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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

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

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 20 -- 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 hyperbolical 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 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 go 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 a 1990s euphemism 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 armory.

Growing challenge

The ANC dare not ignore the growing challenge from the more militant, anti-negotiation Pan-African 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 paramountcy 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.

Writing in the wings

The advent of 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.
Many whites prepared to compromise, survey finds

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 those 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. Janie 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

By JOE THULOLOE in Cape Town

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 1964, behind the premises

Briefing

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but a tactic used because of the circumstances then.

Lekota did not see the question of armed struggle being finalized at this round of talks. It is believed that the ANC will issue an official statement rather than a unilateral calling off of the armed struggle, but Lekota said this happening later in the process.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC delegation led by deputy

president Nelson Mandela and they were determined to remove obstacles hampering negotiations.

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"The ANC also considers itself obliged in the international community for the support which it has received through a most diff-
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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 obligation against pros-

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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.

President F W de Klerk, 54, a Potchefstroom University graduate and a lawyer by training. Born in Wellington, he entered politics in 1972 as the MP for Vredekloof.

Six years later he was in the Cabinet and the portfolio he has held since then are Posts and Telecommunications and Social Welfare and Pensions, Sport and Recreation, Mining and Environmenal 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 Piki Botha, SC. 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 Training.

He is the government's chief negotiator.

Sniriew 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, De Villiers entered politics in 1972 as the MP for Johannes- burg 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.

Mr Kobie Coetsee, 50, Minister of Justice, a Dux medicus, 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 1966.

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 AND'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, 52, Minister of Law and Order, was born in Sutherland and educated at Ken- nemoes High. He moved to the Transvaal, joined the Department of Justice and took up part-time legal studies.

He entered local politics in 1972 and 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.

Mr 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 Helderkrug 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, 49, 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.

The talks who's who

African Correspondent reports from Johannesburg

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 assembled 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 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

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.

'When I was at school,' Mr Mandela told a gathering of black and white students in Mthatha, 'I was taught how to behave and how to respect my elders.'

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

'When I was at school,' 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.

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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 helped to set up the armed units. He later received military training in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. He helped plan operations with Rhodesian guerrillas.
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. de Klerk's visit to Europe next month.

The AAM decided at a meeting to launch a campaign against Mr de Klerk's visit 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 would support such a visit. It also showed that 56 percent of those polled backed anti-apartheid sanctions.

The AAM has threatened to intensify the boycott of South African goods, including gold products, and to discourage tourism to the Republic.

David Bigg's column will be found on page 10.
A Venue Steeped in Political History

The elegant former home of Polish Arturo Primo's Ministers and Presidents will be the scene of today's critical political event.

By MICHAEL MORRIS

The government and the ANC

Friday of May would...
Both sides want, and need, today's talks to succeed

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

POLITICAL bargaining intensifies today between the armed factions of the rival political movements in South Africa. Both the government and the ANC want the talks to succeed. But neither side is expecting it to be easy, or that anything meaningful will be resolved by the end of the week.

Latest preparations have been underway for weeks. The government's top leader, President P.W. Botha, has been meeting for several hours at a time for several times a week. The ANC has also been heavily busy, particularly in the last few days in Cape Town, conferring with political, community and labour leaders and activists.

The ANC's chief concern is whether political equality will be achieved in the future. The ANC wants to see the same rights and responsibilities as those of South Africans on the same basis as the National Party.

The contacts are in the hands of what includes the ANC's top leaders and officials in exiled countries. Whether they will be legal or illegal is not yet certain.

Frustration

The ANC has also been frustrated because the talks have been put off because of the ongoing struggle. The government has been pressed to deal with this issue.

The ANC also knows that the talks are unlikely to be achieved overnight. It is clear that the talks will take some time. The ANC is pressing for a negotiated settlement.

Normalising

These talks, the arguments are, are not conducive to normalising the political process. The government has not yet decided whether to continue with negotiations.

The ANC's position is that no negotiations will take place until the government agrees to a negotiated settlement. The ANC believes that the government is not committed to a negotiated settlement.

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

Conscious

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

What is plain, however, is that both sides know the importance of the talks and the need to reach an agreement. The ANC is pressing for a negotiated settlement.

After Friday, it will be done, the analysts point out. The government has been pressing for a negotiated settlement for some time. The ANC has been pressing for a negotiated settlement for some time.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party sees the greatest advantage of today's meeting between the government and the ANC as the opportunity it will provide for the two sides to get to know one another. The Democratic Party has been pressing for a negotiated settlement for some time.

Mr. Jordaan also said that the ANC would like to see the talks continue. The ANC wants to see the negotiations continue as long as possible. The ANC believes that the talks are likely to be successful.
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 particularly impressed

Mr de Klerk 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 Fabreilius, 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 Gwamile, 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.

"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.
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 negotiation strategy.

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 Laplange. 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 said.

He also rejected any notion that the ANC's continued commitment to armed struggle was fuelling township violence, as Government officials have intimated. The chances 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 defence."

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 any more.

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 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 Barred 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 Mompati, 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.
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 suffered."

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 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
Hopes for SA peace

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 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 in over-

NELSON MANDELA

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 hospital 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 legalize 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 guerrilla 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-Reuters.
In the Final Press Inter in the First Gathering

In a scene of goodbyes the two enter these lands before the dawn of the cause that will bring...
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 FW 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, 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.

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.
ANC and got off to a good start
Top: Eating dinner at the ANC's Crown Inn.
Bottom: ANC President's Office, Pretoria.

In Atikaham:

In effect, the ANC's leadership stands accused of corruption and greed.

ANC Groups

quiet evening
Economic differences put political settlement at risk

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

POLITICAL settlement, broadly defined, is our most pressing national objective. However, the economic priorities of the major power blocs, as these are articulated, appear to be largely polarized. They are, therefore, placing the prospects 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 may well have shaken the confidence of some investors, but can be interpreted as being an early electoral play. 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 trends 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 line with various other ways, serious attempts are being made to create conditions under which the economy can return to rates of growth above 4% and 2%—the minimum level needed to absorb new entrants into the labour market.

Business confidence, as a result, is fairly buoyant, despite the present cyclical downturn. Indeed, in many ways South Africa is beginning to follow the figures sector's lead and respond to how to re-stimulate development.

The bitter irony, however, is the fact that immediate welfare needs among blacks cannot be assured by medium-term growth-oriented 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 economic development in the past has come home to roost—more so now.

We cannot place reponsibility 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 at the secondary school