site. This is despite the fact that a suitable solution has been worked out between the developer, the Urban Foundation and the SA Housing Trust.

Pearlman says when his organisation, frustrated by the lethargy of the authorities, tried to bypass the local bureaucrats and take the matter directly to central government, an appointment with the minister of planning and provincial affairs was unilaterally cancelled by the TPA and the council.

He claims further that during the three-year delay, the number of squatters on the site, known as KwaGreen, and bounded by Pretoria Main Road, First and Third avenues and Third Street, Wynberg, has risen from a couple of hundred to about 3 000.

The proposed centre will be known as Alex City and Pearlman says an anchor tenant, OK Bazaars, has been secured. Negotiations for long-term finance have been held with several interested institutions. "However, no commitment will be forthcoming until the squatter problem is resolved. Obviously the institutions don't want their names tainted by forced removals."

The two-storey main building, if it proceeds, will include 25 000 m² of retail space and 2 500 m² of entertainment facilities. It will have open and covered parking for 550 cars.

A community centre will link it to the northern end of the site, which will comprise a rank for 600 taxis and a 2 500 m² motor trade (discount spares) complex with a service station and a SABTA education and training office. Pearlman says additional space will be set aside for market traders.

Explaining the squatter impasse, Pearlman says negotiations were initially held with the administrator of Alexandra and later the council and the TPA. "We were told the squatter problem was under control and the people were being resettled, but nothing ever happened. Both organisations have been more concerned with passing the buck than taking positive action."

Apparently, the only solution the authori-

ties were able to offer was to move the squatters a long way out to places like Orange Farm. This was unacceptable to the developer and the squatters.

The compromise worked out by Logaro, in conjunction with the Urban Foundation and the SA Housing Trust and after discussions with the KwaGreen squatter leader Jo Saki, is to transfer the squatter homes to a serviced site (which would include facilities like schools and roads) on Alexandra's Far East Bank on the eastern side of the Jukskei River. It forms part of a 240 ha area designated for middle income housing.

A refined version of the proposal was sent to the TPA this week. Pearlman believes the provincial authority has already accepted the principle of using some of the Far East Rand Land for this purpose because squatting has become a general problem in the streets of Alexandra, not just KwaGreen. "We believe there are another 17 000 squatters on the streets and backyards of the township. All 20 000 will be accommodated on the new site and self-help schemes will then be activated so they can improve their own homes and eventually demolish the squatter shacks," says Pearlman.

The cost of the exercise will be in the region of R40m (R2 000 a stand). The developer and land owner, Elaine Gavshon, would be asked to make a financial contribution to the cost of relocating the KwaGreen squat-

ters.

A joint meeting between the developer, the TPA and the Sandton council has been arranged for next week. "These guys must get their act together if, as we do, they want to see a shopping centre. Unless we emerge from that meeting with a positive commitment to action, we will be forced to scrap our plans," says Pearlman.

Certainly, retail development in close proximity to a black township has generally been regarded as high risk because of the security problems and finding acceptable tenants. Because of this, developers and institutions spend most of their time paying lip service to the desirability of such development. It thus seems ironic that when developers are ready to put their money where their mouths are, they get muzzled by bureaucracy. ■

3044



Chargel ... baton-wielding Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members show what they do when confronted by members of the *Engelise*pers.

Eugene TerreBlanche's *Boereleër* was reacting to the need for publicity during a well-orchestrated media exercise at the AWB leader's farm outside Ventersdorp this weekend. The coverage they received ensured that the

AWB's message struck a chord in sympathetic hearts — and the organisation is now looking for an extra full-time administrator.

"We have been inundated with calls from people wanting to join us," said AWB executive council member Kays Smit.

"We are struggling to keep up on the administrative side to deal with the flood of prospective members after the media publicity we got," he

told the *Weekly Mail*.

Smit admitted that among their new commando members were a number of policemen who had recently resigned from the South African Police.

Even though the policemen made no secret of their membership, the AWB preferred not to name them for their own safety, Smit said.

He added that an entire department in the civil service had recently joined their local AWB com-

mando, and a week later they were all transferred.

People joined the organisation because they "are petrified and feel the need to protect themselves. Very little recruitment is necessary," Smit stated.

And then the standard AWB rhetoric: "We must defend our land. Before we get a black majority government, we will take action. We will take back the land."

YOU'VE got to take your hat off to State President F W de Klerk and his team. They have worked out their strategy well and know the exact second to strike.

Now he is on his conquering tour of Europe, not fighting sanctions directly, but occasionally throwing the unexpected punch against the sanctions lobby. He is doing just enough to soften it for a direct assault.

The *Citizen* on Wednesday called it "an indirect sell, though effective".

He laid the groundwork for this carefully and decisively.

His final touch before he left for Europe was the historic Groote Schuur meeting between his Government and the African National Congress.

The air at Groote Schuur was unbelievable: it was the type of stuff that literary critics weed out of fiction, the incredibly sudden happy ending where sworn enemies embrace each other.

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of foreign affairs, said they were all a little surprised to find that none of them had horns, that on both sides they were perfectly reasonable people who

wanted to act for the good of the country.

In the end the talks produced the Groote Schuur Minute.

The *Sowetan* had foretold the contents of the document. On May 2, the day the talks started, we predicted: "At most the meetings over the next three days will produce a statement in which the two commit themselves to a peaceful process of negotiations and agree to set up working committees to look at issues like a ceasefire and the definition of political prisoners."

Immunity

They did just that. The working group is now looking at a definition of political offences, the

De Klerk knows when to strike

304A

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

It should have completed its work by next Monday.

The Government undertook "to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa" and reiterated its commitment to work towards the lifting of the State of Emergency.

De Klerk is slowly meeting the demands of the Harare Declaration of the Organisation of African Unity.

He has unbanned

political organisations. After the report of the working group, he will release political prisoners and grant amnesty to exiles and those who are still facing charges inside the country; and he will lift the state of emergency, and probably retain it in some parts of Natal.

One leg

But in turn he will demand a more emphatic renunciation of the armed struggle by all participating in negotiations.

One leg of De Klerk's strategy will be complete.

In the meantime each concession is a building block for the other leg: he is building international goodwill to South Africa.

Who would have believed last year that French President Francois Mitterrand would be receiving a South African president this month?

And the more goodwill he creates, the more he whittles away at the argument for sanctions.

If sanctions against South Africa are lifted, all the pressures that were used to bring the National Party to its present position will have been removed.

This is happening long before the start of negotiations on the substantial issues - who gets invited to the negotiations and how do they get invited, the constitution, apartheid legislation, and so on.

What leverage will the liberation movement have

when a point of disagreement is reached?

Sanctions

Some of these points have already emerged: the ANC wants an interim Government, a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote, and finally a constitution that does not guarantee minority rights in the way De Klerk wants them guaranteed.

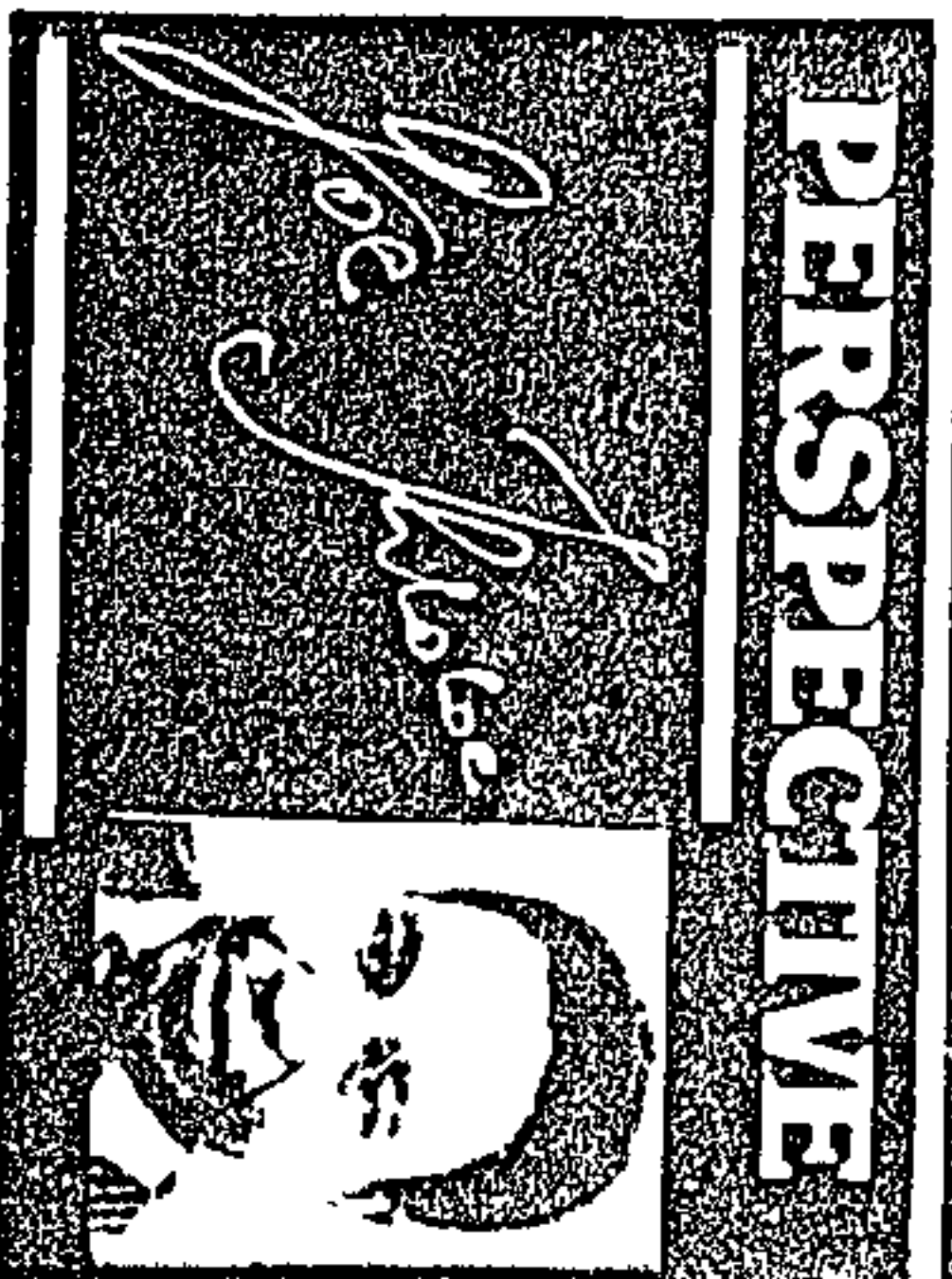
Truth is that the Western world will not understand why blacks refuse to guarantee minority rights: it believes that a movement away from

apartheid is enough to get sanctions lifted.

As Mandela and others go round the world telling people not to listen to De Klerk and to keep sanctions until there is an irreversible process of turning the country into a democracy, they should know that they are fighting a losing battle on that front.

All indications are that unless the liberation movements get back to their drawing boards and come back to take the initiative, this country is headed for a democracy as defined by De Klerk.

And that is not democracy: it is a perpetuation of white domination, the real meaning of apartheid.



From ANTHONY JOHNSON

BRUSSELS. — President FW de Klerk last night said he had "no doubt" the European Community (EC) would soon recognise the dynamic changes taking place in South Africa.

Mr De Klerk told an international press conference here: "I am really not looking for gestures — I am looking for a basic re-evaluation of policy and attitudes by the EC."

Mr De Klerk was speaking after in-depth discussions with the Belgian Prime Minister, Mr Wilfried Martens, which were described by sources close to the talks as "very, very positive".

It is reliably understood that the South Africans attending the talks "could agree with virtually everything" Mr Martens said.

He is believed to have reiterated that the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles would have to take place before Europe could reconsider lifting sanctions.

The SA delegation were also "delighted" with the discussion late yesterday with EC president Mr Jacques Delors.

As a group of about 25 activists chanted "Apartheid must go, sanctions stay" outside the International Press Centre, Mr De Klerk told journalists that his European tour would "contribute towards wise decisions".

Mr De Klerk said that while the main purpose of his visit was not to get sanctions lifted "as such", he was confident that Europe would give acknowledgement for the changes taking place in SA in a matter of "weeks and months". Europeans had "believed" the SA government representatives when they had been told that the issues of exiles and political prisoners were being "dealt with".

Mr De Klerk said SA had "some experience" in Namibia in dealing with such matters and procedures would be needed to deal with borderline cases.

Mr De Klerk said the state of emergency was under "constant review".

Asked whether he felt his meeting in Brussels with the chairman of the Ministers' Council of the EC, Mr Gerard Collins, would produce a positive report, Mr De Klerk said he was certain the Irish Prime Minister would bring out a "balanced report" on changes taking place in SA.

Mr De Klerk said that in the "in depth" discussions with a wide cross-section of political and business leaders in Belgium, he had "found throughout understanding for the depth and width of the process (of change) that is taking place in SA".

Mr De Klerk said he had found his visit to Belgium "productive and constructive" and had encountered recognition for the "very important economic role" SA had to play in developing the Southern African sub-continent "as a partner" with the European community.

● Mr De Klerk meets the British Premier and long-time opponent of sanctions, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, at Chequers tomorrow.

● Sanctions 'inhibiting' plans for SA — Page 5

AWB shock at 'drastic defection'

PRETORIA. — The AWB has reacted with shock to the announcement by Blanke Veiligheid leader Mr Hennie Muller that he had joined Inkatha.

"Is he not aware of the fact, and the lessons from the past, that Zulus would definitely not protect Boer women and children?" AWB chief secretary Mr C A "Kays" Smith said in a statement yesterday.

The AWB executive committee had learnt with surprise and shock of Mr Muller's drastic step to join Inkatha, Mr Smit said.

Inkatha recently denied that Mr Muller, leader of a white group in Welkom said by many blacks to be vigilantes, had joined the Zulu nationalist organisation. — Sapa

FW is sure EC will take note of change in SA

CAPL T.M.F.
18/5/90

304A

crack of dawn



No, Dear, Father Christmas hasn't come early this year. That's a heavily disguised member of the CCB going to give evidence to the Harm's Commission.

Syfrets Cape Times

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AWB ^{Cape Times 18/12/70} shock at 'drastic' ^{304A} defection

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ANC fights rearguard action

W/L AR 64 19/5/90

304A

From PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

BRUSSELS. — The African National Congress is fighting a desperate rearguard action in Europe as President De Klerk marches across the Continent, blasting salvoes at the Maginot Line of sanctions and isolation.

ANC offices across Europe have been watching his advance in dismay and putting up mostly feeble resistance to try to counter him.

"Europe is starting to give in to De Klerk on sanctions," said Mr Sisa Ngombane, deputy head of the ANC's Brussels office this week as Mr De Klerk passed through.

"Not a good sign"

"The warmth of his reception here is not a good sign for us. Governments that have been discreet about seeing him are now coming out with lavish state receptions."

He openly admits that he is extremely concerned about the apparent crumbling of the resistance of European governments.

And the will of the anti-apartheid movement also seems to be crumbling.

In France a small handful of demonstrators tried to obstruct Mr De Klerk's flying cavalcade

by releasing a barrage of balloons in ANC colours — but did so prematurely as the Press contingent passed by.

In Greece there was more substantial protest — which was hijacked by anarchists and led to arson and injury.

In Portugal the anti-apartheid movement and the ANC were invisible as usual.

In Brussels all of 26 people gathered at the European Commission's headquarters to protest against EC president Mr Jacques Delors meeting Mr De Klerk.

And even in Britain — home of the anti-apartheid movement — about the same number of demonstrators greeted Mr De Klerk as he arrived at his hotel.

By contrast Mr De Klerk has been well-received in all those countries and all their government appear to have accepted the sincerity of his intention to carry through with reform.

And even the normally unsympathetic European Commission President Mr Jacques Delors — widely dubbed as the emerging prime minister of Europe — acknowledged that a process of "permanent evolution" towards a new society seemed to have begun in South Africa.

This was close to acceptance that the changes initiated by Mr De Klerk in South Africa

were "irreversible" — the key condition set by the EC for the lifting of sanctions.

This sort of acknowledgement is a blow to the ANC which insists that sanctions must continue until a constituent assembly is elected or even until a new constitution is implemented. The stage has now been set for tough exchanges when ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela visits Europe next month to try to repair some of the damage done to the sanctions policy.

Although many diplomats say that out of deference to him, no changes will be announced until he has been to Europe, it now seems that he will be fighting a rearguard action.

"We would like to see sanctions maintained until concrete results have been attained, until the process of change is irreversible," Mr Sisa Ngombane said.

That point would be reached when all apartheid laws had been scrapped and the mechanisms had been put in place for drafting a new constitution.

Mr Ngombane is pinning his hopes on Mr Mandela's visit to counter the De Klerk drive.

He points out that Mr Mandela will receive honours that Mr De Klerk could not hope for — such as a rare invitation by an outsider to address the European Parliament.

Stel 19/5/90

(304A)

grow in new SA

Afrikaans 'to

Rector sees bright future for 'language of oppressor'

SUE OLSWANG

AFRIKAANS — for many a symbol of white supremacy — will grow among black South Africans, and more particularly among those with an Afrikaans-speaking background, once it's freed of its history and relieved of its ideological connotations, says Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn.

"Afrikaans," he says, "will be one of the many languages of the future."

"It's difficult to say whether Afrikaans will be a leading language — English will undoubtedly be the official language — but it will certainly be one of the important languages."

"Afrikaans will be an important language spoken in a free South Africa, and black students will be interested in it in the same way they are interested in other languages."

Mr Sonn said one of apartheid's grandmasters, former prime minister John Vorster, once inferred that the National Party "made Afrikaans" when he stated: "Die Nasionale Party het die Afrikanerdom en Afrikaans tot stand gebring." (The National Party established Afrikanerdom and Afrikaans.)

Ideological burden

"He thereby confirmed that Afrikaans was perceived as part of apartheid, and this is the dilemma in the minds of Afrikaans-speaking people," Mr Sonn said.

"The most scathing comments in respect of people of colour were made in Afrikaans; legislation is written in Afrikaans; and, in the process, Afrikaans began to get the image of the language of the oppressor. The struggle, therefore, among Afrikaans-speaking South Africans is to liberate the language from its image and to create the possibility for people of colour, who are caught in this dilemma, to freely return to a language which has been purged of the ideological burden it is at present burdened with."

Mr Sonn said there was already a strong process in progress to purge Afrikaans of its history of subversion to suit NP thinking.

"For example, the strong contention that Afrikaans was first spoken in Paarl, and the whole belief surrounding the language monument of Paarl, is challenged by historical evidence that shows Afrikaans was first spoken at the Cape port, and it was first used in religious writings in a Muslim theological school in the Cape."

Mr Sonn added: "Purifying the language by putting it in its correct historical and future context will make it viable as a language in its own right."

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen recently indicated he was prepared to negotiate on certain symbols of nationhood, "like the national anthem or possible alternative flags, public holidays and so on", but he did not see the status of Afrikaans as an official language being laid on the negotiating table.

News broadcasts

In the March edition of the journal *Insig* he said he could not see a "new" South Africa being guided peacefully if the existing recognition of Afrikaans in the Constitution, "like that of English and possibly other languages", was not maintained.

Dr Viljoen said Namibia's apparent language policy — which will see Afrikaans disappearing from Namibian TV news broadcasts on June 1 — denied the reality that Afrikaans was the chief medium of communication in that country.

He said language and education policies could not be based on a "fiction or myth".

"You must ground it in the reality of the language. What has happened in Namibia, particularly because it is so illogical — although one can understand the political and emotional arguments — is creating uneasiness in South Africa," he said, adding that the Afrikaner in SA would have to make it clear that he was not prepared to sacrifice the status of his language in a new SA.

Before Namibia's recent elections, Swapo said it would make English the official language if the party came into power, because English was "neutral". Swapo said it would avoid a situation where any language became identified as an "oppressor" language.

A 1980 census revealed that Afrikaans was the mother tongue of 2,5 million white South Africans, 2,2 million South Africans of mixed race, 77 000 blacks and 15 000 ethnic Asians.

education system

19/5/90 3619 Stor

7 steps to a single

THERE have been many calls for a genuinely nonracial, unified and decentralised education system. When the call comes from the National Education Coordinating Committee it is angry and impatient. When it comes from the Private Sector Council on Education it is more polite, but not any less insistent.

Although there is a great deal of support for a single education system, nobody has told us how to create it. How, precisely, can our highly fragmented and racially divided education systems be unified?

We need guidelines for the process of unification, instead of a blueprint of the single system that is required. We need to hasten slowly, but without dragging our feet.

There are seven steps that can be taken. Although I'll state them as prescriptions, they are, of course, proposals that can be negotiated, revised and replaced by better ones.

One

The Government should pass an Act that requires the Department of National Education (DNE) to create structures and processes that would give us a genuinely nonracial, unified and decentralised education system within three years.

This Act would allow the DNE to suspend all current laws on education that are an obstacle to the creation of a single system.

Two

The DNE, as a symbol of its sincerity, should require all the departments and institutions that report to it to put the same logo on their letterheads, as well as a statement that declares their commitment to help create one education system for all our children within three years.

This symbolic act would tell everyone, including the rest of the world, that the DNE was irreversibly committed to abolishing apartheid within education.

Three

The DNE, in consultation with the heads of all the teacher associations, colleges of education, technikons and universities, should divide the system into a number of regions, each of which would be administered nonracially.

KwaZulu, Natal and QwaQwa could be administered as one region and so could the Free State. Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa and the Transvaal could be divided into a southern and a northern region. The Cape Province could be divided into western/eastern regions.

These six regions, or something like them, are geographical areas with an identity. They have a history of regional administration that began before the country was carved into "homelands" and "a



JAMES MOULDER

Dr Moulder is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Natal, Maritzburg. He is a Research Fellow at the Education Foundation and a member of the Private Sector Council on Education.

common area". They should become the units into which the education system is decentralised and administered nonracially.

Four

The DNE should establish six regional and one national "transitional planning committees" (TPCs) to direct and manage the transition from a fragmented to an integrated education system.

Each regional TPC would represent all the education departments that function in the region, as well as all the technical colleges, colleges of education, technikons and universities. The teacher associations, commerce, industry and labour would also be represented.

Each regional TPC would elect four of its members to serve on the national body.

Five

The DNE should bind each regional TPC to "the 11 principles for the provision of education in the RSA" that were hammered out during the 1980 Human Sciences Research Council investigation into the provision of education. Professor Pieter de Lange played a major part in drafting these principles. They are sane and strong.

They are strong enough to guarantee that the TPCs will create a genuinely nonracial and unified education system in each of the regions. They are sane enough to guarantee that parents will have the right to choose the language in which their children are educated, as well as the values and customs to which they are exposed.

In addition to binding each TPC to these 11 principles, the DNE should give it two years in which to take two steps to unify its slice of the system.

In the first year each TPC would take two partial steps towards unifying education in its region. It would merge the education departments that are controlled by the Assembly, the Delegates and the Representatives. And it would merge what is controlled by the DET and the homelands in that region.

In the second year each TPC

would complete the process and create a single education system for its region.

The proposal to unify a region's education system in two steps is a plea for pragmatism.

The departments controlled by the DET and by the homelands are so much bigger than the others. They have nearly 75 percent of all the pupils who are at school.

And they have problems that the other departments don't have. In what language should children be educated in the junior primary school? And how can the region provide the teachers and buildings that are required to eliminate backlogs and shortages?

In spite of these good reasons for taking two steps to unity instead of one, the ghost of apartheid, and the suspicion that it creates, would haunt this plea for pragmatism.

This is why, right from the start, the departments and institutions that report to the DNE should have letterheads that declare their commitment to a genuinely nonracial and unified education system. This is why each region should have a TPC that represents all the departments in the region, as well as all the stakeholders. This is why the DNE should bind each of the TPCs to the 11 principles for the provision of education.

On their own and together these three things guarantee that the first, partial, step which a TPC takes towards unity must be followed by the second.

Six

The DNE should mandate the national TPC to guide, monitor and co-ordinate the steps that the regional committees take towards a nonracial and unified education system in their regions. It should also be mandated to begin drafting a new education Act.

Instead of being a blueprint that was created by and for a bureaucracy, the new Act would be the product of intense debate, planning and research that starts at a regional level and embodies a wide range of stakeholders.

Seven

Finally, in the third year of this process the DNE should decide which national and regional evaluators should be appointed by the DNE. In each region they should be nominated and elected by the teachers and the parents.

Teachers have to make the new system work. Parents have to be convinced that the new system is legitimate and appropriate. This is why they should elect the evaluators.

It will take time, money and energy to evaluate what the TPCs have achieved. But apartheid's ghost will be exorcised only if credible evaluators are satisfied that a genuinely nonracial and unified system has been created.

It's impossible, as well as undesirable, for one person to define the process that will give us one education system. But somebody had to start the debate on how to create it.

Apartheid shatters environment — researcher

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APARTHEID has been as disastrous for South Africa's environment as for its people, according to a new study by the Worldwatch Institute.

"Institutionalised racism has polluted the air and water, pillaged the bedrock and ripped away the earth in wide regions of South Africa," says Alan Durning, author of "Apartheid's Environmental Toll" and a senior researcher at Worldwatch, a Washington-based research organisation.

Apartheid has turned the "homelands" — where half the black population is forced to live — into ecological wastelands, according to Mr Durning.

To generate the funds needed to enforce apartheid, Pretoria has allowed mines to ignore common safety and pollution precautions.

A pariah to most oil exporters, South Africa has developed an energy policy that makes it among the most polluting nations of its size.

And its wars against neighbours have devastated endangered plant and animal species.

"Today, with apartheid's grip on the nation weakening, it is time for a full reckoning of its ecological toll," Mr Durning says.

Half of South Africa's 29 million blacks — primarily women, children and the elderly, have been pushed on to 13 percent of the national territory euphemistically called "homelands".

Forests disappearing

"By design, these areas are remote, their topsoil is thin, rainfall scarce and unreliable, and the ground sloping and rocky. Suffering under politically enforced overpopulation 10 times the population density of white rural areas — the homelands are among the world's most degraded regions."

Enormous erosion gullies criss-cross the topography, and in some areas the topsoil has been worn down to bedrock. In 1970, 46 percent of Ciskei, for instance, was already moderately to severely eroded, he says.

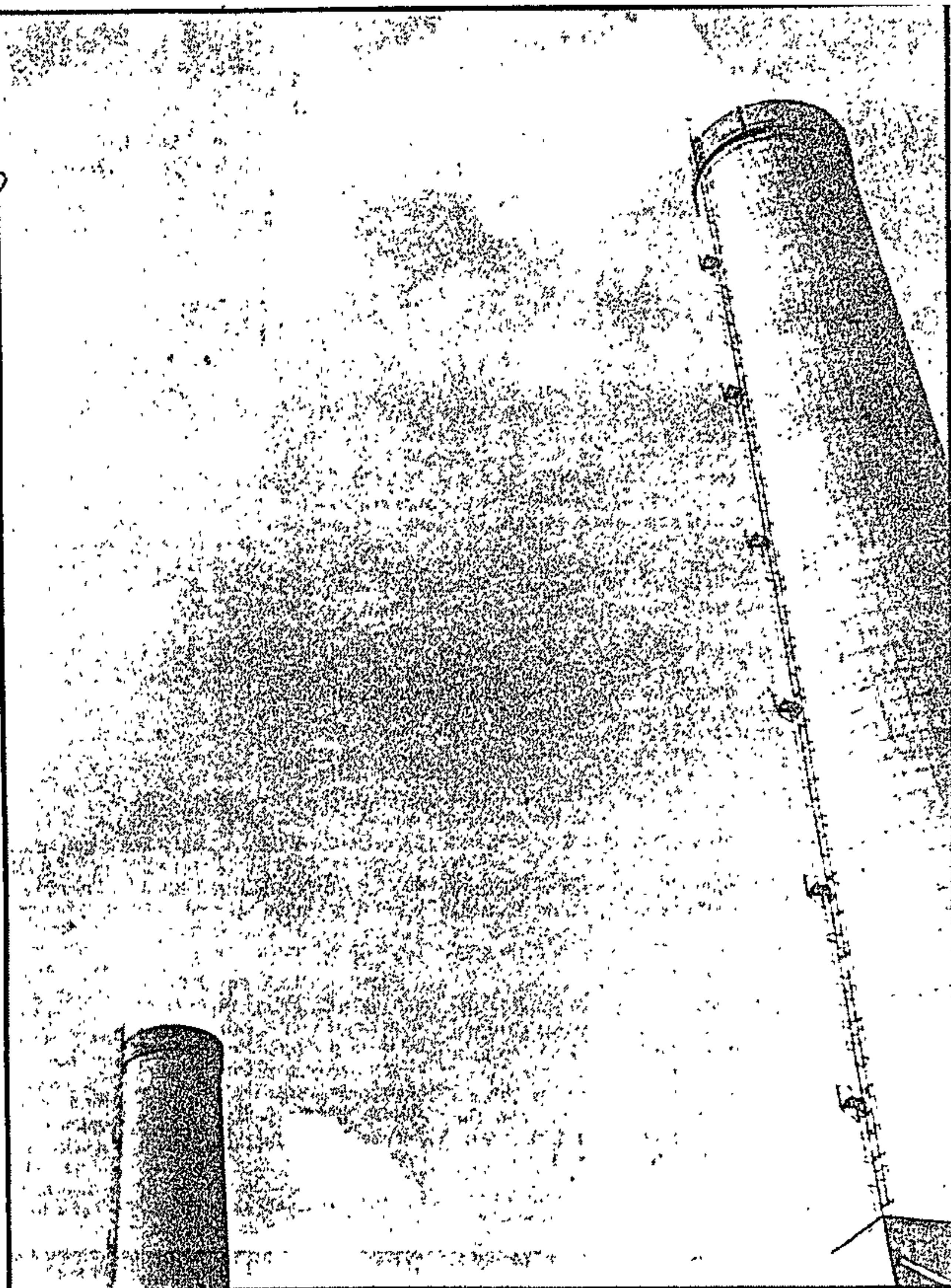
Forests are disappearing rapidly too. The Kwa-Zulu homeland has lost 200 of its 250 distinct tracts of woodland in the past half century. In the homelands, fuelwood-gathering has outpaced regeneration and will strip the land bare within 30 years unless apartheid ends.

"South Africa is the Saudi Arabia of minerals," according to Mr Durning. "But, because mining is the backbone of the embattled apartheid economy, the industry is little regulated. Black townships and squatter settlements bear the brunt of mining's environmental ills, drinking contaminated water and breathing polluted air."

"Blacks also suffer underground. For every ton of gold South Africa extracts, a black miner dies in an accident that would have been unlikely in other countries."

South Africa's energy policy, too, is motivated and made possible by apartheid. Isolated by oil-exporting nations that are vehemently opposed to apartheid, South Africa has turned to heavily polluting domestic coal, the author says.

The nation now gets more of its commercial energy from coal than any country besides North Korea. Suppressed mine wages keep coal inexpensive and promote wasteful use, with the result that South Africa is the world's most energy-inten-



WHAT PRICE PROGRESS? In the eastern Transvaal 31 tons of sulphur dioxide per square kilometre is emitted annually — a higher level than in East Germany, infamous for its air pollution.

sive free-market country outside the oil exporters.

"In the coal fields east of Johannesburg, annual emissions of sulphur dioxide total 31 tons per square kilometre — higher than the level in East Germany, infamous for its polluted air. Acid rain and air pollution threaten forests, crops and aquatic ecosystems in the region and beyond, while the thick coal smoke in black townships has undermined residents' health."

In its search for liquid fuels, especially diesel to power military vehicles and the fleet of buses that carry black migrant labourers from the remote townships, the State has created an ecologically disastrous coal-to-oil synthetic fuels programme. Likewise, it has secured oil imports by linking them to cheap coal exports, augmenting energy waste overseas, Mr Durning says.

South Africa's coal consumption makes it a disproportionately large contributor to global climate change. White South Africans are the world's worst greenhouse offenders, each emitting more than 9 tons of carbon during 1987. The world aver-

age is 1 ton, and Americans release 5 tons each.

Since the Seventies, South Africa has defended apartheid through a military and economic campaign to "destabilise" countries to the north through brutal surrogate armies, the report says.

"The ecological effects of these wars have gone unnoticed," Mr Durning says. "Yet they have laid waste to vast areas and filled refugee camps with at least 4 million people, who strip the land bare for fuel and shelter."

Recent revelations from within the South African military, moreover, detail how rebels in Angola have financed their forces by decimating elephant herds for ivory and forests for hardwoods — with the assistance of the South African military.

An environmental awakening is under way in South Africa, raising hopes for a greener future.

"Ending apartheid will quickly resolve some ecological curses. Yet an end to apartheid will leave other ecological problems — including the volatile issue of land redistribution — to a new government," he says.

'Holier-than-thou' Mandela taken to task

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party bluntly told ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday to stop criticising it and to get his act together.

"Your track record of controlling your own people is not good, just as your call for people to throw pangas into the sea has not worked," senior NP sources told Mr Mandela in reaction to his comments on Tuesday that the ANC would not tolerate the continuing "massacre" of people by police while negotiations on peace were in progress.

Mr Mandela also said that while President de Klerk was honest in his efforts, he could not control the police.

Senior NP sources said there was a widely-held resistance building up among people outside of the ANC: "to the way in which Mr Mandela is posturing on the one hand yet is totally unable to control what his people are doing on the other hand".

In Welkom, the sources said, many people involved in the unrest violence were wearing ANC T-shirts.

"This has done nothing to inspire any confidence in Mr Mandela's ability to control his followers. There were even ANC members in the group that was going to march to the white residential areas of Welkom."

NP sources said Mr Mandela's attack on the police played into the hands of people who would like to see a reactionary groundswell developing.

"These kinds of statements are really doing nothing to contribute to the situation. There is a feeling of

impatience with his whole demeanour, with his holier-than-thou attitude."

The NP wanted to see Mr Mandela reprimanding his erring followers. He needed to distance himself from "this whole pattern of pointless political demonstrations and confrontational cycles".

While the right wing was playing a role in bringing about the political confrontation, the NP would like to see Mr Mandela use his influence to break the cycle of violence.

"He would then have a lot more credibility among people who are not ANC supporters."

The Government had been criticised for appointing a commission of inquiry "every time the police took action", the NP sources pointed out.

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SPECTRUM

The most interesting c in the world

SITTING in front of me in the plane on its way from Europe to Jan Smuts was a pair of ears. They resembled the toughest sort of leather, unbelievably weathered and creased, but in tip-top condition — the result, it seemed, of 50 years' polishing by some houseboy. Translucent trunks connected the ears to a vast neck of the same texture and orange hue.

I had always found South Africa peculiarly surrealistic (the ears began reading a Farmers' Weekly), and a sickening sense of recognition overcame me. This was it, the racist — a zoological species, with its own hide and habitat. Part of the order of Mother Nature, racists who had no doubt as much right to exist as, say, crocodiles; if the species were to dwindle, someone would probably start farming it. Ex Africa, despite the adage, numquam aliquid novis — except new ways of keeping things the same.

It looked as though once again I was going to be the very last person to unbuckle my seat-belt at Jan Smuts, clutching the arm-rests until expelled from the plane by the man with the canister of carcinogenic insecticide. I mused on all this for about a thousand kilometres. Then the man with the ears turned around. His eyes were extraordinarily gentle. He smiled, revolving my thoughts by 180 degrees. He wasn't the racist I was.

This was my first surprise: the U-turn. Things had changed after all. Goodwill was now as obvious as aggression had previously been. I had been 10 000 km away for 15 years, and my ideas no longer fitted this complex reality. I had been used to thinking of South Africa as an aberration — like the ears — a monstrosity. But the country I was rediscovering on the drive from the airport looked normal: freeways, shopping centres, villas, gardens — far more like California than the dusty SA I remembered. It was green and prosperous and relaxed.

Blacks were dressed in real clothes, not rags and cast-offs. There was confidence in their stride. And the whites I spoke to, far from resenting this, seemed pleased about it, welcoming the company of some 20 million more compatriots.

I did know, however, that there was more to it than meets the eye on arrival. In the Japanese Kabuki theatre the actors never leave the stage; their costumes, extraordinarily elaborate, have to be changed in full view of the audience. The change is made by "shadows" —

How much has South Africa changed in recent years? In some ways quite considerably and in others not at all, according to French academic Dr Donald Moerdijk who visited the land of his birth last month after a 15-year absence. These are his impressions.

assistants clad from head to foot in black. Their labour is deemed invisible; only its results are seen. Black is the colour of irrelevance. As in South Africa, hiding labour has always been one of the functions of apartheid. But hasn't this now become normal too, a world-wide system? Has South Africa patterned itself on the rest of the world, or the world on South Africa?

In various parts of the globe there are now Northern Suburbs gracefully accepting South-Western or South-Eastern townships' labour. They deplore the Southern Suburbs' bad taste, and the backwardness of bantustans lost in the hazy distance. Is Los Angeles so different from Johannesburg? What West European country isn't developing residential segregation, ghettos for unskilled workers and far-away labour reserves? If there are still differences, are they differences in kind, or simply in degree?

Indeed, hasn't South Africa, far from lagging behind, turned out in fact to have pioneered this Post-Modern Age?

I did sense that there was a difference between the Northern Suburbs and California, however. What was it? Something buoyant in the atmosphere — hope, at last? The fact that here the cynicism was not on the wax but on the wane?

The First World is becoming more and more cynical. Retiring from history, it's now interested above all in redecorating its cottage, cultivating its garden and optimising the yield of its pension fund. The long march towards Modernity has come to an indifferent end. Disillusioned Post-modernity turns out to consist mainly in tinkering, pottering and hoping that nothing will change. Beyond the burglar-proofing, indistinct masses prowl — ethnics!

Probably jobless, and acceptable only when writing novels or



running restaurants. Their occasional caterwauling disturbs sleep. In the First World, social segregation is becoming racist. Apartheid is coming in

In Johannesburg I had the impression that things were going the opposite way. Apartheid was dissolving, and class segregation showing through. Class, unlike race, is a dynamic concept. Race is static: a race can be conserved or destroyed — but not changed. If it loses its purity it is no longer a race. It cannot interact. Classes can. Though often separated, they do not have to be kept apart. When one thinks in terms of class, things can be changed.

Over the next few days I began to realise, however, that though things had no doubt never looked quite so hopeful, the country had also probably never teetered quite so close to the brink. The hidden dimensions were emerging, shadow-figures coming out into the light overlooked labour, secret hit-squads.

There seemed to be conflict everywhere, and violence almost everywhere too. I saw a strike in Sandton's sophisticated shopping mall. Cooks and waiters, whites and blacks mingled, battled against police. Leisurely trendies looked on. Involved taxi was and township wars spread through the newspapers, vying with judicial inquiries. The media were multiplying and dividing, surging with the new light.

On a visit to my family in Natal, I caught a glimpse of the

real roots of the township violence, often dismissively catalogued as "black on black". The gardener had been ordered by his village headman to pay R100 towards the cost of his new house — the headman's. The gardener didn't have R100. The demand seemed preposterous.

The family took advice. "Don't get mixed up in this," said their lawyer. "There's not really anything we can do," said the police. "We advise you to tell him to pay." He paid.

What was this all about? Some benighted "ethnic" custom, of which the gardener had fallen foul? Not really. Two systems were in conflict; one based on employment in the modern economy, the other on "traditional" territorial tribute. In the past, both had been used as means of control; the former for "direct" (governmental) and the latter for "indirect" ("homeland") rule. Both were still being used. They would not simply go away.

Each implied a political stance. But this stance could not be made explicit. Buthelezi needed to have people working in the money economy. Pretoria needed the more or less traditional chiefs. But neither could really say so. Neither "traditional" Ullundi nor modern Pretoria could afford to admit that it was also working through the opposite system.

The forces in conflict therefore remained inarticulate. People clashed, but could not discuss. Was that not why everything seemed incomprehensible — obscure and "ethnic"?

Was this a foretaste of the future? Was South Africa becoming another Lebanon? Similar

contradictions were producing a proliferation of ethnic factions among the whites as well. These may well prove even more difficult to contain.

These were only some of the problems, perhaps not even the main ones. After I had spent a week in the country, the goodwill to tackle the problems seemed inadequate, and the sporting optimism of the northern suburbs somewhat hollow.

Watching the Brian Warden interview, one wondered whether FW de Klerk was in fact really a reformer, or merely a "communicator", an Afrikaner politician who had learnt at long last to control his temper and to smile.

His smile was not empty, like that of an American president; but it did seem, like an American president's, to be a ploy, used not out of indolence, admittedly, but probably impotence.

Did he really see a new direction, or simply blind forces, which he was attempting to "surf"? Were we being shown a change of heart or merely change of style? Did he see the ANC as the interpreters of a vision or merely as a rival group of power-brokers? Was the President on the march or just having another despairing round of golf?

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SPECTRUM

most interesting country

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The Johannesburg Library was packed with young blacks. Most of the visitors in the Art Gallery were black. In Joubert Park the chess players were black, with a large black audience watching around the outside chessboard. The cultural

voracity of the starved black population stands out strikingly against the traditional inappetence of the whites.

White youths seemed to be playing ball, lolling in front of soap-operas or talking about trips to Europe. Focused on kitsch dreams of the "white" heartlands across the sea, their culture has remained colonial.

Travel broadens the mind; tourism seems to narrow it. White suburbia seemed to be inhabited by people drifting between the last tour and the next.

"Here" and "now" were not considered interesting — in any case, what could one do about them? Uninformed, suburbia also seemed uncurious. There had apparently been no rush on unbanned literature; and most of the people I spoke to were still unaware of facts revealed years ago by books like the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Move Your Shadow*. Culture was still essentially decorative, an embellishment added (like a trip overseas) to an otherwise utilitarian life — or a distraction from it.

Cultural initiative lay clearly with the townships. Culture there serves not to escape from everyday life, but to enlarge and transform it. One only has to see the musical "Township Fever" to realise how the theatre can become a means of understanding and changing things — despite Ngema's distracting response to Broadway's lethal glad-eye. It has probably been a boon that the supply of conventional suburban culture to the townships has always been so miserly. This has left room for do-it-yourself productions bearing on urgent issues, and not just

on problems felt to be important by other people, at other times, elsewhere.

In comparison, suburbia is still imitative, with Euro-American spectacles firmly stuck to its nose; well-paid protest in the Sixties and Seventies, and now Post-modern pastiche. The obsession with "European standards", "international acceptance" and "making it" into "world class" are admittedly not very different from those of artists in First World countries — and in this respect the suburbs are probably doing better than they realise. But they do not seem to be making much of a contribution to anything really new. And something new is going to have to come up if South Africa is to survive.

There is, as far as I can see, no ready-made "solution" to South Africa's problems, and current white attempts to discover one (the cantonal utopia, for example) merely betray the bad faith of the suburbs and the poverty of their imagination.

South Africa will no doubt have not to follow, but to lead the way out of the post-modern doldrums. And suburbia will have to wake up to something that the townships already seem to sense: that South Africa is at present probably the most interesting country in the world.

● Donald Moerdijk (57) was born at Cullinan and educated in Pretoria where he obtained his BA and MA (cum laude) at Pretoria University. In 1957 he left for France where he obtained a doctorate in philosophy at the Sorbonne. He is currently professor and lecturer at the prestigious Ecole Normale Supérieure at St Cloud, Paris.

FW in UK

FROM PAGE 1

Klerk and his entourage are staying.

After last night's rally, AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston was scheduled to deliver a letter of protest to Mrs Thatcher's Downing Street office.

In his meeting with Mrs Thatcher, Mr de Klerk is expected to provide her with details of his May 2 meeting with the ANC and progress so far towards establishing a climate conducive to negotiations on a new constitution in South Africa.

In contrast to highly promising first-time meetings so far on his nine-nation tour of Europe with leaders of France, Greece, Portugal and Belgium, as well as the European Community's political head, Jacques Delors, Mr de Klerk met Mrs Thatcher last June.

A renegade within the EC on the sanctions issue, Mrs Thatcher unilaterally lifted some measures against South Africa in February this year, maintaining strongly that Mr de Klerk needed some reward for reforms introduced so far.

She is the one European leader that Mr de Klerk does not have to

convince of his case: that the EC must now substantially re-evaluate its attitudes to South and southern Africa.

Following the successful reception by European leaders so far, especially France's President Francois Mitterrand, sources in Mr de Klerk's delegation have however hinted that Mrs Thatcher's outspoken support for South Africa at the EC heads of state summit in Ireland next month might turn into a diplomatic liability.

Mrs Thatcher's reluctance to co-operate fully with her EC partners in the run-up to economic unity by 1992 — particularly on monetary union — has turned her into an unpopular loner within the Community.

If Mrs Thatcher insists on leading the campaign at next month's summit for sanctions to be lifted at least partially, other European leaders, it is feared, could decide not to play along, making South Africa a victim of complex diplomatic sword-play in Europe.

Mr de Klerk's need to tread carefully in his meeting with Mrs Thatcher is emphasised by the fact that Pretoria owes her a substantial debt of gratitude for her support over the years. — Sapa.

Large demo is lined up for FW meeting

LONDON — While President de Klerk was yesterday preparing for today's talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the Anti-Apartheid Movement promised a substantial demonstration, of hundreds, outside her Chequers country house, where they will meet.

A rally featuring leading anti-apartheid speakers, including Cape Town's rebel former policeman, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman, was scheduled in London last night, and an AAM spokesman said about 300 protesters armed with banners and placards would be bused to the entrances of Chequers this morning.

Since Mr de Klerk's arrival in London on Thursday night a combination of British police — keeping handfuls of demonstrators well away behind barricades — tight security by South African officials and secrecy about the President's movements have created logistical problems for the activists.

Unaware

Mr de Klerk arrived at the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square at 11 am yesterday to meet diplomats for discussions and to brief British newspaper editors.

Anti-apartheid protesters arrived about an hour later to set up their demonstration, apparently unaware Mr de Klerk was already inside.

As an extra security measure, policemen instructed the protesters to remain on the opposite pavement, instead of their usual spot outside the embassy's main doors.

An embassy spokesman, noting that the number of demonstrators could almost be counted on his fingers, said the poor turnout was a clear indication the activists were politically out of date and out of touch.

Banners

An AAM spokesman said it was difficult to muster a large number of picketers at short notice on weekdays, particularly when the exact timing of Mr de Klerk's movements were not always known.

"But it will be another matter at the weekend. We are having the rally tonight (Friday) where a substantial turnout is expected to be inspired to go out to Chequers on Saturday," the spokesman said.

At Chequers, the AAM's Freedom Bus — a converted red London bus — would be a focal point, and a number of new banners had been specially prepared for Mr de Klerk's benefit at various entrance routes to Mrs Thatcher's country home.

Today's protest was to be backed up with another demonstration outside the luxury Chelsea Harbour hotel, where Mr de

TO PAGE 2.

Time for caution as the talks get moving

S/Times 20/5/90



304A

A NEGOTIATED political settlement in South Africa has become part of the standard repertoire of political leaders and activists of all shades and ideological persuasions.

For many, negotiations hold the promise of a peaceful resolution of the civil war in our country. And many more are hoping that, once the negotiation ball gets rolling, a smooth and swift transition to a new social order will be effected and normality restored in civil society.

Without wishing to pour cold water over expectations, a note of caution is necessary. The process of negotiating a settlement in our country is bound to be riddled with complexities and unforeseen difficulties.

It might prove to be a long, drawn-out process, taxing to the full the skills and resourcefulness of the negotiating partners.

Centuries of racial divisions and class conflict have left behind a legacy of mutual suspicion and distrust. South Africa is a society marked by profound

Ahmed Kathrada, one of the ANC's negotiating team and a member of the SA Communist Party, says the movement remains firm on its principles



inequalities — immense wealth and privilege for a minority, but widespread poverty and misery for the majority.

Any process of change that radically alters the status quo is bound to generate insecurity among the wealthy and powerful, and popular expectations and hope among the oppressed, exploited majority, thereby creating tensions and pressures at the negotiating table itself.

Therefore, each side at the negotiating table, while recognising the need for making compromises, will strive to adhere to its own objectives.

How does one approach the actual process of negotiations?

Rhetoric

On the one hand, forces to the right of the liberation movement and its allies (groups within government structures) see negotiations as a golden opportunity to feather their own nests and safeguard their material interests.

They are over-eager to proclaim the value of their strategy of participation, maintaining that President F W de Klerk has come so far because of the persuasive effect of their work.

On the other hand, forces supposedly to the left of the liberation alliance rule out the possibility of negotiation at this stage. They continue to blurt out the rhetoric of no compromise. They remain blind to the changing bal-

ance of forces internationally and nationally.

We in the African National Congress and the multi-formations of the Mass Democratic Movement are not opposed to negotiations in principle.

We see negotiations as a part of the struggle in which we must fully involve ourselves. This does not mean that the strategies and tactics we have employed up to now are abandoned or rejected.

It should also be emphasised that a willingness to be a part of the negotiating process does not mean that the liberation movement and its allies are "selling out", as is insidiously suggested by some of our adversaries to the left.

We remain firm and tenacious to our political principles, developed and refined over decades of struggle.

This is the case even as we display creative flexibility and ingenuity over tactical questions — such as negotiations — that emerge in the course of the struggle.

From our perspective, the strategic objective of a negotiated settlement is the transformation of the social order, not its reform.

The aim is to dismantle apartheid, not restructure it to make it more palatable to our oppressed and exploited people. The goal, in short, is to negotiate a transfer of power to the democratic majority.

What one does to allay white fears in the process of the democratisation of the political and social order, as

suggested by Mr Nelson Mandela, is another, separate, issue. It is a specific, practical question that does not detract from the fundamental question of transferring power to the forces of democracy.

Our approach to negotiations is cogently spelt out in the Harare Declaration adopted by the ANC on August 21 1989.

Today, this document enjoys the support of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

Signing

With its adoption by the Conference for a Democratic Future in December last year, it has earned a stamp of authority that very few political documents enjoy, both nationally and internationally.

The Harare Declaration has outlined six steps to a negotiated settlement in South Africa. These are:

- Creating the climate for negotiations;

- Negotiating a suspension of hostilities between the ANC and the Government;

- Negotiating the basic principles of a new constitutional arrangement;

- Negotiating the details about the establishment of a constitutional assembly;

- Adopting the draft of a new constitution and formally signing a termination of hostilities agreement;

- Hosting a democratic general election in terms of

the new constitution.

What this suggests is that the process of negotiations might well be a protracted one, covering an increasing range of questions as it develops.

To date, we have not gone beyond step one, although important initiatives have been taken in that direction. Mr De Klerk has conceded to a few of the preconditions which would create a climate for negotiations.

It can be predicted that, while exploratory talks might well begin with the Government, the immediate focus of activity of the ANC and its allies will be to restructure their political organisation internally.

Our most pressing tasks are to consolidate the unity of the oppressed, to resolve the internecine strife in Natal and to develop a co-ordinated response to Mr De Klerk's reasonably bold initiatives.

An important step in this direction has been taken already. Mr Walter Sisulu, together with several other senior officials of the ANC released recently, has been entrusted with the responsibility of providing form and content to a legally constituted ANC operating throughout South Africa.

These developments signal that we are poised at a moment in our country's history when the prospect for a peaceful, meaningful resolution of the conflict has never been better.

The process of negotiation will most certainly throw up problems of its own, generate new contradictions, both within our own forces and with the State, and lead to new difficulties.

But let history never judge that when the liberation alliance had the opportunity of giving peace and democracy a chance it failed to do so.

● An edited extract from *Indicator SA*, published by the University of Natal.

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

bsl c/Pren 20/5/90 (3047) (3)

Apartheid policies 'gradually dying'

THE government's policy of own and general affairs is dying as gradually as the homeland and separate development policy has been dying since 1986, says *Beeld* in an editorial.

"In that year the lifeline of separate development was cut. This week — four years later — Dr Stoffel van der Merwe formally issued its death certificate in Parliament.

"What happened four years ago with separate development is now happening to own affairs. Strenuous efforts were made to make it succeed in the two areas of education and health.

"Regarding the latter, defeat was admitted for all practical purposes this week with the announcement that all own affairs and general affairs hospitals would be opened."

In education, the government this week took a tentative but meaningful step by declaring itself willing to negotiate one education department for the whole country, the newspaper says.

There can be no doubt that changes are in the offing in areas such as welfare, housing, and agriculture.

Vrye Weekblad says in an editorial that progress is made when in one week, ministers say that the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act must be abolished, and a start is made with mixed state hospitals and schools.

Big talks hurdle

304A

ST Times 20/5/90

Cleared

THE first "obstacle" in the way of full-blown constitutional negotiations between the Government and the ANC has been cleared.

A joint working group — appointed after the recent Groote Schuur talks — will present its report to both parties tomorrow on the release of political prisoners.

And it will be "all systems go", according to a highly placed source.

The working group — jointly led by the Government's constitutional adviser, Mr SS van der Merwe, and the Commissioner of Prisons, General H W Willemse, the ANC's security chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, and executive committee member Mr Aziz Pahad — is said to have made "remarkable progress".

The next step would be for the Government to implement the group's proposals by examining each individual case of ANC members in jail to determine who should be granted a release or amnesty in terms of the criteria laid down.

Agreed

"This process may take some time. For practical reasons, it can't be done overnight," said the source. "But at least the hardest part is finished. We agreed on the principles."

The question of releasing prisoners was considered to be the most difficult "obstacle" to negotiations as put forward by the ANC in its Harare Declaration. The remaining issues are expected to be resolved with even greater ease.

These are:

- Amnesty for ANC per-

By DRIES van HEERDEN

sonnel in exile — estimated at 22 000 — to return to SA to participate in normal political activities.

The first step was taken yesterday when the whole National Executive of the ANC was granted indemnity from prosecution to enable them to return to SA for future negotiations.

A list of 38 senior ANC members granted indemnity in terms of the recently passed Indemnity Bill was published in an Extraordinary Government Gazette.

Included in the list is ANC president Oliver Tambo, presently recuperating in London after a stroke;

- The lifting of the state of emergency;

- A review of security legislation. The Government has undertaken to instigate a comprehensive review of laws, such as the Internal Security Act and the Intimidation Act. At the same time, the ANC is reconsidering its stance on the armed struggle.

It is expected that the ANC will agree to a temporary "suspension" of hostilities in response to Government moves on the emergency and security laws.

A formal resumption of the Groote Schuur talks is not expected within the next few weeks. There was no urgent need for this, sources on both sides said this week.

The general expectation is that the working group will be asked to continue meeting and to address practical problems which may arise.

The ANC will be involved in two important meetings with white South African interest groups this week.

Discussions

On Wednesday, more than 500 of SA's top businessmen will meet ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela and the movement's top diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in Johannesburg. Mr Mandela is expected back in SA on Tuesday from his whistle-stop tour of African countries.

Later in the week an unofficial group of South African military experts will hold discussions with senior members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

Among the former officers attending the Idasa-sponsored talks are the former Chief of the Air Force and DP MP for Walmer, General Bob Rogers, and former Chief of Staff (Operations), General Wally Black.

● See World Watch: Page 11

OPINION 2

Simon Barber

WHETHER or not President F W de Klerk decides to come to Washington between June 17 and 19, or postpones his visit, one thing is clear: The Bush administration quite genuinely wants to show him a good time.

Furthermore, whatever Randall Robinson may say, the ANC has no objection to it.

There is no evidence that the Americans ever tried to force Mr De Klerk into dates close to those of the Nelson Mandela trans-continental juggernaut.

To the contrary, when Secretary of State James Baker first discussed the timing with Mr De Klerk last month in Cape Town, everybody thought Mr Mandela would be in the US in May.

It was only the subsequent change of plans by the ANC that brought the two visits into controversial propinquity, and even then the administration tried to be helpful: Look, it said, if you don't like the dates now that it appears Mr Mandela will be coming through between the 20th and 30th, feel free to come later.

Perhaps this was garbled in transmission. Equally possible, there were some in Cape Town who smelt a trick in the light of the fiasco over Mr De Klerk's proposed visit last year and said to themselves:

Those damned Americans are either trying to renege on the invitation or are trying to trap us into a timetable that will prevent us from getting the full benefit and save them from political hassles.

At all events, Mr De Klerk was evidently persuaded to stick with the original plan. His discussion of the matter with Mr Mandela at the Groote Schuur talks no doubt strengthened his resolve.

DATELINE WASHINGTON



**Bush
wants
only to
help**

STimes
20/5/90
304A

Also, he may have wanted to avoid the appearance of cringing before the ANC.

The wisdom of this can be questioned. Congress — which is, after all, the ultimate arbiter of US policy toward SA — was hardly going to be in a position to be nice to Mr De Klerk with Mr Mandela due to appear before a joint session within a week of the State President's visit. Domestic politics would not permit it.

Such predictions were fulfilled last week when Mr Robinson, as co-chairman of the Nelson Mandela Visit National Co-ordinating Committee, let it be known through the Washington Post and the

ANC's US representative, Lindiwe Mabuza, that there would be hell to pay if Mr De Klerk so much as set foot in town.

The State Department promptly got on to the ANC in Lusaka and South Africa to find out whether this was the real position. It wasn't, came the reply. Miss Mabuza would be told to cool it. However, this would have to be done privately and no public statement could be expected.

The private thinking of the ANC was no match for the threatening utterances of Mr Robinson, the Rev Jesse Jackson et al. This being an election year, even sensible Congressmen took fear.

They told the White House that they would have to be rude to Mr De Klerk if he came before Mr Mandela.

There was, however, a rider: They would not only be polite, they would even give him something worthwhile — if he came afterwards.

This convinced the US administration — over some grumbling from the White House which was not disposed to kow-tow to Mr Robinson — to signal Pretoria once more that it would be entirely acceptable for Mr De Klerk to postpone his visit.

Only give the word and new dates would be suggested. In doing this, the administration's chief worry was that South Africans would conclude they were being pressured to change their plans.

This was not the intention. There was no hidden agenda, just a desire for Mr De Klerk to have the best and most productive visit possible.

That desire, I am convinced, is perfectly genuine. George Bush wants to help.

What price Mensania?

S1 Times 20/5/90

Historian F A van Jaarsveld says it's time to give the new South Africa a new name (304A)

IT is becoming obvious that any "new" South Africa will also need new symbols, such as a flag, national anthem and name. The term "South Africa", which inspired nationalistic Afrikaners to write patriotic songs and poems, denotes nothing more than a region in Africa.

This vaguely circumscribed area needs a name to elevate it to a proper place in the international community of nations.

Actually, South Africa, as a collective for the states and colonies of the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal) was first proposed in 1877 by Lord Carnarvon. In his South Africa Act, he proposed that it be called the Union of South Africa.

His attempts at forcing a federal solution on the country collapsed, as did later efforts in 1889 which tried to unite the two Boer republics into the "United States of South Africa".

However, when the four British colonies decided to unite in 1910, a name for the new country had to be found. In his meticulous diary of the National Convention, F S Malan wrote on October 16 1909 that it had been decided to call it "Zuid-Afrika".

The name implied a future agenda — the possibility of the other British

colonies in the region later joining the new union. In 1961 the name was officially changed to the Republic of South Africa.

With decolonisation, the names given by the British to their colonies were changed. Northern Rhodesia became Zambia, Southern Rhodesia became Zimbabwe and Nyasaland became Malawi.

Opportune

In South Africa the debate about a new name has been going on for a number of years. In the mid-Seventies a number of proposals came to the fore — among them Van Riebeeckland, Orangia, Protealand, Acasia, Springbokkia, Ossewanië and Aparthanië.

But perhaps — with South Africa on the brink of the "Third Republic" — the time is now opportune to again consider a new name.

In 1959 Peter Raboroko of the Pan Africanist Congress proposed the name Azania. While the PAC has never officially accepted the name, it has found wide favour

among a cross-section of black groups, including the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). The ANC still uses "South Africa" and has not yet made its own proposals on a new name.

Another name often mentioned is "Malundi" — a combination of the Sotho and Zulu words for the Drakensberg (Maluti and Ulundi).

The name Azania was first used before the birth of Christ by both the Greeks and the Arabs. In classical times it was used to denote the Red Sea area. Later it was used to describe the coastline of Somalia and Tanzania, from Kisimayu to Kilwa. It is therefore an apt description for eastern, but not southern, Africa.

Research has also shown that there is a negative connotation to the word Azania. It comes from the Arabic word "zeng", which denotes a country of infidels, slaves and servants. To call our country Azania would therefore be wrong and not acceptable to all its inhabitants.

As a historian, I would like to propose the name Mensania (Mensanië in Afrikaans).

Most countries have in some way included the name of an important historical figure or a striking geographical feature in their names.

In our country we have such a feature, universally recognised as a national symbol — Table Mountain.

Recognised

In 1752 the French astronomer Nicola Louis de Lacaille spent some time in the Cape studying the southern skies. He named one of the southern constellations Mons Mensae. Today it is one of the 88 internationally recognised constellations. It has subsequently been shortened to Mensa, but always with the notation "Table Mountain" next to it.

It is neutral because it was the Latin name given by an astronomer to a southern constellation in the galaxy of Magellan.

Can there be a more symbolic name for our country than Mensania? The country on the plateau behind the striking feature of Table Mountain. I think it is a name which could find wide acceptance among both white and black in our country.

EUROPE AND SA FACING THE SAME DILEMMA

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

THIS should sound familiar: How can people of different nationalities, who speak different languages, have different cultures and customs and have attained different levels of economic development be accommodated with reasonable contentment in one political system?

It is, of course, and always has been, South Africa's problem. Well, now it's Europe's, too.

As the 12 leading nations of Europe (with Switzerland the notable exception) move through the vehicle of their Economic Community to a multi-faceted unity in 1992, their political conundrum comes into sharper focus.

And, indeed, it's in very sharp focus right now. It's a phenomenon that has done much to pave the way for the heart-warming reception President FW de Klerk has had here.

President De Klerk began the process by placing SA politics on a moral footing acceptable to the ancient civilisations of Europe. He unbanned his political opponents, permitted his countrymen the right to demonstrate their views, admitted the immorality of apartheid and set about its dismantling.

It's a curiosity that South African politicians could not see before — how elementary and decisive the moral considerations are to civilised nations.

Now that the situation has been corrected, or is seen to be "irreversibly" in the process of being corrected, there is a sense in Europe that both European and SA leaders are talking on equal terms about a common problem.

During his vital stop-over this week in Brussels, the city that is the pulse of the European Community, President De Klerk said between meetings with the Prime Minister of Belgium, Mr Wilfried Martens, and the President of the European Commission, Mr Jacques Delors, that he was encountering "constructive involvement and friendship".

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was more explicit. He predicted that European political unity would take place only in a charter that guaranteed minority and sectional safeguards.

The fact that Belgium only last year adopted a new constitution that granted those safeguards to its Flemish and Walloon minorities could not have been far from anyone's minds.

31 Times
2015/90 Changing

There was more. Diplomats said it was conveyed to President De Klerk and Mr Botha that SA should now become the hub of southern Africa's economic community, the Southern Africa Development and Co-ordinating Conference that was created to lessen dependence on SA by its neighbours in the region.

It's early days in South Africa's re-emergence into international respectability and there are bound to be many slips before the process has gone its course.

Mr Botha said on leaving Brussels: "While governments and experts understand the depth and the scope of the changes in SA, it may take European politicians a little while to make sure they are not running against the current of their own public opinion."

As this process goes on, however, it is likely to become clear that SA's foreign relations are becoming increasingly Euro-centric, easing up on the dependence on Britain that characterised relations until now.

As SA adapts to new European relations, it will at the same time have to adapt to a changing Europe — already by far SA's biggest market place.

While all this is going on, President De Klerk is showing he is the best man the country has for the job of directing its re-integration to the community of nations.



BELGIUM'S MARTENS

Moment of truth for the Right?

3044
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20/5/90.

NEXT Sunday Dr Andries Treurnicht will wake up feeling very satisfied indeed. Lying in bed he will savour the moments that took him to the pinnacle of a political career that was carefully planned ever since he started out as a young Dutch Reformed minister in Wellington 40 years ago.

The roar of the masses at the previous day's gathering at the Voortrekker Monument will still ring in his ears. "Kaape! Kaape!" they shouted. Defiant voices. Men, women and children, determined that no black hand will ever draw a cross that may decide the political future of their white children in South Africa.

Wasn't it at the self-same venue — hallowed ground for Afrikaners — that another dominee-turned-newspaper editor-turned-politician uttered the magic mantra that catapulted his National Party to power in 1948?

"It will be easier to turn back the mighty ocean with a broom," Dr D F Malan said, "than to stop the tide of nationalism that is sweeping South Africa."



NOMINEE-TURNED-POLITICIAN ... Dr D F Malan and family



WHERE DOES HE STAND? ... CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht



NEANDERTHAL VISIONS ... AWB leader Euren

Lying on Dr T's bedside table may be copies of the petitions circulated by countrywide. Signed by more than a million people. Demanding that the government call a national election. The *volk* has spoken. The leaders must listen to its voice.

That, will be Sunday. But on Monday the euphoria will have subsided. Dr Treurnicht and his followers will be back in the real world. The newspapers will be full of pictures of President F W de Klerk's triumphant return from Europe. And South Africa will look exactly the same, facing exactly the same realities as it did before the right wing's show of strength at Monument-koppie.

May 26 is sure to be a mammoth success from a Conservative Party vantage point. But, as the National Party and the ANC recently experienced, the Right's moment of truth has also arrived. And it should catch up with them round about May 28.

It is one thing to mobilise support. To travel across the country and stir up emotions. To warn about the tiger that has been awakened in Afrikaner souls. To issue veiled threats of violence. And Dr T is a past master at this game. Using inflammatory

Sunday Times writer Dries van Heerden argues that it is one thing to stir up emotions, but another to convert them into a viable political alternative

language but carefully avoiding crossing that thin dividing line where you can really pin him down.

It is another thing to convert the support, the emotions, the *bruisende geesdrif* into a viable political programme that can be presented as an alternative to government policies.

Dumped

And that, in a nutshell, has been the failure of Dr Treurnicht's eight years at the helm of the conservative movement in South Africa. He has been singularly unsuccessful in providing the country with an alternative vision.

We all know what he is against: Mr De Klerk, open schools, the FNP, mixed suburbs, the ANC... and not necessarily in that order.

But when he starts talking policy, he is trying to sell that which even his most fervent follower

knows is impossible to attain — a return to the status quo ante P W Botha.

"Vote CP and we will return you to the days before the coloureds came to Parliament, when mixed marriages were still verboten, blacks stayed happily in their homelands and 'A' 'N' and 'C' were letters you never mentioned aloud in polite conversation."

Unfortunately for them, time did not stand still, even for the Right. What were once deemed practical solutions or alternative scenarios have been dumped on the scrapheap of unworkability.

South African politics has already entered a crush. There is no turning back. And if any party wants to make any contribution or gain anything for its supporters it has got to get involved in this process. Staying out will be courting the fate of the dinosaurs. The acid test for Dr Treurnicht is whether he



can make a successful transition from mobilisation to advancing a viable alternative strategy. And he has to do that within the parameters of the "new politics" — that is negotiation.

Bombast

In this, Dr Treurnicht finds himself in the same boat as the PAC and Azapo. On both the left and the right of the political spectrum there is this belief — almost a wish — that the talks between the Government and the ANC will derail. And then, according to the theory, disillusioned supporters will turn to the real representatives of the people for answers.

But there is a flip-side to this argument. What if the talks work? What if, in spite of tremendous difficulties and numerous near-breakdowns, the leaders round the table do manage to cobble together a new dispensation for South Africa? Where will that leave the

CP leadership? Their supporters may have good reason to complain that they were left in the lurch because nobody presented their case round the negotiating table. They may desert Dr Treurnicht, either returning to the National Party or drifting off towards the Neanderthal visions of Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche and his Khakis.

If the right wing wants to play a meaningful role in the politics of the coming months it should plan beyond next Saturday. And it should not be beguiled by the expected large crowd, the enthusiasm, the bombast and the political hot air.

Thus far only Professor Carel Boshoff — he of the Reasonable Right — has managed to come up with a tangible conservative agenda. There may be practical problems attached to his visions of a desert *hermot* for Afrikaners, but at least it's on the table for discussion and dissection.

There are hopeful indications that elements within the CP are beginning to understand the importance of the present political juncture. And there is growing pressure on the leadership that the voices of conservative South Africans should also be heard when the real constitutional debate starts.

The options facing South Africans are clear cut. You

either talk or you don't align your movements to the violent Dr And well-know — should next Sat country

Maggie accepts F W invitation to visit South Africa

THEFT REOON SHIP

SITimes 20/5/90



WARM: President and Prime Minister yesterday

By LESTER VENTER
London

MRS MARGARET THATCHER has accepted an invitation from President F W de Klerk to visit South Africa.

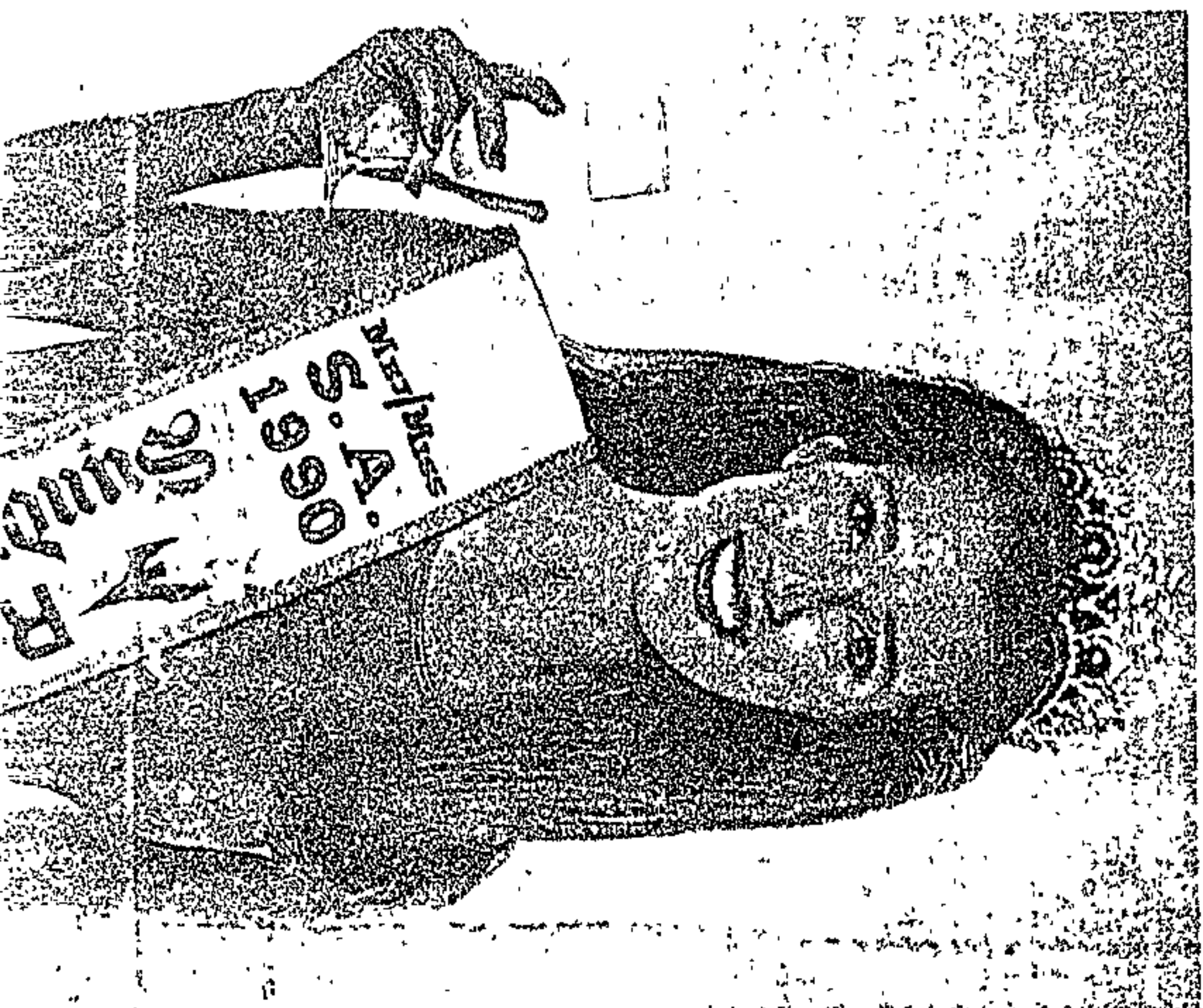
Speaking after their unusually long four-hour discussion at Mrs Thatcher's official country home, Chequers, Mr De Klerk said yesterday the British Prime Minister was "a very special friend of South Africa."

The visit and its timing has not been discussed in detail, but it "will be arranged". Sources close to Mrs Thatcher, however, expressed doubts whether it would take place this year.

"I value our personal association," Mr De Klerk said. "There is a good understanding between us. I like her as a person and admire her as a leader."

Yesterday's meeting was the symbolic high-point of Mr De Klerk's epic, nine-month diplomatic quest through Europe.

The symbolism lay in the length of the meeting as well as its venue — Mrs Thatcher's official country retreat, Chequers. British Prime Ministers traditionally use invitations



Smashing Suzette is the new Miss SA!

HERE she is — Miss South Africa 1990, Suzette van der Merwe, Suzette, 21, of Verwoerdburg, last night won a galaxy of prizes valued at well over R250 000.

She was crowned the first Miss South Africa of the Nineties in a live Report by TV show at the Stan-

INSIDE YOUR SPARKLING SUNDAY TIMES



SA 'spy' meeks her ANC captor

BRAVE JELLY'S

Woman in fear after exposing bully boys

By DE WET POTGIETER
A WELKOM mother is living in fear of her life after providing police with a photograph of young white thugs savagely assaulting a young black man.

The attractive brunette, who asked not to be identified, has gone into hiding after the incident seven weeks ago in which four white youths brutally attacked the man with knobkerries and a mallet.

She has moved out of her home into a secret hideout and has changed her telephone number.

Scores of Welkom residents watched the brutal beating which took place in broad daylight in St-Helena — but only the woman came forward to make a statement to the police.

"It was the most horrific scene I have ever encountered. Small children stood by while the adults shouted their support. There were cries of 'Skip die kaffer, onse skip die kaffer' (kick the kaffer, uncle, kick the kaffer). While beating the cowering man the frenzied youths shouted racial

ciation," Mr De Klerk said. "There is a good understanding between us. I like her as a person and admire her as a leader."

Yesterday's meeting was the symbolic high-point of Mr De Klerk's epic, nine-nation diplomatic quest through Europe.

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British Prime Ministers traditionally use invitations to Chequers to indicate a warm relationship with foreign guests.

Mrs Thatcher is expected to visit SA before President Mario Soares of Portugal, who also accepted an invitation from Mr De Klerk earlier this week.

Famous

Diplomats favour Mrs Thatcher's leading the way in the protocol of the West's, re-acceptance of SA because of the symbolic value her visit would have.

It was Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, who was the last major government leader to set foot in SA 30 years ago.

On that occasion he made his famous "winds of change" speech, in which he predicted SA would fall behind in the spirit of international, and particularly African, political development.

Mr De Klerk said Mrs Thatcher and other Western leaders had played a role in developments in SA and could continue doing so by recognising reform efforts and supporting them.

He said Britain had a "direct interest" through its extensive investments in SA.

Mr De Klerk told a packed Press conference in London he was not troubled by threats from Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark and ANC leader Nelson Mandela to follow him through Europe and call for the maintenance of sanctions against SA.

Laughed

"Sanctions are becoming irrelevant by what is happening in South Africa," he said. "It is an inescapable conclusion that the time has come to scrap them."

President De Klerk said his talks with Mrs Thatcher had ranged over general questions of relations between the two countries and developments in Europe, and that no specific agreements or undertakings had been made.

The convivial mood at Chequers was readily apparent when the leaders broke for lunch and were joined in the rose garden by Mrs Marike de Klerk and Mr Denis Thatcher.

The couples engaged in animated chatter punctuated by much laughter.

"Are you getting good pictures?" Mrs Thatcher asked photographers — at one point telling her husband where to stand.

"The beer's very good in this part of the country," shouted Mr Thatcher (who enjoys a spot himself). "Have a good lunch."

The obvious friendship between Mr De Klerk and

□ To Page 2

Thatcher to visit SA

□ From Page 1

Mrs Thatcher stems from her close personal interest in the emerging new South Africa.

The bond of respect started when she became the first European leader to receive him soon after he won leadership of the NP last year.

Afterwards, a British official said Mrs Thatcher had been reassured that Mr De Klerk would push through even more reforms.

"There will be further, substantial progress on all fronts soon," said the Thatcher aide.

Earlier, the British leader congratulated Mr De Klerk for taking "substantial" steps.

Mrs Thatcher is especially pleased that her open support, which added to her unpopularity with some European colleagues at first, has been vindicated by the South African leader's courageous reforms.

Mr De Klerk and Mrs Thatcher yesterday first met alone, but they were later

joined by their Foreign Ministers, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Douglas Hurd.

Meanwhile, discreetly intense diplomacy was under way in London this weekend to arrange a meeting between President De Klerk and Britain's Labour leader, Mr Neil Kinnock.

Diplomats said "signals" had been sent out, but they had been formulated in such a way that a refusal by Mr Kinnock could not be interpreted as a snub.

Mr Kinnock, a vehement critic of the Pretoria Government, is said to be nervous about meeting the South African leader because it might cause an upheaval in his party.

Boost

During his visit to Britain Mr De Klerk also met top business leaders. He leaves London today for talks tomorrow in Bonn with Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Mrs Thatcher will have her first meeting with the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, on July 6.

● Sources in Paris said yesterday the biggest single boost yet to the ending of sanctions was being planned in the French senate.

The 66 senators in the country's socialist government are planning to table a motion endorsing Mr De Klerk's reforms.

The motion is expected to be passed before the crucial June 18 meeting of European Community Foreign Ministers to decide on the EC's attitude on sanctions.

The French motion will have no direct effect on what the 12 Foreign Ministers decide — but its psychological impact will be enormous. Until now France has been the EC's foremost anti-SA lobbyist.

The motion, when it comes before the Senate, is likely to be supported by all parties — except the communists.

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FW'S CAPITAL COUPS!

IT was Tuesday and it was Belgium. The title of the popular 1969 comedy film *If It's Tuesday, This Must Be Belgium* was peculiarly apt for the South African delegation accompanying President F W de Klerk.

The film parodies middle-class tourists sweeping through Europe in such dizzily-packaged tours that they can tell where they are only by referring to their itinerary.

However, while President De Klerk's historic diplomatic advances are hardly as superficial as a package tour, the effect on the official travellers is similar. Their tour is passing in a blur of capitals, parliaments, palaces, hotel lobbies, aircraft cabin aisles and high-speed motorcades.

All of these are the venues for meetings, briefings, interviews, document reviews and report writing.

Some of the esoteric skills the travellers are having to develop include dealing in up to three currencies at a time, getting room service in Greek — or Portuguese or French or a mixture — operating a portable com-

The President is proving how much he deserves ^{304A} his reputation ^{304A} for cool aplomb

Lester Venter



who is accompanying F W De Klerk in Europe, reports on the punishing pace of the President's Grand Tour



MAKING A POINT ... Denis Thatcher chats to Marike and President De Klerk yesterday in the rose garden at Chequers, the British Prime Minister's official country home. Mr De Klerk spent four hours in talks with Mrs Thatcher

(30417)

puter keyboard in the back seat of a limousine, scouring the itinerary for the next stop long enough to get express laundry service and getting — please — just 10 minutes' sleep in an unlikely place.

The hotels are comfortable, of course. The palaces of ancient Europe are sumptuous. The dining is exquisite. But the delegation's most prized luxury is sleep.

To be fair, Foreign Minister Pik Botha warned in a pre-tour briefing that this one wasn't going to be for wimps. He should have been a little more explicit.

Sophisticated

The diplomatic schedule is punishing. Audiences with Europe's nobility and monarchs and meetings with its political and industrial power movers are piled on top of each other.

Then each leader does the decent thing and puts on an official lunch and a banquet.

The official programme seldom ends before midnight. Then it's time to relax — relatively speaking — and to exchange impressions, garner information and catch up on the flow of documents.

All through this the 19 journalists covering the tour are having to keep up a flow of reports to their newspapers and broadcast stations. They communicate through portable computers programmed into the international telephone system and via satellite feeds for television.

"Did you get a link?" and "What are the lines like?" are the most frequently and most urgently-asked questions.

Last weekend was put aside for rest and recreation in Greece. Once more, however, there was a tight programme of how the recreation would be taken.

The tour's medical officer, Dr Hannes Coetzee, urged the cancellation of Saturday's schedule. "I know how much the body can take, and this is too much," he said.

After a late meeting in Mr

Botha's Athens hotel suite, the SA Ambassador to Greece, Dr Sampie Golden, was asked — at 4am — to cancel the day's programme.

Amid all this the President is proving how much he deserves his reputation for cool aplomb.

And when protocol calls for it Mrs De Klerk is discreetly at his side.

Yet her presence is not merely adjunctive. She has given a number of warmly-received talks to women's and other organisations.

A rare indulgence for her was a Paris shopping trip.

The President himself was in his hotel room, being briefed by his Foreign Minister and his Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, on every relevant intricacy of French politics and Franco-SA relations.

At lunchtime a diplomat let slip that the President was showing signs of strain.

When he stepped out of his Renault limousine on to the white gravel of the Elysée Palace, however, the cool demeanour was back.

President De Klerk is showing himself to be a man who is comfortable in the sophisticated environment of Europe's halls of influence.

Unsubtle

His diplomatic veneer, though, is tempered by disarming human touches.

When he alighted at the Elysée he was momentarily nonplussed to be confronted with a full guard of honour.

He paused, looked about, and held out his document folder to be taken from him so he could effect a more stately bearing.

For the rest of us, respite was to be found only in long taxi rides — but there to be confronted by the worst of all travellers' curses: a driver who speaks a little English, and insists on doing so.

20/5/90
57

Praise for FW from British newspapers

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk received a good press here yesterday and the Sunday Times said he was "the first Nationalist leader who does not create embarrassment abroad".

But, warned the paper, his big test would come next month when the EC considered its stand on sanctions at its Dublin summit.

The Sunday Correspondent quoted Mr De Klerk with approval under the headline: "De Klerk admits apartheid racist".

Reporting on Mr De Klerk's press conference on Saturday night, it said: "He astonished journalists by declaring: 'We are all born equally before God Almighty. Racism is bad because racism is a form of discrimination in itself. We are against that. Racism, and also apartheid, is the allocation of duties, rights and privileges on the basis of membership of a specific race. That is what we have undertaken to eliminate in South Africa'."

Resignation

The Sunday Express said Mr De Klerk had "delivered a historic pledge to Mrs Thatcher that he aims to end apartheid within two years". It said he told her he would drive through reforms for one man, one vote and that he considered the reform programme "irreversible".

He would demand acceptance by his fellow whites of one man, one vote, with legitimate protections for whites — and was "said" to be prepared to resign if his proposals, following negotiations with the ANC, were blocked by his fellow white leaders.

Left-wing commentator Martin Kettle of the Guardian said on Friday that Mr De Klerk had "unjammed the agenda" in South Africa. He was seeking international support "in an increasingly desperate attempt to face down growing white opposition at home".

"It is hard, in the circumstances, to see what is so objectionable about that. Those who believe that racial civil war is inevitable in South Africa can legitimately argue that De Klerk's overtures should be rejected.

"Those who believe that a negotiated end to apartheid and minority rule is achievable have, at some point, to negotiate. This, increasingly, looks like the point."

He added that it was "no longer good enough

for policy towards South Africa to consist simply of sanctions and isolation. The aim now, surely, must be to do everything which makes a unitary, multiracial South Africa a viable proposition".

In a feature article in the Daily Mail on Saturday, South African correspondent Peter Youngusband wrote: "Already the white conservative backlash against De Klerk's reforms is such that if an election was held now, his ruling National Party would be unlikely to win it."

His European tour was, therefore, crucial to his political standing and the continuance of reform.

"If he returns to South Africa without recognition of what he has achieved and without at least a partial lifting of sanctions, his situation will deteriorate."

This would prevent him pushing ahead with reform.

"He has to go back to South Africa and show that the world is recognising his integrity and determination. They have to give him something to assist in the complex battle to achieve a historic change.

"Failure to give him that recognition by removing sanctions may well have the effect of sabotaging the one hope that South Africa has for peaceful and democratic change."

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307

Staff Reporter

THE Hout Bay squatter community yesterday welcomed back their campaigner, Mr Dickie Meter, who was released after 59 days' detention, and vowed to continue the fight for rights for squatter communities in the area.

The reception was held at the Civic Centre in Hout Bay and was attended by about 300 people.

Mr Meter said that when he was released he heard that his family had received death threats during his detention.

He said: "I am no hero, but I have simply fulfilled my duty to fight until we are free to live under the guidelines of the Freedom Charter."

Mrs Vanessa Matthews, the leader of the Disa River community, said there was "an Afrikaner boer called Terre'Blanche who was building up an army", but the South African government was not detaining him.

"Don't you think that is strange?" she asked.

She also spoke of an alliance formed with the people of Victoria Park in Calgary, Canada, after her recent trip.

Squatters welcome Meter back and vow to fight on



WELCOME BACK . . Mr Joe Marks (left) was one of 300 people who welcomed back Mr Dickie Meter (right) from detention.

She said her sick baby daughter had almost died from a lack of fresh water.

"I had to steal water for my

baby and on two occasions Hout Bay residents fired shots at my children," she claimed.

Indemnity prelude to 'real talks'

By TOS WENTZEL,
Political Staff

REAL negotiations on constitutional reform will come a step closer today when a working committee of government members and the African National Congress presents its report.

One of the big obstacles to the start of negotiations, the definition of political offences, will be dealt with in the report.

The group was appointed after the Groote Schuur talks this month.

Meanwhile, the government has given a three-month indemnity to 38 ANC members in exile.

Acting-President Dr Gerrit Viljoen took the step in terms of the Indemnity Act, recently passed by parliament.

The group includes the full national executive committee of the ANC and four other members who were needed for the working committee.

Both sides were tight-lipped today as the work of the committee was supposed to be confidential.

Apart from the definition of political offences, the committee discussed time scales.

JUDICIAL HELP

It also had to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and granting immunity for political offences to those inside and outside South Africa.

It was decided that the working group would bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere. In Namibia an outside jurist was called in to help to assess the position of political prisoners.

The two sides will now have to evaluate the recommendations and the working committee may be asked to continue if finality is not reached.

The work of the committee may well become a continuing process. With President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela overseas, there is no prospect of the main talks being resumed in the near future.

The South African side in the working group has been led by Mr Fanie van der Merwe, constitutional adviser in the Department of Constitutional Development, and the ANC side by Mr Jacob Zuma, head of ANC intelligence.

Other members of the group are the Commissioner of Prisons, General H H Willemse, the head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, and a member of the ANC national executive committee, Mr Aziz Pahad.

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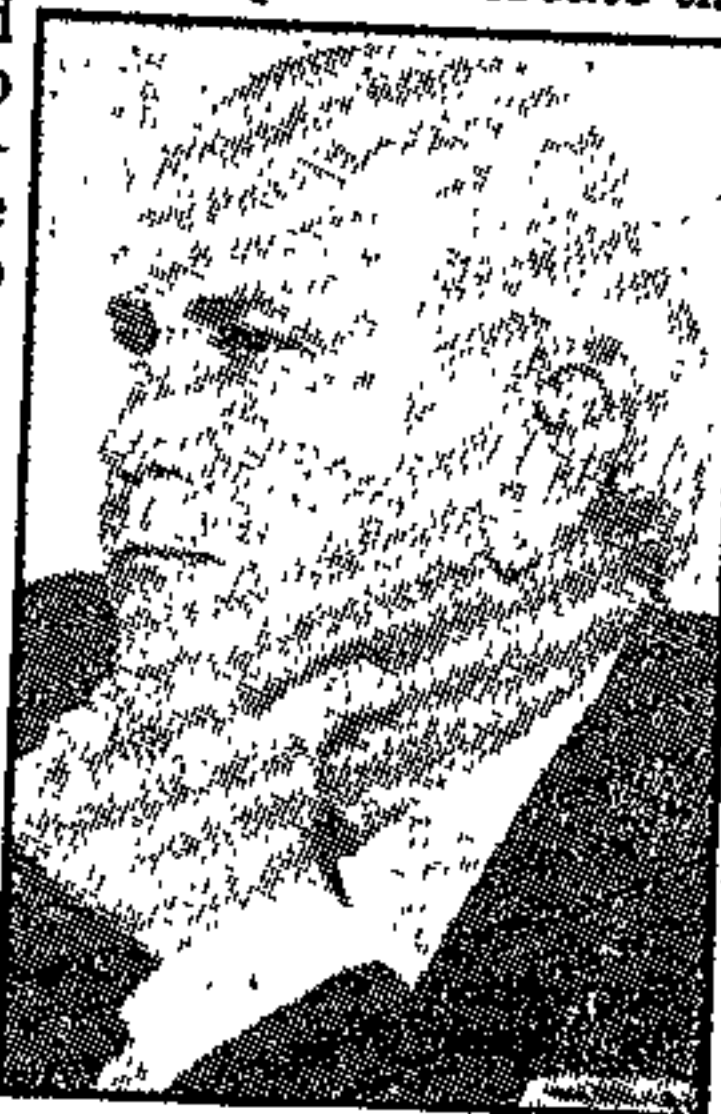
Thatcher eases way to new loans

Europeans set to step up SA interests

BONN — Leading European industrialists with interests in SA are ready to start expanding their operations in the country, senior officials accompanying President F W de Klerk on his tour of Europe believe.

They are also confident about securing new loans after British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said at the weekend: "The task now is to help SA to create the wealth, and have access to the international finance necessary, to create a successful post-apartheid society."

The presidential party arrived here last night after a highly successful visit to Britain where, in addition, to being warmly received by



● DE KLERK

Thatcher, De Klerk held talks with top bankers, industrialists and businessmen.

Tonight, after meetings with Prime Minister Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, De Klerk will fly to Frankfurt to address a dinner attended by 50 West German industrialists and bankers.

While in Britain De Klerk met businessmen on three occasions, with one meeting arranged by former Anglo chief Harry Oppenheimer. Top businessmen, including publishing magnate Rupert Murdoch, attended a lunch hosted by Thatcher in De

MIKE ROBERTSON

Klerk's honour at Chequers on Saturday. Before lunch De Klerk and Thatcher had a 90-minute meeting that a No 10 Downing Street spokesman described as "extremely friendly".

A senior SA official said the business meetings were as important as those with the heads of state. He said there had been a dramatic shift in attitude on the part of those businessmen with investments in SA. Whereas six months ago the tendency was to restrict any new investment, there were now strong indications that companies were prepared to expand their operations in SA.

The disinvestment threat had receded significantly.

After meetings with bankers, SA officials have also begun to reassess initial fears that Europe's emerging democracies will suck up any new loans available for developing countries.

One official said bankers felt that the former East bloc countries, while politically exciting, were "hollow shells" with no purchasing power and the "wrong mentality" when it came to business.

"We need not suffer a liability. If our political climate is right and our risk factor manageable, they won't push us out of the market," the official said.

SA officials said European industrialists appreciated SA's strategic mineral advantage.

They added that although some European governments believed they needed time to swing public opinion around before dropping sanctions, there was — and would be — an increasing erosion of restrictive measures.

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

IF THE Democratic Party still aspires to be the standard bearer of liberalism, its leaders had better start speaking out. The Nationalists and the ANC are discovering a great deal of common ground, and they are already shaping the future with scant regard for some of the basic principles of a free society.

Gerrit Viljoen's 12 points for the protection of minority rights, and Walter Sisulu's response to them, illuminate the dangers.

At the top of Viljoen's list is the demand that "an unsophisticated majority vote" must not be permitted to dump the country into a one-party state or into a (communist) dictatorship. English voters will know what he means: their fate has been determined for 40 years largely by the unsophisticated rural supporters of the National Party, easily roused to xenophobia, and insatiable in their demands on the public purse. The disabilities that may be inflicted by the majority on a minority, even a voting minority, are familiar: censorship and other attacks on cultural values, favouritism in judicial appointments, assaults on academic freedom, bureaucratic control of schools and the abuse of teachers, exclusion from government appointments and state contracts, discriminatory use of public funds, propagandistic misuse of radio, television and schools. The list is endless.

Nevertheless, there is no escape from one man, one vote, or from majority rule. The need for a universal franchise is precisely that clever, sophisticated people are less to be trusted than unsophisticated people, if only because they are more adept at serving their own interests, and more likely to indulge in sophisticated forms of evil. The only realistic defence against cleverness is to give every person a vote with which to punish the sophisticates who cheat, lie, steal and otherwise abuse their power.

Sisulu, given his proletarian beliefs, replied to Viljoen with aston-

Cry out against the tyranny of the majority

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KEN OWEN

ishing mildness: "We believe in a multi-party system," he said. But when Viljoen dared to suggest (Point 12) that minorities should be represented in (all?) state bodies, including presumably the Cabinet, Sisulu was blunt: "We believe in a democratic system in which people elected on the basis of one man, one vote administer the country in the interests of the people as a whole."

The implication is distressing. Having endured the whims and oppressions of an Afrikaner electoral majority for the past 40 years, we seem destined now to endure the whims and oppressions of a black electoral majority.

This is where the liberals come in. At least, it is where they should come in, if only they could tear themselves from the demanding task of explaining their own relevance. They know that majority rule is inescapable, but it requires also that the power of the state, which is the power to oppress, be subjected to every possible curb and restraint.

Viljoen did touch on the problem. His second point was a demand for assurance against arbitrary abolition or amendment of a bill of rights. Sisulu replied blandly, "The ANC has no intention of abolishing a bill of rights."

That's nice. It implies that the ANC and the Nationalists are already agreed that there shall be a bill of rights. But can Sisulu speak for, say, the PAC, if fortune should bring a PAC majority to power? Can he, indeed, speak for some of his Communist Party colleagues? After the benign Augustus comes the evil Caligula, and what good will assurances do when Mandela is replaced by some beastly little thug who learned his politics in the Ukraine?

Every true liberal, noting the danger, will demand at least that the bill of rights be justiciable so that it will serve as the yardstick against which an independent judiciary may measure all laws and all actions of the new government — like the American constitution, or the German "basic law" — and strike down those laws with which the majority tries to oppress the minorities.

Both Viljoen and Sisulu do accept (Point 10) an independent judiciary, but we have seen how the appointment of a Chief Justice like Mr Justice L C Steyn can distort and twist

even so great a legal system as our unique combination of Roman Dutch and British law, and how executive-minded judges can make the courts instruments of the oppressive will of the majority.

An independent judiciary, in short, is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the safety of minorities; a justiciable constitution is essential and it is a pity that neither Viljoen nor Sisulu speaks of it.

Viljoen demands a free market system (Point 4), security of title and an assurance against arbitrary expropriation without compensation (Point 8); Sisulu wants a mixed economy that will include state-owned industry, and he concedes security of title, with the proviso that the white minority cannot continue to hold 85% of the land.

Land reform is clearly a political necessity, and it may not be a bad thing, provided that compensation is not paid according to corrupt formula by which the Nationalists robbed black and coloured people of their property. Nor is there any need to be alarmed by the prospect of state-owned enterprises which are useful instruments of political patronage. They offer a way to be corrupt without looking corrupt, and, appearances do matter.

The danger, however, is that one thing will lead to another: inefficient state enterprises will pre-empt scarce capital resources, often wildly as the Post Office and Eskom have done, and they will lobby for the state to protect them against competition, or to crush competitors and control suppliers. Such is the totalitarian imperative of socialism; only a saint could resist it.

Then come the tricky ones: Viljoen wants to secure the right for people who so desire to live in their own communities, and he wants private schools to receive equal government assistance; Sisulu rejects any race-based schooling, and says tartly that in a free society everybody lives where he pleases.

The result must be deadlock, unless both men can be persuaded to accept the liberal answer: let the market determine residential patterns (as it has long determined the pattern of English and Afrikaans communities), and let those who don't like the public school system run their own schools, at their own cost. Just keep the bureaucrats out of it.

The DP represents mainly English voters who have learned to survive the tyranny of an Afrikaner electoral majority and who will no doubt learn to survive the tyranny of a black electoral majority. They have not wielded power since 1910, and they cannot hope ever to wield power in this country.

But their experience as electoral underdogs has taught them a lesson which they can offer, as their unique contribution to the new South Africa, to the grander folk of the new South Africa: the power of the majority is a monster that destroys those who oppose it, and corrupts those who possess it.

The principal problem of making a constitution is not to secure some piffling advantage, like closed suburbs or subsidised schools, nor is it to secure control of assets; it is to tame the power to do evil. That is the cause which the DP, if it seeks relevance, should take up vociferously, and soon.

LETTERS

IT is clear that negotiations between the Government and the ANC have already begun.

For the Government, the strategy of negotiations represents a decisive initiative to win the time and space to extract itself from the economic, social and political crisis that the system of apartheid-capitalism is in.

It is unclear what the ANC and the SACP, who support a negotiated settlement, expect to gain from negotiations. It is obvious that negotiations cannot deliver the transfer of real power from the minority to the oppressed masses.

We need not give credibility to the neo-apartheid regime by "negotiating" with them about the abolition of racist laws which they themselves put on the statute book. This is like saying "Thank you" and giving a medal to a thief who returns a valuable article which he has not only used, but broken as well.

The balance of forces is still starkly in the Government's favour. Although the regime faces a deep economic crisis, which makes it vulnerable to international pressure, power is still firmly entrenched in their hands.

Racial laws

In the past, this has engendered a false sense of stability. In recent times though, economic problems as well as mass struggles have strengthened the oppressed, overstretching the capacity of the state to rule in the old way.

While the Government is prepared to get rid of most of the racial laws on the statute books, they are not yet ready to hand over power to the majority.

The Government could reintegrate the bantustans into South Africa and may even formally introduce some form of universal franchise. But it will insist on some form of minority rights or veto for the whites. This is necessary to ensure that economic wealth and material privileges are maintained for whites.

Besides the question of majority rule, all the major social contradictions in our country, our people's screaming need for work, food, housing, education, health facilities, social security and a totally different quality of life, will not be met through a negotiated settlement.

Negotiations hold before our people the hope for peace, land, and bread. But this hope will be an illusion.

WOSA absolutely rejects any settlement which offers "universal franchise" (as proposed by De Klerk) which still

Negotiated settlement won't free workers

Sowetan 21/5/90

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Today the newly formed Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action gives its views on negotiations.



maintains white privileges in any form.

We support unconditionally the demand for one person one vote in a unitary non-racial South Africa/Azania. Only when ownership and democratic control of the wealth of our society is in the hands of the majority, can we tackle the fundamental problems of poverty and social inequality.

Historical experience shows that the owners and controllers of the wealth do not "negotiate" away their ruling position. The majority must seize back the wealth they have created, through class struggle.

Given the balance of forces between the masses and the state, WOSA believes that our energies in the current period should be directed at three main areas:

- * Towards the building of independent, mass-based democratic structures in the unions, the workplaces, the communities, the rural areas, schools and among the

youth. This includes encouraging the labour movement to form a single federation. The union movement must be independent of political organisations, but must allow for debate and plurality of views, and involvement in the liberation struggle.

Similarly, we need to build and strengthen democratic and representative civic organisations, on the basis of street and area committees, especially around the essential class demands of housing, living conditions, amenities, services, transport and so on.

- * In this period, we need to fight for reforms which strengthen the working class. WOSA says no to reforms or "deals" which weaken or demobilise the working class. We must extend all working class actions, such as strikes and demonstrations, which consolidate class consciousness.

Passivity

We say no to class demobilisation or enforced passivity for the illusion of "the national interest" or in the supposed interests of negotiations.

- * Instead of negotiating with the enemy, liberation organisations should be negotiating with

each other. We must build unity in action.

The Conference for a Democratic Future experience, whatever its faults, could have been a starting point in this process. Any attempt by one party to impose its strategy on all the others, will only sharpen divisions within the liberation movement. This could lead to civil war.

Minimums

Negotiations should not be accepted or rejected in principle, but must be seen as a tactic. A truly democratic negotiation process means that there should be no secret negotiations, and that issues to be discussed must be democratically agreed upon through mass structures. "Negotiators" must be mandated and recallable by these structures.

We believe in a democratic Constituent Assembly, where all the mass and political organisations will participate on the basis of delegates from rank and file structures. Before that happens, no organisation can claim the right to negotiate with the Government on our behalf and speak in the name of all of us. A Constituent Assembly cannot be convened by the present regime.

There are basic minimums which are non-negotiable:

- * One person one vote, without any restrictions.

- * The immediate abolition of all racial legislation.

- * The dismantling of the repressive forces and fascist groups.

- * Dismantling the bantustans

- * Agrarian reform that allows for redistribution and nationalisation of the big landholdings, and

- * The nationalisation of the banks, mines and monopoly industries, with workers' control.

The historic weapon of the national liberation movement can only be the class struggle. There are not short cuts to liberation. The only way to destroy apartheid and achieve real democracy, is in a situation where the black working class takes both political power and control of South Africa's economic riches.

The SA Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public

who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be

accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 261-7317. Inquiries are welcome.

2 Cape Times, Tuesday, May 22, 1990

Government, ANC team report back

THE government-ANC working group, established on May 5 in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, submitted its report to both parties yesterday.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said there would be no statement on the report's contents "unless and until" the government and the ANC agreed to one.

No problems were anticipated in the acceptance, by both sides, of the report, ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma told Sapa yesterday.

In other developments yesterday:

- Acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen held talks with KwaZulu Natal Indaba representatives.

- Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said the government was ready to move away from a system of local government based on colour and alternative models were being investigated.

- The government introduced a bill postponing white delimitation until 1994.

The government-ANC working group was asked to:

- Make recommendations on a defi-

nition of a political offence.

- Advise on the release of political prisoners.

- Advise on the granting of immunity for political offences.

It is understood that considerable progress has been made by the group.

Speaking during the debate on his Budget, Mr Kriel said black local authorities lacked credibility because they had no sound financial base.

He said the Co-ordinating Council for Local Authorities would look at alternative models for local government and submit a report to the government.

Mr Kriel said it had been clear for some time that there had been little enthusiasm among people of colour for separate local authorities, based solely on colour.

Introducing a Constitutional Amendment Bill that will postpone a white delimitation until 1994, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said this was necessary to allow more time for the negotiation process.

- Govt to delay on delimitation — Page 4



100 000 expected at CP *Argus 22/5/90 (304A)* 'freedom-struggle' rally

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — About 100 000 rightwingers are expected to attend a mass rally on Saturday at which the Conservative Party will launch the "Afrikaner volk's third freedom struggle", says CP Transvaal chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers.

He said R200 000 had been spent on the "volksvergadering", which co-incides with the date on which the Nationalists came to power in 1948.

A range of rightwing organisations, incensed by President De Klerk's reforms, will be represented at the meeting at the Voortrekker Monument near Pretoria. Mr Beyers emphasised that CP members and supporters would attend in their individual capacities.

"Mobilise to fight"

He said the mass rally would mark the "reawakening of Afrikaner nationalism" and would mobilise to fight for its freedom.

Asked whether militant resistance was planned, Mr Beyers said the two previous Afrikaner freedom struggles, against British imperialist oppression, had both ended in war.

● In a statement, Afrikaner Volkswag leader Professor Carel Boshoff, a member of the rally's steering committee, said the volksvergadering would be overwhelming proof of the Afrikaner's insistence on self-government in an own fatherland.

The Volkswag would endeavour to unite Afrikaners to prevent individuals or groups from leaving the country, and from letting down their volk in its struggle for freedom.

He said: "The strengths of our people must be channelled to realise majority occupation and development in an own country. The youth, especially, should be inspired to create a future in which the Afrikaner volk can achieve its own distinctive survival."

ANC-govt joint report submitted

247 LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — The report prepared by a joint government-ANC working group on issues arising from the Groote Schuur Minute was submitted to government and the ANC National Executive yesterday.

Although neither of the parties was prepared to disclose the contents of the report, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma indicated at a media conference in Johannesburg it included a full amnesty agreement for all political prisoners and exiles.

One of the major issues addressed by the working group was the definition of political offences.

The submission of the report was preceded on Saturday by the granting of a three-month indemnity to 38 ANC members in exile. Acting President and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen granted the indemnity to the ANC's full national executive committee and four others in terms of the recently passed Indemnity Act. B1Dm 2215140

Referring to the violence in Thabong, near Welkom, in which four people died on Sunday, Zuma said he did not think this would delay talks.

However, he added the decision would depend on the treatment of the situation, although he was confident government would not repeat mistakes of the past.

Justice Minister Koble Coetsee said in a statement the contents of the report would not be released unless and until the government and the ANC chose to do so.



See Page 16.

Mr Hans-
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Germans ready to invest, says FW

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MIKE ROBERTSON

BONN — West German businessmen were ready to step up investment in SA, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl is understood to have told De Klerk at their meeting yesterday that he was in favour of Germany providing financial support to enable exiles to return to SA and for vocational training. *Monday 22/5/90*

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela apparently asked for the assistance when he met German government representatives in Namibia earlier this year.

Kohl did not call for a lifting of sanctions, but said the talks with De Klerk had been useful coming as they did before the EC foreign minister's meeting on June 18 and the EC summit a week later.

West German government sources said this was a strong hint that he was in favour of a review of sanctions.

Kohl, describing the meeting as "friendly and constructive", said West Germany was in favour of an all encompassing national dialogue in SA.

The West German government symbolically signalled their approval for changes brought about by De Klerk by according him red-carpet treatment and a guard of honour, when he met President Richard von Weizacker at his official Villa Hammerschmidt residence.

De Klerk also held talks with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Economic Co-operation Minister J Warnke.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha held a separate meeting with Genscher. Last night De Klerk and Botha flew to Frankfurt to address a private dinner hosted by Deutsche Bank.

At a Press conference earlier, De Klerk said as SA was on the verge of a breakthrough internally and sanctions were becoming irrelevant, West German busi-

□ To Page 2

Germans

Monday 22/5/90

nessmen and industrialists and government were set to step up their involvement in the country.

"There's an atmosphere developing in which old restrictions are becoming irrelevant ... the German role in SA and southern Africa will expand."

He said he found acceptance for his call for a fundamental rethink on the international community's relations with SA.

German business leaders he met in Bonn were excited about events in SA.

"Businessmen are there to make profits in the interests of their shareholders. SA is



□ From Page 1

a country where it can be done. They look at it as an important field of investing."

He also said the government-ANC working group had agreed on a report which would be studied by the parties. If there was no "instantaneous acceptance" of the report by either party, there would be further talks.

De Klerk flies to Berne today where he will meet Swiss Confederation President Arnold Koller, Foreign Minister Rene Felber, Economic Affairs Minister Jean-Pascal Delamuraz and bankers.

Zuma is confident about talks report

NO problems were anticipated in the Government's acceptance of the working document prepared by a joint Government-ANC working committee on issues arising from the Groote Schuur Minute.

ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma said this at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The working group, established in terms of paragraph 1 of the Groote Schuur Minute, has completed its report.

"The report is being submitted to its principals (Government and ANC national executive) today," Zuma said.

He declined to reveal the contents of the report but indicated that it included a full amnesty agreement for all political prisoners and political exiles.

He said the amnesty for 38 ANC exiles should be seen as a first step in the process which began with the Groote Schuur Minute which took place in an "atmosphere of commitment on both sides to resolve our problems".

A statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday confirmed that the working group had completed its report and that it had been presented to the respective principals yesterday.

He said there would be no statement on the contents of the report unless and until the Government and the ANC had agreed to do so.

Mr Joe Nhlanhla, head of the ANC's department

of security and intelligence, said Mr FW de Klerk's statement certainly indicated sincerity and a recognition of the need to reach a political settlement.

Referring to the Thabong, Welkom, violence in which seven people died when police opened fire on youths on Sunday, Zuma said he did not think that this would delay talks.

"I do not anticipate that the violence in

Thabong will, as happened with Sebokeng, delay our talks because we were all aware when we participated in the Groote Schuur talks that the struggle would go on while the process of talks continued," Zuma said.

He, however, said it did depend on how everyone handled the situation.

But he was confident that the Government would not repeat mistakes of the past. - Sapa.

Soweto businessman fumes over TV film

By SY
MAKARINGE

A SOWETO businessman is fuming with rage after a TV programme, *Ingalo Yomthetho*, last week allegedly implicated him in the mysterious death of his brother, wealthy Soweto taxi owner Mr Donald Mkhwanazi of Mofolo North.

Mkhwanazi was travelling to an unknown destination with two other people in October last year when their car allegedly overturned near Kokstad.

Mkhwanazi died soon

after arrival at the King Edward Hospital. The two other occupants escaped unscathed.

Mr Archibald Mkhwanazi, owner of Ma-Africa Electrical Construction, has pleaded innocence, saying the TV programme, a Zulu version of *Police File*, created an impression that he had "arranged" the death of his brother.

In the programme, the

presenter asked people who knew Archibald Mkhwanazi's whereabouts to contact the police so that he could explain why he was on the scene of the accident immediately after it occurred, and why Donald Mkhwanazi's wife did not know of his death until a few days later.

Mr Dries Pretorius, head of TV2 and TV3, said the SABC was indemnified against such claims and referred all inquiries to compilers of the programme at Newlands Police Station.

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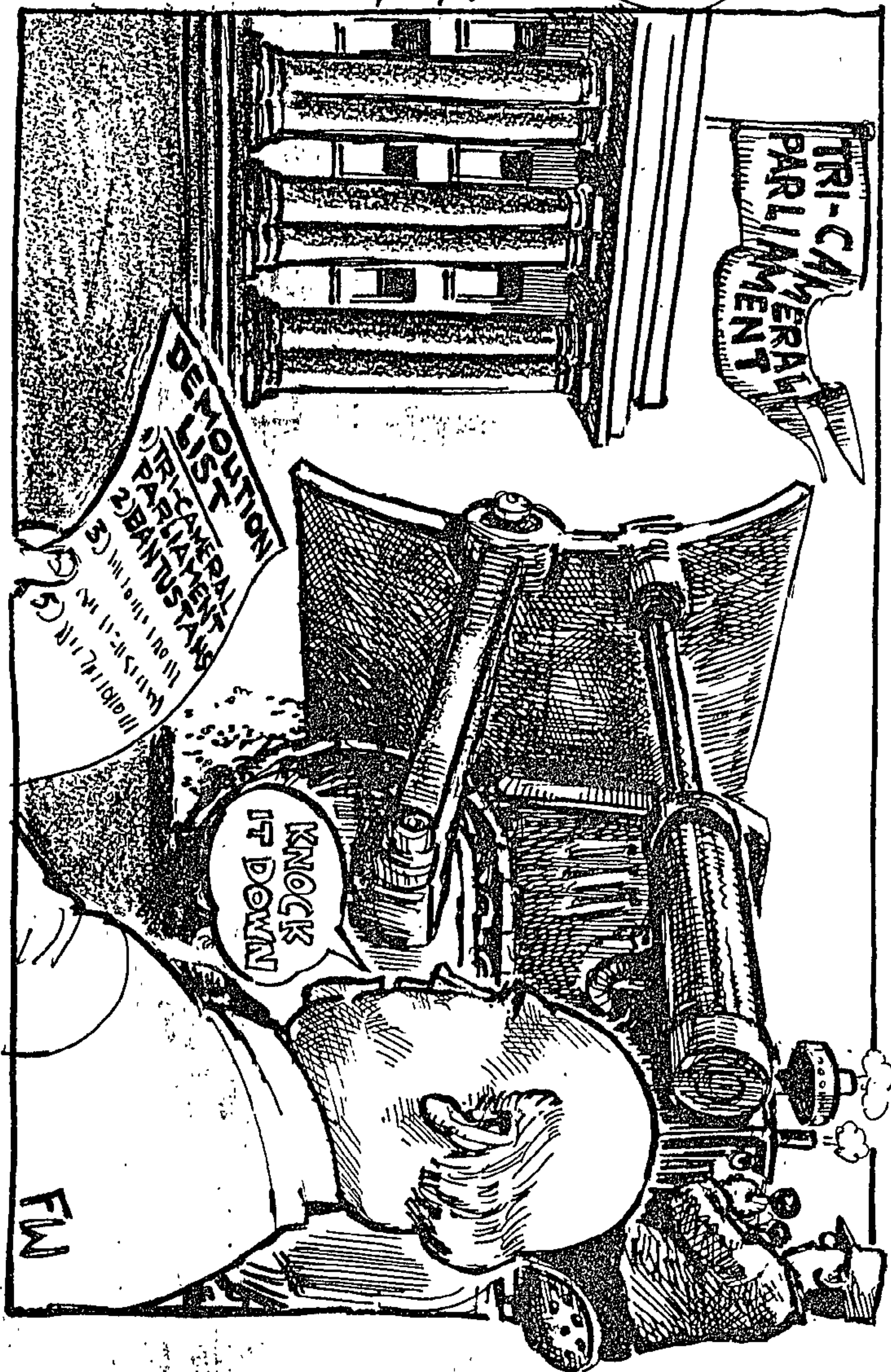
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Aids claim ludicrous, says NP

Sowetan 22/5/90

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Sowetan Correspondent

THE National Party has challenged the Conservative Party to prove its allegation that NP officials told people not to worry about black majority rule as Aids would reduce the number of black people.

Dr FH Pauw, the nominated CP MP, told Parliament in the Population Development vote last week that NP officials in various parts of the country told people that Aids would wipe out black people on a big scale, and they would become a minority in South Africa.

But Mr Renier Schoeman, the NP chief director of information, dismissed the CP's claims as ludicrous.

"That sounds like typical CP rubbish; and CP logic."

He challenged the CP to bring forward a single person of any significance in the NP who had said this.

BACKGROUND

Dublin conference holds key to SA-EC relations

BONN — June 18 is emerging as the next critical day for warming South African-European relations as Foreign Ministers of the 12 EC countries meet in Dublin to discuss the issue.

Senior government sources, midway through President de Klerk's nine-country tour which seems to have developed an unstoppable momentum of success, cannot at this stage say what will emerge from that conference.

There is persistent talk of dropping the cultural boycott, which would include sports ties and may mean the first A-team rugby tour after many years of isolation.

But top officials note that South Africa has already punched a gaping hole in the sanctions barriers: Mr de Klerk's visit itself and the smiling welcomes into palaces and parlours whose doors have been very firmly shut for years.

It is understood newspaper baron Rupert Murdoch emphasised this point when he met the South Africans over lunch at Chequers on Saturday.

Known by Europeans as "the little Gorbachev", reformist Mr de Klerk seems to have impressed most he has met.

The spin that South African officials are putting on the tour via upbeat, non-attributable whispers, seems to be borne out by what is emerging in the press and from utterances and leaks from the other sides.

"The going continues to be good," as one official attending most of the talks put it after the Thatcher encounter, is true. The European mood is fast changing.

While Mr de Klerk takes care at press conferences to note he is not in Europe with cap in hand, waving a list of sanctions he wants dropped, there is no doubt this aspect of South Africa-EC relations looms largest in the conference rooms.

This tour is about a first-hand De Klerk

JUNE 18

The EC Foreign Ministers' June meeting will be vital to South African-EC relations, reports ALAN DUNN.

account, a chance for him to project himself, to let leaders, industrialists, bankers and the news media assess him. The reality, however, is that it is about sanctions.

Nobody is bluffing — Mr de Klerk's high ground tactic of not cajoling the people he meets is a solid, clever one.

But his drive for a "fundamental re-evaluation now" of what is happening in South Africa is recognised for what it is: an oblique yet powerful plea to change po-

licies and, thereby, drop sanctions.

He makes the case as compelling as a lawyer can, noting that jobs have been lost and socio-economic programmes that could have served black upliftment have been retarded by sanctions.

Mr de Klerk said in London at the weekend he thought some action could come from the EC this year to acknowledge the changes that had taken place in South Africa and the irreversibility of them.

But nobody in the South African side is at this stage prepared to offer the forecast that this will happen on June 18 as Foreign Ministers gather to prepare for the two-day EC summit a week later.

"It is clear the big screen is on June 18," said one South African source. "Let's face it, June 25/26 is just going to be based on what the foreign ministers decide".

Although Britain's Mrs Thatcher no longer stands alone in rejecting some of

the EC sanctions, she has taken another solo step in rewarding Mr de Klerk by pledging her help in securing South Africa access to vital foreign funds.

Others of the EC 12 have asked Mr de Klerk to do more, however. Political prisoners and exiles and the state of emergency are the three points they most mention.

Mr de Klerk has indicated both the questions of political prisoners and returning exiles are presently receiving his urgent attention. The emergency, however, is dictated by conditions on the ground.

Mr de Klerk has argued often on this tour that the emergency is not for political gain and harassment. It is there to smooth violence which is no longer anti-government, but "black-on-black".

The emergency lapses on June 10, the week before the foreign ministers convene in Dublin. Mr de Klerk will have to decide whether to renew it nationally, or

selectively to deal with violence in trouble spots such as the Matziburg area.

Anything he does in the next month may tip the foreign ministers' hands either way.

Mr de Klerk said on Saturday that some countries — it is believed he was referring mainly to Belgium — may find difficulty in extending dramatic, positive gestures to South Africa.

While the leaders have warmed markedly to the De Klerk regime, their constancies probably have not yet.

The positive and prominent press Mr de Klerk has received on the tour — Greece was the notable exception — will accelerate the grassroots awakening in Europe that change is afoot in South Africa.

It will heighten Mr de Klerk's chances of a trophy on June 18. Much depends, though, on what he delivers before then.

van der Westhuizen resembles a traffic officer as he directs various parties in the entourage to the waiting transport. "People think of me as a walking information bureau."

Up to four matric pupils share a text book at a school in Soweto.

Bid to enhance ties with Swiss

STAFF REPORTER

President de Klerk arrives in Switzerland today hoping to tighten South Africa's economic ties with this small but wealthy European country.

Trade links between the two nations have been strong, with the Swiss only adhering to the UN arms embargo.

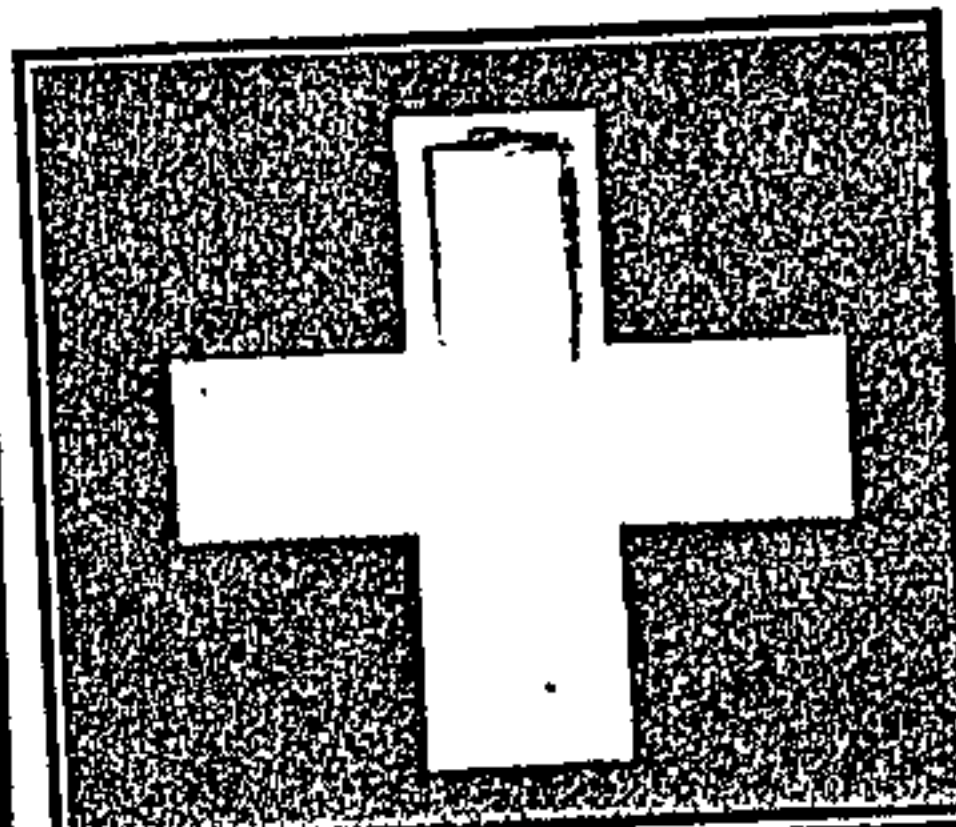
A spokesman from the Department of Foreign Affairs said relations between the two countries have been characterised by "healthy trade relations, flowing particularly from Switzerland's locality as the centre of the world gold market — which is a lucrative business for Swiss banks and in turn a source of revenue for the (South African) Government — and increasingly, the world's diamond trade."

However, despite its traditional open trade policy, Switzerland, according to the DFO spokesman, has been careful not to allow itself to be used to circumvent sanctions.

The spokesman said the presence of about 9 000 Swiss citizens in South Africa ensured a healthy cultural interchange between the two countries, while at a diplomatic level Switzerland represented South African interests in Peru and Iran.

Switzerland, according to a spokesman for the Swiss Embassy in Cape Town, is the eighth biggest importer of South African goods and the 11th biggest exporter of goods to South Africa.

Last year, Swiss imports from South Africa (excluding gold) totalled a record 1 177 million Swiss francs (about R1 950 million), compared to 880 million Swiss francs (about R1 450 million) in the previous year. South African imports from



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The President
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Switzerland, on the other hand, totalled 517 million Swiss francs (about R860 million) in 1989 compared to 470 Swiss francs (about R780 million) the previous year, according to the Swiss Embassy spokesman.

The Swiss spokesman said his country had not imposed sanctions against South Africa because of its strict principle of neutrality and willingness to serve as interlocutors in international relations. That was the reason for the Swiss attitude of reaching out to and maintaining good relations with both the Government and the ANC.

"We have never imposed sanctions against South Africa because of this country's violation of human rights. If we did that, then we would not know what to do with the other countries which also violate human rights," said the spokesman.

He said that although no Swiss head of state had ever visited South Africa, the two countries had always had cordial relations. He said Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha passed through Switzerland last year while on a European visit.

mon understanding of itself."

of Law Societies president, MR NICO Coetzer.

Political Staff

THE KwaZulu-Natal Indaba's search for a local constitutional option has been put on hold because of the planned "great indaba", which appears closer than expected.

A terse joint statement by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the government's chief negotiator, and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, after a meeting yesterday between the delegations, said: "It was agreed that in view of the impending national ne-

Natal Indaba put on hold

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22/5/90
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gotiations, pursuit of constitutional options at a regional level should be held in abeyance."

It is understood that while this does not necessarily mean the end of the Natal Indaba, it will mean a delay in formal

consideration and therefore any possibility of the implementation of its proposals.

With the "great indaba" in mind, it appears the government is determined to get national negotiations going.

Dr Viljoen said that Indaba should be given the opportunity of submitting its proposals to the coming national negotiations.

President F W de Klerk has repeatedly stated that the talks should be as representative as possible.

Moratorium on sale of Govt land urged

By Winnie Graham

Representatives of 29 rural communities have asked for a moratorium on the sale of all State-owned land.

The call comes at a time when the Government is advertising for sale a number of farms in the western Transvaal on Friday. The rural communities say the land belongs to them.

They want the sale of all trust land stopped "until a process of negotiation between the Government, the local communities and their political representatives can work out a way in which historical wrongs can be redressed".

The Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) met on Sunday to discuss the land issue and issued a statement later saying there would be no true solution to South Africa's problems "unless a fair solution to the land problem can be found".

Trac said the farms in the western Transvaal had belonged to African communities which were forcibly removed in the 1960s and 1970s.

"The Government left the land vacant for decades," Trac said. "But now, before it repeals the Land Act and just as a new era is dawning, it is rushing to sell the land to white farmers. We ask: Why does the Government choose to

sell this land which it expropriated from African people?"

The Government had recently announced a decision to sell all trust land not yet incorporated into the homelands but, Trac said, people who had historical and occupational claims to land did not have the money to buy it.

"We are concerned we will be dispossessed by land speculators, whether white or black. We, the affected communities, have never lost the deep desire to return to this land. We had hope as long as the land was empty."

Trac stressed that the people could not buy back the land themselves because they were prevented from doing so by the Land Act. Furthermore, during the process of removal, they had lost their cattle, tractors and homes. People who were once prosperous farmers were now desperately poor.

"We believe we have a right to the land which was expropriated from us," Trac said. "Anyone who buys it under the present conditions will not be regarded as the true owners. We believe, when the process of negotiation between the ANC and the Government is holding out a promise of true national reconciliation, no steps should be taken which would in any way entrench apartheid's legacy of dispossession and suffering."

FW benefits

23/5/90
ZURICH - President FW de Klerk has reaped benefits and encouragement for his plans in South Africa from his short visit to West Germany on Monday. ~~SP~~ 304A
The West German Government has backed his reform moves and has recognised South Africa's development role in southern Africa and may support the lifting of sanctions.

Teargas used in FW demo

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BERNE - A group of about 30 masked protesters, waving large ANC flags, staged a well-organised demonstration at the plush Bellevue Hotel in Berne, where President FW de Klerk was due to hold an international Press conference yesterday.

Half a dozen Swiss riot police in full gear kept them soaking at a distance with portable water jets.

Later reinforcements came in and used teargas on the demonstrators, who had used stones, bottles and powerful fire-crackers to attack the police.

Police cordoned off the hotel in preparation for De Klerk's news conference.

One large banner read: "Sanctions freed Mandela, only sanctions can kill apartheid," and pamphlets bearing the name of the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement were distributed to the public. - Sapa.

THE relationships making up the SA economy reflect the priorities and attitudes of those who wield effective political power. The economy is what it is because of the dualism that has been built into it. It is a system in which the "haves" have because the "have nots", have not.

The economy is the unacceptable face of apartheid. It is not the market system, privatisation, or any "ism", present or lacking that is out of kilter with the needs of the "new SA", these are merely mechanisms. What is out of kilter is the apartheid nature of the economy.

The core issue of the SA economy and the route to a reconciliation of opposing views, is that of reparation which is defined as "the action of restoring to a proper state; the action of ... mending, the action of making amends for a wrong done".

At the Faculty of Law graduation ceremony last month Arthur Chaskalson dealt with "the transition from a repressive to a democratic order" and with issues of principle on which we must be clear "if we hope to put down firm foundations on which to build a stable society". The reparation which is essential

Reparation is the way to reconciliation

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MERTON DAGUT

is not a policy or political "ism". It is a moral, legal and political principle. And it is an entitlement, but one which can be exercised effectively only if the party making reparation both wishes and is able to do so. Free marketers and redistributive interventionists have to see that yesterday's logic is no longer appropriate.

If we wish to be business leaders who make things happen, to involve ourselves in the process of national reconciliation, we have to acknowledge the injustice of the past and present and, by consistent action in our daily business lives, prove we understand what we have acknowledged and show we will not permit injustice to continue.

"First", said Chaskalson, "there should be a clear acknowledgement of the injustice of apartheid and of what it has done to the majority. There can be no half-measures. Apartheid has caused poverty, degradation and suffering on a massive scale. It has among others denied the

majority access to ownership and occupation of land, to proper education, and to fundamental rights and freedoms essential for the development of self-esteem."

The economy will be reshaped and put in healthy order by reparation.

There is no pool of funds with which to pay. Reparation must take the form of a priority in resources allocation to create appropriate output and as a prior charge on the allocation or distribution of future income. It must be understood to be an entitlement, not a handout; a compensation for past wrongdoing and a continuing acknowledgement that all is not yet right. It must continue until all is right.

Reparation has many positive consequences. It is a means of enlarging effective demand for basic essentials immediately, to be paid for, by non-

essentials forgone; and because it is an investment in human capital and public goods, it enhances output po-



□ DAGUT

tential and present and future aggregate welfare.

It is only one element in a package of economic policies but crucial because it carries with it catalytic potential. The concept also shows that economic strategies of "inward industrialisation" and of "growth through redistribution" can be blended into a single coherent approach.

As the reparation would be measured and allocated as a percentage of total income, all involved in the economy would have a shared and mutual interest in creating a precondition for rapid real growth. The environment would be conducive to capital/worker partnership experiments. The economy would be pulled by a competitive market-based private sector in tandem with planned public sector involvement in seeing to the provision of basic needs and public infrastructure.

The resultant rapid growth rate will intensify competition and stretch our resources.

□ Prof Dagut is head of Wits University's economics department. This is an excerpt from a graduation address last night.

LETTERS

Away from the cameras, protests greet De Klerk

From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON. — The strongest statement on last week's talks between State President FW de Klerk and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came from the British public itself, remarked an ANC official.

It was summed up in the huge difference between De Klerk's reception of protests and demonstrations and the rapturous welcome given to Mr Nelson Mandela last month at Wembley, he said.

Despite assurances received by De Klerk from world leaders that sanctions would be reviewed, the demand from ordinary members of the public was for the continuation of sanctions and the isolation of apartheid until there was evidence of irreversible political change in South Africa.

While De Klerk was feted by leaders such as President Francois Mitterrand of France and President Mario Soares of Portugal, protests and demonstrations — largely unreported in the mainstream media — dogged him throughout his nine-country European tour.

Placards

In Athens, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon, groups of demonstrators chanted and held placards registering their protest against the visit.

In London, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman, president of the Police and Prison Civil Rights Union (Popcru), was the keynote speaker at a major rally the night before De Klerk met Thatcher at her holiday residence, Chequers.

The protest rally, also addressed by the general secretary of Eng-

land's Trade Union Conference, Mr Norman Willis, and the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, reiterated the call made by the ANC to uphold sanctions.

The theme of the three days of protest echoed the ANC's determination that sanctions remain in place "until there is irreversible progress towards ending apartheid", commented the ANC's secretary general, Alfred Nzo.

At a press briefing on the eve of De Klerk's meeting with Thatcher, Nzo said: "Sanctions were adopted as part and parcel of the struggle for the elimination of apartheid, which is still in place."

"As Nelson Mandela said, he went to prison for 27 years and came back to find he still had no vote. Therefore, it is too early to talk in terms of suspending sanctions."

Opposed

In a joint statement, the AAM expressed "deep regret" at the welcome extended to De Klerk by their governments.

"We are opposed to De Klerk's visit to Europe because we believe it confers an unacceptable degree of respectability on the head of state of the apartheid regime and because we believe it will undermine the prospect of achieving a political settlement in South Africa."

"Anti-Apartheid movements are protesting across Europe to remind the people the pillars of apartheid remain firmly intact and, in the words of Nelson Mandela, apartheid continues to kill and maim."

On the day of De Klerk's arrival in London, a leading national

newspaper ran a huge advertisement calling for the dismantling of apartheid. It was paid for by hundreds of ANC and AAM members and supporters.

The advertisement quoted Mandela as saying: "To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive. The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts."

The British government, said after the Chequers talks that sanctions should be a thing of the past. UK Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, said: "I believe there has been a clear shift in the attitude of most European Community governments and there is a desire to give some encouragements to the South African government."

Begging

The EC is expected to review its sanctions policy when it meets in Dublin next month.

At a press conference after the talks, De Klerk said he had not come "hat in hand", begging for the lifting of sanctions.

He said: "I found across Europe an understanding of a new reality in South Africa and an acceptance of the sincerity of the government in aiming for the goals of a new just South Africa where all will participate in government, every person will have the right to vote and will have a vote of equal worth."

"Sanctions have become irrelevant as we have moved beyond the old agenda for South Africa," De Klerk said.

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

THE Government's intention to integrate local authorities has been widely welcomed as a significant step on the reform road.

But the Conservative Party has attacked the move, announced by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel in Parliament on Monday.

The party said the move was yet another blow to autonomous "own" community life as promised to the white electorate during the 1988 municipal and 1989 general elections.

United Municipalities of South Africa leader Mr Tom Boya said yesterday black local authorities should be scrapped and their staggering debts written off.

Praise for new Govt plan

Sowetan 23/5/90
30411

Once municipalities had been integrated - a process which he believed would take up to 18 months - richer communities should subsidise the poor in the municipal area because over the years State funds had mostly been spent in white areas.

"Black towns have never been properly developed. But black labour has been used in white areas and 80 percent of black capital is spent in so-called white areas,"

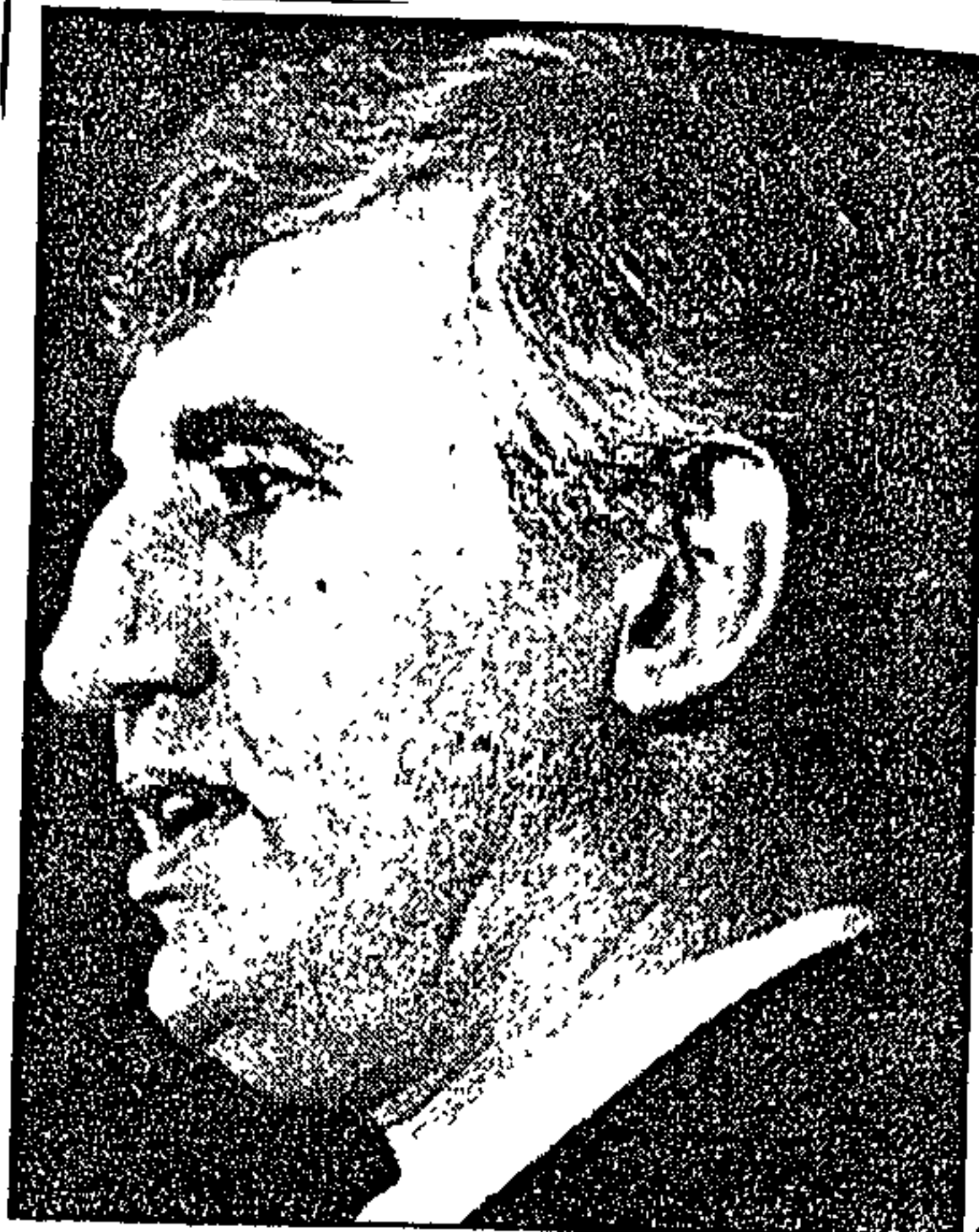
Boya said.

Democratic Party spokesman on local government Mr Tony Leon hailed the pending integration as a shift in the Government's constitutional thinking.

He said elections for non-racial local government might be held before the final touches were being put to a new constitution.

"This should be widely welcomed by extra-parliamentary organisations which attach a great deal of importance to grass-roots politics which could be manifested in local government."

The CP's spokesman on local government and housing, Mr Pikkie Coetzee, said the move towards integrated local authorities constituted "the breaching of another Nationalist election promise."



Wynand Malan ... Vlok could easily ban the AWB.

Boards cannot be privatised'

It was not possible to privatise agricultural marketing boards as they depended on their legal capabilities to function, Minister of Agriculture Jacob de Villiers said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during an interpellation debate in reply to a question by Dries Bruwer (CP Lydenburg), he said the boards could not retain their legal powers as private institutions without Parliamentary supervision.

Mr Bruwer said the boards found themselves in an uncertain position as a result of Government policy.

They had accepted that black majority rule was on its way and wanted to negotiate the best deal for themselves, either in a privatised, commercialised or liquidated situation.

He asked what the position would be if all the marketing boards were to de-

side to remove themselves from the control of the Marketing Act.

Mike Tarr (DP Maritzburg North) said his party had no problems with the Marketing Act.

He did not see what mechanisms existed to privatise the boards and could only conclude that Mr Bruwer wanted to politicise the matter.

Mr De Villiers said Mr Bruwer was confused about the difference between liquidation and privatisation.

The ongoing evaluation of the control measures applied in the boards' different schemes did not mean that the Marketing Act or the control schemes themselves came into issue.

It was important that the boards' powers be controlled under the supervision of Parliament, but there was no problem as to them managing their functions themselves. — Sapa.

'SA system unjustly administered'

24/5/90
By Cathy Stagg

DURBAN — The difference between law in Commonwealth Africa and in South Africa, Mr Justice McNally of Zimbabwe said yesterday, was that "we have a just system somewhat inefficiently administered; you have an efficient system somewhat unjustly administered".

In a paper delivered at the 13th South African Law Conference, Mr Justice McNally said: "In my view the existence of a Bill of Rights brings the legal profession to life.

"Judges in South Africa are necessarily detached from the realities of the country's life because of your structure. Some judges are struggling to become involved but are compelled by the constitutional structure to

3049
spend their time solving legal cross-word puzzles."

He said judges in the rest of Africa were involved in the lives and problems of their communities. "Our job is not an easy one, but our judges are writing in the history books while yours are writing in the law reports."

He noted that of the 17 jurisdictions which made up Commonwealth Africa, 10 had an English law background, five in the Roman-Dutch group had a strong English influence and two with a French legal background had judges from the English law tradition.

Judge McNally said he hoped when South Africa rejoined the Commonwealth, it could help solve some of the financial prob-

lems facing other countries.

"Most countries in Commonwealth Africa have a Bill of Rights entrenched in the Constitution. Our judiciaries are in theory more independent than yours because the principle of the separation of powers and our role as guardians of the constitution and of individual human rights are enshrined in our constitutions. At the same time, judicial independence in Commonwealth Africa is, in practice, limited by constraints.

One such constraint was the slender thread by which judicial independence hung in countries where the executive was insecure and liable to react arbitrarily to too much assertiveness on the part of the judiciary.

Thousands wait for Govt clarity over land issue

Star 24/5/90

304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Hundreds of thousands of black people are waiting to see whether the Government will make it possible for them to return to land they were forced off years ago.

Their hopes were raised after the Government this week stopped the sale of land in the Western Transvaal. Black people were forced off farms around Koster in the 1960s and 1970s because the farms fell within "white" areas.

The land was due to be sold to white farmers on May 25, but was halted in view of President de Klerk's announcement that the Lands Acts of 1913 and 1936 were to be revised.

A statement by Minister of Agricultural Development Mr Kraal van Niekerk and Minister of Development Aid Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said that "no agricultural land which previously belonged to black communities, and had been expropriated at an earlier stage in accordance with the previous consolidation policy, will be sold henceforth".

The Cabinet discussed the implica-

tions of this turn in National Party policy yesterday. But the office of Acting State President Gerrit Viljoen refused to clarify the Government's intentions.

Dr van der Merwe's office pointed out that in terms of the present laws, the land could be sold only to whites. However, all sales of land taken from black people would be frozen until the position of the two Lands Acts had been clarified.

Lost homes

Access to land is going to be a key issue in the coming negotiations, largely because of the mass removals of people from their traditional homes.

One study conducted in the 1980s found that 3½ million people had been forced from their homes.

The removed people nearly always felt bitter because they lost their homes, land, access to agricultural land, stock, and often jobs.

People nearly always felt they were left materially and spiritually poorer by the forced removals.

CCB may try to scuttle peace, warns Worrall

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has warned the government that Civil Co-operation Bureau agents might try to scuttle the negotiation process and that it should disband the organisation immediately.

He said the sinister revelations about the CCB during the Harms Commission hearings had made this imperative. Action against the CCB could not await the result of the commission.

Dr Worrall also called on the government to broaden the terms of reference of the commission to enable it to investigate the CCB's external activities and to provide accomplices with indemnity against future criminal liability if they gave testimony to the commission.

STASHED AWAY

In a five-page statement yesterday, Dr Worrall said there was deep concern the CCB "represents a serious threat to present attempts to achieve a negotiated settlement".

He cited evidence to the commission by the managing director of the CCB, Mr Joe Verster, that, among other things, the bureau had "millions stashed away in foreign banks and has

access to unlimited supplies of weapons of foreign origin".

Also, that the CCB regarded "the present political climate with extreme suspicion" and felt its members were "threatened because of exposure".

The threat to negotiations, therefore, was "a very serious possibility, given the status of the unit and its rogue character", said Dr Worrall.

"The inevitable influence is that the CCB's political convictions emanate from the extreme rightwing of the political spectrum and a very real danger exists that the CCB may attempt to scuttle, in ways which it would be irresponsible for the DP to spell out, the present negotiation process.

"Its links to the military, which continues to pay the salary of each and every CCB member, are tenuous, the only channel of command seeming to run through Mr Verster, who is in open rebellion against the government and the Chief of the Defence Force."

Under these circumstances, it was imperative to disband the CCB immediately.

"The DP believes that all parties, including the National Party, are threatened by the existence of this unit," he said.



Shopping trip . . . President F W de Klerk and his wife Marike examine a racquet on Zurich's famous Bahnhofstrasse yesterday. On the left is an unidentified salesman.

Still too early to increase loans, say cautious Swiss

ZURICH — When President F W de Klerk went shopping along Zurich's famous Bahnhofstrasse yesterday, he was walking just a few metres above huge stores of gold — much of it South African — in Swiss bank vaults.

But those bankers are unlikely to recycle much of this wealth to South Africa in fresh loans until they are convinced political peace has cemented chances for stable economic development in a post-apartheid society.

"The economy in South Africa will develop magnificently as soon as an agreement is reached that guarantees the democratic rights of all members of the society. A political solution has to come first, and economic development will follow," one banker said.

Yesterday Mr de Klerk held private meetings with business leaders.

Switzerland has never imposed sanctions on South Africa.

But it limits new loans to R540 million a year to prevent Swiss banks being used to circumvent sanctions other countries have imposed. Mr de

Klerk raised this subject at yesterday's talks, but got no response.

"He mentioned it and then it was finished," government spokesman Michel Pache said. "Things will stay the same. It is too early to speak about this."

Bankers said they were pleased Mr de Klerk had had the chance to outline his political aims, but said his trip would not change their lending habits.

Swiss banks, which once helped finance the electrification of Soweto, have curtailed their lending to South Africa. Their South African assets stood at R3.88 billion at the end of 1988, the latest statistics available.

Trade between the two countries has grown in recent years, but is still well below its peak in 1982, though trade figures exclude gold, of which Swiss banks are major buyers.

The World Gold Council, an anti-apartheid group, estimates Swiss banks buy around two-thirds of South Africa's annual 600 ton gold production, but official statistics are secret. — Reuter.

SA back on Africa's path

Star 24/5/90 (304A) 5

South Africa is believed to be throwing all its diplomatic weight behind promising new efforts to resolve the civil wars in Angola and Mozambique and stands to benefit handsomely if they succeed.

Helping to find solutions in Angola and Mozambique appears to have moved to the top of the list of Pretoria's diplomatic priorities in Africa, replacing what until recently was an overweening desire for open acceptance in black Africa.

The shift in emphasis, though slight, could have important consequences. It stems partly from the favourable reaction that has come from black Africa, as well as from the Western countries, to President de Klerk's reform initiatives and to South Africa's co-operation in Namibia's independence.

By improving Pretoria's standing in both Western and African capitals, these moves have given a new perspective to Pretoria's efforts to win acceptance in Africa.

While not devaluing this acceptance, South African diplomats appear to give less emphasis than before to the maxim that for South Africa the road back to international acceptance is through black Africa.

Namibian independence and President de Klerk's bold initiatives have, in a sense, found a short cut — not to open acceptance, but to greater respectability, which would be much enhanced if settlements were reached in Angola and Mozambique and word got around that South Africa had played a major role in this.

African *realpolitik* has always dictated that the road to South African acceptance in black Africa began with the recognised black movements in the Republic itself and then went on through the Frontline states and to the Organisation of African Unity.

For a long time there was a feeling in the Union Buildings in Pretoria that African countries would bypass this route and deal directly

The kudos won by South Africa from Namibian independence and from domestic reform have changed the perspective of Pretoria's diplomatic efforts in the rest of Africa, reports **GERALD L'ANGE**, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service.

with South Africa if their need for South African goods and services was urgent enough.

This turned out to be true in that just about every African country started doing business with South Africa under the counter and some accepted surreptitious aid. But the open acceptance that Pretoria desired never came.

Now that Mr de Klerk and his government have embarked on an apparently irreversible course of reform, there is a growing conviction that acceptance will follow (always depending, of course, on the outcome of internal negotiations) and that South Africa must look to its interests in its own neighbourhood.

Priorities

"As we become relatively more acceptable in African countries, the question arises of assessing our priorities because of our limited resources," says Rusty Evans, the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, who has direct responsibility for South African interests in Africa. "That has become a major factor in our approach to Africa."

While Mr Evans has not said so, it seems logical to assume that those interests — both economic and political — are seen to lie primarily in a regional grouping (but probably not the subservient "constellation" of states that the previous Government envisaged).

It appears to be against this background that South Africa is playing an active though discreet role behind the scenes in both the Angolan and Mozambican settlement efforts.

Both conflicts are still far from reaching solutions, but their pros-

pects have improved recently.

Success in these efforts would bring political stability and economic regeneration in the two former Portuguese colonies, both of which are potentially prosperous, with a resultant boost to stability and development in the region as a whole.

For South Africa, there would be prospects of substantial trade with Angola which, unlike Mozambique and most other African countries, has the money (from oil revenues) to pay for South African goods and services.

If Mr de Klerk's initiatives lead to a non-racial South Africa with its economic potential undisturbed, then South Africa might become the nucleus of a regional bloc that would have a major influence in Africa and an enhanced capacity to compete for foreign investment against an Eastern Europe liberated from Soviet Union communism.

Senior South African diplomats are believed to have been working assiduously to bring the warring parties to a negotiating table in both Angola and Mozambique. The intention, apparently, is not to become the major mediator, but rather to function as a discreet but effective facilitator.

Pretoria seems not to be opposed to both conflicts being resolved through African mediation and seems to have made no effort to replace President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire as mediator in the Angolan dispute, despite the view in some African circles that he botched the most recent attempt to resolve it.

Prospects for negotiation in Angola have clearly been boosted by the failure of the recent attempt by the MPLA government to capture Mavinga, the gateway to the Unita rebels' stronghold in the south-east.

This failure must dampen, if not quench, the faith of the hardliners in Luanda in the MPLA's ability to defeat Unita militarily.

It is this obsession with crushing Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita that has kept the Luanda government away from the negotiating table in the past. South African and Western diplomats hope that the moderates in Luanda who favour a negotiated solution will now get their way.

In Mozambique, South African efforts to get the Frelimo government and Renamo rebels to a negotiating table are thought to have been set back by the military offensive recently launched by Mozambican government and Zimbabwean forces on Renamo hide-outs in Gorongosa.

Once this offensive is completed — whether victoriously or in failure — the efforts at negotiation will be resumed. These efforts are at present still concentrated on getting the parties to agree to a mediator and a venue for talks.

President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who had been mediating jointly with President Arap Moi of Kenya, is understood to have withdrawn, acknowledging that his impartiality will be suspect as long as Zimbabwean troops continue to back Frelimo forces against Renamo.

President Moi remains the only mediator at the (still empty) table but the possibility of Frelimo and Renamo getting together without a mediator cannot be ruled out.

The Frelimo government is believed to have accepted Malawi as a venue for negotiations, despite that country's previous support for Renamo, but Renamo's leader, Afonso Dhlakama, is not confident that his security can be guaranteed there.

Both President Joaquim Chissano and Mr Dhlakama are willing to enter negotiations and broad agreement is understood to have been reached already on certain basic principles which have greatly narrowed the gap between the conditions they have respectively set for the start of talks.

WMA 25/5 - 31/5/90

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ANC's
Nelson
Mandela

THE FAR-RIGHT GROUPS GET TOGETHER AT THE WEEKEND TO BURY THEIR DIFFERENCES AND LAUNCH A NEW 'FREEDOM STRUGGLE'

ALL roads lead to the capital tomorrow — for very diverse reasons. In the morning one of the biggest right-wing rallies ever will take place at the Voortrekker monument, where the Conservative Party-organised Volksaamtrek (volk's rally) will assemble an expected 100 000 "concerned" whites.

In the afternoon many of them will probably be at Loftus Versfeld rugby stadium, where Northern Transvaal's Blue Bulls tackle their arch-enemies from the south, Western Province, in a Currie Cup rugby match.

At the time of kick-off a very different assembly will take place about 15km north of the Blue Bulls' home — African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela will address a mass rally at the Ateridgeville Super Stadium. At 6am, about 600 horses will be saddled up and, led by prominent right-

winger Professor Carel Boshoff, gallop through Pretoria's streets for wreath-laying ceremonies at Hero's Acre, Church Square and the Pretorius monument.

In the meantime the (white) nation arrives at the Voortrekker monument where time can be passed at various stalls offering koeksisters, boerewors, potjiekos and a variety of patriotic paraphernalia, until the opening ceremony takes place at 10am. There will be Bible-reading, prayers, an audio presentation called The Third Freedom Struggle Begins, after which a "Freedom Manifesto" — which can be signed by anyone who is white and older than 12 — will be handed over by the CP's provincial leaders to party leader Andries Treurnicht. Treurnicht will then address the nation on the "crisis" the right-wing faces

A who's who manual of the far-right

SOUTH AFRICA's right-wing organisations can be divided into three groups: the separatists, the Boerestaters and the neo-Nazis.

The separatists want a white homeland or *volkstaat* and the Boerestaters only want Boere in theirs — in the original Boer republics of Transvaal, Orange Free State and Vryheid.

The neo-Nazis are fringe groups with a small membership, mostly organised in guerrilla cells. Their numbers include neo-Nazi immigrants and these groups have close links with similar groups overseas.

The separatists

Conservative Party

The CP is the biggest right-wing group with a substantial support and is also the official opposition in parliament. Tomorrow will be their real test when it comes to the numbers game. Spokesman Chris van den Heever expects at least 100 000 supporters at the Voortrekker Monument. Tension is mounting within the CP over their official policy of partition or Verwoerdian separate development.

Dr Johan Kirsten, a political science lecturer at the University of Potchefstroom and a prominent CP member, says a strong group in the party is opting for the *volkstaat* idea.

The party's "intellectual elite", which includes some of the parliamentary caucus members, seems to be pushing for this idea, according to Kirsten.

The CP's traditional "partitionists" seeking a continuation of Verwoerdian "bantustans" are mostly former Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) members.

Kirsten does not see a split within the CP yet. The *swart gevaar* and the threat presented by State President FW de Klerk seem to keep them together.

Kirsten predicts either a referendum or a white election will take place

On Saturday a *Volksaamtrek* at the Voortrekker monument will launch what has been called the 'Third Freedom Struggle', which will bring together most of the feuding right-wing groups.

CHARLES LEONARD

examines the guest list — and also those who were not invited

soon. This will unite the right-wing under the CP banner, he says. He believes the rift between the two ideological streams will then be clearer.

Kirsten sees the Boerestaters option as a practical one. It will keep the back door open for conservative whites who would not want to live under a black government.

Professor Hennie Kotze, of the University of Stellenbosch's political science department, says there is a third group within the CP — a small but growing *verligte* group interested in the geographical federation option. They will be satisfied with a white homeland within a bigger South African federation.

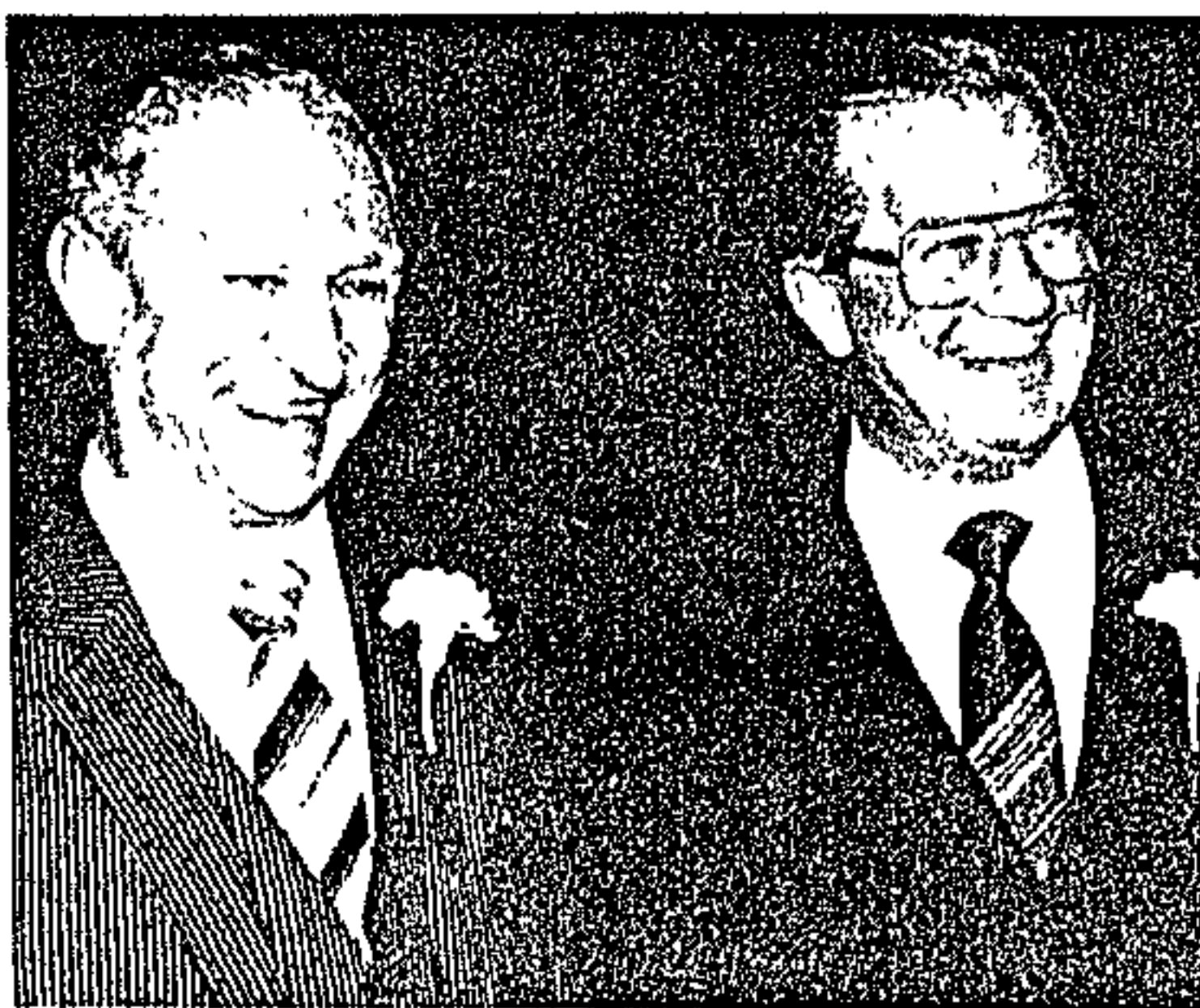
Herstigte Nasionale Party Support for the HNP is slowly but surely dwindling. It has no representative in parliament and contests less seats in every general election.

However, the party has a hard core of loyal supporters and, ironically, is financially still relatively strong.

For HNP one can read Jaap Marais, the party's leader. He says the HNP still believes in separate development or territorial partition. They base their borders on the 1936 Land Act which ensures whites will "have sovereignty in their own land".

The HNP does not agree with the Boerestaters idea because "that means you only get a small piece and the blacks get the rest", Marais says.

Lately Marais has regularly shared platforms with the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Eugene TerreBlanche. The HNP, however,



Two rightwing leaders ... HNP's Jaap Marais and CP's Andries Treurnicht
Picture: PETER AUF DER HYDE, Afrapix

will not allow dual membership.

They share their *Afrikanerskap* but not the same ideology, says Marais.

Observers see the resurgence of HNP support as temporary and predict the HNP is close to the end of its political life.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging

The AWB was initially formed on Verwoerdian foundations but lately TerreBlanche has been making a lot of Boerestaters noises.

Created 16 years ago the AWB has been at the forefront of extra-parliamentary right-wing politics. They suffered a serious setback with the infamous Paardekraal incident in December 1988 which involved TerreBlanche and *The Sunday Times* columnist, Jani Allan.

However, it seems that the organisation has recovered from the scandal. TerreBlanche is back in full cry as the oratory drawcard and the AWB membership is estimated at 100 000. The organisation is also the moving force behind the commandos being established to "protect and defend the Boere".

Within the AWB there is strong support for the Boerestaters idea. It can be seen on members' uniforms in the form of Vierkleur badges. Others sport stickers of the flag on their vehicles.

The militant organisation wants to reclaim the original Boer republics of

Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Vryheid in Northern Natal, for the Boerewolk.

Neither the AWB or HNP were invited to the Volksaamtrek (the Afrikaans people's rally).

Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging

This small para-military group, under the leadership of biochemist Johan Schabot, was banned in November 1988 and re-emerged as the Blanke Nasionale Beweging (White National Movement) two months later.

They were the first group to have a commando. Schabot disbanded both organisations — the BB was unbanned with the ANC in February this year — and he joined the CP as its scientific advisor.

Afrikaner Volkswag

This movement was started by Professor Carel Boshoff, theologian and son-in-law of Hendrik Verwoerd, after he (Boshoff) broke away from the Broederbond.

The thinktank of the Afrikaner Volkswag is the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra). It was here that the idea of white growth-points like the Oranjerwerkers' Morgenon experiment, and the idea of a *volkstaat* originated.

Sabra provides the ideology and the Sugling Afrikanervryheid (Creation of Afrikaner Freedom) works out the practicalities of ideas like Boshoff's

Orania plan — a *volkstaat* in the Northern Cape.

Vereniging van Oranjerwerkers

(Society of Orange Workers) Closely linked to the Volkswag, this society works at the Morgenon growth point on the Eastern Transvaal Highveld. They get their financial support from a group called Genootskap van Oranje Sakekringe (Society of Orange Business Circles) which has a membership of about 3 000 people country-wide.

The Oranjerwerkers are under the leadership of Verwoerd's son, Hendrik.

Boerewryheidsbeweging (Boer Freedom Movement)

Four members of the AWB's Groenraad (greater council), its highest decision making body, broke away from the AWB in protest after the Jani Allan incident. They appear to have been absorbed into the Afrikaner Volkswag.

The Boerestaters

The Boerestaatsparty (Boer State Party)

Members of this organisation, under the leadership of Robert van Tonder, see themselves as Boere and nothing else. They want nothing less than the old Boer republics to be reinstated.

Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who is on the run from the police after a load of weapons was stolen from the South African Defence Force last month, was their deputy leader.

Boere Separatiste

Formed by Rudolph, this organisation's current claim to fame is it publishes Boere identity documents which can be bought for R50.

Neo-Nazis

Wit Wolwe

Right-wing sources are adamant that the Wit Wolwe cannot be linked to existing far-right organisations and that "wolwe" such as Barend Strydom are individuals operating on their own initiative.

World Apartheid Movement

WAM's leader, Koos Vermeulen, who also head the Afrikaner Nasionaal-Sosialiste, celebrates Hitler's birthday every year.

This is not a complete guide to organisations on the far right. Observers believe there are at least 40 other small right-wing groups.

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
PIETERMARITZBURG

The University of Natal rejects apartheid. It is an equal opportunity, affirmative action university.

Student Counselling Centre

Director

Ref: P63/90

Closing date: 22 June 1990

Applications are invited from registered Psychologists, whose training and experience qualify them to manage a Centre which provides appropriate counselling over a wide range of student concerns — educational, vocational, personal/psychological, etc. Applicants must be registered with the South African Medical and Dental Council in at least one of the following categories — Counselling, Educational or Clinical Psychology.

The person appointed to this post may be required to serve a period as Deputy Dean of Student Services.

Salary range: R43 478 — R63 049, plus a non-pensionable allowance of 13%.

The salary offered will be determined according to the qualifications and/or experience of the successful applicant.

Application forms, details of the salary package and conditions of service are obtainable from the Personnel Section, University of Natal, P O Box 375, Pietermaritzburg, 3200, telephone (0331) 63320, fax no: (0331) 63497.

THE FAR-RIGHT'S FREEDOM MANIFESTO: FOR VOLK AND VADERLAND

THE Freedom Manifesto of Our People, the right-wing's version of the African National Congress' Freedom Charter, will be presented to the 100 000 *volk* expected at tomorrow's Volksaamtrek at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria.

According to the Freedom Manifesto:

OUR PEOPLE BELIEVE:

That God has absolute control over the existence and fate of all peoples; that our fathers were led to this land by Him with the aim of serving Him; that He has arranged a purpose for us; that our history represents His blessings and His discipline; that we must bow before Him in humble obedience and responsibility.

OUR PEOPLE REJECT:

An undivided unitary state wherein differing people are forced together under one authority in one nation; any

future domination by a black majority-rule government or any other constitutional dispensation which does not make provision for the complete freedom of our people in their own fatherland.

OUR PEOPLE DEMAND THE RIGHT:

To exist as a people; to be free; to rule ourselves in our own fatherland without intervention from outside; to protect our identity; to protect our existence with all means at our disposal; to establish according to our own choice an own community life and educational system.

OUR PEOPLE UNDERTAKE:

To acknowledge God as the absolute authority and to serve Him out of thankfulness for His mercy; to live according to the Biblical demands of morality; to promote peace, freedom and welfare to preserve the territory

of the fatherland; to promote trust and a spirit of sacrifice among our fellow citizens; to strive for peaceful relations with other people.

THEREFORE OUR PEOPLE SAY:

We shall not rest until our freedom in our own fatherland is assured.

We request our fellow citizens to support each other in this hour of need and to strengthen our unity.

We request our fellow citizens to humble themselves before our Heavenly Father and to unceasingly pray for the restoration of our freedom.

We request our Leader and our Party to call up our entire people to the freedom struggle and to use all available means in the struggle to realise this ideal.

FOR FREEDOM, NATIONHOOD AND FATHERLAND

I endorse this freedom manifesto with my signature.

Umlazi poll seen as a barometer

PRETORIA — The Umlazi by-election on June 6 will be a crucial barometer of support won or lost by major political parties since the dramatic changes which followed President F W de Klerk's watershed speech on February 2.

This is the view of political analyst Willem Kleynhans, who said yesterday the NP and the DP mounted intensive campaigns in the constituency in a bid to retain support won at September's general election.

The CP campaign was aimed at quickening what the party claimed is a drift of confused and frightened NP supporters to its ranks.

The vital question to be answered, however, was whether the right wing was still growing and whether an increasing number of whites were opposed to real reform and direct participation of blacks in government, Kleynhans said.

3041
GERALD REILLY

In the November Parliamentary by-elections in Vasco and Ceres the NP lost significant support and the CP registered moderate gains. 3041 25/5790

However, Kleynhans said, the impact of the February 2 speech and subsequent breathtaking events had to be tested at the polls.

The DP was fighting to show it still had relevance as a political force against a background of dwindling support.

The removal of apart-

heid in some areas and government's commitment to further reforms, and the likely favourable impact on the economy of De Klerk's overseas tour, could lead to significant DP defections.

He said the NP would find out whether its dynamic reform programme had alarmed significant support and whether any loss would be compensated for by DP defections.

The decline of NP dominance in Umlazi, he said, was shown by the 1987 and 1989 general election results.

Govt is in quandary over Walmer Estate

STW 25/5/90

Political Staff

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — The Government is in a quandary over what to do with the controversial ministerial houses built in Walmer Estate at a cost of R4,9 million after failing to convince Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse and his Ministers to move in.

The Department of Transport, Public Works and Land Affairs has confirmed that it is finally considering letting or selling the homes.

The Labour politicians have never lived in the luxurious houses, hemmed in by high security fences, on the slopes of Devil's Peak. They are accommodated in luxury flats in Rondebosch.

Residents of Walmer Estate objected strongly to the prospect of having the MPs living in their neighbourhood, fearing it would be a security risk.

The Labour Party also used the luxury homes as a means of protesting against the Group Areas Act, saying they would refuse to move in unless the Act were scrapped.

Now, however, the Government is anxious not to lose any money, but officials are concerned that the Group Areas Act might hinder a profitable sale.

Let's build new SA - Mandela

304A

THE people who were dying in Natal and Welkom, those who were being evicted from farms in the western Transvaal and millions of the unemployed demanded solutions, the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, said in Johannesburg this week.

Speaking at a conference on "Options for an economic future" at the Carlton Hotel on Wednesday, Mandela said South Africa's economy was in a crisis, investment was decreasing and inflation was high.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

There was no prospect of getting out of the morass while minority rule remained, he said.

"All of us here have an obligation to use the levers of power and influence we hold in our hands to ensure that the new day dawns now," he said.

About 40 officials of the ANC, MDM, Cosatu and 400 South African business leaders attended the conference, organised by the Consultative Business Movement to discuss the country's economic policy.

Mandela said the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few whites would have to change.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues we shall have to consider if we discuss the question of the democratisation and de-racialisation of economic power.

"The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalised, or that such nationalisation would take this or the

other form," he said.

The land question must be addressed. Recent actions by the State to sell land and to evict people from white farms were unhelpful.

Former Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly told the conference that business and political movements would have to seek a new set of jointly-held values to confront the challenges of building an economic future together.

These would include a recognition of the elements of individualism, competitiveness, consensus, co-operation and social conscience.



Mr Nelson Mandela



Mr Gavin Relly

European business takes the lead

Triumph for FW boosts SA's image

304A

8/04/90

304A

SA's credibility among both politicians and businessmen in Europe has soared following President F W de Klerk's successful nine-nation tour.

De Klerk told hundreds of cheering supporters on his arrival at Jan Smuts: "We looked Europe squarely in the eyes. The road for normal relations is open. ... We are believed."

A first indication that this is true is that the Italian equivalent of the Chamber of Business is sending out a delegation to investigate SA investment opportunities.

On the tour De Klerk met leading British, German and Swiss bankers.

Europe's largest bank, the Deutsche Bank, sent out a very strong signal of approval for his policies by inviting him to address a closed meeting.

Although the bankers were all concerned about stability in a changing SA, finance officials in Europe are expecting smaller banks to look anew at SA following the trip.

Already rollovers and short-term and some medium-term loans are becoming easier to secure in Europe. Officials are now awaiting a breakthrough in securing long-term loans.

Aides said the meetings with businessmen, including leaders of major international corporations and banks, could prove in the long run to have been the most impor-

MIKE ROBERTSON

tant part of the tour.

As far as sanctions are concerned De Klerk said at Jan Smuts that the countries visited fell into two categories.

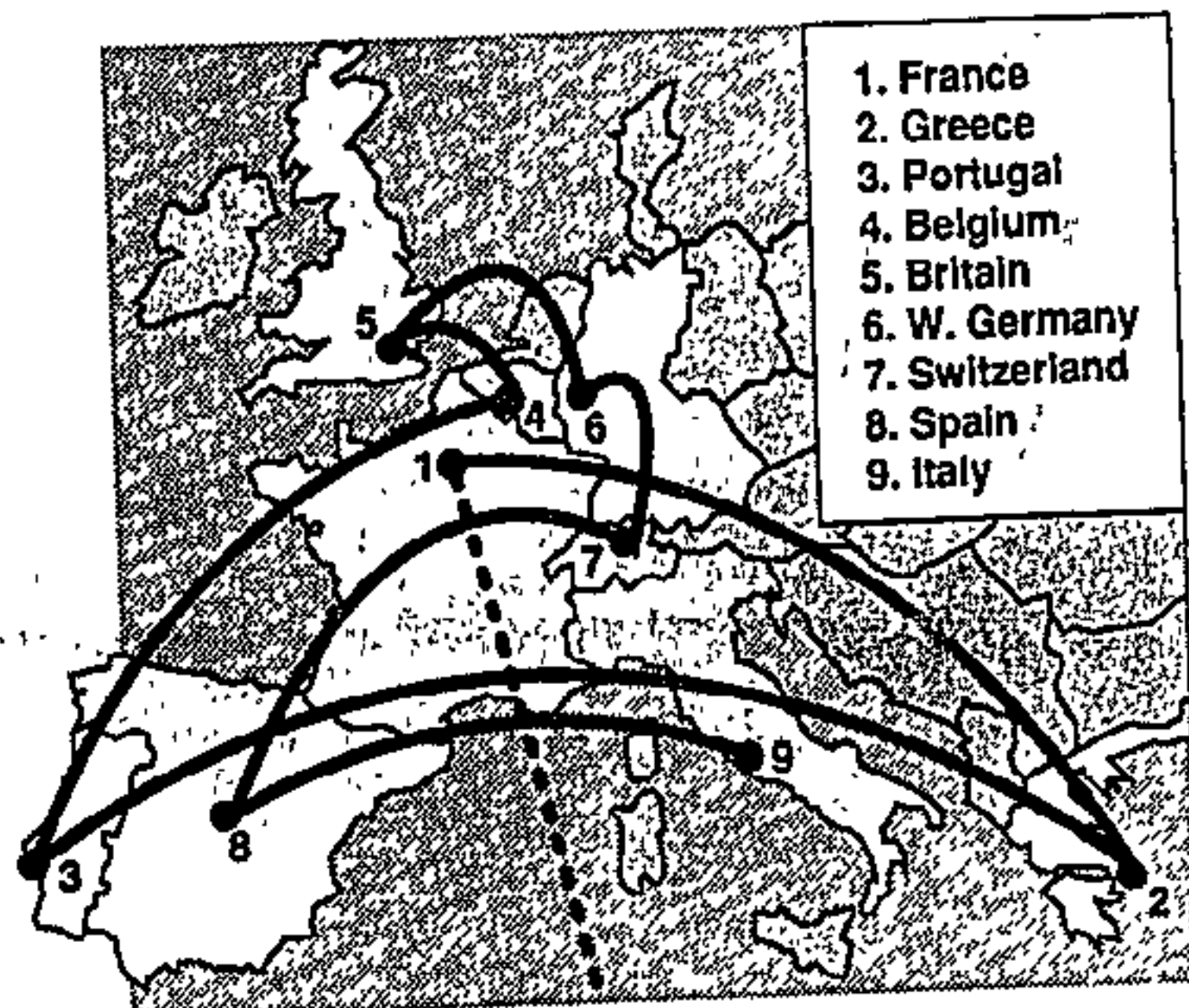
In the first group sanctions were already crumbling and the countries were looking to do new business with SA as they realised a prosperous SA was also in their interests.

Significantly, De Klerk said this group of countries included more than Britain and Portugal — the only ones to call publicly for the immediate lifting of all sanctions.

The second group, he said, was ready to normalise relationships with SA, but was awaiting a joint decision by the EC.

The important breakthrough on sanc-

□ To Page 2



Triumph

304A

24/5/90

tions came on the first leg of the tour when France's socialist President Francois Mitterrand accepted De Klerk's assurances that change in SA was irreversible.

Mitterrand indicated he would be prepared to push for at least a partial lifting of sanctions if there was movement to lift the emergency, release political prisoners and allow the return of exiles.

Regarding the return of exiles, government indicated to the wealthier European nations that it would not oppose any move on their part to fund the process.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said his government was prepared to provide some finance for this as well as for vocational training of exiles returning.

As regards the state of emergency, De Klerk maintained throughout the tour that while he wanted it to go soon, this was a not a political decision but one that depended on the situation on the ground.

However, on two occasions during the trip he indicated that a partial lifting — the emergency would remain in place in Natal — was under consideration.

It is possible that when the emergency comes up for renewal in the first week of

June he will adopt this course of action.

In that case he will have taken action on all three of the steps which Mitterrand suggested prior to the EC Council of Ministers meeting on June 18 and the summit on June 25-26.

De Klerk said at Jan Smuts that there had been real change in Europe's attitude towards SA. He warned, however, not to expect any dramatic developments.

Foreign Affairs officials on the trip said sanctions were already crumbling. Within six months SA's trade relations with EC countries would have been "normalised".

At a stopover on Ilha do Sal on Friday night, where De Klerk met Cape Verde President Aristide Maria Pereira, De Klerk said he hoped the US would soon grant SA landing rights again, allowing SAA to stop over on its US flights.

Referring to yesterday's right-wing gathering where 50 000 people took an oath to restore what government had "unjustly given away", De Klerk said: "The new SA is in the process of being born and nobody can stop it. Not through any large musters of meetings can anybody stop this process ... we know where we are going and we are going to succeed."

From Page 1

FW may delay trip to US

WASHINGTON — Pretoria has informed the US administration that President F W de Klerk proposes to postpone indefinitely his planned meeting with President George Bush next month, according to sources here. (304A)

US officials were yesterday seeking to clarify De Klerk's intentions. A senior member of the administration was expected to discuss the issue with Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the earliest opportunity.

There is concern within the administration that the postponement represents a blow to improved relations with Pretoria and to Bush's desire to play a constructive role in the unfolding negotiation process.

De Klerk was scheduled to have seen the US president on June 18, a week before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela visited the White House on June 25. It is

SIMON BARBER

believed his visit may be postponed by several months.

The timing of De Klerk's visit has been a matter of considerable controversy since Secretary of State James Baker offered him a choice of dates, in April.

When the juxtaposition of the visits became clear, the US signalled to De Klerk that he was free to change his dates, but was under no pressure from the administration to do so.

Last week TransAfrica director Randall Robinson, who is helping organise the Mandela trip, threatened to mount mass protests against De Klerk's visit, and senior members of Congress advised the White House that they would be unable to give De

□ To Page 2

US trip

Klerk a polite hearing if he came before Mandela.

Mandela said this week he was not concerned about the timing of De Klerk's trip.

At a Press conference on Wednesday, Baker referred to Mandela's statement and said he was unaware of any plans to postpone. A White House spokesman later said a formal announcement of De Klerk's visit would be made within a week.

Spokesmen from De Klerk's office and Foreign Affairs said yesterday the President's US trip was still on but no date had yet been confirmed, LESLEY LAMBERT reports from Cape Town.

Sources in De Klerk's European party have said it is likely the President will only travel to the US after Mandela's trip.

Meanwhile, TIM COHEN reports that TransAfrica's call for De Klerk's US visit to be called off and Mandela's indication that he doesn't mind if De Klerk visits the US before him were not inconsistent, TransAfrica's Robinson said yesterday.

Robinson, who arrived in SA on Wednesday to finalise details of Mandela's US trip, said TransAfrica's call was expressly aimed at US president George Bush.

● Comment: Page 6

□ From Page 1

ANC and CP plan big Pretoria rallies

Pretoria Bureau

Tomorrow on the 42nd anniversary of the National Party's coming to power, two organisations challenging that position from the left and the right will hold mass meetings in the capital city.

Parliamentary opposition leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will address a Conservative Party rally at the Voortrekker Monument.

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela will speak at an ANC mass meeting in Atteridgeville outside Pretoria.

The ANC rally, which organisers say will attract 200 000 people to the township's Super Stadium after an intensive publicity campaign in the township and surrounding areas, is due to begin at noon.

It will feature cultural events in-

cluding drum majorettes, poetry readings and drama.

Mr Mandela will speak at 2 pm in his first public appearance in the city since he gave his famous speech from the dock in the Rivonia trial in 1963.

"The ANC is returning to the citadel of apartheid," according to organiser Ronny Mamoepa.

Mr Mandela is expected to report back on his recent trip to African nations and may react to the tongue-lashing this week by the National Party on his criticism of police activities.

A giant sign proclaiming "ANC LIVES!" has been erected on Skeurberg hill to the west of the township in preparation for the rally.

● See Page 11.

Tough time predicted for Mandela

FW has 'turned tide of hostility'

25/5/90 304A

Political Staff and Reuter

President de Klerk ends his 18-day tour of nine European nations in Rome today, apparently confident he has begun to turn the tide of Western hostility to Pretoria.

Mr de Klerk meets Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti before returning to South Africa. He arrives at Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow morning.

Senior members of his team believe ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is likely to meet some tough resistance to ANC policies during his coming European tour.

They base this view on talks with political leaders, financiers, industrialists and opinion-formers.

But other sources are saying several European nations are waiting for Mr Mandela's visit early next month to hear at first hand his case for keeping sanctions and pressure on the South African Government.

After assessing the lobbying efforts of South Africa's two leading adversaries, European Community leaders will only decide in Dublin on June 25 whether to keep or ease pressures and sanctions.

South Africa's fate also depends on the controversial planned visits of Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to President Bush of the United States.

Strong objections have been raised in the US to Mr de Klerk seeing Mr Bush before Mr Mandela does. A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman in Pretoria today denied any knowledge of Mr de Klerk postponing his US visit indefinitely, as reported in certain newspapers today.

One message

A spokesman for the President's Office in Cape Town, Mr Kobus Pieterse, said he had spoken to Mr de Klerk's delegation two days ago and had been told that nothing had changed and the visit was still on, although no date had been fixed.

Spokesmen in Mr de Klerk's tour team said today that whatever the EC leaders decided next month, the message everywhere the party had been was: "We understand your problems and we want you to succeed."

Regarding Mr Mandela, they believe the international community's lionisation of him will eventually play itself out, but will probably continue during Mr Mandela's forthcoming tour. But they said Mr Mandela will meet criticism over ANC talk of nationalisation and continuing the armed struggle.

Internal ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said today that although he could not predict what issues foreign governments would raise in their meetings with Mr Mandela, he was certain Mr Mandela would not bend under any foreign pressure.

He said a "tremendous reception" awaited Mr Mandela in Europe, and the ANC office in Johannesburg was inundated with invitations from governments, trade unions and many other bodies in those countries.

● See Page 2.

LEADERSHIP

F/M 25/5/90 (304A) (1A)

Bringing the message home

If any reminder was needed of the serious obstacles in the way of lasting peace, it came from Welkom this week. White and black no-go areas were swiftly defined; hatred was rife; and there was loss of life and physical damage. Despite the personal intervention of the minister of police, it was the police, as usual, who were accused of firing without provocation.

Welkom, like Boksburg before it, was made the target of a black consumer boycott. Clearly, for whites in such mining communities — hit by a falling gold price, declining standards of living and insecurities over the future — reform has a harsher face than in more affluent areas. It creates enormous resentments and then the divisions between suburb and township, hostel and saloon bar grow deep indeed.

Before Sunday's "unrest" racial attacks, indeed racial murder, had made the situation virtually uncontrollable.

Meanwhile, the two most visible leaders of the nation, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, have been travelling.

Obviously, De Klerk deserves every plaudit he can get in Europe — and all the better if they come with renewed access to world financial and trade markets. He is a genuine reformer and it can be reasoned that sanctions contributed to the embitterment of his predecessor. And, as obviously, Mandela has debts to pay in Africa, though it is perhaps odd that his trip coincides with De Klerk's and takes him to the embrace of Colonel Gaddafi and Yasser Arafat.

But once their travels are over, will we be any better off than before? The EC will continue to evaluate sanctions, as it was already doing, and doubtless Libya and Egypt will continue to maintain sanctions. The situation in Welkom will be neither worsened nor improved by any of this.

Mandela and De Klerk do have this in common: their popularity abroad (depending, of course, on where they are) is a great deal more visible than it is at home. Attendances at ANC rallies have plummeted and De Klerk has not appeared in conservative areas to tell his people where he intends taking them. Terrible black rivalries in Natal continue and the mood of Welkom could spread across the Free State goldfields.

The danger exists that government and the ANC will end up talking to each other — perhaps even contemplating a coalition with each other — without carrying their communities with them. This might be a risk worth taking in a country where the parties to a dispute have been clearly defined by history — where one is a colonial power, say, and the other demonstrably representative of the colonised's aspirations.

In SA, the components of the racial impasse are too diverse for such an assumption.

Perhaps the time has come for De Klerk and Mandela to apply their energies to some internal persuasion and bridge-building. The Nationalists cannot simply write off the right-wing — it is too powerful for that. The ANC cannot allow local comrades to take things into their own hands — and believe that they will fall into line later.

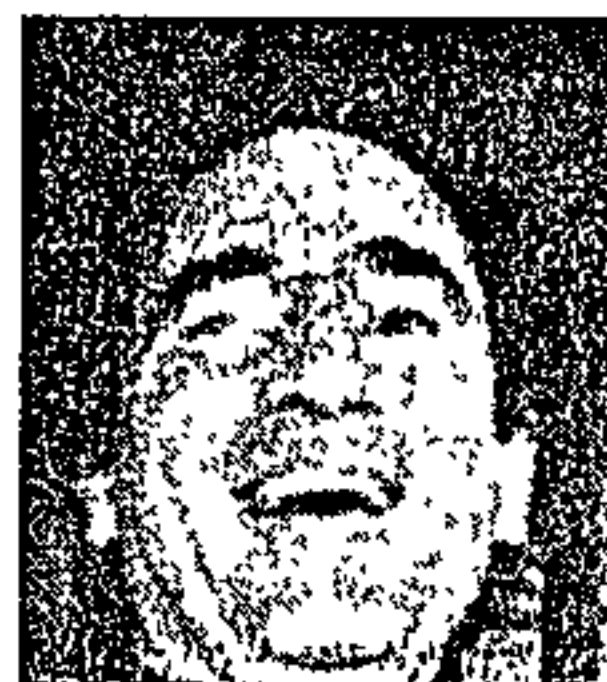
Joint peace initiatives at local level could have a profound psychological effect on the mood of the nation. Doubtless, if De Klerk and Mandela were to appear on the same platform in Welkom they might experience some problems; but there is no such barrier to travelling in Natal.

Meanwhile, there are far too many Welkoms waiting to happen. ■

Don't privatise apartheid

304A

FM 25/5/90



Albie Sachs, the ANC's foremost legal academic, recently returned home for a visit after 24 years in exile. He stressed that this interview, with the FM's Amarnath Singh, was in his personal capacity.

FM: Is President De Klerk negotiating himself out of power?

Sachs: We have to look at SA in a whole new way. Our real task now is not who's going to be in office and who not, it's what kind of constitution we are going to have. Our task is to agree upon one that is really democratic and that will serve for generations to come.

Do you see the new constitution being worked out before elections are held, in a constituent assembly, or how?

There is no doubt that in Namibia the key moment that resolved the war and the bitterness was the holding of general elections. They gave confidence to everybody and I think the same would apply to SA. I would very strongly argue that it be a constituent assembly. It would have a mandate from the whole population and it's a procedure that can be very calming.

One of your inputs is on the ANC's Bill of Rights ...

Let me say first that to have a justiciable Bill of Rights was adopted as ANC policy in January 1986. The only role that I might have played was to help articulate the policy. One reason for the emphasis given to it is because people believed in it. But also to make clear that we felt this provided a much sounder foundation for protecting rights than concepts of groups rights.

How important does the ANC regard property rights?

This is a specific issue that has to be tackled on its own. On the one hand, you can say there is the right of people who've acquired property not to be deprived of it. On the other hand, you can say there's the right of those who've been dispossessed of their property to have access to property. The real problem of the constitution is to find some principle of fairness that acknowledges the social and economic situation in SA.

What I can see coming into a constitution (it's already in the ANC guidelines), is protection for personal and family property.

My feeling is that the less said in the constitution about property, the better. The constitution should simply establish guarantees that there is free, fair and open debate, that if the government makes a mess-up of things it can be chucked out and not decide on the specifics of economic policy and not tie future governments.

I would argue in favour of possibly constitutionalising the principle of fairness, which is not a specific political position. This would dictate that there should be remedial action to deal with past discrimination and inequality. But fairness also requires that procedures be as fair as possible, that they be governed by law.

Is there a case for entrenching minority rights? Other countries have.

As long as we've got apartheid we can never face up to what's been called the national question, which at the moment is totally dominated by white supremacy.

The key question in terms of voting rights is: should we have a non-racial voters' roll? We cannot have a population registration system. That keeps apartheid alive and we cannot permit the mobilisation of ethnicity. A non-racial democracy requires a completely non-racial electoral system.

That doesn't mean the question of ethnicity — language, religious, cultural rights — disappears. It doesn't. Once you've established basic principles of a common voters' roll and real equal rights for everybody irrespective of race and so on, then you can tackle the aspects associated with ethnicity that are recognised in many parts of the world as meriting constitutional attention.

Perhaps, instead of looking at group rights, one can look at social interests that merit protection. Take language. You establish that as a constitutional principle that operates in relation to all groups and establish appropriate mechanisms to protect it. It seems, judging by Gerrit Viljoen's 12-point statement, that the NP is moderating its position quite remarkably.

I wish they would really take the plunge, because ambiguity in the long run doesn't help. If we can accept clear, undiluted non-racial democracy in a basically united SA, then we can start discussing the best mechanisms for ensuring that there are no abuses, that the process of transformation is as fair as possible and involves the least disruption to the economy as possible; that the process of nation-building can proceed in the most favourable context. Get the big issue out of the way and then the mechanisms and the details will solve themselves very quickly. Among Viljoen's 12 points is a guarantee against a communist dictator.

The person who has been the first to demand guarantees against a communist dictator is Joe Slovo. So I'm not quite sure why Viljoen is even raising it. We're against any kind of dictator.

He also wants a protected Bill of Rights.

We're glad that he's coming round to the ANC position that goes back to 1986.

Regular elections?

We're totally in favour of that; it goes back to the Freedom Charter.

A free-market economy?

To the extent that we support a mixed economy, which means there is a free market that plays a very significant role in economic life. But we wouldn't like to see the market pitted against the national effort, or vice versa. The real problem is to find a good mix and an active collaboration between the private sector and the public sector.

Residential group rights?

If residential group rights were based on real free choice or even a kind of lottery, there would be an argument for it; I think it would be a bad argument. Fundamentally, people should be free to live where they want. What we are getting now are steps to introduce privatised apartheid, by means of so-called voluntary association to enable people living in particular neighbourhoods to establish, through restrictive covenant, zones that are really group areas by another name; and to set up schools that would be separate amenities by another name. What's the point of destroying apartheid with one hand and reintroducing it with the other hand?

An independent judiciary?

That is vital. I saw a lovely phrase the other day — "a constitution is the autobiography of a nation." We are writing our constitutional autobiography and clearly the judiciary will have a key role to play as the guardians. However, it can't simply be our present judiciary. The judiciary itself has to be transformed so that everybody feels confidence in it.

Viljoen also wants a fair tax system.

Everybody in the world wants that; fair to whom? Obviously a fair tax system is going to be fundamental, but I'm not sure the constitution can have very much to say about that. It's crazy to try and fix income tax in a constitution, that's what parliament is for.

A tax system can be a very important form of redistribution that can help minimise the degree of direct intervention in economic life that otherwise might be required. One knows all the arguments, that if you over-tax you don't leave enough for investment and discourage initiative and so on. But all these factors have to be taken into account.

Minority representation in government?

To make it a question of quotas is very wrong and will only lead to conflict. But any future government that has the interests of the country at heart will inevitably draw upon the talents, resources, skills and experiences of all the different communities. This will be something that works out in a very organic way, which is a much stronger foundation than artificial constitutions. One doesn't want to hop around from country to country, but the Ugandan, Lebanese, Cypriot experiences of trying to constitutionalise fundamental social, economic and cultural questions is not the way. The real answer is to have a strong democratic constitution, with strong guarantees of basic rights.

WHEN his presidential Boeing 707 touches down at Jan Smuts tomorrow morning, President F W de Klerk will have every justification for feeling well pleased with himself.

He came to Europe to convince political leaders an irreversible process of change, justifying a rethink on relations, was under way.

Without exception the leaders he has met so far have believed him. There is no reason to suspect that Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, whom De Klerk meets today, will not.

Britain's Margaret Thatcher again leapt ahead of her EC colleagues. She declared sanctions to be a thing of the past and called for stepped-up lending to SA to enable the country to achieve growth rates at which it would be possible to begin undoing the ravages of apartheid.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl was less forthcoming but signalled approval by upgrading the status of De Klerk's visit. He promised an EC rethink on June 25 and, as by then there should be movement in SA to allow exiles to return and the release of political prisoners, a signal can be expected.

That a signal is all that can be hoped for has more to do with SA's pariah status under P W Botha and his NP predecessors than a belief among European leaders that sanctions are in any way beneficial to change in SA. It will take time and continued change in SA before European leaders feel publicly ditching sanctions will not count against them with their own electorates.

In reality, however, sanctions are a thing of the past. Restricted SA exports are slipping into Europe with increasing ease and senior Foreign Affairs officials predict a complete return to normality within six months.

As far as the ruling politicians of the European countries visited are concerned, De Klerk has received a thumbs up.

But, separately, and perhaps more importantly, the President has also held numerous meetings with industrialists and financiers. As far as this group is concerned, the jury is still out — not on De Klerk but on the new SA he envisages.

On Tuesday night De Klerk faced

Businessmen may be harder to woo than the politicians

MIKE ROBERTSON in Rome

one of his toughest challenges. At the invitation of Europe's biggest bank, Deutsche Bank, he addressed German industrialists and financiers with more than R3bn invested in SA.

The dinner was a private affair, but according to those present De Klerk delivered, as on every occasion on this tour, an upbeat message. SA had changed irreversibly, good progress was being made towards negotiations, the time had come for the international community to rethink its position on SA.

The message was apparently well received — then the tough talking started. What the industrialists had come for was not the message of hope, which they welcomed, but to sense whether the new SA would have the stability they required for continued investment.

All De Klerk could answer was: "We are prepared to compromise, but we are not prepared to commit suicide" — a message he repeated when he addressed leading Swiss bankers and industrialists in Zurich.

Change in SA has come at a time when its only real competitor in the strategic metal field, the Soviet Union, is finding it difficult, if not nearly impossible, to switch from a command economy to one in which the market has a limited role.

The Soviet Union has the metal and minerals but lacks the technology, efficient transport system and business "culture" to inspire confidence as a reliable supplier. If bankers and industrialists are concerned

about stability in a future SA, they are doubly concerned about stability in Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union.

Glasnost and perestroika may excite the politicians of Europe; Ruhr industrialists, faced with increasing competition from Japan and the emerging Asian tigers, need coal, minerals and metals.

Another factor in favour of SA and the southern African region is the growing environment problem in Europe. Green issues will continue to

be agenda-setting matters.

Beneficial spinoffs include platinum. The West Germans have been at the forefront of efforts to get the EC to accept compulsory fitting of catalytic converters to control vehicle exhaust emissions.

The two Germanys will be united later this year or early in 1991. East Germany has some of the foulest air and cars which are the worst polluters in all Europe. If EC standards of pollution control are to be applied in East Germany, SA platinum producers can only benefit.

European green awareness offers other, more substantial, opportunities for SA. Pollution from smokestack industries has wreaked such havoc in EC countries that the expansion of mineral and metal beneficiation plants has almost been ruled out because they are too "environmentally" costly.

Beneficiation of this type figures high on the agenda of Administration and Economic Co-ordination Minister Wim de Villiers as he sets about restructuring government's economic policy.

The combination of a Europe constrained by an environmental straightjacket, a stable rand and a government seeking to build on strategic advantages promises much in the line of jobs and export earnings.

An unanswered question is whether bankers will be willing to come forward with new loans to fund such developments. Before De Klerk's tour, his party believed it faced

strong competition from former East Bloc countries and the Soviet Union for development capital. But, with the exception of some British banks, it appears that the general assessment of European bankers is that the central European economies are "hollow shells" and not safe risks.

In Switzerland, where the banker is king, things are looking decidedly better for SA. Margins are coming down, rollovers are being granted more easily and officials talk in hushed tones of a gradual return to normality.

The Deutsche Bank's invitation to De Klerk was, as one SA official put it, a stamp of approval for good housekeeping. If Europe's leading bank is looking again at SA, others will soon follow.

Much, as the questioners at the dinner demonstrated, depends on perceptions of future stability. SA does not yet have the beggar status accorded to the rest of Africa (with Botswana as the notable exception).

Nelson Mandela will be following De Klerk to Europe. He will be welcomed with enthusiasm — lionised for his unstinting opposition to apartheid. Politically, it is too soon for him to stop talking about sanctions, so he will make a ritual call for the continued application of restrictive measures. European political leaders (not Thatcher) will mumble platitudes and soon get back to serious business.

If Mandela gets beyond the platitudes and is treated to a session at Deutsche Bank followed by a grilling by the gnomes of Zurich, whose money at stake will soon convince him he is flogging a dead horse.

A chance exists for SA and perhaps the southern African region not to be written off by Europe, but only if it is soon realised it was only apartheid that kept us on the front pages.

Without apartheid we stand in line with the rest of the Third World. Without stability and attractive opportunities for investors, despite our strategic advantages, we will be written off with contempt like the rest of Africa.

SA managed to attract attention through the abhorrence of its political system. Now it has to do it the hard way — by succeeding.



□ DE KLERK

If whites voted now, CP could double, says survey

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

IF an election of white voters was held now, the Conservative Party might almost double its number of elected representatives, the Democratic Party would lose more than half of its seats, while the National Party would lose four percent of its directly elected seats.

So claims the Human Rights Trust Journal *Monitor* in a survey of voter trends in two key Eastern Cape constituencies, released today.

Monitor predicted that the CP would win 25 seats — mostly in the Transvaal and Orange Free State — from the NP, which in turn would win 21 seats — mainly in Natal, and Cape urban seats — from the DP.

The constituencies studied were Walmer, as an example of a marginal NP-DP seat, and Uitenhage, where the NP and CP have been close rivals.

The survey found State President FW de Klerk's reforms more popular with DP than NP voters. About one-fifth of DP voters found Nelson Mandela's statements "reassuring", while less than one-tenth of NP and no CP voters agreed.

About half of the DP voters questioned were confident about the future, as were about a quarter of NP voters, and two percent of CP voters.

The survey found that between nine (in the liberal, city-centre seat) and 13 percent (in the conservative, small-town constituency) of NP voters admit changing loyalties to the CP since the election.

About one-third of DP voters have changed loyalty, although not many have moved to the African National



FW de Klerk

Congress-Mass Democratic Movement alliance. About a quarter of those who voted DP in September would vote NP now.

English-speaking support for the CP has risen to 11 percent of English-speaking voters, while Afrikaans support for the CP has crossed the 50 percent (of adult Afrikaners) mark.

Despite the recent drop in support for the DP, *Monitor* found that it was only because of that party's strength at the time of the September election, that De Klerk could take the steps he has since February 2.

The DP therefore "deserves its share of the credit for the lurch towards the new South Africa". — Ecna

(304A)

W/M 25/5 - 31/5/90

WEEK
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The rest of the day will be spent with cultural activities. That, surely, includes the battle of the giants at Loftus.

The Volksaamtrek is really seen as a show of strength for the CP and not the rightwing as a whole.

"We were certainly not invited," says Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais. "This is not a volks rally, it is a party affair."

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's Kays Smit agrees: "It is misleading. No other speaker apart from Treurnicht has been invited."

The AWB and the HNP have their own rally on Thursday, Republic Day, at the Waterval Festival Terrain in Johannesburg.

CP representative Chris van den Heever says that there is an open invitation

to everyone who is "concerned about the state of the nation".

Another gathering of an entirely different sort will take place, also on Republic Day, at a country hotel near Pretoria. It is an Afrikaans rock concert named "Houdstok" after the famous Woodstock event in America in 1969. Such "alternative Afrikaans" iconoclasts as Koos Kombuis and Randy Rambo will perform.

The ANC rally tomorrow will be the first Mandela address in the Pretoria region. Tens of thousands of supporters are expected.

All tickets have been sold out for the Loftus match and it will be televised only on M-Net.

Charles Leonard



Rightwingers on a march to Pretoria ... tomorrow a large gathering of rightwingers is expected to launch the *Third Freedom Struggle*

Picture: AVIGAIL UZI, Afrapix

Safe but fluid (306A)

Just under two weeks to go to the first ANC-era by-election in Natal's Umlazi constituency; it is unlikely the NP will lose this traditional stronghold but its majority could be slashed on June 6. It is a conservative, largely working-class area, and a CP upset is not impossible.

With all three main parliamentary parties contesting the election, the Umlazi results should be a good indicator of white political attitudes after the release of Nelson Mandela and the Groote Schuur talks.

A fourth candidate — independent Dave McNaught, a maverick city councillor — had his application turned down by the returning officer who decided the nomination papers were not correctly filled in.

McNaught lives in the area and has done a lot of canvassing. He believes the Nats have the best chance but warns the fluidity of national events makes predictions difficult. He also says he discerned a lot of DP support swinging towards the NP. If this turns out to be the case, it could be seen as a mark of approval for President F W de Klerk's initiatives and DP deserters could make up for any Nat bleeding to the Right.

The DP got off to a bad start by being the last party to announce its candidate — Durban-based businessman Trevor Coppen — amid reports of doubts over whether to field a candidate at all.

Predictably, the DP says it can win the seat but it will probably be lucky to retain the 3 314 votes which saw the party come second to Con Botha in last year's general election. Botha is now Natal Administrator.

The CP is fielding stalwart member Francis Hitchcock, backed by a high-profile campaign featuring the party's most fiery speakers, among them CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

In contrast, the NP's campaign has been lacklustre, though its candidate, Piet Matthee, does not agree. He says a senior NP MP might be coming to Umlazi before the election.

It's widely believed the NP has not arranged any big public meetings because of the likelihood of rightwingers hijacking or breaking up the event.

Matthee, who held the Umbilo seat from 1987 until he lost it last year to the DP's Carol Charlewood, admits this is possible but says it will not put the NP off holding public meetings. ■

So wetan 25/5/90

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De Klerk returns



THE State President, Mr F W de Klerk, is to return to South Africa tomorrow morning from his European tour.

His office in Cape Town said in a statement he was expected to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport at about 10am.

Members of the public are welcome to attend the airport ceremony, at which De Klerk will address those present. - Sapa.

Tide has turned — we'll win, says FW

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The tide had turned in South Africa and was starting to turn in Europe, President De Klerk said today.

To cheers and applause of supporters who met him on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport here today, he said: "South African pride has been restored. We have made up our minds, know where we are going and we are going to succeed."

The crowd of more than 2 000 flagwaving supporters welcoming the president after his European tour was swelled by MPs, Cabinet ministers and members of the President's Council.

Flags in orange, white and blue bearing pictures of President De Klerk and the today's date were handed out with "I Love FW" stickers.

Squarely in the eye

Before the president's arrival the police choir from Soweto, accompanied by singers Innes and Fionna Bernardi, sang a welcome.

President De Klerk stepped on the podium accompanied by Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha. After a welcome from Dr Viljoen, the president took the microphone amid great cheers.

He said that he had looked the international community squarely in the eye. He spoke of the importance of South Africa and said the country had not yet reached its full potential.

South Africa would be one of the greatest countries in the world, he said. "There are people in Europe who hope and pray just as much as us that we will be successful in the new South Africa."

President De Klerk said even the public in Europe warmed to his entourage and the few demonstrators were pathetic. There were no demonstrators or protesters at the airport today.

Heavy police presence

At the close of his speech, a brief address by Mr Botha and a hymn by the police choir, President De Klerk asked that the national anthem be sung.

Afterwards he left and the crowd dispersed quickly.

On the highway between the airport and Pretoria policemen manned almost every bridge and at the airport building itself there was a heavy police presence.

NEWS

30 Kft

IN SEARCH OF SYMBOLS FOR ALL IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

A VAST panoply of divisive symbols occur in South Africa and the transition to peaceful democracy lies in the creation of new symbols with which all races can identify.

Symbols like the South African flag, the national anthem, monuments, cultural organisations and even buildings need to be reassessed in terms of a new South Africa embracing all cultural groups.

This view is shared by many psychologists who say the new South Africa will be born out of a determination by individuals to take responsibility for changing perceptions and new symbols will play an important part in this activity.

It was especially important that people on the extreme opposites like the AWB and the PAC started reaching out to each other.

Mr Mark Wellman of the Cape of Good Hope Centre for Jungian Studies in Cape Town said Jungians believed 40 years of apartheid had created complete polar opposites between radical whites and blacks.

"Whenever this happens you have dangerous volatile situations like in Welkom, where you have two radical extremes squaring up to each other," he said.

According to Mr Wellman the only way to diffuse this type of situation was to find symbols with which both groups could identify and which would help to bring them together.

He said nature had been suggested as a good symbol and the Reserve Bank's decision to "depoliticise" bank notes and to use wild animals instead of Jan van Riebeeck on them was a step in

Symbols play an important part in all cultures. South Africa is

characterised by divisive symbols.

Weekend Argus Reporter GRAHAM

LIZAMORE examines the role of

these symbols and their importance in the creation of a new South Africa.

the right direction.

"Nature will be a good symbol. It is neutral and belongs to us all," he said.

Mr Wellman said South Africa had to do away with symbols of repression.

"One of the problems with our present society is that it is filled with symbols that evoke anger."

Buildings, government vehicles, monuments, schools, all had connotations with apartheid and were resented at a very deep level. So when black people burned buildings they were in most cases really expressing anger against what they represented to them, he said.

Professor J W de Gruy of the Department of Religious Studies at UCT agreed on the need for new symbols but also said churches and cultural groups had an important part to play in the creation of new attitudes among South Africans.

"You can't have a new nation without the development of a common culture. It is fundamental — it takes time and you have to work at it — it won't take one generation."

Churches and other religious groups had to realise that this was part of their task. "We have not just got to change the political structures but to change the whole psyche of the country", to create a new identity before we even get near to a solution.

It was however very important that leaders become aware of the power of symbols.

He pointed out that a rugby tour for instance could be divisive or help to unite people of different races. It would depend on what degree of sanction it had from the majority of South Africans.

"I believe the rugby board's decision not to have any overseas sides here is a recognition of the need to gain the support of most South Africans."

Racists fighting the 'blacks inside them'

ARGUS 26/5/90

(3041)

Rightwingers have deep-rooted, unconscious fears born from a rigid Calvinist tradition which they project on to black people. Weekend Argus Reporter GRAHAM LIZAMORE examines the development of these fears and prejudices with which conservatives have to come to terms in a new South Africa.

WHEN Nelson Mandela — the world's most-famous prisoner — walked out of Victor Verster Prison it was also white South Africa that tasted freedom for the first time in 27 years.

To many whites, particularly the conservative English and rightwing Afrikaners, Mr Mandela had become an unconscious symbol of their fears and prejudices. While he remained in jail, it created for them a sense of security.

However, these whites did not realise that, as jailers, they had unwittingly placed themselves in captivity. While Mr Mandela — the symbol of black hopes for freedom — remained in prison, no white could truly be free.

South Africa's bondage and release, set against the background of Afrikaner nationalism, is being examined by local psycho-therapists.

Warned of Hitler

At a time when white racists are mobilising and threatening to derail moves to create a new South Africa, psychologists have turned to Carl Gustav Jung, the turn-of-the-century psycho-therapist for some insight into white racism.

Jung, who warned against the rise of Hitler and the nazis, said no person was pure and pristine. Everyone was a combination of light and darkness.

Light is perceived to indicate the rational, or the masculine side of human nature. Darkness is said to represent the emotional, or the feminine, side. Together, they make up the psyche.

If any one aspect is highlighted, for instance rationality or masculinity, it is almost certain that feelings, emotions and intuitions or femininity will be undervalued.

However, if the undervalued aspects of the psyche are repressed

they won't go away. They will be pushed into the unconscious and start taking on a life of their own.

So, if a person strives towards rationality by ignoring those elements, the rest will clamour to be integrated into the psyche and so form a "whole" person.

If denied long enough, it will start creating psychological disturbances — sometimes with catastrophic results!

Until recently, the legislative cornerstones of apartheid were the Mixed Marriages Act (1949) the Immorality Act (1950) the Population Registration Act (1950) the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) and the Group Areas Act (1950).

The purpose of these acts was to ensure the existence of the "white race", "western civilisation" or "Christian civilisation" in southern Africa.

The crucial element, however, was the continued existence of the Afrikaner "volk".

The architects and enforcers of apartheid in the past refused to abolish these "cornerstones" because they believed it would be tantamount to "self-destruction".

Real threat

However, the question has to be asked: What is the real threat to existence in the sharing of a residential area, a public amenity or one's sexuality with a black person? Logic dictates there is no danger.

Psychologists say there are deep-seated unconscious forces at play in the white rightwinger's make-up, drawn from a cultural reservoir built centuries ago in Europe and eventually manifested in what is known and condemned universally as apartheid.

Dr Phillip Faber of the Cape of Good Hope Centre of Jungian Studies in Cape Town has traced

certain characteristics common to the Afrikaner and Afrikaner nationalism.

As a contributor to an as-yet-unpublished manuscript, *Modern South Africa in Search of a Soul*, edited by Professor Graham Saayman, the former head of the

Department of Psychology at UCT, Dr Faber examines from a psychological point of view the preoccupation that Afrikaners have had with the protection of their identity.

Dr Faber believes that the pagan and religious traditions and cults of the late classical Graeco-Roman culture created a balance between the masculine and feminine with the inclusion of a number of female deities.

Feminine hell

With the advent of Christianity and a fundamentally masculine Trinity, the archetypal feminine was allowed to survive only in a subordinated form of a "neutral" virgin.

According to Jung, in patriarchal Christianity the underworld is "feminine as hell".

Perhaps the most radical denial and repudiation of the feminine were the doctrines of Calvinism, which, by means of a militant religious authoritarianism, sought to impose the law of the ancient Judaic patriarchal god, Jehovah.

"The preservation of masculine identity through 'separateness' from the archetype feminine is the basis of apartheid," says Dr Faber.

Another Jungian psychologist, Mr Mark Welman, also of UCT, refers to what Jung called the "shadow".

"In terms of Jungian psychology the person I have hated all along is not that person of a different religion or colour, it is someone inside me — my shadow. So, the racist is fighting the black man inside him," he said.

Mortal enemies

Mr Welman says you have to look at what black means to your strongly traditional Afrikaner stock. It's not simply someone of a different colour and culture, it's a symbol of everything they grow up to fear.

Everything they repress in their unconscious is projected onto "the blacks", who then become their mortal enemies.

The dark skin has unconscious connotations with negativity (including femininity) and one thing that is characteristic of Afrikaner families is that they stress masculinity, or the macho culture, to an incredible degree.

"Part of the reason why there is such irrational dislike and fear of black people is that if they (racists) had to accept blacks it would be tantamount to them believing that their masculinity would be destroyed," says Mr Welman.

However, it is vital that this black man, or shadow, be acknowledged to avoid serious psychological disturbances as seen when Pretoria mass killer Barend Strydom, unable to contain his deep-seated guilt and totally unbalanced psyche last year went on his murderous rampage, killing eight innocent black people.

It is also significant that family murderers are predominantly Afrikaners. The sense of failure and guilt is overwhelming in a culture where masculinity is stressed and where there is no release for pent-up emotions. The result: disaster.

Had to unban ANC

Mr Welman says that from a psychological point of view the African National Congress had to be unbanned.

"The more you repress something, the stronger it grows — and the more you destroy yourself."

It was vital for the Afrikaner, seen in the form of President De Klerk, to come to terms with that "shadow" locked away for so many years, first on Robben Island then in Victor Verster Prison.

The labour pains of the new South Africa could not begin until both the black man and his white oppressor were released.

In acknowledging the right of blacks to be free, the National Party government took the first steps to healing a psychologically battered country, it was also the greatest gift which a courageous and heroic people could give to their country.



Mr Nelson Mandela ... on the road to freedom after leaving Victor Verster Prison.

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35 000 CP faithful show the flag

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3084

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Conservative Party members showed their colours here today.

About 35 000 men, women and children, many wearing the bright red, white, blue and green of the old Transvaal flag, the Vierkleur, or in equally bright CP orange, converged on the Voortrekker Monument from early morning for the party's volksvergadering.

The crowd cheered the arrival of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, his deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, and their wives in a horse-drawn carriage shortly before 10am.

Laid wreaths

Earlier the leaders had been welcomed at Church Square where wreaths were laid at the foot of Paul Kruger's statue to commemorate this "father of the Afrikaner volk" and particularly his "refusal to surrender".

Prominent CP members also laid wreaths at the graves of J.G. Strijdom and Hendrik Verwoerd in the Hero's

Acre in the old Pretoria cemetery and afterwards at the statue honouring Martinus Wessel Pretorius, founder of Pretoria, outside the city hall.

Early city traffic halted while a horse guard of about 100 moved along Church Street West from 6.30am, around Church Square, up Paul Kruger Street to the City Hall and then into Potgieter Street towards the monument.

Souvenir hunters

In spite of the cold the crowd was jovial, waving the Vierkleur, CP, old Free State and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging flags from car windows and shouting greetings.

At the monument the crowd waited patiently, talking and singing Boer songs, browsing among the souvenirs or looking for political discussion. The names F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela could often be overheard.

By the time proceedings started at in the amphitheatre of the monument at 10am there were about 35 000 people gathered, but crowds were still streaming up the hillside.

skilled and killed in the



'THESE THINGS HAPPEN. WHAT'S TO BE, WILL BE'
— Smuts



'A great statesman has fallen and his country will undergo a period of anxiety'
— Churchill



'IT WAS A MIRACLE.'
— Malan, after Smuts's defeat.

A day to remember for Nationalists

W/L-AR643 26/5/90

3049

As the *volk* gather today in Pretoria under the auspices of the Conservative Party to remember and to resist, any Nationalist with a sense of history will be struck by the irony of it all.

May 26 is a special date in the annals of Afrikaner nationalist politics. It was on this day in 1948 that they ousted the grand old man of South African statehood, General Jan Smuts, and began to run the country themselves.

But if May 26 in 1948 was a day to concentrate the minds of South Africans, May 26 1990 is quite as compelling.

The political force which ascended then with such vigour ultimately to create one of the century's most infamous political ideologies is now presiding with uncanny determination over its own demise.

There were scenes of wild jubilation when Smuts fell in Standerton to sacked Foreign Affairs official and Broederbond member Wennie du Plessis.

The event moved Churchill to remark that "a great world statesman has fallen and his country will undergo a period of anxiety and perhaps temporary eclipse ..."

Smuts's only resigned comment a day after the election was simply: "These things happen. What's to be, will be."

Even the National Party Press was almost apologetic. One newspaper said in an editorial that while it did not wish to "hide our joy" at the defeat of Smuts, "we feel the tragedy of this happening".

MANY will remember the events of those May days in 1948.

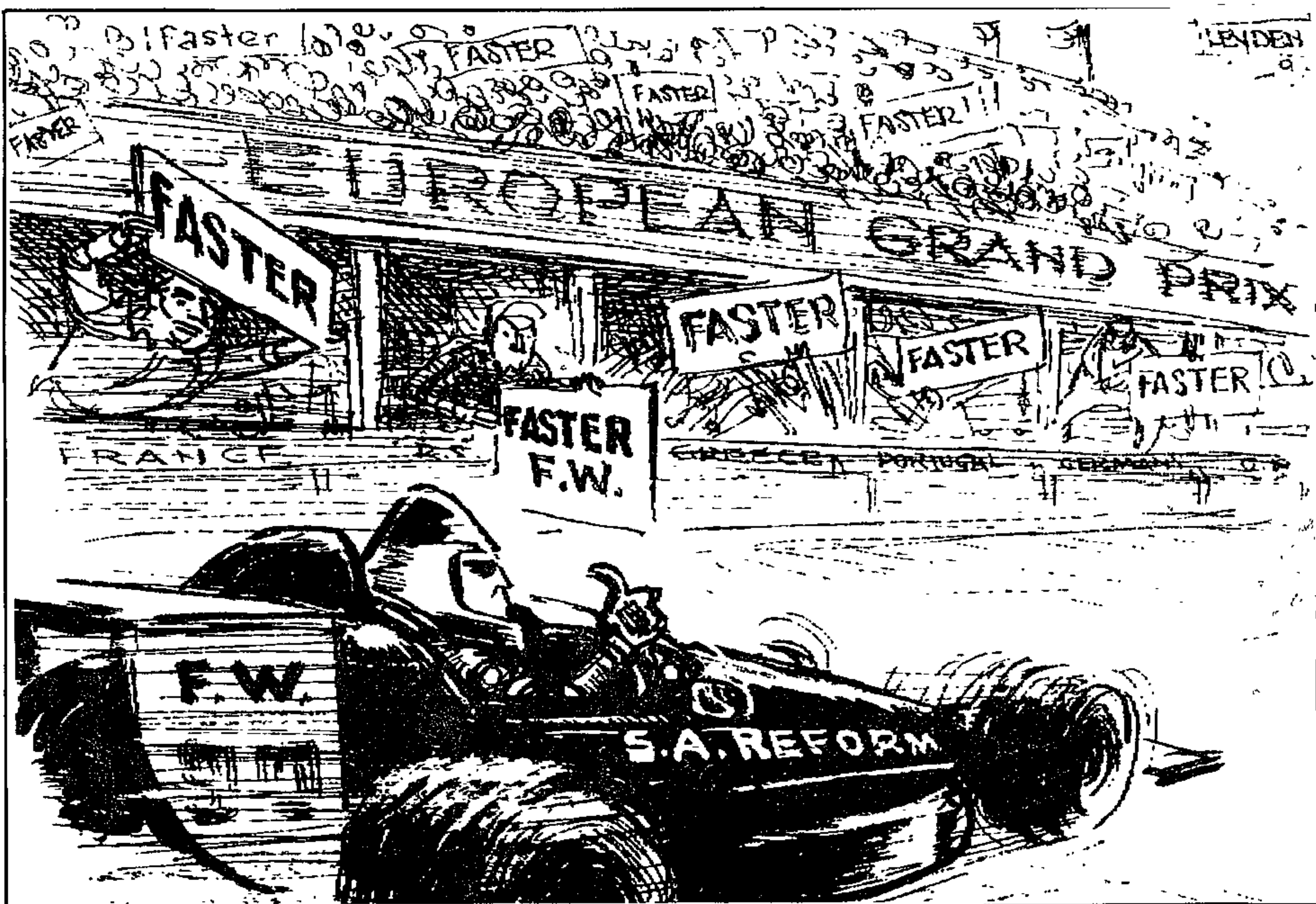
In the Western Cape, there is one recorded incident which is an interesting reflection of how different things were, how important that Nationalist victory was and how different things could have been if it had not occurred.

The Argus reported that shortly after polls closed at 8pm, there was a disturbance at the men's polling booth in Fabriek Street in Paarl.

Two coloured men walked in and attempted to vote, and a section of the crowd surged towards them and protested. Angry words were exchanged with polling station officials ... but then it turned out the crowd mistakenly thought the two men had been allowed to vote after closing time.

Throughout the voting, the United Party was confident of winning. At Stellenbosch, the National Party leader Dr D F Malan was also apparently unprepared for the outcome. He didn't even have a shadow cabinet lined up to step into power.

May 26 is a special date in Afrikaner nationalist history. It was on this day in 1948 that they came to power and they have celebrated their victory every year since. It is not surprising that today, when the National Party is contemplating a massive political retreat, its right-wing foes have gathered in Pretoria to register opposition. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reflects on the 1948 triumph and the ironies of events since.



FROM VICTORY IN 1948 TO THE GRAND RETREAT IN 1990

WHEN it became clear the Smuts government had fallen, students gathered outside Malan's home and, through a home-made loudhailer, proclaimed him Prime Minister.

Malan commented: "It was a miracle."

Apartheid, in law, was born. In its infancy, it was a tidying up of racial separation, but there was nothing benign about its growth into a racial ideology that cost South Africa dearly.

Now, 42 years later, President De Klerk has been touring Europe to promise that South Africa really is making amends.

Of course, there is nothing particularly special about a 42nd anniversary. Not usually. But 1990 does already stand out as a proverbial watershed year.

EVENTS since February 2 are an eloquent indictment of Dr D F Malan's post-war triumph.

National Party revisionism has been going on for some time, but never before in the

past 42 years has the pace and intent been as intense.

Only last week, an innocuous looking Constitutional Amendment Bill passed through parliament with several hours of debate, just as scores of discredited bills had before it.

But this one was a distinctly 1990 bill.

Providing for a postponement of the delimitation of white constituencies until 1994, it was, in the eyes of former staunch Nat and now Democratic Party MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momborg, the first step by the NP towards democratisation in South African politics.

It effectively means that the last general election was the last whites-only ballot in South Africa.

Nationalists who ponder on these things may recognise a significant irony ... that if the National Party had not become as powerfully entrenched in its four decades in government, it would not have had the capacity to mastermind today's comprehensive project, the grand retreat.

The unprecedented five-day
hijack capital, where the ANC

'Emergency could be partially lifted soon'

POLITICAL STAFF

CAPE TOWN — The state of emergency could be partially lifted within weeks, Dr Denis Worrall, co-leader of the DP, said yesterday.

He based this on what President F W de Klerk has been telling European leaders, and an interview the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, gave to Leadership magazine.

Mr Vlok told the publication that it was possible to have a state of emergency in certain areas, such as Natal, while lifting it in the rest of the country, and this was being considered.

The emergency regulations come up for renewal in June, shortly before a meeting of the European Community where their relations with South Africa will be discussed.

Dr Worrall also attacked Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan for accusing Nelson Mandela of contradicting the Groote Schuur Minute. "It is not for General Malan to make statements of that kind," Dr Worrall said. "It is well out of court. He was not part of the Government delegation and his position in the Cabinet and Parliament is very tenuous indeed. He was saved pressure from resigning over the CCB affair largely because he adopted a low profile."

Irony of the grand

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Infamous

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Today is a big Nat day with a difference

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Confident

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First step

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Retreat

FW returns with trophies

26/5/90 304A

ROME — President de Klerk arrives back at Jan Smuts Airport today after 18 strenuous days of successfully re-opening doors in Europe.

The trophy he will be holding triumphantly aloft to South Africa as he steps from the charter jet is one of a quickening return to international respectability, of promise.

His message at a news conference, couched in very upbeat language designed to generate an air of hope, will be simple: "Mission accomplished".

He will say that South Africa is once again starting to hold its head high in the international community.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, at his side, will probably be selling it harder than that: "Mr de Klerk excelled, surpassing our highest hopes for this tour. The world believes him," will be his assessment.

Certainly, doors that were firmly shut to South Africa for years are opening. The bonus for Mr de Klerk was the warmth with which he was received.

"Congratulations," European leaders said, "you have moved faster than we thought you would. Your moves have been courageous, keep going".

Impressed

The president impressed Europe, seeking to persuade the government leaders and scores of other political and business policymakers he met in Paris, Athens, Lisbon, Brussels, London, Bonn, Berne, Zurich, Madrid and Rome, that he was sincere in his vision of a new South Africa.

Key to his trip was the word "irreversible". He was out to convince those

Promises of greater acceptance

ALAN DUNN

be told that it was time for a "fundamental re-evaluation" by the EC of its South African policy.

That re-think is on, accelerated no doubt by Mr de Klerk's plea to that end at every stop. His subliminal message, of course, centred on sanctions.

Restrictions on academic, scientific and cultural ties are fast cracking — they were dropped unilaterally by Britain in February.

Sports barriers may go next. There were hints to this effect in Paris.

But Mr de Klerk has the very firm impression from most that he met that they need more progress, a few steps, before they will gladly ease sanctions.

The questions of political prisoners, exiles and the state of emergency frequently came up in this regard.

Signs are that Mr de Klerk will move quickly on his reform programme, making more announcements before the June 25/26 EC summit in Dublin.

Some European leaders, those in Belgium for instance, told Mr de Klerk their voters needed more time, and further positive signals from him to be swayed — after years of hearing and seeing only bad of the South African



CAMPAIGN CASUALTY: Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, neck in brace as result of a road accident this week, addresses reporters in Zurich. Mr Botha suffered mild whiplash when the car carrying him and Mr de Klerk was hit from behind by another car as they travelled between Berne and Zurich on Tuesday.

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King Juan Carlos of Spain, Presidents, Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers — that there was no turning back on reforms he had implemented in eight months in office.

He had to convey the impression too that he had no wish to reverse what he had done, that his aim was to push on in careful haste.

"We're in a hurry," he said in London at one of the eight major news conferences he addressed on tour.

European leaders seem to have accepted his bona fides, and with it his assurances that he would deliver on his promises of scrapping all apartheid laws and reaching a one-man, one-vote system of sorts which would ensure that minorities in South Africa would not be swamped.

The most tangible signal that Mr de Klerk's thorough introduction to the world was a success would be the European Community dropping its range of sanctions against South Africa.

Mr de Klerk landed in Europe with the idea of not campaigning actively against them, however: "We did not come to Europe with cap in hand," was a line he often used.

The visits were more a "get-to-know-me" drive where Europe had to

to the changes taking place.

Mr de Klerk's tour helped do that, giving him more publicity — most of it sympathetic — in European newspapers than South Africa could buy with its annual Department of Information budget.

It started in Paris on May 9. The first hurdle was the toughest, a gamble which was going to put wind in Mr de Klerk's sails, or set him the task for the next eight stops of trying to recoup a poor start.

Welcome

The meeting with President Francois Mitterrand was crucial. It was to set the tone for Europe. Here was a leader who had snubbed former President P W Botha twice, who had almost refused him landing rights in France.

Hostility transformed into a welcome at the Elysee Palace. The chill was over, and Mr de Klerk was accorded the ceremony and protocols beyond the "private" status of his visit.

Mr de Klerk was nervous for that one, his jaw was taut as he entered. An hour later, double the normal time for such a head-of-state meeting, he emerged with M Mitterrand, relieved and smiling.

The Paris newspapers caught the turning of the tide, which swelled into an ever increasing wave of successful meetings as the De Klerk caravan rumbled on, and the good word preceded it to the next capital.

Like his reforms at home, Mr de Klerk's tour had soon developed a momentum of its own.

Mr de Klerk left Europe last night encouraged, with good reason, at his reception. He had made invaluable contacts, an investment for South Africa's future even if the short-term gains are not that startling.

Nobel Peace Prize for De Klerk?

A NOBEL peace prize for State President F W de Klerk?

A year ago the mere thought of a South African politician and the leader of the National Party, at that, being nominated for the world's top peace award was about as far fetched as breeding skunks without the smell.

But in the euphoria surrounding the "new South Africa" and as Mr de Klerk returns today from his nine-nation European tour, Johannesburg city councillor Dave Verster is setting the wheels in motion to nominate Mr de Klerk as South Africa's third recipient of the prize.

82-1
26/5/90
SHIRLEY WOODGATE

If selected he will take his place alongside former ANC president Albert Luthuli and Anglican Church Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Another irony is that the nomination comes from a man who last year defected to the Democratic Party from NP council ranks.

"Why the nomination? He has overnight changed South Africa from being the polecat of the world to the place where whites

304A and blacks can walk side-by-side in friendship," said Mr Verster.

"He has not only changed an apartheid lifestyle which has endured for more than two centuries, but assumed the mantle of a Moses leading the country out of the doldrums into the promised land.

"The proof is there with renewed cultural exchanges and promised international economic support.

"Mr de Klerk has proved he is a man of integrity, making it possible for all people in this country to live in peace, with a single boast: that they are all South Africans," said Mr Verster.

Treurnicht 'can't remember' signing

206A
CAB 7-11 26/5/90 360

THE leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said he could not remember whether he had signed certificates which were allegedly presented to Welkom members of Blanke Veiligheid arrested in March after they tried to stop a march by Thabong teachers.

An Afrikaans morning newspaper reported this week that the certificates, which were signed by Dr Treurnicht on behalf of the CP, were handed to the nine men who had been arrested.

Asked last night whether he had signed the certificates, Dr Treurnicht said: "I can't remember."

He said he supported the BV and may have signed certain documents relating to the organisation. He supported the right of whites to protect themselves.

"I support the BV as long as they do not get in the way, and co-operate with the police," he added.

The leader of the Blanke Veiligheid, Mr Hennie Muller, was not available for comment last night. A relative, Mr Heintjie Muller, said that 42 members of the organization had received certificates from the BV after being charged for preventing a march by blacks in the city.

DP losing support to NP — survey

Political Staff

THE National Party has lost between 9% and 13% of white voter support in two Eastern Cape constituencies but a quarter of the Democratic Party voters would now support the NP, a new survey, released yesterday, has found.

It also found that President F W de Klerk and his reforms were more popular among DP voters than among NP voters.

While the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, was seen as "impressive" by about

half the DP voters, only a fifth of NP voters and less than a tenth of CP voters shared this view.

The telephone survey for voters in the DP-held Walmer and the CP-held Uitenhage constituencies was conducted by the Human Rights Trust.

The results, published in the trust's magazine, Monitor, showed that 9% of the NP voters in Walmer now supported the CP, while 13% of the NP voters in last year's election in Uitenhage now backed the CP.

Monitor said an election on the

basis of the survey would see a House of Assembly with 90 NP seats, compared to 94 at present, 64 CP seats (39), and 12 DP seats (33).

Overall support would be 47% NP, 36,5% CP and 16,5% DP.

Monitor added: "Despite the huge blows it has taken since February 2, the DP, albeit unwittingly, held the space that made it possible for De Klerk to act as he has, and as such deserves its share of the credit for the lurch towards the New South Africa."

'No negotiation for AWB'

App- Times 26/5/90

306A

ROME. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging had cut itself out of the process of negotiation towards a new South Africa, President F W de Klerk said here yesterday.

"His (Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's) movement tends to be radical ... all countries have them ... he is not ready to negotiate and in that sense he has excluded himself from the negotiation process," Mr De Klerk told a press conference.

Mr De Klerk was responding to a question from an Italian journalist, who equated the AWB and Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi's Inkatha organisation as opposite

ends of the political spectrum, and asked how they fitted into negotiations, which were seen in the outside world as being only between the government and the ANC.

Mr De Klerk said he was at this stage cutting Mr Terre'Blanche out of future negotiations.

He paid tribute to Chief Buthelezi who he said had a noteworthy constituency and was committed to a peaceful settlement.

He said he believed Inkatha and the AWB were not comparable on opposite ends of the political spectrum.

"Mr Buthelezi represents a substantial

number of people and he is committed to a peaceful solution ... he said after the release of Mr Mandela that he saw no further stumbling blocks to negotiations ... he said it was now time for negotiations."

Of Mr Terre'Blanche's AWB, Mr De Klerk said it had shown itself not prepared to take part in constructive discussions towards the negotiation process.

"You find them in all countries ... the radical minority who do not favour democratic processes." — Sapa

● FW back from 'sea change' tour today —
Page 2

Commonwealth chief urges support for FW

SI Times 27/5/90

Sunday Times Reporter

OUTGOING Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal says South African President F.W. de Klerk needs encouragement if real change is to be brought about in South Africa.

"We must encourage Mr De Klerk to progress down the negotiation path with a real constituency — all the people in South Africa must encourage him," said Sir Shridath.

He was speaking in Lusaka at the home of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda where he was awarded the Grand Commander of the Order of the Grand Companion of Freedom (first divi-

sion) to mark Africa Liberation Day on May 25.

The Commonwealth head warned that oppressed South Africans would continue to suffer if the reform process was not allowed to continue.

"Victims of apartheid will bear the burden of struggle for many years to come if the opportunity for change does not take place," he said.

Sir Shridath, a Guyanese lawyer turned politician, has led the 49-member Commonwealth body for the last 15 years. His term of office ends on July 1 this year.

The veteran peace campaigner said earlier: "Sanctions are not punitive but a peaceful path for change in South Africa."

3047

S/Times 27/5/90

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Tough Mandela slams 'enemy'

Sunday Times Reporters
ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday endorsed the armed struggle as a valid means of forcing the South African Government — which he labelled “the enemy” — to the negotiating table.

The ANC deputy president was speaking to more than 50 000 singing, chanting and dancing supporters at the Super Stadium rally in Atteridgeville, west of Pretoria, in the shadow of a hillside with “ANC Lives” emblazoned in white painted stones.

In a hard-hitting speech that reinforced Friday's

commitment to violence from the ANC's external headquarters in Lusaka, Mr Mandela said the Government had to “meet the minimum demands set out in the Harare Declaration” if it wanted the ANC to negotiate.

“Meanwhile, the struggle continues,” he said — defining “the struggle” as “the campaign for the international isolation of the present racially-based Government, the mobilisation of the masses against oppression, and the armed struggle”.

Mr Mandela took the opportunity to hit back at Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan who had pub-

licly attacked him for breaching the agreement reached with the Government at Groote Schuur.

“The Groote Schuur meeting was not negotiations,” he said. “That meeting was called to inform the Government what the ANC sees as obstacles to negotiations.”

“Without the removal of the obstacles we have identified, there is no chance of us sitting down for real negotiations with the National Party.”

“It must be realised that we cannot continue to talk while you, the people we represent, are being killed.”

Mr Mandela also hit out at

“apologists” for the South African Government.

“It was us who campaigned for sanctions against apartheid. How can it now be the Government which determines when sanctions will be lifted?”

He called for unity between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, at the same time warning the Conservative Party that it would “never succeed”.

Directly addressing CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, whom he labelled “the Prophet of Doom”, he said: “We have defeated greater men than you. You will also be defeated.”

A (not unbiased) look at what makes us tick

SI Times

27/5/90

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ONE of our most experienced journalists has set out to give an insight into the psyche of South Africa, to look "into the forces of history and culture and circumstances that have moulded the major players".

He has set out to explain the major historical events by drawing on the mind-sets which made people do what they did. It is not just event stacked on event, but an attempt to make it clear why the events occurred, what it is in the events themselves that affected future occurrences.

There is a grand sweep to the book, beginning well before whites first settled here and taking us up to the events of last year.

Sparks has read a great many books and consulted respected academics to produce a readable, well-written work that deserves a wide audience.

The author is a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, taught a course on South Africa at Duke University and now works as correspondent in South Africa for the Washington Post, the Observer and NRC Handelsblad.

Curious

Well-researched as the book is, its failing is its subjectivity, something to which the author confesses.

One cannot get away from the feeling that Mr Sparks made up his mind well before writing the book.

It comes as no surprise that Afrikaners are introverted, immovable, a curious lot; the English are intelligent, energetic but, regrettably, imperious, while black South Afri-



Political writer **Harald Pakendorf** reviews *The Mind of South Africa* * by journalist Allister Sparks

cans are really quite nice.

Before the dastardly white man arrived they believed in the rule of law, were democratic and non-violent — well, almost, because they threatened, more than actually resorted to, violence in the minor skirmishes they had among themselves.

It is an example of that peculiar kind of liberalism which treats people of colour differently from other people, sentimental to the point where the underlying paternalism shines through.

This is not to deny the book does highlight the injustices of South Africa and it does, refreshingly, try to look at its history from another viewpoint.

That is sorely needed in South Africa.

Yet it must be said it is a process which started some years back and there are several books on South African history available which attempt to give the story of the whole country and all its people — unlike the standard fare, which either views the past through Afrikaner eyes or Anglo-Saxon ones.

More's the pity, therefore, that Mr Sparks perpetuates myths which he probably believed in before he sat down at his word processor. Look at

just two, both on the same page (133).

Afrikaners, he says, have an abiding hostility towards English and Jewish groups. That is simply not true. Nor is the statement that whereas 90 percent of Afrikaners have been urbanised, the platteland has remained the conservatory of Afrikaner ideals.

Again, though, it must be said the wrong done to black South Africans is described in a fashion which most whites would find disturbing, unfortunately because they have seldom seen their past in this light.

Reversal

It is a story of exclusion from the very first day whites landed in the Cape more than 300 years ago — which makes the reversal by Mr F W de Klerk on February 2 all the more stunning.

Consequently, Mr Sparks's book is the history of South Africa before Mr De Klerk. For if February 2 does not represent such a reversal, woe be to the country.

This is not the definitive study of the psyche of South Africans simply because it is overdrawn and one-sided. It is guilty of that which it attempts to correct.

* Published by Heinemann.

DR NO'S BATTAIONS

By DE WET POTGIETER

ABOUT 65 000 whites crowded into the amphitheatre at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria yesterday to reaffirm their resistance to political change.

The right-wingers even rejected attempts by two reactionary groups to join in their flag procession. Banner-waving supporters of the AWB and the 'purified' New AWB of Ficksburg farmer Eddie von Maltitz were ordered out of the procession because 'we didn't invite you to take part'.

The festive mood at the Conservative Party's 'volksvergadering' resembled that of a plateland church bazaar — complete with koeksisters, pancakes and boerewors.

Huge loudspeakers pounded rhythmic German march music into the chilly Pretoria morning as groups of people walked for kilometres to reach the monument.

In the background a mass choir tried desperately to rehearse their solemn songs amid the noise of skittish horses stamping and wheeling in front of the podium.

The crowd was stirred when Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg promised the "volk will not be available for a new South Africa — the new Azania."

He said the CP would resort to all possible democratic, constitutional ways to fight the political changes.

Firearms

"But if all those channels are closed for us, we would regard ourselves as an oppressed volk," Dr Hartzenberg warned.

"Then we would have no choice but to take the path of an oppressed nation to fight for our freedom."

The crowd fell far short of the official expectation of at least 100 000.

During the morning the South African flag was lowered from the flagpole on top of the monument. The Vierkleur was hoisted and flew at halfmast for a while until somebody pulled it down again.

About 300 men and women on horseback galloped through the empty streets of Pretoria early yesterday morning for wreath-laying ceremonies at Heroes Acre, Church Square and the city hall.

Leading the horse cavalcade was supreme commander of the Boer Volksleer Manie Maritz, Afrikaner Volkswag leader

Right
meets
for wops
and to
defend
the volk

Dr Carel Boshoff and Dominie Mossie van den Berg.

Scores of khaki-clad AWB members openly carried firearms and several people brandishing shot-guns were visible in the crowd.

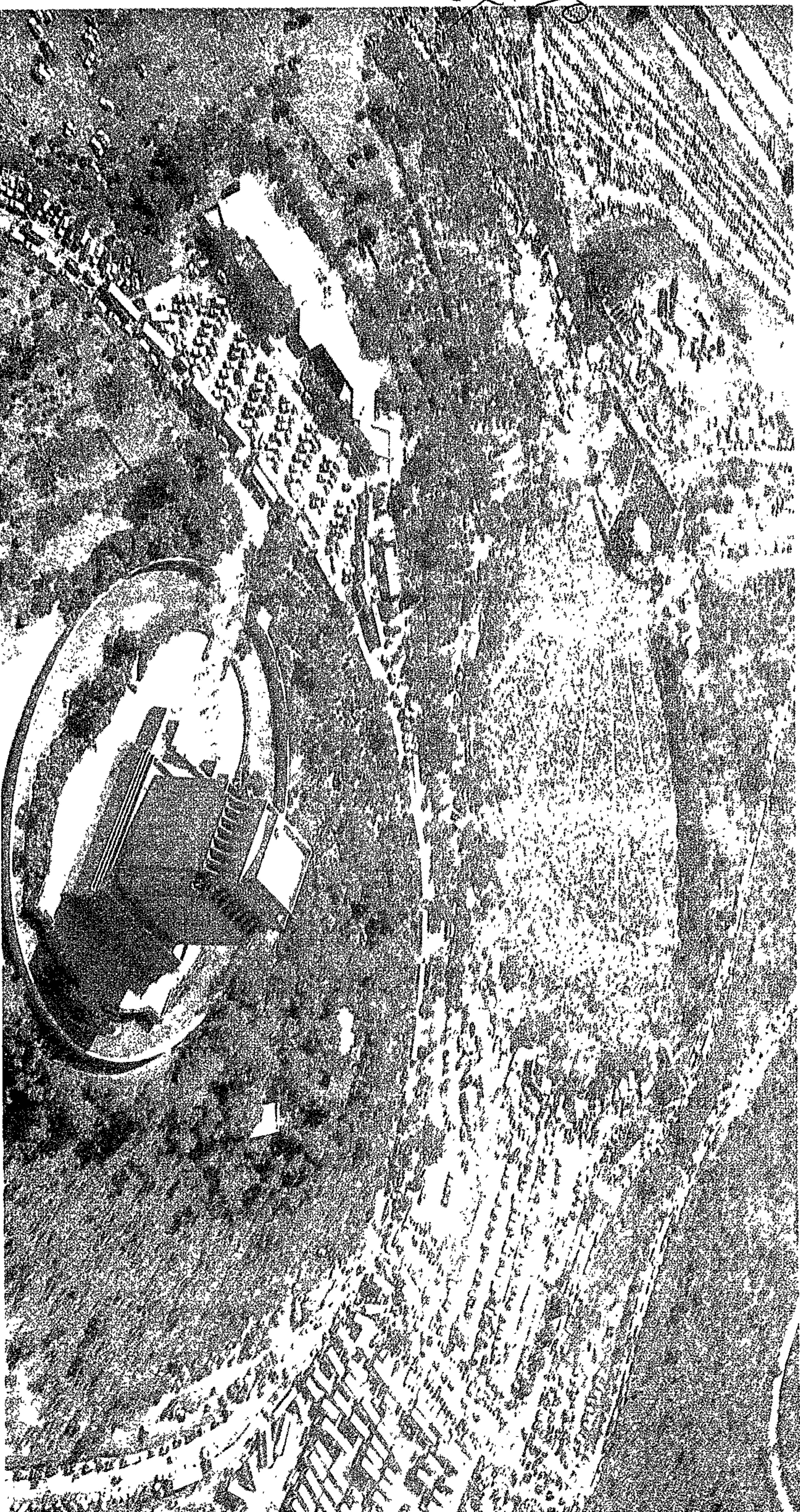
Children played in their specially knitted Vierkleur jerseys and a group of people carried two petrol-soaked ANC flags they planned to burn.

Friendly

Several anti-FW posters like "Mar De Klerk, President de Klerk, Mandela se Klerk" and "Forget the rhino, start worrying about the whites" were on display.

The late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's ageing widow Betty received a standing ovation when she was introduced to the crowd.

There were no ugly scenes and, in all, the mood of the meeting was more that of a friendly get-together than a grave political gathering of a minority group desperately fighting to halt change.



LAGER OF THE 90s ... an aerial view of the Voortrekker Monument and the amphitheatre yesterday as thousands of right wingers gather to protest against reform

CP won't travel down FW's road of reform

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

OPPOSITION leader Dr Andre Treurnicht yesterday issued a blunt warning to the Government: Don't force us on a road we refuse to travel. If you do, we will stand in your way and dare you to walk over us.

Addressing a crowd of 65 000 Conservative Party faithfuls at the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria, Dr Treurnicht warned:

"Don't underestimate us. We are serious. There is no boat waiting for us in the harbour."

Speaking against the backdrop of a huge banner proclaiming: The Third War of Freedom has begun, he said: "We will not allow the Government to force integration down our throats."

Quoting a speech made by former Prime Minister D F Malan at the same venue 42 years ago, the CP leader said it would be "easier to stop the ocean with a broom than to halt our move towards freedom in our fatherland".

Plan

And, he added: "There are not enough prisons in this country to hold Afrikaner nationalism captive."

Speaking to a relatively subdued audience — which fell far short of pre-rally predictions that 100 000 would make the pilgrimage to the Monument — Dr Treurnicht spelled out a plan of action for the CP to try to thwart the Government's reform initiative.

His proposals include:

- Continued efforts to collect one million signatures in protest against Government moves;
- Establishing a conservative newspaper;
- Creating "own" financial institutions;
- Moving towards the establishment of a white homeland.

In a surprise move, Dr Treurnicht held out an olive branch to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthe, calling on the Inkatha

leader "to join us in standing strong against ANC intimidation".

Referring to the present security situation areas which led to the formation of white vigilante groups, Dr Treurnicht said "we have the right to defend ourselves."

"But," he cautioned his followers, "we should not try to take over the role of the police. Don't stand in the police's way."

"However, if the Government continues to disregard

laws that protect the rights of individuals and communities, it should expect people to take measures to protect themselves."

Dr Treurnicht said the right wing demanded that the Government call a general election.

The CP refused to accept Mr De Klerk's claim that the political changes brought about in recent weeks were irreversible. "It will have to be reversed if the Afrikaner has any hope of survival," he said.



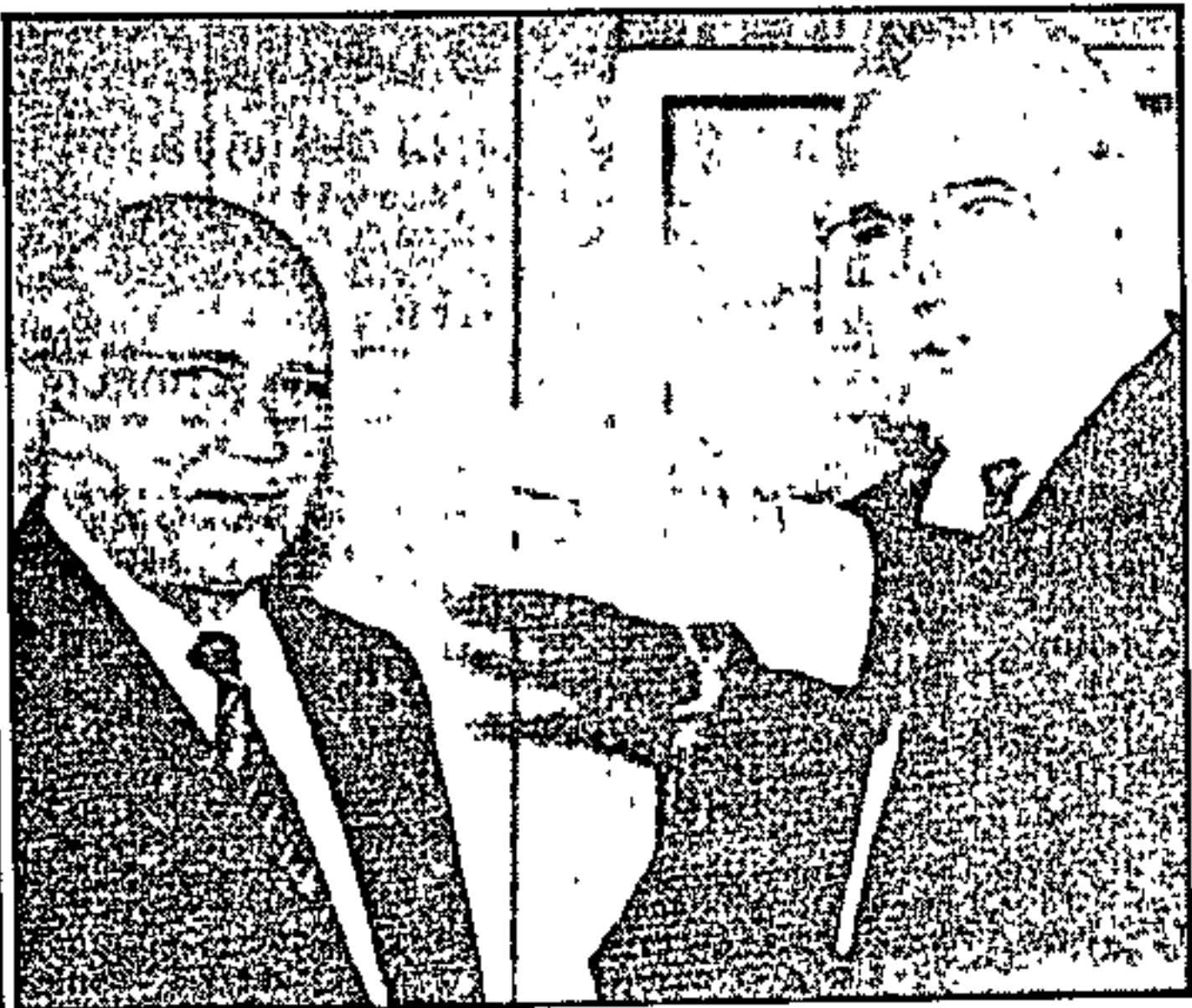
FLYING HIGH ... supporters of the New AWB hold their flags in defiance of rally organisers

Picture: JAMES SOULLIER

Red carpets, royalty

STimes 27/5/90

(304)



President De Klerk with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl

Chatting to French President Francois Mitterrand

Sharing a joke with British Premier Margaret Thatcher

were the real rewards

STimes 27/5/90

(280)

(280)

A SOBERING truth lurks behind the success — even the glory — of President F W de Klerk's mission abroad. It lies not so much in the remarkable official receptions he received in the great capitals of Europe, but in the fact that they took place at all.

It's a bit like measuring one's social success by receiving, for the first time, an invitation to a classy dinner party. Your hosts don't expect you to have much to say at your debut, they assume you will recognise that your mere presence at table constitutes recognition of your acceptance into polite society.

This attitude was put into words by international media baron Rupert Murdoch at a lunch for the South African leader at Chequers, country home of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Casual

With characteristic energy, Mr P W Botha was putting over to Mr Murdoch the argument he has been pressing in capital after capital: "Our President is making, as you acknowledge, great reforms. But they are not without risk. The world must help by giving him rewards which he can display at home."

According to a diplomat who was there, Mr Murdoch replied fairly bluntly: "The fact that you are being received openly, officially and warmly, as you are, is the reward."

None of this is to say that President De Klerk's mission was not a great event. It was.

The great sea changes of

At the end of President De Klerk's grand tour, Lester Venter assesses its success and the prospects for the easing of sanctions



history do not come about in single, cosmic diplomatic events. And, with 40 years of apartheid still staining SA's reputation, the current change will come about slowly and must be brought about with daring and skill.

The importance of Mr De Klerk's accomplishment lies in the fact that he has opened a future that lies close at hand and is pregnant with great promise.

Mr Botha said in Zurich, close to the end of the nine-nation tour. "Frequently we are asked: 'What has been achieved?' Well, what has been achieved is the visit itself."

What he means is best illustrated by comparing this trip with previous South African forays into Europe.

When Mr P W Botha went to France in 1988 he did so in spite of a French Government suggestion that he stay at home. In Switzerland there was never any official recognition of his presence.

When he spoke to Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany in 1988, it was casually at a large reception — and not, by all accounts, a very warm exchange.

In the last fortnight President De Klerk has been given red carpets, full protocol, audiences with

royalty and extended working meetings with heads of governments.

Said Mr Botha: "It's almost as if they were leaning over backwards to tell us they didn't expect us to do it (creating a democratic society) in one day."

He said the tone of all the meetings was "We want you to succeed."

Yet the ambivalence was there. Although public protests at several stops had neither the size nor the fury of the past, they were there nevertheless — and in France and Switzerland they became violent.

Stunning

The ultra-discreet gnomes of Zurich were eager to meet President De Klerk — but asked the Press not to disclose the names of bankers and other important guests who attended a dinner of the Swiss-South Africa Association.

Yet, at the end of the exhausting journey, the balance sheet looks good. Credits outweigh the debits by far.

And in no material respect was this more promising than on the vital issue of sanctions.

The trip was judiciously timed before SA's most important trading bloc — the European Community — meets in Dublin in a

month's time to review its policy on sanctions.

The requirement for lifting sanctions is that the EC must be convinced there is "a real prospect of achieving a full democracy in SA".

Thus EC leaders will have to make a value judgment on the "irreversibility" (a key word, that) of the reform process now under way.

Their decision will hinge heavily on President De Klerk's credibility.

In this respect, face-to-face meetings with the leaders who will make that decision were absolutely necessary — and by all accounts they were stunningly successful.

After each meeting, President De Klerk made a point of emphasising that the message of "irreversibility" had been put across.

Some of the government heads he met, like Mr Constantine Mitsotakis of Greece and President Mario Soares of Portugal, confirmed this publicly.

While others were less keen to anticipate the EC's Dublin summit on June 25, there were signs in every capital that, not only were sanctions already crumbling, but that the majority of EC governments were eager to erase the sanctions hindrance from their agendas.

Now there are real

hopes among senior diplomats that a staged roll-back of sanctions will begin with an early end to sports, cultural and scientific boycotts.

It was clear, too, that President De Klerk's personal qualities — a laid-back, persuasive style and integrity — contributed greatly towards the emergence of a new European attitude towards South Africa.

The acceptance that apartheid is rapidly and genuinely becoming yesterday's issue is having profound consequences.

Now that apartheid is no longer the tie that binds the West with Africa in a moral crusade against Pretoria, there is no longer cause for blind allegiance between the two continents.

Struggling

Africa — and sub-continental southern Africa is part of it — will henceforth have to bargain its role on the world's political and economic stage purely on merit.

The EC made its message clear — it would like to see a newly respectable SA become the economic hub of sub-Saharan Africa.

Moreover, the EC would prefer to deal on a bloc-to-bloc basis rather than with a plethora of competing and failing nations.

West Germany's Minister of Economic Co-operation, Mr Jurgen Warnke, said after meeting President De Klerk that Germany regarded regional co-operation in Africa as "important from an EC point of view".

He told President De

Klerk that Germany would like to see SA as a member of the Organisation of African Unity, the African Development Bank and the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference — the latter being the region's equivalent of the EC with 95-million people in 10 states.

Industrialists and investors who met Mr De Klerk in Europe sought assurances from the President and Mr Botha that SA's new deal would have none of the fatal economic flaws found so often elsewhere in Africa.

Thus, when Mr Nelson Mandela follows President De Klerk on his own tour of European capitals next

month, he is likely to find that big money has very conservative politics.

Governments and the media also sought assurances from President De Klerk that his insistence on minority group rights would not have racial overtones. This he gave, to apparent satisfaction.

The subject is one Europe understands readily, struggling as it is for a political formula for unifying its own 12 EC nations.

There seemed a ready acceptance, too, that whereas violence in the past in SA sought to bring about change, the present violence in the country was designed to resist change.

The bombs of hate we must defuse

S/Times
27/5/90

304A

LONG before physicists invented the atomic bomb, politicians invented the political bomb.

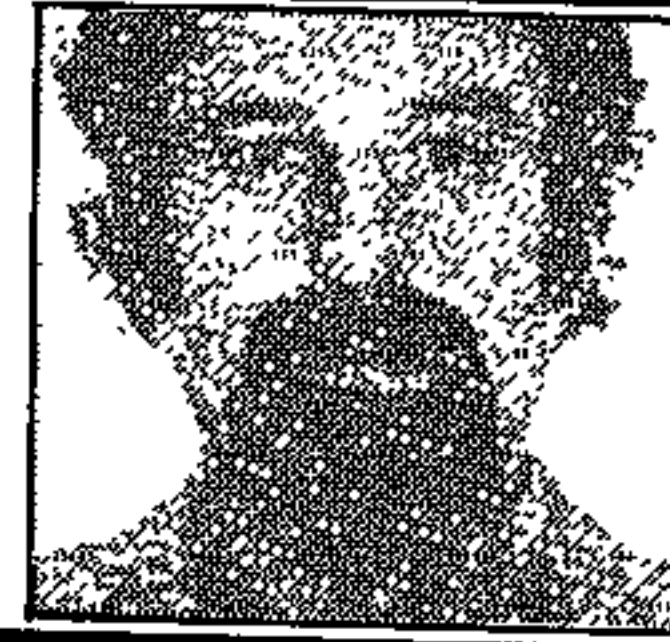
Essentially, the political bomb depends on purifying and increasing the concentration of hatred until it explodes into genocide or war.

In the 20th century in particular, we have seen hatred being purified and accumulated to produce explosions that have killed hundreds of millions of people. In the 19th century, Von Clausewitz's maxim that war continues politics by other means had some truth in it. In the 20th century it would be truer to say that politics continues war by other means.

That is why we have had so many huge political explosions in our time.

Think of the great political systems of the century: communism, fascism, national socialism, nationalism. Each of these is a method of refining hatred and accumulating envy.

Psychology professor Peter du Preez of UCT explores ways of harnessing political energy for peaceful purposes



Communism encourages workers to hate capitalists and the party to despise everyone.

The enemy must be "liquidated". They are a "cancer", mere "puppets", "bloated imbeciles", "scourges", etc.

To get the flavour, read Trotsky and Lenin. Fascism encourages citizens to hate communists and defend the state, appealing to "blood and iron".

National socialism encouraged Germans to hate Jews, communists and an assorted lot of "sub-humans".

Abused

Nationalism encourages "the nation" to hate some other race or ethnic group or political party.

Whenever you hear some politician speaking for "the nation" you should know that dirty work is being done. Listen a while to hear who is being threatened and abused in the name of "the people", "the nation" or "the folk".

The essence of each of these is (a) you are told you are good (though wrongly despised for the moment); (b) that you should hate someone else (who is responsible for your position). Furthermore, you are told

that (c) all will be well if you totally subordinate yourself to the party, and (d) the party, in turn, is the servant of "destiny", "God" or "history".

This is the suicide of reason and it is followed by murder.

The disgrace of our century is the large number of "intellectuals" who have joined the bloody work. What is so nauseating about political murder is that people can feel good about it. They serve a "higher" cause.

In South Africa we have our quota of people prepared to murder in the service of virtue.

How do we recognise them? Quite simply, when every statement about "the people" or "the nation" is a direct or veiled threat to someone else, we know that we are confronting political murderers.

All of this might make us pessimistic if it weren't for the fact that hatred, like nuclear energy, can be controlled.

Engineers have found ways of controlling nuclear reactions to produce a steady flow of energy in electric power generators.

The political problem is similar. How can we utilise the clash of ambition and

the faint dislike which most people feel for others slightly different from themselves to produce the steady flow of energy and achievement that is necessary for prosperity and liberty?

Whereas most politicians are good at making societies explode, very few are any good at all at making them release controllable and useful energy.

This is something that's been achieved only from time to time in a handful of democracies.

To see how this is done, we have to turn to the great democracies and ask: what makes them different from the states in which mass political murder is the order of the day?

The democracies share three characteristics.

The first is that the government is not the property of any specific class, race or religion.

Hatred

The second is that the government is not there to enforce any revelation about the purpose of life and the nature of man.

The third is that the focus is on how the government is to be changed from time to time, and not on how it is to be kept the same. All of

these things have the same result: government is not there to ensure that a single class can enforce a single ideology.

This means that the greatest single factor in refining hatred, — repression — does not occur on a large scale.

Instead, whenever the dissatisfaction of any group becomes too great, it can be reduced by, election to office, bribery, rises in pay, or changing the conditions that produce dissatisfaction.

Essentially, people do deals. It is a lot better than political murder.

Domination

The important thing if we are to design a democratic system is to concentrate on the essential design properties and not the surface trappings.

Simple majority government is no good if it results in the permanent domination of one or another group, the entrenchment of a single ideology as though it were revealed truth, or in the view that the major function of the constitution is to find ways of keeping one party in power rather than in providing for change.

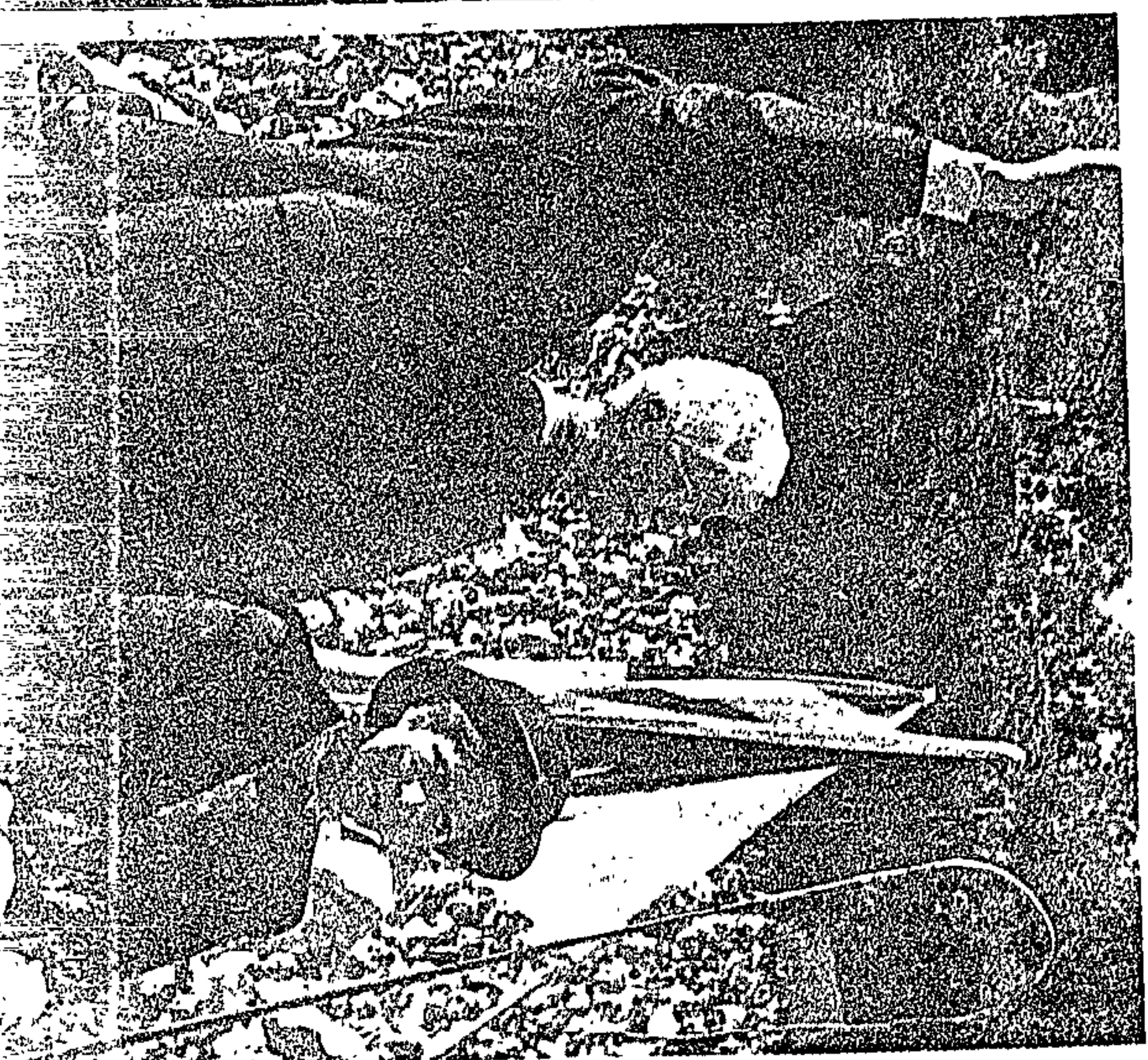
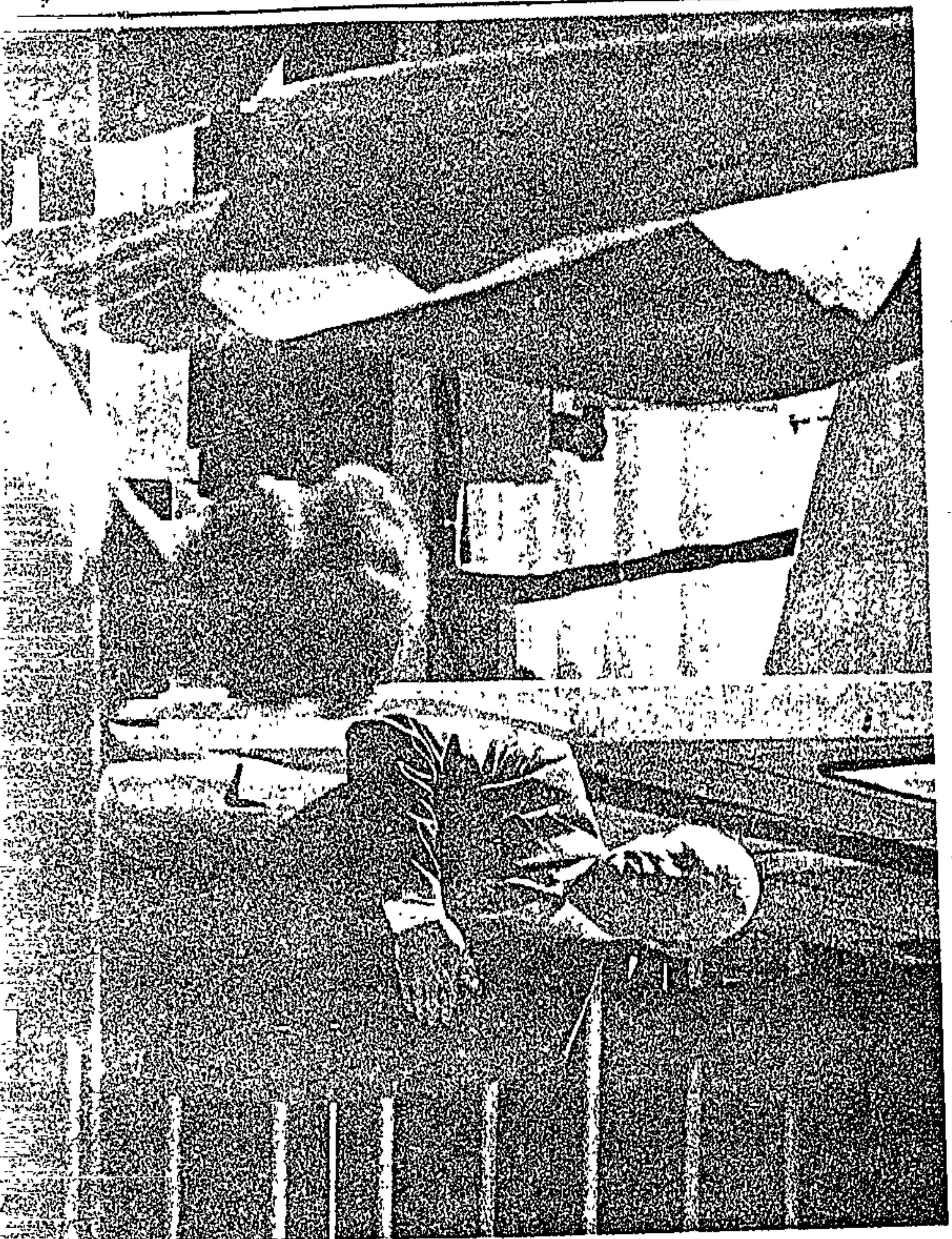
This is the challenge facing the designers of a constitution for South Africa. Anything less than this will merely create another political bomb.

Democracies are good schools of political manners, and manners keep us from the obvious pleasure of giving orders and throwing our weight around.

PRIED & PERJURED

The two faces
of white South
Africa yesterday

A404
S/Time
27/5/90





THE PRIDE: President de Klerk salutes the SA flag on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport from Europe yesterday



THE PREJUDICE: Dr Andries Treurnicht hails crowds at anti-reform CP rally

Sunday Times Political Correspondent

IN A day of high drama, the two faces of South Africa were on display yesterday. The face of STOP. And the face of GO.

At Jan Smuts Airport, President F W de Klerk stepped triumphantly from his jet after a historic tour of Europe.

"South Africa's pride has been restored," he declared.

Fifty kilometres away, across the wintry Highveld hills, Conservative leader Andries Treurnicht told a right-wing rally: "The so-called new SA of forced integration gives us no choice but to defend our rights and property."

Mr De Klerk's mission was a landmark. Welcomed by statesmen in nine great capitals of Europe, he broke the isolation that has afflicted SA for four decades.

In his own words: "We looked Europe squarely in the eyes.

The road for normal relations is open."

But, he warned, in the final analysis the future of South Africa would be determined within the country by its own citizens.

Dr Treurnicht stood beneath a banner reading "The Third Freedom Struggle has Begun". His audience numbered about 65 000, far short of CP predictions.

Warning

He warned the Government: "Do not force our people to stand in your path and to challenge you to walk over us. We are serious. There is no boat waiting for us in the harbour. The ANC hates the Boer people and the white nation. It was a day of pride... and prejudice."

Pictures by PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN and SUE KRAMER

Miss SA puts love behind her: Page 5



THE LAST

WHITE VOTE?

Page 10



SABC bars 'too much English' TV producer

By DOUGLAS GORDON: TV Correspondent

THE SABC has suspended one of its top Afrikaans TV producers for using too much English on his show. Tertius van Nierk, executive producer of the glossy Tuesday evening magazine Antenne, was sent packing this week — by fax.

His two Antenne presenters, Elsabe Daneel and Eon de Vos, are stunned by the move.

Trouble erupted during two interviews broadcast last Tuesday which breached the programme's "nine per cent language purity" rule. THE FIRST featured actor Patrick Myburgh, who habitually slips from Afrikaans into English.

THE SECOND item was on Panic Syndrome, a stress-related illness, which used medical and other experts to comment on treatments.

Two experts smoke in Fm...

Boy, 13 waits for his spy mother

By JEREMY BROOKS
in London
and ALLAN DOWNEY
in Zurich

A 13-YEAR-OLD boy is waiting anxiously this weekend in Switzerland to be reunited with his mother — convicted Russian spy Ruth Gerhardt. 27/5/90

Memories of his life in South Africa where he was born, are dim for Gregory. He no longer speaks English and has moved between a series of foster homes since the age of seven when his parents were jailed.

Family sources said Gregory was now a happy boy who had settled down well at a school where classes were

PICK 6

MILNERTON: Five winning tickets paid out a R15 598.80 dividend Selections 2, 5, 6, 4, 3, 7, 1.

THURFONTEIN: The R1 410 950 pool produced a R4062.50 payout to 175 ticket holders. Numbers 16, 5, 3, 5, 8, 7, 4, 11, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.



Thousands of CP supporters acclaimed leader Andries Treurnicht as he and his wife arrived in a horse-drawn buggy for a rightwing rally at the Voortrekker Monument. See Page 2.

ANC 'losing patience' with critics of talks

By CHARLES MOGALE

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday issued a veiled threat to the PAC to stop criticising negotiations with the government.

Addressing an emotional 60 000 crowd at the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville, near Pretoria, he said: "There are organisations which have imaginary armies, who have not conducted a single armed struggle in this country, who criticise us for trying to secure peace. Our patience is not likely to last very long."

The crowd burst into wild applause when Mandela directed a sharp attack at Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

Referring to him as a tyrant, he said: "We have another problem not far from the capital in the form of Mangope. We urge Mangope to remember the lesson of (Adolf) Hitler, who had the strongest army in the world. Hitler was buried by the people. Mangope is less than a paper tiger."

Europe will show new approach: FW

SUBSTANTIAL changes in Europe's relations with South Africa will be forthcoming, said State President FW de Klerk yesterday after returning from his 18-day nine-nation European tour.

"I expect Europe will in the months to come – maybe sooner – show this new approach," he said at Jan Smuts Airport.

He warned against expecting "dramatic" changes soon from Western Europe.

"But the road for normal relations is open. This trip has made a major contribution towards removing stumbling blocks to new relations with South Africa.

"South Africa's pride has been restored," he said.

De Klerk and his entourage were greeted by more than 1 000 people, waving South African flags, banners and wearing stickers saying "I love FW".

De Klerk, looking tired but happy, was given an enthusiastic welcome by the crowd, and a Soweto police choir sang for him. – Sapa.

See Page 2

IN HIS OWN WORDS: We looked Europe squarely in the eyes.

Pictures by PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN and SUE KRAMER

DR NO'S BATTALIONS: Picture report Page 3

Now FW plans his African campaign

ST Times 27/5/90 (3044)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's historic diplomatic mission to Europe may be followed by a similar flag-waving foray into black Africa.

Behind-the-scenes diplomatic preparations for such a visit are already under way.

Highly placed sources believe the willingness of Europe's leading nations to set a new agenda for dealings with SA — coupled with the start of negotiations inside SA — will ease the way into African capitals previously sensitive to open contact with Pretoria.

The success of President De Klerk's visit to France — and his meeting with President Francois Mitterrand particularly — has played a vital part.

France's socialist govern-

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

ment enjoys wide respect and wields great influence in many African capitals.

In Bonn this week, the West German Government said now that apartheid was being cleared to make way for a negotiated settlement, Germany wanted to see SA a member of the Organisation of African Unity and various African economic organisations.

Burden

As Europe's attentions turn eastwards on its own continent, it is keen to see SA take on the burden of economic leadership in Africa.

It is expected President De Kerk's envisioned trip will

concentrate on southern Africa.

But Egypt and Morocco are mentioned as two northern states that may be on his itinerary.

When he returned to a hero's welcome at Jan Smuts airport yesterday, President De Klerk called on party leaders and the country's "silent majority" to reject radicalism.

He also said he and the Government would not be deflected from their intention of creating a new society.

"I appeal to the party leaders of SA to accept my bona fides as the leaders of Europe did — that in the months and years ahead we will work for a SA that is truly just for all its people

□ To Page 2

Now FW plans his African campaign

ST Times 27/5/90 (3044)

□ From Page 1

and in which all discrimination will be removed."

Referring to the CP's mass rally in Pretoria, President De Klerk said: "Through no mustering of large meetings can anyone stop the process of creating a new SA."

"We are not going to allow ourselves to be intimidated."

Conflict could destroy all the good done up to now, he

said. The time had come for the silent majority to "stand up and say no" to intimidation, conflict and radicalism.

Summing up his European mission, President De Klerk said: "The road to normal relations for SA is open."

Referring to relations between SA and Europe — and, particularly the European Community's upcoming review of sanctions — President De Klerk said: "The tide has turned in Europe."

"They realise sanctions are crumbling and are looking forward to doing business with SA." President De Klerk said he had found a ready understanding in Europe for SA's need to protect its population's minority groups without any racial discrimination.

● See Red carpets were the real reward: Page 19

IT'S THE FW ET AND JOE SLOVO SHOW

THREE politicians dominate the Umlazi by-election.

But none of their names will appear on the ballot paper on June 6.

They are F W de Klerk, Joe Slovo and Eugene Terre Blanche.

Not too many moons ago Mr Slovo also featured strongly in the minds of voters about to enter the polling booths.

But then he was used by the National Party as a bogeyman in its general election battle against the Democratic Party.

Dragged into the campaign in the last week before the September 6 poll, NP adverts carried pictures of a slightly bemused Communist Party boss wedged between the ample figures of DP-strongmen Wynand Malan and Samie Terreblanche.

The message written underneath left nothing to subtlety: "Do you want these men to determine your future?"

(304A)
TIGHT

Then, the NP vowed, pigs would fly before it would negotiate with the ANC/SACP alliance.

However, as most Umlazi voters now know, some porkers have recently been spotted coming in to land at nearby Louis Botha Airport.

Driving into the constituency just south of Durban where the DP, the NP and the CP are engaged in a tight battle, it is impossible not to note the large posters proclaiming: "Say No to Slovo! Vote CP!"

This time the shoe is against the other backside. Because between September 6 and June 6 the Head Red has enjoyed some cabernet sauvignon with his erstwhile enemies in Groote Schuur. And the CP is wasting no time and effort to point this out to the voters.

To counter this, the NP has created its own *bete noir* as a foil for its attempts to beat off the CP challenge and Eugene Terre Blanche and his khaki-clad AWB.

SCARE

NP leaflets pull no punches: "CP — AWB — unfettered right-wing violence" it shouts, illustrated with pictures of AWB heavies doing their version of baton drill.

The NP is using "wit gevaar" tactics in the same skillful manner it used "swart gevaar" to stay in power for so many years.

It is the sort of message destined to scare the wits out of middle-class English-speaking Umlazi.

Late this week, a new NP poster was put up to rein-

force the message: a massive skull and bones against a red and white chevron background. "CP stands for Conflict Party" it proclaims.

"We took the gloves off against the CP," says the NP's Piet Matthee. "They are running a scurrilous campaign full of half-truths and innuendos. We are not going to pull our punches any more."

The vitriol that has been so much a part of NP-CP election encounters in the past is reaching new levels of acridity in Umlazi.

"We can see our message is hitting home by the way the NP reacts," says the CP's Francis Hitchcock.

Has the effort to establish a link between CP and AWB scared off potential supporters in suburban Montclair or Yellow Wood Park?

"No, not all," says a smiling Mr Hitchcock. "The people know about the differences between the CP and the AWB. Our leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has stated on many occasions that we will use every parliamentary and extra-parliamentary method to get rid of the Government."

S1 Times

27/5/70 **IMAGE**

27/5/70

In the CP-NP dogfight, the DP has almost been reduced to an innocent bystander. Its message is cerebral and difficult, one of reconciliation and peace and co-operation between the peoples of the country.

"Our strategy is to ignore the DP," admits Mr Matthee. "It frustrates the hell out of them."

The DP's Trevor Coppen is quite philosophical about this: "We fight a positive campaign," he said. "We take a long-term view of our country's future and we try to persuade voters to support us in building a new South Africa."

But dominating the campaign is the person of Mr F W de Klerk. His successful European visit has caught the imagination of Umlazi voters and the NP is capitalising heavily on his strong image.

"Please, help me to help Mr De Klerk," is the message Mr Matthee spreads to all the households he visits. "He is doing so much for South Africa ... you can say 'thank you' by voting for the NP."

This approach is bearing fruit. This week, while I accompanied Mr Matthee on his campaign trail, a self-confessed DP supporter made no bones about where he was going to draw his cross.

"Man, these De Klerk moves have excited me. Make no mistake ... I am still a DP man ... but this time I am going to vote for De Klerk."

Perspectives

DRIES VAN HEERDEN



REPORTS FROM UMLAZI

Battle for the last white vote

THE Last White Vote That is what the by-election in Umlazi on June 6 may well turn out to be.

Election campaigns are known for extravagant language and generous misuse of hyperbole. Politicians like to use phrases like "crucial campaign" and "watershed poll" to drive their supporters to the polling booths.

But Umlazi may well be one by-election in which some of the strong phrases are justified. If the Government's reform policy continues at its present pace it may just be the last time an exclusive white poll is held.

June 6 will probably also be the one and only testing ground of the conventional wisdoms (CWDs) that have been put forward by political pundits since President F.W. de Klerk put his reform programme into over-drive on February 2.

● CWD1 The Nats have lost heavily because of defections to the Right.

There is no doubt that recent Government moves — have bolstered the fortunes of the Conservative Party.

And this shift to the Right is not confined to Afrikaner voters, which makes Umlazi

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There is no doubt that recent Government moves — have bolstered the fortunes of the Conservative Party.

And this shift to the Right is not confined to Afrikaner voters, which makes Umlazi

such an excellent barometer of current political trends. Its 20 000 voters, 65 to 70 percent of whom are estimated to be English-speaking, are a cross-section of the South African population.

Umlazi is the safest NP seat in Natal. In September last year the NP's Con Botha gathered a massive 6 149 votes on a 61 percent poll. The DP came second with 3 314 votes and the CP last with 2 429 — a Nat majority of 2 835. To unseat the NP

would need a shift to the Right of nine on the political Richter Scale.

The CP's Francis Hitchcock, a 62-year-old former headmaster, believes he can just pull off the biggest upset in South Africa's political history. But then, has anyone ever met a politician who does not predict victory?

Hitchcock, a friendly live-wire, has been a local resident for many years and is very active in welfare circles in Durban. He

INUNDATED

"The Nats are leaving the party in droves to join the CP," he says. "And I have personally canvassed 23 former DP supporters who have leap-frogged the NP to join us." The NP's Piet Matthee, 37, can-

didly admits there is a haemorrhage to the Right. But he is still confident of being sent to Parliament as the representative for Umlazi.

Matthee rejects suggestions that he is running a lethargic campaign.

However, both DP and CP canvassers say they have yet to meet a NP worker on the streets of Montclair, Bellair, Yellow Wood Park, Sea View, Woodlands or Hillary.

Matthee agrees that his majority may be reduced. But he pins his hopes on....

● CWD2 What the Nats lose on the right-wing swings they gain on the left-wing round-about.

Says Matthee: "We are inundated with messages from people who say they voted DP last year only to indicate they wanted reform stepped up."

The NP's campaign is aimed at exploiting such sentiments. Their favourite slogans are "Help us to help F.W." and "Vote NP to keep the CP out."

The DP's Trevor Coppen says the Nats are blowing the CP threat out of all proportion to scare voters into voting NP. "It is statistically impossible for the CP to win in Umlazi," he says.

GREEN

Coppen 37 is a relative newcomer to election politics. He still talks about "enjoying the fight" and "having fun". But he is an excellent candidate, having made his mark in the business world before venturing into politics.

And he is an environmentalist, from his active involvement in conservation bodies to the Land Rover he uses to drive around the streets of Umlazi. A true-blue Green — at a time when environmental issues are gradually moving to centre-stage in South African politics.

The DP is adamant that its Umlazi campaign is not a flag-waving exercise. It believes it is in with a fighting chance on June 6. To show its commitment, DP election guru Neil Ross has been dispatched from Cape Town to oversee the campaign.

Now "Ross the Boss" is a seasoned and meticulous campaigner. Every canvasser that returns from the streets is thoroughly debriefed and his canvassing

results are sorted into different slots: "for", "doubtful positive", "doubtful negative", "against", "not at home", "moved".

There is even a category marked "bug dog".

Where the DP and the NP canvassing figures dovetail is in the very high figure of voters marked "doubtful" — one of the highest percentages I have yet encountered in any campaign.

And this is where the final tallies will be determined. There are very few ravers on the CP side of the spectrum.

On Tuesday night Coppen, supported by DP MPs Ken Andrew and Rupert Lortney, held a house meeting to explain his party's policies to 15 would-be supporters. For more than an hour the Democrats tried to show why people should support them.

Come question time and the very first question asked: "Please Mr Coppen, I am a little confused. What are the main differences between the DP and the NP?"

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Francis Hitchcock, CP Predict historic victory



Piet Matthee, NP Losses to the Right



Europe hails reforms so far, but...

CP Res 27/5/90

3047

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk won praise for his reform moves during his nine-nation European tour but failed to find the combination to unlock the vaults to fresh Western credit so crucial to his plans.

"We can cope with (trade) sanctions, but we need those loans," said one South African source who travelled with De Klerk to Belgium, Britain, France, Greece, Portugal, West Germany, Switzerland, Spain and Italy.

Although he may have to wait a while longer for fresh foreign credits, the political gains De Klerk has already won should not be underestimated, political analysts said.

"He has shattered the ice of our isolation from the rest of the world and that was really the grueliest of all the sanctions that have been imposed against us," one senior aide said.

De Klerk's warm overall welcome in Europe contrasted strongly with the hostile receptions

given to previous South African leaders. The hottest stop was in Athens where police fired teargas at demonstrating students hurling petrol bombs.

De Klerk, who wound up the 18-day tour in Rome on Friday, insisted during a London stop-over that his plan to reform apartheid was "on the move... there is no turning back".

But Western bankers, who froze new lending to South Africa in 1985 in response to international pressure, appeared in no hurry to reverse their stand, not even after the freeing of ANC leader Nelson Mandela in February.

"We pay more attention to deeds than words and fancy promises," a West German banker said.

"Until there is a new political structure, foreign investors aren't going to change their attitudes - uncertainty discourages foreign investment," said Patrick Moon, economic adviser at Lloyds Bank in London.

Bankers now worry about the political stability of South Africa as the white-minority's grip on power is relaxed.

A South African source said: "The issue is to win the confidence of the banks so that they will begin again to put money into South Africa."

A second West German banker said: "The process of dialogue has started and that is very, very important. But we are bankers and that means we make our decisions based on an assessment of the political and economic risks. And at the moment, the political risks are still quite high."

The availability of foreign funding is vital to create a new-look South Africa in which the black majority can benefit from new houses, schools and other costly infrastructure.

De Klerk hopes his swing through Europe will soften the European Community's stand on sanctions, in place since 1985, and that this will show up at the EC Dublin summit in late June.

At almost every stop he said: "It is time now for encouragement in South Africa and not for pressure."

Mandela, whose release after 27 years in prison signalled the start of De Klerk's reforms, also plans to tour Europe before the EC summit and will urge that sanctions remain.

"Apartheid is still in place," Mandela said as De Klerk toured. "Nothing has happened in regard to its dismantling."

European leaders said they were pleased reform had started but they needed more proof the process was irreversible. Most said they would follow the EC's lead on sanctions.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, stood out as a key supporter of De Klerk.

"I think everyone who saw or heard him has admired President de Klerk's integrity and courage," she said. "I believe there is now no place for sanctions and that they are almost irrelevant." - Sapa-Reuter



President FW de Klerk
... political gains.

Hero's welcome for a triumphant FW

S/Times 27/5/90

304A

By MARK STANSFIELD

A TRIUMPHANT President F W de Klerk stepped on to the tarmac at Jan Smuts Airport at 10am yesterday after his highly successful, but hectic, European tour.

The President came home to a tumultuous, ecstatic welcome from a 1 000-strong flag-waving, cheering crowd.

Seldom has Jan Smuts seen so much goodwill — or noise.

In the upper gallery stood "Oom Hans" from Pretoria, his eyes dreamily closed as his fingers whizzed over his trusty concertina keyboard.

Of course, most of the people backed him loudly on vocals with stirring Afrikaner stuff like Bring My Terug na die Ou Transvaal and Sarie Marais, among other traditional liedjies.

Harmony

Down below in the entrance hall it was another story.

Waiting in pristine uniforms were the SA Police choir from Soweto.

More sedate, they competed against Oom Hans and his following with tunes thought more fitting for the occasion — Jabulani Afrika was sung in quiet harmony.

The overflowing crowd, many proudly wearing "I love F.W." stickers on their chests and waving orange, white and blue triangular commemorative flags with an image of their smiling President embossed on them, went wild as the minutes ticked by.

The chanting began: "FW... FW..." and then...

Like magic, there stood the President, looking tired with his hands raised in greeting. The warmth of his welcome had brought tears to his eyes.

He said he would tell the crowd "in a single sentence" what the true significance of his European tour had been:

"We looked Europe squarely in the eyes," he said — and the crowd roared its approval.

"We will work towards a South Africa which is truly great — a land where all forms of discrimination have been removed."

Attention

A small voice rose from the crowd: "Are you listening, Andries?"

Even the President smiled.

And then Mr De Klerk requested that the National Anthem be played — and even the cleaners stood to attention.

Slowly the crowd disbanded and Jan Smuts again became just another airport.

And President De Klerk went off to Loftus Versfeld to watch rugby rivals Northern



TIRED BUT HAPPY... President De Klerk waves to the crowd on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport

Red carpets, royalty

ST Times 27/5/90

(304A)



President De Klerk with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl

Chatting to French President Francois Mitterrand

Sharing a joke with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher

were the real rewards

ST Times 27/5/90

(304A)

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ST Times 27/5/90

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(304A)

A SOBERING truth lurks behind the success — even the glory — of President F W de Klerk's mission abroad. It lies not so much in the remarkable official receptions he received in the great capitals of Europe, but in the fact that they took place at all.

It's a bit like measuring one's social success by receiving, for the first time, an invitation to a classy dinner party. Your hosts don't expect you to have much to say at your debut; they assume you will recognise that your mere presence at table constitutes recognition of your acceptance into polite society.

This attitude was put into words by international media baron Rupert Murdoch at a lunch for the South African leader at Chequers, country home of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Casual

With characteristic energy, Mr Pik Botha was sitting over to Mr Murdoch the argument he has been pressing in capital after capital: "Our President is making, as you acknowledge, great reforms. But they are not without risk. The world must help by giving him rewards which he can display at home."

According to a diplomat who was there, Mr Murdoch replied fairly bluntly: "The fact that you are being received openly, officially and warmly, as you are, is the reward."

None of this is to say that President De Klerk's mission was not a great event. It was.

The great sea changes of

At the end of President De Klerk's grand tour, Lester Venter assesses its success and the prospects for the easing of sanctions



history do not come about in single, cosmic diplomatic events. And, with 40 years of apartheid still staining SA's reputation, the current change will come about slowly and must be brought about with daring and skill.

The importance of Mr De Klerk's accomplishment lies in the fact that he has opened a future that lies close at hand and is pregnant with great promise.

Mr Botha said in Zurich, close to the end of the nine-nation tour: "Frequently we are asked: 'What has been achieved?' Well, what has been achieved is the visit itself."

What he means is best illustrated by comparing this trip with previous South African forays into Europe.

When Mr P W Botha went to France in 1986 he did so in spite of a French Government suggestion that he stay at home. In Switzerland there was never any official recognition of his presence.

When he spoke to Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany in 1988, it was casually at a large reception — and not, by all accounts, a very warm exchange.

In the last fortnight President De Klerk has been given red carpets, full protocol, audiences with

royalty and extended working meetings with heads of governments.

Said Mr Botha: "It's almost as if they were leaning over backwards to tell us they didn't expect us to do it (creating a democratic society) in one day."

He said the tone of all the meetings was: "We want you to succeed."

Yet the ambivalence was there. Although public protests at several stops had neither the size nor the fury of the past, they were there nevertheless — and in France and Switzerland they became violent.

Stunning

The ultra-discreet gnomes of Zurich were eager to meet President De Klerk — but asked the Press not to disclose the names of bankers and other important guests who attended a dinner of the Swiss-South Africa Association.

Yet, at the end of the exhausting journey, the balance sheet looks good. Credits outweigh the debits by far.

And in no material respect was this more promising than on the vital issue of sanctions.

The trip was judiciously timed before SA's most important trading bloc — the European Community — meets in Dublin in a

month's time to review its policy on sanctions.

The requirement for lifting sanctions is that the EC must be convinced there is "a real prospect of achieving a full democracy in SA".

Thus EC leaders will have to make a value judgment on the "irreversibility" (a key word, that) of the reform process now under way.

Their decision will hinge heavily on President De Klerk's credibility.

In this respect, face-to-face meetings with the leaders who will make that decision were absolutely necessary — and by all accounts they were stunningly successful.

After each meeting, President De Klerk made a point of emphasising that the message of "irreversibility" had been put across.

Some of the government heads he met, like Mr Constantine Mitsotakis of Greece and President Mario Soares of Portugal, confirmed this publicly.

While others were less keen to anticipate the EC's Dublin summit on June 25, there were signs in every capital that, not only were sanctions already crumbling, but that the majority of EC governments were eager to erase the sanctions hindrance from their agendas.

Now there are real

hopes among senior diplomats that a staged rollback of sanctions will begin with an early end to sports, cultural and scientific boycotts.

It was clear, too, that President De Klerk's personal qualities — a laid-back, persuasive style and integrity — contributed greatly towards the emergence of a new European attitude towards South Africa.

The acceptance that apartheid is rapidly and genuinely becoming yesterday's issue is having profound consequences.

Now that apartheid is no longer the tie that binds the West with Africa in a moral crusade against Pretoria, there is no longer cause for blind allegiance between the two continents.

Struggling

Africa — and sub-continental southern Africa is part of it — will henceforth have to bargain its role on the world's political and economic stage purely on merit.

The EC made its message clear — it would like to see a newly respectable SA become the economic hub of sub-Saharan Africa.

Moreover, the EC would prefer to deal on a bloc-to-bloc basis rather than with a plethora of competing and failing nations.

West Germany's Minister of Economic Co-operation, Mr Jurgen Warnke, said after meeting President De Klerk that Germany regarded regional co-operation in Africa as "important from an EC point of view".

He told President De

Klerk that Germany would like to see SA as a member of the Organisation of African Unity, the African Development Bank and the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference — the latter being the region's equivalent of the EC with 95-million people in 10 states.

Industrialists and investors who met Mr De Klerk in Europe sought assurances from the President and Mr Botha that SA's new deal would have none of the fatal economic flaws found so often elsewhere in Africa.

Thus, when Mr Nelson Mandela follows President De Klerk on his own tour of European capitals next

month, he is likely to find that big money has very conservative politics.

Governments and the media also sought assurances from President De Klerk that his insistence on minority group rights would not have racial overtones. This he gave, to apparent satisfaction.

The subject is one Europe understands readily, struggling as it is for a political formula for unifying its own 12 EC nations.

There seemed a ready acceptance, too, that whereas violence in the past in SA sought to bring about change, the present violence in the country was designed to resist change.

AWB set for battle training in the Boland

Staff Reporter

AK645
28/5/90

341

COMMANDO units of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging would gather on a Boland farm this coming weekend for training in battle skills, a spokesman for the organisation said.

Mr Stef Jacobson of Fish Hoek did not name the farm or its location but said experts would give instructions on using rifles and handguns for self-defence. Blank cartridges would be used for the exercise.

The commando units were formed on the instructions of AWB national leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche. They were geared to be ready at a moment's notice to protect life and property in the event of an attack, Mr Jacobson said.

WEEKLY COMBAT TRAINING

Commando members already undergo unarmed combat training in Fish Hoek for about two hours a week.

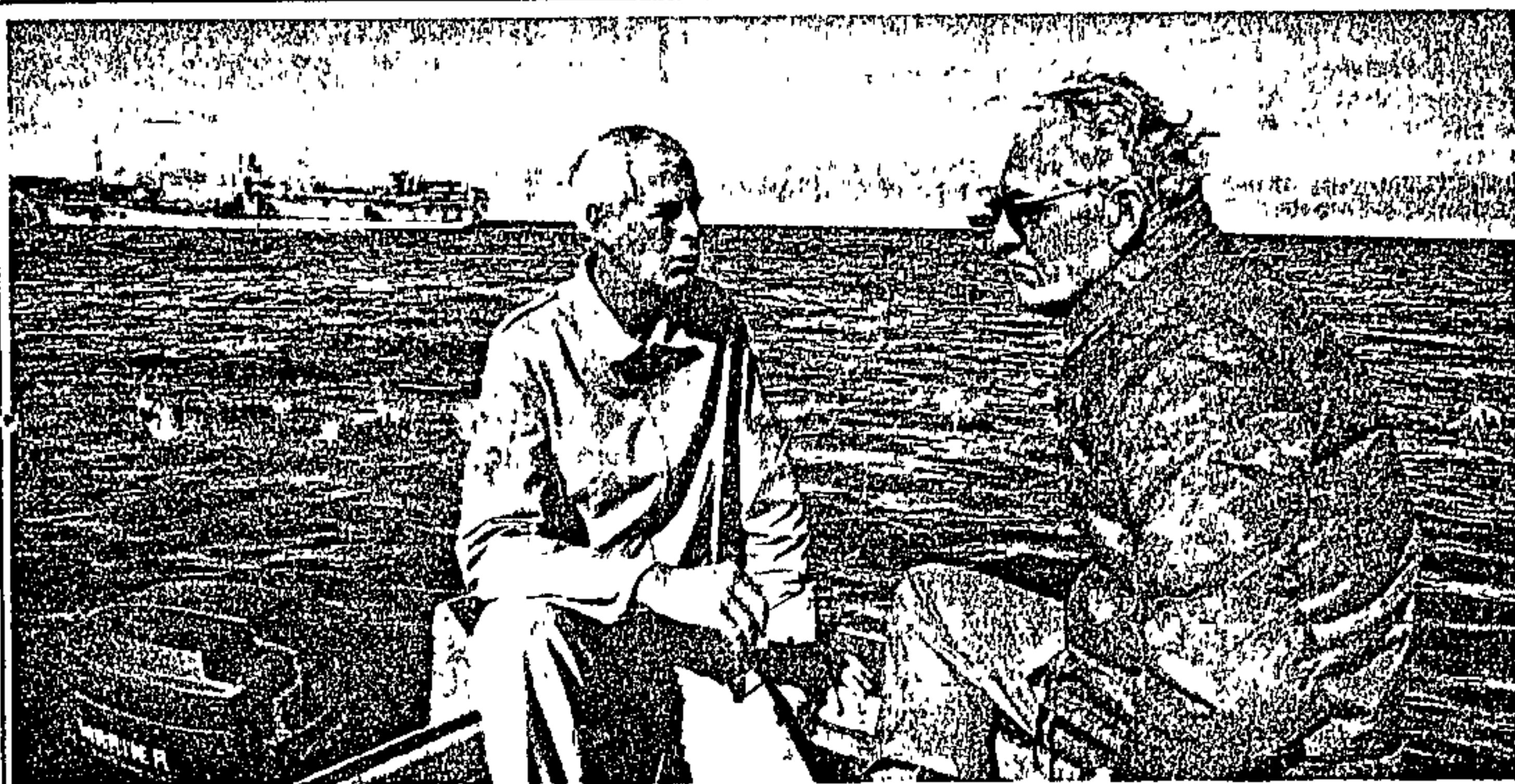
At the weekend camp we will consider what functions a commando should be able to perform.

We are establishing structures and there is great interest among most of our members, said Mr Jacobson.

● A city council spokesman said an AWB emblem sprayed on to a signboard at the Strand Street exit of the Eastern Boulevard at the weekend would be removed as soon as possible.

FW slams right-wing

CHP 7/14/13
28/5/90 (3049)



By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday accused the Conservative Party leadership of a campaign of incitement.

He said this placed the CP "on a slippery slide to a morass of violent broedertwis".

He also warned that the government would not be scared or intimidated by any right-wing backlash against the government's reform.

Mr De Klerk's broadside came in response to the Voortrekker monument "volksvergadering" at the weekend attended by more than 60 000 Afrikaner conservatives.

At the meeting CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht accused Mr De Klerk of betraying the volk, reneging on his constitutional responsibilities and disregarding the law.

Dr Treurnicht told the rally. "The government and the President have assured foreign governments that capitulation is irreversible. But do they mean by this that the abdication of the white man is also irreversible?"

Revolt

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg denied claims that the CP wanted to wage war but added that "if the constitutional route is blocked we will have no option but to use the methods of an oppressed people to wrest back our freedom".

Yesterday Mr De Klerk said the CP was guilty of "irresponsible radicalism", describing CP threats of revolt and resistance as "undemocratic and dangerous".

In a statement released for publication today in the NP's official mouthpiece, the Nationalist, Mr De Klerk said:

"The total campaign of incitement of the CP is based on the blatant lie that the NP has now suddenly surrendered the whites of this country to domination and suppression. Nothing is further removed from the truth."

Mr De Klerk said it was time to remind the CP of the fact that it had lost the elections held on September 6 last year and May 6 in 1987.

"On both these occasions the white voters gave a clear decision in favour of one united South Africa, without domination, and against the unworkable and divisive policies of the CP."

The continuing "incitement" of voters against the democratic expressions of the will of the electorate and the CP's threats of revolt and resistance were "irresponsible, undemocratic and dangerous".

Mr De Klerk said responsible elements within the CP should raise their voices against the radicalism.

● Fight wing 'to fight' — Page 2
● Mandela's vow — Page 2

Don't panic, pleads Gorbachev

MOSCOW. — President Mikhail Gorbachev, seeking to stem frantic buying nationwide because of planned price hikes, appealed to the Soviet people yesterday "not to give in to panic" and accept a transition to a market economy.

Mr Gorbachev, speaking on the evening television news, called the movement toward the market "a new revolution" without which the country cannot end its economic decline.

"I appeal to you, dear comrades, not to give in to panic," Mr Gorbachev said. "Don't give in to panic. Let's look at this soberly and realistically."

Meanwhile in the troubled republic of Armenia, militants attacked soldiers yesterday at the main train station in Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, and at least six people were killed and 11 injured in the fighting, Soviet media and Armenians said. — UPI and Sapa-Reuter

● Gorbachev faces flak — Page 5

R56m bank fraud foiled

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — First National Bank's computer audit system two weeks ago caught an employee who allegedly tried to defraud the bank of R56m by transferring the money abroad in four transactions, senior general manager Mr Jimmy McKenzie said yesterday.

Mr McKenzie said the man appeared in court on Friday.

Reserve Bank exchange control general manager Mr John Postmus yesterday confirmed that FNB had reported the incident to the bank.

Mr McKenzie said FNB's audit system had blocked three transactions and alerted officials to a fourth, and the money was later recovered.



TOP: Caledon MP Mr Lampie Fick (left) and the Minister on Environment and Water Affairs, Mr Gert Kotze, on their way back from the stranded Taiwanese trawler An-Hung 1 off Gans Bay yesterday.

ABOVE: A Nature Conservation officer holds a dead seal and penguin found on the trawler yesterday.

● Looters strip stranded trawler — Page 3

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

304A (2)

Right-wing 'to fight'

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk returned from a tour of nine European nations at the weekend to face the biggest right-wing demonstration yet staged, on the 42nd anniversary of the Afrikaner's rise to power.

More than 60 000 people filled the Voortrekker Monument to protest against Mr De Klerk's proposed dismantling of apartheid.

Addressing an equally big crowd a few kilometres away in Atteridgeville, Mr Nelson Mandela condemned Dr Andries Treurnicht as a "prophet of doom" and called on whites to back Mr De Klerk.

Mr De Klerk brushed off the massive right-wing protest, declaring on his arrival in Johannesburg his reform programme was unstoppable. He appealed to the country to "rise above petty party politics" and spread "a message of hope".

At the Voortrekker Monument, Dr Treurnicht echoed the theme of the un-

F W faces backlash

stoppable — from the opposite point of view.

"Today our national movement for freedom in our fatherland is unstoppable," Dr Treurnicht said. "There aren't enough jails to hold Afrikaner nationalists prisoner."

He administered an oath to a cheering mass of supporters: "We undertake that we shall not accept the threatened destruction of our nation's freedom. We will fight on to regain what has unjustly been taken away."

The crowd responded: "I pledge."

About 500 khaki-clad Afrikaners on

horseback, many wearing the Swastika-like patches of the AWB, led a march of thousands aboard buses, trucks, cars through the capital before reaching the monument.

Right-wingers set fire to a green, black and gold ANC banner, lowered the South African flag over the monument and waved their own flags of the old Afrikaner republics.

The lowering of the South African flag, a provincial CP leader declared, symbolised the bloody knees Mr De Klerk suffered after grovelling for an easing of European sanctions against the country.

Earlier, Dr Treurnicht called on Inkatha leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi to ally his organisation with the CP in its fight against terrorism and to prevent "communism from reigning victorious in South Africa".

Dr Treurnicht said he "did not have a problem" with whites who took their security into their own hands in conjunction with the police. — UPI and Sapa

Monumental retreat for banners of AWB

PRETORIA. — A banner-bearing echelon of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members was forced to beat a retreat during a flag presentation at the Conservative Party rally here on Saturday.

The incident occurred when a torch and a cluster of flags of the Free State and Transvaal republics were carried through the crowd to the stage at the foot of the Voortrekker Monument amphitheatre.

The AWB members trailed, bearing a red, white and black swastika-like standard. As a trumpeter played "Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika", CP national organiser Mr Andries Beyers, said over the public address system: "I am sorry, but we did not order those."

Ordering the ultra-rightists to remove their standards, Mr Beyers said only national flags had been allowed.

Dr Andries Treurnicht and his Conservative Party did not muster nearly as big a crowd as they had hoped — even optimistic estimates put the size at around 70 000 — 30 000 short of the hoped-for 100 000. — Own Correspondent and Sapa



ROUSING SUPPORT . . . Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht acknowledges a crowd of about 60 000 right-wing supporters who attended a rally against apartheid reform policies on Saturday.

Picture: REUTERS

cap 7.47 28/5/90 (30/4/90)

Mandela vows to scupper tour gains

Political Correspondent

MR NELSON MANDELA vowed at the weekend to scupper President FW de Klerk's drive to ease South Africa's international isolation and make him "regret" his nine-nation tour of Europe.

But SA diplomats believe that Mr Mandela may be in for some surprises when he begins his own European tour later this week as he is likely to be critically questioned by political and business leaders about the ANC's continued commitment to armed struggle and nationalisation.

Diplomats also point out that the President has been inundated with invitations to visit other countries and that further visits to Africa, Israel, Holland, Eastern Europe and North America are on the cards.

After earlier welcoming Mr De Klerk's European tour, on Saturday Mr Mandela vowed to torpedo efforts by Mr De Klerk to urge Europe to rethink policy towards SA and accept Pretoria's commitment to "fundamental reform".

Mr Mandela told a rally at Atteridgeville: "I am visiting Europe next week. I am visiting almost every capital he visited, and I can assure you that after I have spoken there he will regret his visit to Europe."

Mr Mandela said that sanctions and other pressures were designed to force the government to abandon apartheid and had to be applied "until the whole structure of apartheid is brought down".

SA diplomats believe Mr Mandela will get a good reception in Europe and that the process of "lionising" him was far from complete.

But they believe it will not be all plain sailing for the ANC leader, particularly during his contacts with business leaders who are considering investing in SA.

During his European tour, Mr De Klerk said he did not see himself in conflict with Mr Mandela on the sanctions debate.

Rather, given the changes that had already taken place and the government commitment to eliminate apartheid, sanctions "simply do not make sense anymore".

● SA officials accompanying Mr De Klerk on his tour said that because he had carried out the reforms he promised during his visit to Europe last year, European leaders regarded what he said this time around as credible.

While officials were cautious about making predictions, they were adamant that "positive things are going to happen for SA."

Mandela threatens pull out

By MONK NKOMO

304A

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has threatened that his organisation will stop negotiations with the Government unless political prisoners, including those on death row, are immediately released.

Addressing about 60 000 people at a rally at Atteridgeville's Super Stadium on Saturday, Mandela also demanded:

- * An end to political trials;
- * The unconditional return of about 20 000 exiles;
- * The immediate lifting of the state of emergency;

and

- * The pulling out of troops in black townships.

Mandela warned the Government that "we will call our army again" if the ANC's requests, aimed at bringing about peace in the country, were not met.

Mandela said the ANC was addressing the question of political unity with other political organisations, labour movements and homeland leaders. He also paid Masemola, who was killed in a car accident early this month.

He appealed to whites to support State President F W de Klerk's initiatives.

The ANC leader also warned political organisations which criticised the ANC for negotiating with the Government.

"These organisations are harming the freedom struggle by rushing to the Press to publicise our differences and strategies," he said.

Amid roaring applause from the crowd, Mandela warned Bophuthatswana's president, Mr Lucas Manganye Mangope, to stop "imposing his will on the people". He called on him to remember the German dictator Adolf Hitler, who was defeated by the power of the masses.

"Mangope must take care ... he is less than a paper tiger," said Mandela.



Tight security kept a watchful eye on Nelson Mandela as his entourage paraded the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville on Saturday.

Three sides of SA shown by meetings

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The three most visible sides of SA politics were illustrated at the weekend when tens of thousands gathered to demonstrate support for President F W de Klerk, CP leader Andries Treurnicht and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela.

De Klerk assured an enthusiastic welcoming crowd at Jan Smuts Airport SA had broken the isolation barrier.

However, Mandela, who leaves for Europe next week, told a rally in Atteridgeville on Saturday he would persuade leaders there to ignore De Klerk's optimistic message.

"I am visiting Europe next week — almost every capital that he (De Klerk) has visited — and I can assure you, after I have spoken in the places that he has visited he will regret (his visit).

"The government and its apologists are trying to convince the world to leave sanctions and SA's world isolation. Sanctions are vital to force the government to abandon apartheid," Mandela said.

Treurnicht told Business Day yesterday government must heed the determination of a large section of the white population not to be constitutionally trampled on.

This was a clear message, he said, from

□ To Page 2

Meetings

the volks congress at the Voortrekker Monument on Saturday.

Government had gone beyond its mandate and an early general election was justified and urgently needed to test the views of white voters.

The determination of South Africans not to allow themselves to be steam-rolled was clearly illustrated.

The congress had a message for government: move cautiously and do not betray the rights of groups. Voters would not sim-

ply lie down and take whatever was handed to them, Treurnicht said.

There was an obvious build-up of opposition to the directions in which government was moving.

Treurnicht said the Umlazi parliamentary by-election next week would be an acid test of voting reactions to government's reform plans.

● Picture: Page 3

● Comment: Page 6

□ From Page 1

Sz 28/5/90

304A

Mandela calls on whites to back FW

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has urged whites to support President de Klerk — while warning that he would oppose any attempts to lift sanctions on his forthcoming European trip.

At a rally on Saturday attended by about 50 000 in Atteridgeville near Pretoria, Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk had "brought absolutely nothing from Europe to South Africa".

He had only transferred the national debate on apartheid to the capitals of Europe.

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

"We cannot allow him to tell the world that apartheid is dead when we have no vote, when we cannot live where we choose, when innocent people are being killed by his police every day.

"I am visiting Europe next week. I will visit almost every capital he has visited and I can assure you that after I have spoken there, he will regret (having visited Europe at all)."

Courage

Although Mr de Klerk was "not strong enough" to put an end to violence and "very slow" in working for a nonracial South Africa, he had had "the courage to talk to the ANC".

"Whites who want the future of their children to be secure should support President de Klerk," Mr Mandela said.

He reacted to the criticisms of his recent statements on police violence with a blistering attack on Defence Minister Magnus Malan's "unintelligent remarks" which had left Mr Mandela "not surprised that he was considered unfit to form part of the Government delegation to meet the ANC".

Mr Mandela said he would continue to protest against the unnecessary death of even one person at the hands of "apartheid violence".

He denounced President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht.

Mr Mangope was a "little tyrant" who, like Hitler, would be defeated by the masses.

Dr Treurnicht would never succeed in his opposition to ANC and Government efforts to bring peace to South Africa; "We have defeated greater men than himself. He will also be defeated."

Struggle

On the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said that if the Government did not respond, "we will call our army again. Our strategies are going to remain in place until the whole (apartheid) structure is brought down."

However, "any form of violence against your own flesh and blood is a betrayal of the freedom struggle," he said.

"Abstain from violence, except only to defend yourself."

The four-hour rally began with "light-hearted cultural events" including a satirical address by a P W Botha impersonator. Later the stadium shook to the thunder of 50 000 people toyi-toying before being gripped by raw excitement as Mr Mandela's motorcade entered.

A need to reconcile traditional and Western views

Let's stop talking past each other

8 November 28/1/90

304/1

THAT the economic imbalances in South Africa are enormous is common cause. I think there are few, if any, in South Africa who do not accept that the normal socio-economic problems of modernising, urbanising society have been considerably exacerbated by the apartheid system under which we have laboured so long, and that this poses a particular challenge as we look to creating economic structures and policies which will lead to a rapid economic growth and more equitable distribution of wealth.

The business community remains predominantly driven by the individual/competitive values which are key elements in the mainstream of Western society - individual freedom, responsibility and enterprise to name a few. However, other groups observe matters from a tradition, both cultural and intellectual, which has stressed, if it can be codified, what one might call group/co-operative or even egalitarian/collectivist values.

It is important to recognise these differences and the different assumptions that they have led to in the past, since much of the confusion in the debate about South Africa's economic future has been caused by participants talking past each other.

Vision

We are united by a vision of South Africa where there is:

- . A growing economy capable of generating the resources to address socio-economic need.
- . A strong, diversified economy which creates more wealth by competing successfully in international markets and attracting foreign investment.
- . Meaningful, productive economic opportunities for all South Africans to share in wealth creation.
- . A more equitable distribution of resources.
- . The elimination of racial imbalances in the economy through equal opportunity.

This is an edited version of Mr Gavin Relly's address to last week's indaba between the African National Congress and business leaders.



. Growing national and individual prosperity i.e. improved standards of living.

. Freedom for all to promote their own interests as workers, consumers and creators of wealth.

. Effective strategies to combat poverty and under-development.

We in business are dedicated to debate and discussion on the options so that we can build a common economic future. What the debate should really be about therefore is the means to the above ends and the circumstances in which they may be more readily secured.

Trade-off

Given the inequalities in South Africa and the political and economic need to address these urgently while maximising growth (remembering our common goals) we have to confront the old problem of the trade-off between equality and growth. Where to strike the balance? I believe that economic growth is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a reduction in absolute poverty and or a reduction in inequality.

Tax

The other decisive factor is the kind of growth rather than the rate itself. This emphasises the need to get the mix right - the tax system, the efficiency and manner in which we deploy tax revenue, the country's legal and institutional framework, the need for a predominantly market-based pricing system, the encouragement of investment, etc.

The reason why South Africa

has had a poor record of investment in the 1980s is precisely because the policies pursued by the State then were inappropriate in both scope and nature and so distorted the market. To apartheid legislation was added a wide array of controls via such mechanisms as administered prices, marketing boards, exchange controls and an expanding public sector, as well as a reliance on inflation to expand nominal government revenues.

Unhappy

This unhappy story raises the question of what business sees as the fundamental requirements for growth.

First and foremost we in the corporate sector believe that the retention of domestic and international investor confidence is critical to economic growth. While the criteria for such confidence - including the levels of State participation in the economy - may vary from country to country, the universal experience is that investors conclude that State intervention and regulation stifle initiative, entrepreneurial activity and the ability to make profit and skills flight will ensue.

Resources

Secondly, the State has an important role in distributing or redistributing resources for reasons of equality as mentioned through transfer payments from one tax payer to another (for pensions, subsidies and interest on public debt and through government spending (health, education, low cost housing etc.).

Thirdly, the corporate sector believes in the light of general international experience that the size of government is critical to the well-being of the economy.

Fourthly, if these three guidelines are followed in economic policies, then the key issue of inflation should also be satisfactorily addressed. Unless inflation continues to be targeted as an economic priority, the differential between South Africa's high inflation rate of 15 percent and those of her major trading partners of 4-5 percent will lead to a vicious circle of inflationary pressures.

Gains

The above policies, taken together with the abolition of apartheid, will also provide an environment conducive to a new work ethic, the fifth fundamental, without which required economic growth gains cannot be made.

There is no short cut to development yet, in a sense, nationalisation is proposed by some in our economic debate precisely as one of the elements of such a short cut. Of course it has its emotional attraction, given the acts of omission and commission of the past.

Instead of contemplating mechanisms such as nationalisation, the private sector should be seen as the source of wealth and job creation, with the Budget acting as an indicator of resources raised through the taxation system.

Values

All this leads me to conclude that business and political movements will both have to seek a new set of jointly held values which will enable them to co-operatively confront the challenges of building an economic future.

In conclusion I would like to make a plea for pragmatism rather than ideology to govern our decisions. Blending competitive individualism and broader societal co-operation will allow the First World part to develop dynamically too, while making use of those areas of communal interests and cooperative endeavour, whichever may be desired or useful.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: Is the hon the Minister allowed to talk about "dom" members from Johannesburg North? [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I heard the hon the Minister referring to "dom mense".

*The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I said that surely Johannesburg North did not produce such stupid people, unless the hon member wants to accept the fact that it does. [Interjections.]

*Mr W C MALAN: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: My submission is that the hon the Minister said that surely Johannesburg North did not produce people as stupid as the hon member. [Interjections.] I suggest that you ask the hon the Minister what he meant.

*The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am always prepared to withdraw it. That would solve the problem. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

-Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President

Mandela: visit by Cabinet members

*1. Adv S C JACOBS asked the State President:

- (1) Whether he and any members of his Cabinet, excluding the Minister of Justice, visited or received Mr Nelson Mandela inside or outside prison; if so, (a) on how many occasions, (b) where and (c) which Ministers were present on each occasion;

- (2) whether future meetings between him and/or his Ministers and Mr Mandela were mentioned on any of these occasions; if so.

- (3) whether the constitutional future of South Africa was discussed during their talks; if so, what are the relevant details?

B1077E

*The STATE PRESIDENT: 14-2-1990

- (1) (a), (b) and (c) are being dealt with in respect of meetings during the period before Mr Mandela's release when I was involved. I received Mr Mandela in my office on two occasions. Ministers Viljoen and Coetsee were present on both these occasions. Meetings which took place after his release are common public knowledge.

- (2) No further fixed appointments between me and/or the Ministers concerned and Mr Mandela were made at either of these meetings. The further meetings which took place were the result of certain needs which became relevant at various stages.

- (3) Apart from passing and broad statements of views on general aspects of policy, there was no discussion about South Africa's constitutional future. From the side of the Government all discussions thus far have been directed at reaching a clear commitment to seeking peaceful solutions before negotiation on South Africa's constitutional future can take place.

*Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, may we ask on what dates the visits on these two occasions took place?

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, I do not have my diary with me, but both were reported in the press. The one was late last year and the other was a few days before the actual release.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, were any of the two interviews which he held with Mr Mandela before 6 September?

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the reply is no. There was an interview between my predecessor and Mr Mandela before 6 September which produced certain results.

*Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply,

were any discussions held with a view to talks with Mr Mandela before 6 September?

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the approach of the Government in respect of talks with the ANC is clear to everyone. It is not the untruths on which the CP bases its propaganda against the NP.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Such as what?

*The STATE PRESIDENT: It is not to surrender the Whites to Black domination. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*The STATE PRESIDENT: It is not to surrender the Whites to oppression and it is not to destroy the freedom of the Whites.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: It is!

*The STATE PRESIDENT: The object of the talks, as I stated in a speech as far back as July, is to ensure that the basis of participation by people who commit themselves to peaceful solutions is as broad as possible.

It is in the best interest of South Africa that parties and movements and individuals who were previously committed to violence, and who participated in violence, turn away from violence. It is in the best interest of South Africa that the numbers of those people who wish to strive for reasonable solutions and who truly wish to seek solutions in a peaceful manner, be increased as far as possible. This is what the Government is doing, and the CP is at present doing precisely the opposite. [Interjections.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, will he tell us whether Mr Mandela has renounced violence yet?

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE, Daan, where are your platters? [Interjections.]

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the hon member is referring firstly . . .

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Just say yes or no, man!

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe is referring firstly to what was announced in a press

release after Mr Mandela met my predecessor the first time. Then already it was said that Mr Mandela strives after peaceful solutions. [Interjections.] I have had the same experience in discussions with him, and I refer the hon member to the terms which were announced publicly in the joint statement after the Groote Schuur talks.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: But did he renounce violence?

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: You see, Sir, he does not answer me!

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Overvaal will take his seat immediately and restrain himself from any further interjections.

*Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the reply of the hon the State President, and in the light of the fact that the hon the Minister of Justice announced on a previous occasion that the Government had been holding talks with Mr Mandela since 1985, will the hon the State President tell us whether he knew, while he was still Minister of National Education, that the members of Mr P W Botha's Cabinet had held talks with Mr Nelson Mandela in 1985 already?

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the hon Minister . . . [Interjections.]

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: [Inaudible.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Overvaal will now withdraw from the Chamber immediately!

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I was only busy . . .

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Overvaal will withdraw from the Chamber now!

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Yes, now I will leave the Chamber! I am only gathering my things so that I can go! [Interjections.]

*Mr H A SMITH: Leave, man! Leave! [Interjections.]

*The CHIEF WHIP OF PARLIAMENT: But surely he cannot get away with that!

†Mr H A SMIT: He has no respect for the Chair! [The hon member for Overvaal thereupon withdrew from the Chamber.] (304A)

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I now once again call on the hon the State President.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister of Justice said in public that he had informed me after I became leader of the NP and that I was aware of the fact that Mr Mandela would meet Mr P W Botha. On account of my line function prior to this, I was not involved with this matter. [Interjections.]

Ministers:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 22 May 1990:

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: signing

*20. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: Whether, subsequent to his reply to Question No 9 on 20 February 1990, the Government has taken a decision to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; if not, why not; if so, when does it intend to sign the treaty? B1066E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (for the Minister of Foreign Affairs):

The position of the Government has not changed in essence since I replied to Question No 9 on 20 February this year.

New questions:

Adoptions: different race groups

*1. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether the race group of prospective adoptive parents is a factor in determining their suitability; if so, why? B1048E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

Yes.

The Child Care Act, 1983 (Act 74 of 1983) provides that the court shall not place a child in the custody of any person whose classification in terms of the Population Registration Act,

1950 (Act No 30 of 1950) is not the same as that of the child except where such person is the parent or guardian of the child.

Mr L FUCHS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can she inform us as to whether any steps are being taken to do away with this discrimination? B1055E

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the Government is committed to removing all discriminatory legislation, and this matter will receive attention when the Child Care Act is revised next session. [Interjections.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, in the case of a White being married to a non-White, may a married couple adopt a child of any race group at present?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I think that is a hypothetical case. Each adoption is evaluated according to specific circumstances, and I do not want to speculate now, solely on the grounds of superficial remarks, on how a child may be placed.

Crossroads Town Committee: licences to carry fire-arms

*2. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether licences to carry firearms have been issued to certain members of the Crossroads Town Committee, Cape Town, whose names have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) for (i) how many fire-arms, and (ii) what types of firearms, in each case, (b) why and (c) what are the names of the members in question? B1055E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) to (c) It can only be ascertained beyond doubt, whether a person is the holder of a fire-arm licence on the basis of the person's identity number and name. I can unfortunately not furnish the required information, owing to insufficient particulars furnished by the hon member.

Cape Town: deaths due to unrest-related incidents

*3. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order: Whether any persons died in Cape Town as a result of unrest on or about 6 September 1989 if so, how many? B1056E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No. As far as could be ascertained not in the area of jurisdiction of the Cape Town police station.

Durban academic hospital: earthworks programme delayed

*4. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) Whether the Cabinet injunction not to proceed with major hospital construction has meant that the commencement of the earthworks programme for the new Durban academic hospital has been delayed; if so, (a) for how long has it been delayed and (b) what additional costs are likely to be incurred as a result;

(2) whether the University of Natal has been informed of the delay; if not, why not; if so, when;

(3) whether she will furnish the date on which the said earthworks programme will commence; if not, why not; if so, what is that date? B1068E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) No;

(2) falls away;

(3) the existing planning provides for the calling of tenders during July 1990.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, I wish to say that her reply now is in total contradiction to a reply to a similar question asked in respect of the Natal Provincial Administration's Hospital Services Section, which indicated that there had been a delay of six months in the earthworks commencement.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! What is the hon member's question?

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, is the hon the Minister aware of the position of the Natal Provincial Administration?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the answer is yes. I stated during the discussion of my Vote that the situation at King Edward VIII Hospital is being considered as a priority.

*5. Mr R R Hulley—Law and Order: [Question standing over.]

Irradiated food: health problems

*6. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether she or her Department has received any reports of instances or alleged instances of individuals experiencing health problems as a result of the consumption of irradiated food; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was the (i) purport of and (ii) response to each such report? B1071E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

No.

Harms Commission: evidence by Minister

*7. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether he, in his capacity as the Minister of Defence, is willing to give evidence in person before the Harms Commission; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether he has indicated this willingness to the chairman of the Commission; if not, why not; if so, when? B1075E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) Yes.

(2) Yes. By means of my legal representative during February 1990 and personally on 2 March 1990. The hon member is also referred to column 1631 of the Hansard of 26 February 1990.

Cycads illegally removed

*8. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether certain persons, particulars of whom have been furnished to the Minis-

CP would put FW on trial, says Koos

By MICHAEL MORRIS *AM645 29/5/90*
Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party firebrand Mr Koos van der Merwe said today that if he became a member of a government he would support the establishment of a special court to try President De Klerk and others for acting unconstitutionally.

Asked to expand on an interjection, "We will have Nuremberg trials for you", directed at the National Party in parliament yesterday, Mr Van der Merwe said today: "It just slipped out. It is not something the caucus has discussed, but I stand by it."

"If I were to be a part of a future government I would consider the need, not necessarily for a Nuremberg trial, but for a special court to try President De Klerk and others for acting unconstitutionally."

Asked about speculation that the CP had come close to threatening civil war in its eagerness to express resistance to Mr De Klerk's reform initiatives, Mr Van der Merwe said: "We pray that it will never come to that."

He said that by acting not merely without a mandate, but "contrary to the mandate he did get, and therefore unconstitutionally," Mr De Klerk was "creating a very dangerous climate".

"If he acts constitutionally he has nothing to fear. We are not against reform as such, but the unconstitutional manner in which it is being done."

Asked if this meant the CP was prepared to take up arms against the government if it continued on its present course, Mr Van der Merwe said: "From time to time we have to consider our position. At this stage there is no question of civil war. There is a

very clear dedication to constitutional methods."

But, he added: "If this is to change, it will be on Mr De Klerk's head."

Mr Van der Merwe's comments follow a statement yesterday in which an unrepentant CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht reacted to an attack from Mr De Klerk by vowing that the CP would continue mobilising resistance against the President's reforms.

"Any broedertwis or unpleasantness that arises is the result of the President's undemocratic actions against the freedom and rights of his people."

Dr Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk's promise to protect whites against domination was a myth and had never worked anywhere in the world.

This was why the CP believed the President's reforms would lead to the oppression of whites by blacks.

CP 'War' talk

30x 11
CME TmJ
29/15/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party came close to threatening civil war in South Africa if the government continued its reform programme.

Speaking amid loud interjections and cries of "resistance party", the CP's defiant finance spokesman, Mr Casper Uys, warned Parliament that President F W de Klerk would have to resort to force against the Afrikaner if he continued with his present policies.

He said that if the government pursued a course which would lead to black majority rule over the white folk, it would have to subject this group to violence.

"We will not bow down to President De Klerk, nor to Mandela," he vowed.

Introducing the Second Reading debate on the whites' own affairs budget, Mr Uys said the CP wished to warn President De Klerk that it would mobilise the folk in every area to prevent it losing its freedom.

The party was not prepared to negotiate over the surrender of authority over the whites.

Mr Uys dismissed Mr De Klerk's accusation that the CP was whipping up the emo-

tions of the Afrikaner people, saying it was not doing so any more than had former prime ministers Dr D F Malan, Mr J G Strijdom and Dr H F Verwoerd.

Last night CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht brushed aside President De Klerk's weekend charge that the party was bent on a "total campaign of incitement" that could place the party "on a slippery slide to a morass of violent broederwis".

Mr De Klerk also warned that the government would not be scared or intimidated by any right-wing backlash against the government's reforms.

Reacting to Mr De Klerk's criticism, Dr Treurnicht said the CP was determined to

continue mobilising white opposition to what he called Mr De Klerk's plans "to deliver the whites to black domination and suppression".

He then pointedly warned: "Any broedertwis and unpleasantness that flows from this is as a result of the State President's undemocratic actions against the freedom and rights of our folk."

Dr Treurnicht dismissed Mr De Klerk's criticism of the CP as "not only groundless, but a transparent attempt to try to hide the National Party's mad rush towards a black or ANC government".

Mr De Klerk's claim that he would protect whites in an undivided SA against domina-

tion was "a myth" and had not worked anywhere on earth.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk — who earlier slammed the CP for not accepting the outcome of the 1987 and 1989 general elections — had not received a mandate to "let loose" communists and ANC members across the country and negotiate with them.

Nor had Mr De Klerk and the NP received a mandate to:

- Destroy white community life.
- Work towards a black person becoming president in SA.
- Scrap the Group Areas Act and accept the principle of opening white schools to all.

'SA business lacks a social conscience

MRGW 29/5/90

3044

By BOB TUCKER, Managing Director of The Perm division of NedPerm Bank

THE South African industrial and commercial "machine", made up of everyone from the housewife to the smallest informal business unit to the largest conglomerate, generates what may broadly be described as the "wealth" of the nation.

ECONOMICS

That wealth comprises a wide spectrum of "outputs" — from child development and education to various products and services; from salaries and wages to social enrichment and responsibility programmes; and from personal fulfilment to the profits, measured in money, available for distribution to the shareholders.

As a consequence of our heritage and our circumstance, we as a business community are infatuated with only one component of that wealth output, namely bottom-line profit.

That infatuation is primarily attributable to the concentrated structure of the South African economy and the consequent control exercised by the portfolio managers of the large institutional investors.

Those fund managers carry no responsibility for any component of wealth output apart from the monetary return on the administered portfolio measured in the very short time frame.

They have no interest in whether the industry in which they have invested is labour or capital intensive, offers fulfilling or unfulfilling work opportunities, or sells products and services which enrich, or impoverish, society.

In short, the nature, amount and distribution of the total wealth output is of no concern, only the amount of short-term profit is.

It is a truism that you only get what you measure and, even more importantly, what you reward.

Since it is only short-term profits which are measured, and

Time for a change

SOUTH AFRICA'S status as the world's "Pariah" State is ending and businessmen should begin preparing for the changes, says DERYCK SPENCE, the head of Castrol SA.

Mr Spence said: "We have long said that reform in South Africa was way overdue until President De Klerk's address to Parliament in February, it had been a case of too little, too late.

"But events have moved quickly since then and his current visit to Europe has been a tour de force. It appears we are on the brink of a major international breakthrough which could result in South Africa regaining its place in the community of nations. This must bring about a boom.

He said that British-owned companies in South Africa welcomed the meeting between President De Klerk and Premier Margaret Thatcher because it allowed them to "get on with the job".

"The change places a major responsibility on business. We are the standard bearers of reform. We have to get our houses in order.

"We have to persuade our fellow South Africans that free enterprise is better than nationalisation, that we are serious about generating and sharing wealth.

"We have to run our businesses efficiently and responsibly, treating our employees with dignity and striving to train and educate our workers — allowing them to transcend years of discrimination and, bluntly, an inferior quality of life."

consequently rewarded, the overwhelming concern of the professional managers of the formal sector of the economy is the maximisation of that short-term profit, again without any real concern as to whether "wealth" is generated and fairly distributed in the process, or not.

Incentives

Regrettably, in my view, the attention of the fiscus has likewise been diverted away from the nature, or "mix", of wealth-generating activities towards the quantification of bottom line profits and the application of the fiscus' share of those profits on public expenditure.

In fact, since the mid-1970s there has been a consistent trend away from tax incentives which influence the nature and direction of economic activity, even though such incentives have the advantage of only being accessible by businesses which are profitable in the first place.

Consequently, no one who has the power to do so is prepared to influence the mix and distribution of

wealth, and yet large sections of the population are sorely deprived.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that their spokesmen should stake an immediate claim to that asset which would give them capacity both to exert that influence and to appropriate the profit flow which they have been induced, by our behaviour, to believe is the only component of any real value.

The potential tragedy of nationalisation (primarily because it severely inhibits individual freedom and the freedom to be enterprising) is obvious from recent history.

Alternative

But then an alternative mechanism for "redistributing wealth" or, in my terms, generating a different "mix" and distribution of wealth outputs, must be offered.

Merely running strong side programmes and projects would amount to "paternalistic fish feeding" and would be unlikely to do much towards equipping the people with fishing rods or with the knowledge to use them.

If an appeal to the "social conscience" of managers is anathema to our business ethic; if government is not prepared to influence the wealth and distribution mix by way of tax incentives; and if expenditure side programmes amount to paternalistic "fish feeding", it would seem that the only real option is to apply the money which the government and others are now making available in a catalytic way to mobilise the very considerable wealth-generating potential which does exist.

Opportunity

A recent visit to a squatter camp, for example, revealed the ability of 5 000 families to establish that many homes in a matter of weeks. What would happen if that resource could be matched with the capacity of their employers, pension funds, the building material suppliers, small contractors and the financial institution, all of whom are looking for an opportunity to do good business?

And what catalytic action is necessary to bring about the effective interaction of those resources?

The first task would be to identify the most urgent needs of the affected communities.

Community

Historically, we have tended to sit in our ivory towers and have determined those needs for the people concerned. If, however, that identification is undertaken with them, the potential for integrated and synergistic co-operation is significantly enhanced.

Having identified the needs, all the resources, ranging from the finances, skill and human energy of the community itself to the capacity for all other sectors of the economy which could be directed towards the satisfaction of those needs, would have to be evaluated.

Obviously if those resources were interacting effectively in generating the optimum range of wealth outputs, the community need would have been satisfied in the first place — but there must be some inhibiting factors.

Govt moves to axe Separate Amenities Act

CAPE TOWN — Legislation providing for the desegregation of all public amenities will be tabled in Parliament this week, according to Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel.

Answering a question at the end of a media conference on proposals for new local government structures in SA, Kriel said a bill providing for the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act would be tabled before the end of the week.

The repeal of the 1953 Act, which excludes black people from public amenities such as buses, parks, beaches, libraries and public toilets, has been on the cards since

LESLEY LAMBERT

November last year when President F W de Klerk abolished beach apartheid.

De Klerk said at the time other restrictions of the Act would follow after further discussions, although cautionary measures would be applied.

In the meantime, government has desegregated state hospitals and committed itself to the removal of other structures of apartheid.

Although most major cities have over the years introduced bylaws opening up their amenities to all inhabitants, the actual repeal of the legislation will be most

effective in obliging CP-controlled and other smaller local authorities to follow suit.

De Klerk is on record as saying that where ordinances or local bylaws conflict with government's decision to desegregate, the relevant authorities will be requested to "act in the spirit of the decision". 6/Dec 29/5/90

When he opened up the beaches, De Klerk said that where necessary, the powers of local authorities would be expanded to ensure crowd control, maintain civil standards and protect the environment.

Death threat to MPs being probed

POLICE are investigating threats - made by so-called "Wit Wolwe" that National Party MP's would be shot before firing squads as traitors.

A Pretoria police spokesman yesterday confirmed police would investigate the threats which were received by

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

fax by *The Star* and other newspapers.

Dubbed an "open message to 'fairwell' white man De Klerk", the fax said the Wit Wolwe would rather kill a National Party MP for every

white killed by blacks.

It called De Klerk a "low-down traitor" and said the "only way he can be big-mouthed is because he is surrounded by guards".

"De Klerk will

eventually have a choice, either give us a Volkstaat or accept the fact that we will fight, and we can assure him we will not die alone," said the message.

It accused De Klerk of electoral fraud during the last election.



FW's
visit

304A

swings
support

MUNICH - The visit to Bonn by South Africa's President FW de Klerk resulted in a big swing in popular West German support for South Africa, according to a public opinion poll.

The poll, taken by the Wickert Institute immediately after the visit, showed 69 percent of the 2 069 representative Germans questioned favoured lifting sanctions against South Africa.

A similar poll before the De Klerk visit found only 50 percent in favour of dropping sanctions.

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DP has high praise for FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has praised President de Klerk for the success of his overseas trip, and has called on ANC leader Nelson Mandela to rethink sanctions.

The Democratic Party also voted with the Government to pass two white own affairs budget votes.

Harry Schwarz, chief DP spokesman on finance, said the DP had come to an agreement to vote with the Government.

"We don't support own affairs, but the money must be made available for the

departments to carry on.

"If one wants to show disapproval of a Minister, it must be done in a different way. There are certain rules and we will abide by our word."

Mr Schwarz (DP Yeoville) said he wanted to join the millions of South Africans in paying tribute to President de Klerk on his overseas trip.

President de Klerk's personality and his approach to people and problems would make European leaders attach sincerity and integrity to the words he used, Mr Schwarz said.

If Europe now accepted that the process of change was irreversible and

would lead to a universal franchise in a non-racial multi-party democracy, "then South Africa should also accept that is an irreversible process".

If Mr Mandela accepted Mr de Klerk's integrity and sincerity, then he had to accept that he would eventually sit in the highest legislative body, Mr Schwarz said.

Therefore, he did not think it presumptuous to ask Mr Mandela: "Is this not a time for you also to make a gesture? Why don't you tell the world now to let go of sanctions? Why don't you help your own people to get work and improve living standards?"

Discrimination in own affairs to go

15/04/90 29/5/90 304A

CAPE TOWN — Government had decided to remove discrimination from "own affairs" legislation, Minister's Council chairman Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

In the second reading debate on the own affairs budget, he said the own affairs concept did not mean a facility or service had to be held close to the chest. The administration strove towards the possibility of making them available to other communities.

The House of Assembly's white own affairs administration had taken the lead with such important innovations as those announced in education and hospital services.

Coetsee challenged Opposition leader Andries Treurnicht to say what he meant when he promised another exclusive white government and referred to the use of means beyond the political platform.

He should not present options which took root in minds and which led to a Welkom situation and capital flight from SA.

The Opposition role was not to suggest the country could be governed by means other than the ballot box.

The war talk of the radical left was also creating unrealistic expectations that SA could be taken over by a simple handing over of the keys. This idea could not be repeated on the right, he said.

Health services, Welfare and Housing Minister Sam de Beer said all hospitals had always been available to all races and the so-called "whites only" hospital concept was untrue.

Although own affairs hospitals aimed services at whites, other groups were not excluded. Preference had been given to whites in the areas they served. — Sapa.

Budget votes: DP joins NP

CAPE TOWN — The DP voted with government yesterday to pass two own affairs budget votes.

Chief DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said the DP had agreed to vote with government.

"We don't support own affairs, but the money must be made available for the departments to carry on.

"If one wants to show disapproval of a Minister, it must be done in a different way. There are certain rules and we will abide by our word."

Daan Nolte (CP Delmas) said the CP was rejecting the agriculture vote on behalf of all farmers.

The vote was passed after a division.

Andrew Gerber (CP Brits) said the CP opposed the Education and Culture vote on the concept of the two new proposed models for mixed schools. It was passed after a division. — Sapa.

16 May 29/5/90

Reforms: CP threat to mobilise

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The CP yesterday warned it would resist government's reform programme.

Speaking amid loud interjections and cries of "resistance party", the CP's defiant finance spokesman Casper Uys warned Parliament that President F. W. de Klerk would have to resort to force against the Afrikaner if he continued with his present policies.

He said that if the government pursued a course which would lead to black majority rule over the white "volk", it would have to subject this group to violence. (3044)

Introducing the second reading debate on white own affairs budget, Uys said the CP wished to warn De Klerk it would mobilise the "volk" in every area to prevent it losing its freedom.

Negotiations the only way

South Africa's fate will be decided not in the battlefield but around a negotiating table whether people like it or not, says the director of the Johannesburg-based Centre for African Studies, Eugene Nyati.

In a paper delivered at a two-day Nafcoc economic conference in Port Edward recently, Mr Nyati said this country appeared "destined for some sort of a negotiated outcome".

Blacks, he said, would seek to achieve through negotiations what their organisations had failed to achieve through the armed struggle.

As negotiations seemed more and more inevitable, creative and well-thought out alternatives were needed to apply pressure on Pretoria, and the ability to adapt and exploit a rapidly changing domestic and international environment would be indispensable.

Mr Nyati, a major commentator on sub-Saharan African affairs and black South African politics, said anti-apartheid organisations would have to cast aside their "party-de-

Despite objections from both the Right and the extreme Left, South Africa's political problems will be solved through negotiations, according to the director of the Centre for African Studies, Eugene Nyati. KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports.

fined parochialism and rigidity" in the interests of reaching greater consensus and building collective pressure "in the cause of the oppressed majority".

He believed the majority of blacks were not opposed to a negotiated settlement as long as their objective of political and economic equality and justice in a unitary South Africa was not compromised.

Blacks therefore had every reason to demand an assurance from the African National Congress and other pro-negotiations organisations that this principle would remain sacred.

"Similarly," said Mr Nyati, "for those opposed to a negotiation strategy, the Pan Africanist Congress and others, the majority deserve some clarity as to what alternative approaches they intend employing to bring about the desired out-

come."

Mr Nyati prefaced his speech with the observation that the National Party Government had finally come to terms with the inevitability of the demise of white political dominance over the black majority. A number of factors, including sanctions, domestic and international pressure, had forced the Government to the negotiating table.

While the NP was willing to give up political dominance which had led to South Africa's pariah status in the international community, it was still bent on retaining control of the economy, he said.

"The prospect of black political majority rule," said Mr Nyati, "will tend to unify whites across party lines in resistance to radical transformation."

"While most will pronounce

themselves in favour of change, it is doubtful how many will be prepared to sacrifice for it."

Mr Nyati said black organisations had to accept that there would "remain a multiplicity of political parties and formations within the oppressed", and that this was not in itself a bad thing.

"Indeed," Mr Nyati added, "if handled with tolerance and maturity, such diversity could enrich our emerging democracy."

He welcomed the intense economic debate which has been stirred by the ANC's nationalisation and the Government's privatisation policies. This new trend, he said, had to be encouraged and reinforced.

"Ultimately, we should all understand that until such a time that a future political and economic dispensation substantively changes the material circumstances and therefore secures the position of the black majority, the oppressed will have reason to feel short-changed and hence bitter."

FW, no, to US

CMT Tails
30/5/90

30 VA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night postponed his visit to the United States indefinitely.

The major reason is the controversy sparked by plans for him to see President George Bush a week before ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

White House but it appears unlikely this year. The congressional programme and elections now appear to make a visit unlikely until early next year although September has not yet been formally ruled out. Diplomatic sources said last night that calling off the US visit also meant that trips being considered to African and other European countries were also likely to go by the board. It also emerged yesterday that President De Klerk had extended invitations to most

of the European heads of state on his recent tour to visit South Africa. So far only President Mario Soares of Portugal has accepted. Diplomats also noted that former President Ronald Reagan had a standing invitation to visit South Africa and that such a formality was likely to be extended to President Bush once Mr De Klerk had finally made a visit to the White House. Government sources said the ANC had indicated that it was not opposed to Mr De Klerk's visiting Washington — either before or after Mr Mandela.

The postponement was attributed to a "US-instigated action" by politicians bent on furthering their domestic careers by whipping up controversy about the visit. Mr Randall Robinson of Trans-Africa and the Rev Jesse Jackson had been arguing that it would be "an insult" for Mr De Klerk to see Mr Bush before Mr Mandela, and a partial boycott of meetings between Mr De Klerk and members of the US Congress was on the cards. But Mr Mandela himself said last week that it made no difference to him who met Mr Bush first. That prompted Foreign Af-

fairs Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday to blame the entire diplomatic affair on the US activists and suggest they were "dragging the ANC by the ears". Yesterday the 71-year-old Mr Mandela was resting in a Johannesburg clinic after minor surgery and a medical examination in advance of a trip to Europe and an eight-city US tour early next month. The clinic's general manager, Dr Gordon Cohen, said yesterday that Mr Mandela was

Delegates turn red

at CP talk

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — More than 200 delegates walked out of a Fedhasa conference yesterday when the newly elected regional chairman of tourism preached Conservative Party policies in his opening address.

A vote of no confidence was quickly held and Mr Jan du Randt, the owner of the Tsitsikamma Forest Inn, vacated the chair.

Delegates at the regional conference at Wilderness were said to be stunned when Mr Du Randt preached against black and coloured tourism.

"With the 'new South Africa', this attitude is really shocking," they said.

Delegates said the committee would decide later on when to vote in a new chairman.

20/5/90

ANC 'repeating NP's mistakes'

Unless the Government told the public the black man had the same aspirations as the white man, the NP policy of 40 years ago would still apply, Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Amendment Bill, he said SA was beyond dealing with things on paper.

"We have to ensure we don't make the same mistakes in 1990 as in 1948, but we haven't got 40 years now. We need a major market system.

The NP had come into power on policies that were not very different from the ANC's policies now.

"The ANC are making the same mistakes that you made". — Sapa.

FW puts off US visit

Own Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has postponed indefinitely a planned meeting with US President George Bush to avoid boycott actions arising from his visit to America taking place before ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's. (304A)

The Government feared that boycott actions instigated by American anti-apartheid groups would mar the visit.

The meeting with Bush was planned for June 13 but it is now unlikely it will happen at all this year.

It is understood that because of De Klerk's work programme, several planned African visits have also been called off.

Government sources have denied he is staying home to deal with growing right wing militancy.

De Klerk said on Monday the invitation from Bush still stood and he would take it up later "at a time when it can make a more positive contribution to our mutual relations." (322)

He had decided to postpone the visit "due to a controversy that has arisen in the United States as regards the possible timing of my visit in June."

He also cited "certain important matters" which would require his personal attention.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said the ANC was not behind the postponement and had "no problem" with De Klerk meeting Bush before Mandela did.

Sachs urges 'culture of debate'

South 3015-616/90

304A

WHILE racism in a future South Africa should be countered in people's daily lives, when it became "fighting talk" action would have to be taken, believes ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs.

Speaking in Port Elizabeth, Sachs gave some insight into the ANC's views on the present and a constitution for South Africa.

Examples

He said features of systems in Scandinavian countries could offer examples to constitution-builders in South Africa.

Countries like Sweden were democratic, boasted a strong trade union movement and had an advanced state welfare system which guaranteed education, housing and health care.

They had also been poor countries in the not too distant past, "with millions of people leaving Sweden, for example, because of hunger", he said.

Although Scandinavian countries, and some in southern Africa, could offer discussions at grassroots level on the helpful examples, Sachs believed the development of people's demands for only model for South Africa was South Africa itself.

While group rights were not on the ANC's agenda — the concept perpetuated apartheid and, if insisted upon, would lead the country along a "very stormy road" — language and cultural rights could be protected. Sachs said a possibility could be the establishment of elected councils to deal with language rights.

The Law Commission's Bill of Rights proposals corresponded with the ANC's position on just two points — they rejected the concept of group rights and acknowledged all other rights were meaningless without the right to vote.

Sachs stressed the importance of taking "the constituent assembly route" to a new South Africa. In Namibia the war ended when elections were held for the country's constituent assembly, which had a "calming effect" on society.

He said there should be debates and discussions at grassroots level on the helpful examples, Sachs believed the development of people's demands for only model for South Africa was South Africa itself.

The whole society should contribute to the drawing up of a new constitution. Workers' and women's charters would have to be attached the constitution.

A charter of "religious rights, freedoms and responsibilities" should be drawn up, and land rights, encompassing rights of tenants, landowners and workers, should be investigated.

Encourage

Sachs said a culture of debate around a future constitution should be encouraged, and groups like the PAC - which should be allowed what he called "the right to be wrong" - had to be drawn into that debate.

He encouraged lawyers of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers to move from their present "defensive role" to one in which they use their skills to work for a new constitution. — PEN

PRETORIA. — The two venues were separated by five kilometres and a hill. At the one, the rhetoric was about fear, at the other there was an air of hope.

This was the tangible difference between two major rallies held here last weekend by rightwing leader Andries Treurnicht and ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

And as "Dr No" exhorted his followers to a "third freedom struggle", there are signs of splits in their ranks.

"The so-called 'new South Africa' of enforced integration which the government wants to impose on us leaves us no other choice but to defend our rights and property at all levels of our national life," Treurnicht told about 60 000 supporters who congregated on a hill beneath the symbolic Voortrekker monument.

Armed rebellion

Treurnicht's speech was rich in innuendos and indignation but thin on substance.

"He has whipped people up for something which he cannot deliver," said National Party legislator Piet Coetzer. "By playing to the militancy of those on the extreme right, he has made the Conservative Party more irrelevant."

Treurnicht's call fell far short of satisfying the increasingly militant rhetoric of far-right fringe groups like the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (AWB) and the Boerestaat Party (Boer Republic Party) who have begun preparations for an armed rebellion to forestall black rule.

A "freedom manifesto" released at the meeting called on Treurnicht to use "all available means" in the struggle to thwart majority rule.

Expectation

Mandela, who addressed an enthusiastic crowd of about 60 000 at a stadium in Atteridgeville, told Treurnicht bluntly he would not succeed.

"At this time Dr Treurnicht — that prophet of doom — is meeting over that hill ... trying to oppose the efforts of the ANC and the government to achieve peace.

"I say to him: you will never succeed," Mandela said to wild cheers.

He called on whites to support State President FW de Klerk's efforts to get rid of apartheid.

The lack of direction, fear and despair which was almost tangible at the rightwing rally contrasted sharply with the air of hope and expectation which permeated the crowd at Mandela's meeting.

"Today there was a message of hope," said a senior Western diplo-

Hope and fear

South 30/5-6/6/90

304A

The two gatherings in Pretoria last weekend were literally like night and day. The one represented hope for the future while the other highlighted white fear and despair.

JOHN BATTERSBY reports on the contrasting styles and messages at the rightwing rally at the Voortrekker Monument and a gathering addressed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at Atteridgeville's stadium:

mat "The rightwing was subdued and directionless, De Klerk re-committed himself to rapid change and Mr Mandela called on whites to support him"

Analysts believe De Klerk's most effective strategy against the rightwing is to maintain the momentum of change towards a democratic South Africa.

Destabilisation

"The major threat from the rightwing at this stage is one of destabilisation rather than a serious electoral threat," said Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, a former leader of the Opposition in parliament.

Slabbert said there was a natural divide within rightwing ranks between those who want to secure their future with a white homeland and those who are prepared to "fight to the finish".

But he does not believe an armed rebellion can succeed, because no-one could administer the country without the cooperation of blacks.

"A rightwing coup could take power but it couldn't administer the country," he said. "It would be very short-lived."

He believes the rightwing threat will recede rapidly once a political deal is agreed and whites realise they are not any worse off.

In recent months, Afrikaner fanatics have seized the initiative on the right by training armed units, organising armed vigilante patrols and taking arms and ammunition from state ar-



SIGN OF THE TIMES: A rightwinger at the Voortrekker Monument rally last Saturday

mouries

Last week Piet Rudolph, the deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party who has been on the run from police for a month, claimed responsibility for the bombing of a museum in Pretoria which Afrikaners see as a symbol of British domination.

The growing militancy among rightwingers has forced Treurnicht — who has consistently condemned violence — to endorse the formation of white vigilante units in rural and mining towns, provided they remain within the realm of "self-defence".

This has — on the surface at least

— narrowed the political differences between rival rightwing groups, many of whom attended the mass rally at the Voortrekker Monument.

AWB members defied repeated Conservative Party appeals not to display the swastika-like flags of the movement. As Treurnicht spoke to the crowd, AWB members — wearing brown military-style uniforms — burnt ANC flags on a hill above the podium.

Treurnicht sketched a 10-point plan to thwart what his supporters see as the capitulation of De Klerk.

The first leg of the plan is to collect one million white signatures demanding a general election in which the Conservatives claim they would win a majority of South Africa's five million whites.

In last year's ballot the Conservatives won almost one third of the white vote.

Majority vote

But they claim that De Klerk has far exceeded his mandate with far-reaching political reforms and has since lost the majority white vote.

De Klerk has vowed to find inter-racial consensus on a non-racial constitution which would deny whites another chance of determining alone the future of the country.

The Conservatives demand a form of partition in which the boundaries of a whites-only homeland would be negotiated with other racial groups.

The crowd of about 60 000 who packed the amphitheatre fell short of the 100 000 predicted by organisers, and the Conservative petition — initiated six months ago — is nowhere near its target of one million signatures.

But it was arguably the largest white political gathering in the country's history and some analysts believe that a head-on confrontation with De Klerk's government is inevitable.

Racial hatred

The overwhelming sentiment at the gathering was one of fear and racial hatred.

"The writing is on the wall," said Harry Steyn, a meatie farmer from the Orange Free State who travelled some 450km with his family to attend the rally.

"If it comes to black majority rule we will consider violence to protect our interests," he said.

"I would rather be six foot under the ground than live under a black majority government."

His tough rhetoric was typical. But some admitted they would settle for a system in which whites were given water-tight protection.

"I'm not saying that I will fight for the sake of fighting," said Das de Bruyn, a Pretoria salesman.

"As long as a system can be worked out in which whites have the veto, I would be prepared to go along with it."

(John Battersby is Southern Africa correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor)

Why we talk to ANC – De Klerk

The Government was negotiating with the ANC to ensure that as many people as possible bound themselves to finding peaceful solutions, President de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

Answering a question from Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg), he said it was in South Africa's interests that there be as many moderate people seeking peaceful solutions as possible.

Since becoming President, he had met Nelson Mandela in his office twice before Mr Mandela's release.

On both occasions Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had

been present.

No discussion had taken place during these meetings on South Africa's constitutional future apart from broad, general statements on general policy.

From the Government's side, all discussions thus far had been directed at reaching a clear commitment to seeking peaceful solutions before negotiation on South Africa's constitutional future could take place.

It was known that former President P W Botha had met Mr Mandela before September 6 last year, with certain results.

Mr de Klerk reiterated that it was not the Government's aim to deliver the whites to oppression and black domination.

Asked about Mr Mandela's attitude to violence, he said it had been known after Mr Mandela's meeting with Mr Botha that he had forsworn violence.

He (Mr de Klerk) had also obtained this impression, and it was also contained in the Groote Schuur Minute released after the recent talks between the Government and the ANC. — Sapa.

The State shall not be above the law, but shall, through decentralisation and devolution of state powers, be close to the people and responsive to their needs. Sacob Charter of Rights, 1990

I have come to believe that federation is the only possible form of constitution that holds any hope for this country. Alan Paton, Hoernle Memorial Lecture, May 1985

THE new South Africa should be built around a federal constitution. The Democratic Party believes a federation is essential for future democracy, and would take its federal proposals to the negotiating table.

The NP has never supported federalism, but has spoken very recently of "devolution and decentralisation of power". This may indicate that it is now considering support for the idea of federalism.

The ANC has in the past been actively opposed to federalism, because it suspected that it was "a white man's trick", designed to protect white privilege. More recently, when presented with the assurance that it is nothing of the kind, there seems to have been some softening of attitude.

But it would be unwise to be too optimistic, in either case.

The DP's federal policy has its roots in the second report of the Molteno Commission, published in 1962. It proposes a geographic federation and has nothing whatever to do with race, or race relations as such.

The classical advantages of federation over centralised government are two: it brings government closer to the people and permits substantial local variations in law and policy provided these are never in conflict with the bill of rights, and by dispersing democracy to a number of sites and institutions it entrenches freedom by making it much more difficult for tyranny to seize power.

It is of the essence of federation that it does not consist in the mere delegation of powers by a sovereign central government to local organisations.

A federation is the key to freedom and democracy in SA

610-wy 30/5/90

ZACH DE BEER

Sovereignty itself is divided, with certain of the powers of government vested in the central institutions and others in the state or provincial authorities, which are fully sovereign for these purposes.

Federation has been defined as "the existence of co-ordinate sovereignities within the same territory". Examples of modern states which are federations include West Germany, the US, Canada, Australia and

India. Switzerland describes itself as a confederation, but it can be argued that it too, is really a federation.

It follows from the requirement that sovereignty be divided that there must be a written constitution prescribing the terms of the division. For the sake of stability it is desirable that the constitution be solidly entrenched — unalterable save by a very special procedure.

The DP would in any case wish to see the constitution fully entrenched so as to protect the bill of rights and other provisions to defend the freedoms of individuals and minorities. So the federal proposal combines with the others to limit the powers of the central government.

Neither the DP nor any of its predecessors has ever drawn a map, or defined the precise number of federal states that should be established. We see these as matters for negotiation.

But it is probably fair to say that most of us tend to think in terms of about eight to 12 units — say three in the Cape, one each in Natal and the Free State, and five in Transvaal.

It is interesting to note that government, some years ago, delimited developmental regions rather along these lines.

The next question is the form of

government in each state. It is clear that all would be subject to the national constitution, which would outlaw all racial discrimination and guarantee equal rights to each citizen. The DP's constitution would also prescribe that elections take place on a basis of proportional representation, though we have never sought to decide just which variety of that system we would employ.

Another matter on which we have never yet pronounced is whether the state or provincial governments would be unicameral or bicameral. This could be left for negotiation, but it is fair to point out that a bicameral legislature provides an additional opportunity for entrenchment of minority rights, by the application of the principle that the second House be elected by a method differing from that applied to the first House.

The Natal Indaba proposal, for example, does this, but, since its formula is in a real though partial sense race-based, it may be doubted whether it would now be acceptable. Similarly, the original Molteno report recommended a Senate whose members would need to gain substantial support from all race groups to gain election. I still think this is ingenious and worth looking at, but it may likewise be rejected because it is race-based.

When Colin Eglin appointed the Van Zyl Slabbert Commission in

1978, to revise the Molteno recommendations, the body planned to use the Senate to protect cultural groups. Such a cultural group, after successfully applying to a court or commission for recognition, would be empowered to elect a council. Any legislation directly affecting the cultural affairs of the group concerned would be referred to the council for investigation and report.

Furthermore the group would have minimal representation on the Senate itself, to ensure that its voice was heard. While I would not die for this idea, I think it has distinct merit in relation to some anxieties that are being expressed now.

Clearly, in any federation it is of major importance to decide which governmental functions are to be centrally discharged, and which by the states or provinces. The final determination would be a matter for the constitutional conference or national convention, but typically matters such as finance, defence, transport and communication would be central, while health, welfare and school education would tend to be peripheral. Agriculture might go either way. So might police. And so forth.

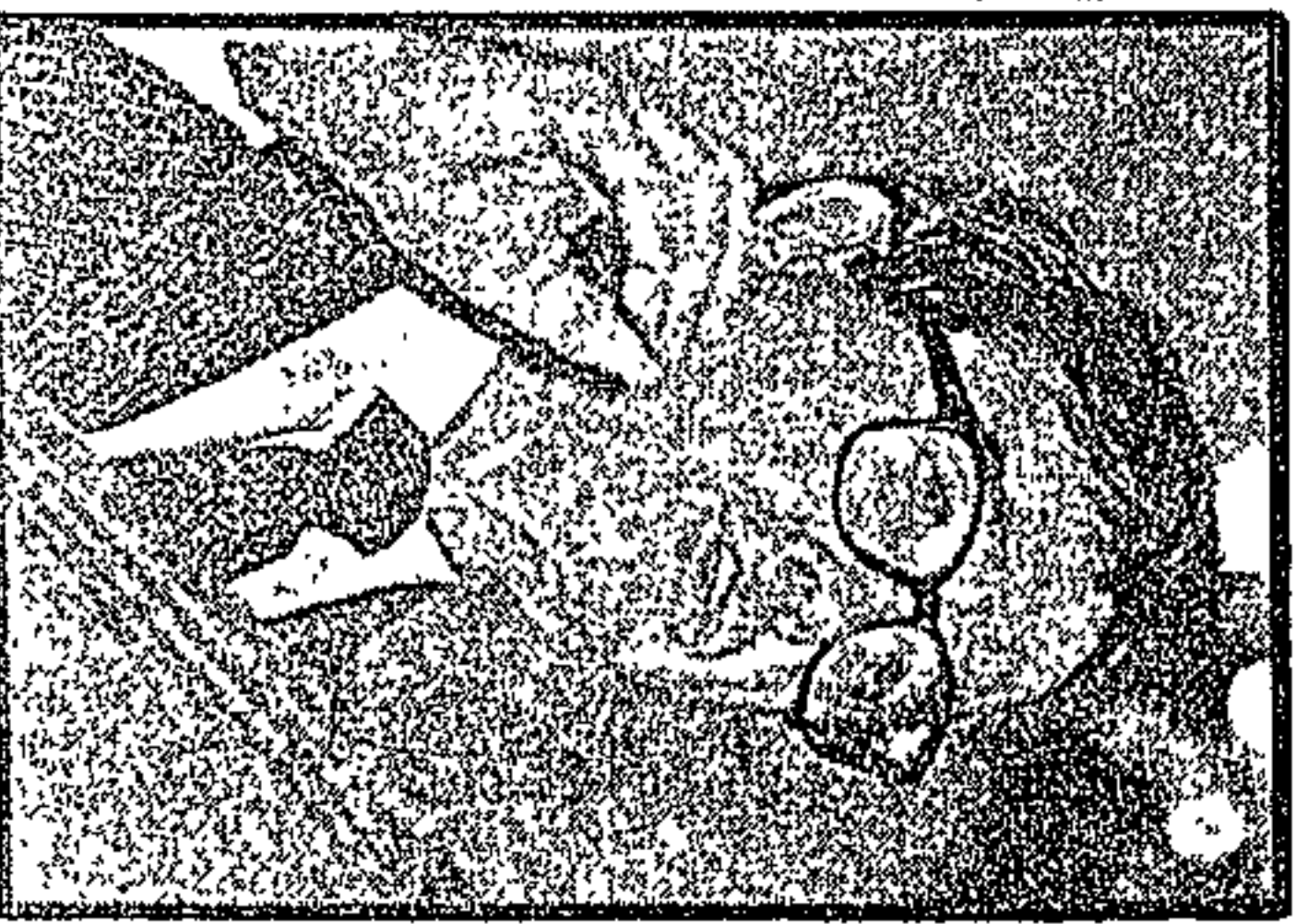
The major difficulty of federalism is finance. The provinces or states have no real independence unless they have taxing powers. However, to leave each province to rely purely on its own tax-raising ability can be most undesirable where some are poor and some are rich.

A formula is needed whereby the central government has a limited power to raise certain revenues for redistribution between the provinces. This has to be negotiated, and may prove painful.

The diversity of SA's population — not just in ethnic terms — and the extent of the country make a prima facie case for federation. For liberals, the need to put every possible protection around freedom settles the issue in its favour.

Together with universal franchise, an entrenched bill of rights, judicial review and proportional representation, federation offers the best chance for democracy in SA.

De Beer is parliamentary leader of the DP.



□ DE BEER

Babb takes up cudgels for the Nats at Wits

(3041)

TIM COHEN



GLENN Babb, the first NP MP to speak on Wits campus in a decade, yesterday conceded in a debate on SA's constitutional options that there was a need for economic "reparation".

Babb, one of three speakers invited to debate by the Wits Debating Union, warned, however, against the danger of wreaking economic vengeance.

Before the meeting, attended by about 300 students, he noted that the last NP speaker to address Wits students on campus was then Co-operation and Development Minister Piet Koornhof in 1981, who was shouted down.

Much of the debate revolved around the desirability of federation, with DP MP Tony Leon advocating regional federation and ANC constitutional committee member Penwell Maduna questioning the proposed dispensation.

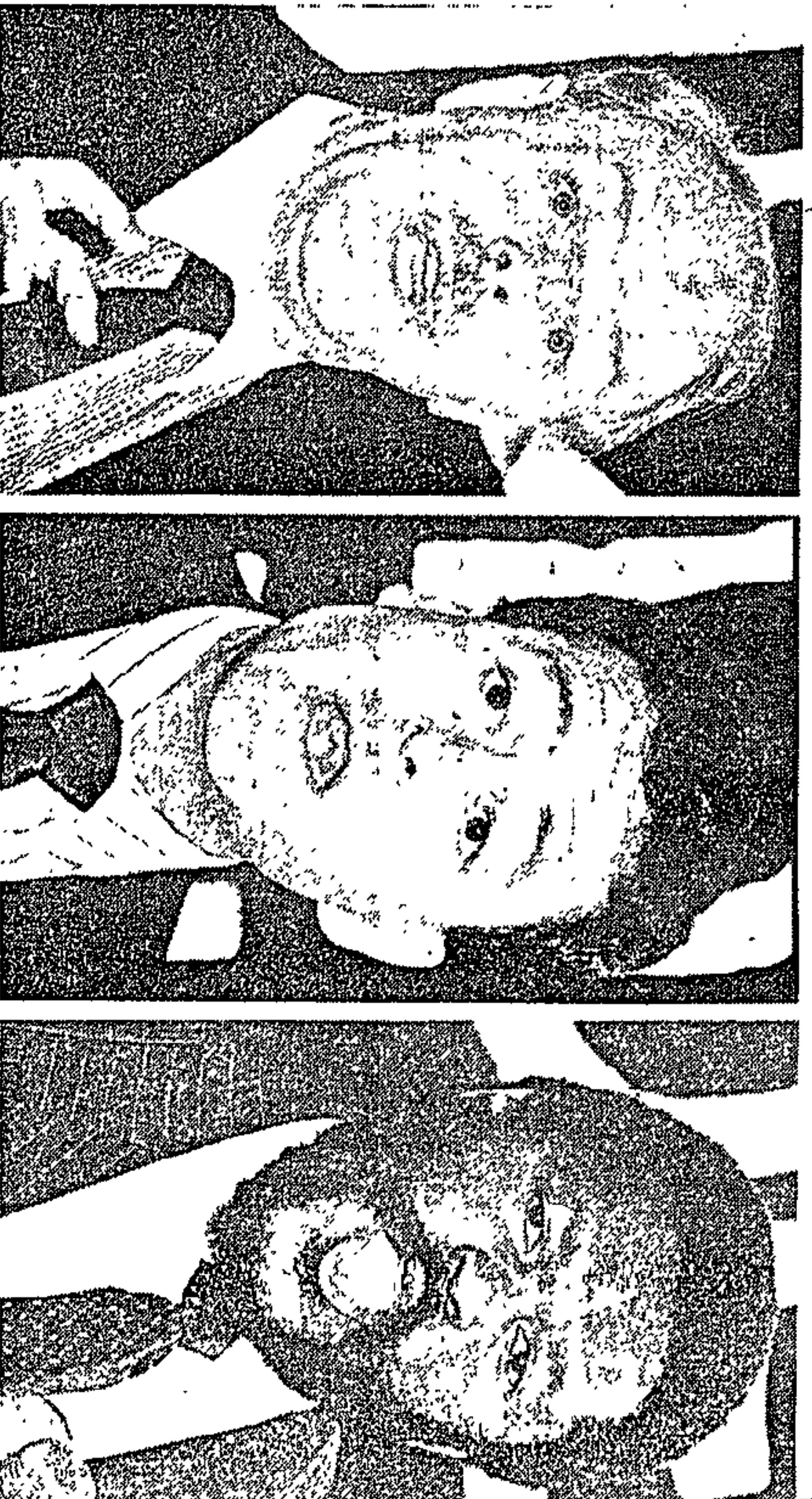
Maduna said the ANC stood for a single, democratic state with a common voters' roll. This implied "bantustans" would have to go, and that there should be a single national government. He questioned why federation was being proposed at this stage of SA's history.

Leon said resistance to those who acted in the name of "the people" as a whole was seen as an attack on the people or treason, adding: "Be wary of such proponents."

The federation the DP proposed would possibly consist of the current provinces with an additional province for the PWV area. He said there was no prospect of the federation being an "updated apartheid ghost".

Babb, who suggested that President F W de Klerk had more support among blacks than the ANC had among whites, said: "We want to exclude the situation where a demagogue with 51% of the vote drags the rest of the country along with them."

● See Page 8



Speaking at the Wits Debating Union yesterday about future constitutional options for SA were, from left, Glenn Babb, Tony Leon and Penwell Maduna.

Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA

CP 304A man warns FW 20/5/90

Sowetan
Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE
Party firebrand Mr Koos van der Merwe said yesterday that if he became a member of a government he would support the establishment of a special court to try President FW de Klerk and others for acting "unconstitutionally".

Asked to expand on an interjection he directed at the National Party in parliamentary debate on Monday - "We will have Nuremburg trials for you" - Mr van der Merwe said yesterday: "It just slipped out."

"It is not something the caucus has discussed, but I stand by it."

Prayer

Asked about speculation that the CP had come close to threatening civil war in its eagerness to express resistance to De Klerk's reform initiatives, Van der Merwe said: "We pray that it will never come to that."

He said that by acting not merely without a mandate, but "contrary to the mandate he did get, and therefore unconstitutionally", De Klerk was "creating a very dangerous climate".

"If he acts constitutionally he has nothing to fear."

Reform

"We are not against reform as such, but the unconstitutional manner in which it is being done."

Asked if this meant the CP was prepared to take up arms against the Government if the party perceived it to be continuing on its present course, Van der Merwe said: "From time to time we have to consider our position."

Attack

"At this stage there is no question of civil war."

"There is a very clear dedication to constitutional methods."

But, he added: "If this is to change, it will be on Mr de Klerk's head."

Van der Merwe's comments follow a statement on Monday in which unrepentant CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht reacted to an attack from De Klerk by vowing that the CP would continue mobilising resistance against the President's reforms.

"Any *broedertwis* or unpleasantness that arises is the result of the President's undemocratic actions against the freedom and rights of his people."

Bid to boycott speeches blamed

FW's US trip is postponed indefinitely

304A
B1 Dam
30/5/90

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk's visit to the US to meet President George Bush has been postponed indefinitely and is unlikely to take place this year.

De Klerk announced the decision to postpone the tour in a statement yesterday.

He said he had decided to postpone his visit because controversy had arisen regarding its timing. There were also urgent matters in SA that needed his personal attention.

He said Bush stood by the invitation and he would follow it up at a time when it could make a more positive contribution to "our mutual relations".

In Washington, US Presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said De Klerk had notified the US he would prefer to wait until another time for his visit.



● DE KLERK



● JACKSON

MIKE ROBERTSON

"We are ready to see him whenever he wants," Fitzwater said, AP-DJ reports.

SA officials said attempts by Trans-Africa leader Randall Robinson and Jesse Jackson to organise boycotts of De Klerk's addresses to Congressional members were the main reasons for postponing the tour.

Robinson, Jackson and their supporters objected to De Klerk's visit because it would have taken place prior to a US visit by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

At a briefing, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said his information showed the ANC was not behind the "fuss" in the US and had no objection to De Klerk visiting Bush prior to Mandela.

Botha said the controversy over De Klerk's visit was purely US-inspired as, unlike in Europe, SA was an issue on US's internal political agenda.

De Klerk said: "At the invitation of President George Bush, I had planned to go to the US to have in-depth discussions with President Bush, as well as with Congressional, civic and American business leaders on the present situation in South and southern Africa."

"I would have provided them with my interpretation of recent events in SA, emphasising, as I did in Europe, that SA's future must be decided by South Africans according to our needs and circumstances."

SA officials said they had been in contact with leading members of the Senate and

□ To Page 2

US trip

B1 Dam
30/5/90

the House of Representatives and it appeared there had been a real possibility that certain Congressional members would have boycotted De Klerk's addresses had his visit gone ahead before Mandela's trip.

The officials said De Klerk had decided the tour should not go ahead under these circumstances.

"We don't need to go in through the back door. Why must he involve himself in a situation where there is domestic political gain to be made out of his visit. After Europe, he did not need to do that," one official said.

He added that: "We are not running

away from anything."

"It is in SA's interest that the visit should take place in circumstances where we can have a broad range of discussions ... a time when SA can gain the most. That time is not in June. It is as simple as that," the official said.

He said it was unlikely the US visit would take place this year. It would not be opportune for De Klerk to visit the US in the run up to November's Congressional elections.

It was also unlikely that De Klerk would undertake a visit to African countries.

● Comment: Page 8

304A □ From Page 1

SA 'must create its own law'

It is time to stop highlighting the colonial origins of our law, lawyer and writer Albie Sachs told a group of colleagues at a meeting organised recently by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Discussing the future of the legal profession in South Africa, Mr Sachs, a member of the African National Congress's constitutional committee and former dean of the law school at the University of Mozambique, said an important future issue would be the creation of a real South African law.

This would incorporate elements of African law which up to now had been sidelined and had had to "creep in through the back door" though it was the law of the majority of people in the country.

Much of African jurisprudence constituted an important reservoir of justice, said Mr Sachs, and these areas had to be explored and developed.

South Africanising the law would be impossible, however, without South Africanising the judiciary.

African jurisprudence 'a reservoir of justice'

Albie Sachs, a member of the ANC's constitutional committee, recently told lawyers from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies about his views of a future South African legal system. **PAT SCHWARTZ** reports.

"Everybody must feel when they go into a court that they are going into a South African court as South Africans."

Attitudes to the language used in court had to change.

"If we make English and Afrikaans the only languages people can use it is assuming that the courts are restricted to a certain view, a certain culture."

"We can have a language of record but I believe everybody should be free to use their own language in court. If the magistrate doesn't un-

derstand, it's the magistrate's problem, not the litigant's, and the magistrate can have an interpreter."

Magistrates and judges would have to be drawn from all sections of the community and once that happened, said Mr Sachs, judges themselves would help to re-formulate the law.

He spoke of lay participation in the administration of justice as in England, where magistrates are drawn from the community, and of the need for the introduction of non-racial juries.

The legal profession in the post-apartheid South Africa would, he believed, function within the framework of a written constitution which would provide a point of reference, enshrine fundamental law and "add a new dimension to legal life in this country".

"Hardly anybody has begun to appreciate what it means to live under a constitution," he said. "If we have a constitution it will be operative and significant. It will affect the way lawyers practise. Everything will be evaluated in terms of its constitutionality and it will be the great achievement of our generation to have introduced constitutionality to South Africa."

Significant

Really significant constitutions, said Mr Sachs, were not those left behind by some previous authority but documents created through struggles and in which people had enshrined their ideals and goals.

The constitution would be an important document used by ordinary people to achieve their rights and law in South Africa would be a law that would relate to the constitution. There would be a new system of political rights and guarantees, freedoms of expression and assembly, a Bill of Rights that would have to be upheld by the courts and other institutions, and a whole new framework of legal operation.

"We don't have to start from scratch. We have the foundations of a truly South African profession serving South African law before a South African judiciary."

But the profession would have to be deracialised. In the 24 years since he had left the country, said Mr Sachs, the ratio of black lawyers to white had barely increased and still stood at below 10 percent.

"The obstacle to blacks entering the profession isn't just money, it's a sense of not being welcome. That's not something that statute has prevented. You cannot put the blame on the Government or the National Party, but on the profession for not seeing it as an issue."

Defiant Ministers anger Cosatu

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) is to step up its anti-privatisation campaign after a "completely unsatisfactory" meeting with two Ministers this week on the privatisation issue.

A heavyweight Cosatu delegation held two-hour talks with Dawie de Villiers and Wim de Villiers, respectively responsible for privatisation and the public service, in Cape Town.

The unions' aim, said a Cosatu state-

ment, was to state members' "total opposition" to the Government's privatisation programme and to secure a commitment that it would be halted.

Describing the Ministers' response as "a recipe for confrontation", Cosatu said they had shown little interest in hearing the union view.

Cosatu said the Ministers had denied that privatisation was taking place.
— Labour Reporter.

30/11/90
31/5/90

Wool farmers fear international price collapse

By Derek Tommy 2/5/01
South Africa's farmers in the R800 million-a-year wool industry are living in fear of an impending collapse in the international wool price.

Heavy Australian over-production in the past two years has led to predictions that prices must crash.

This is keeping buyers out of the market and the Australian Wool Corporation (AWC) is hav-

ing to make extremely heavy purchases to support its floor price.

Australia is by far the world's largest wool exporter and through its support operations the AWC determines the international price.

In order to maintain prices at yesterday's Australian wool auction, the AWC had to buy 89 percent of the 61 494 bales on offer. This follows the purchase of

87,5 percent of the 51 557 bales offered for sale in Australia on Tuesday.

These purchases are on top of the R1 billion worth already bought by the AWC this year.

Industry officials say there is clearly a limit to the amount of wool the AWC can buy in.

It has already had to turn to overseas banks for funds. The slow decline in the exchange rate of the Australian dollar is steady-

ly increasing the AWC's carrying costs.

The main cause of the current surplus has been a 13 percent increase in production in Australia in the past two years. The increase exceeds South Africa's entire production.

Industry officials say that the AWC's only hope of supporting the wool price at its present level is if world demand suddenly improves.

But they are extremely doubtful this will happen.

In the past the price of wool was usually about three times the price of synthetic fibres and this ratio held for several years.

But wool price support operations by the AWC first raised the wool/synthetic price ratio to 3,5 and now it is 4,5.

Industry officials say this price gap has grown too wide to attract buyers to wool.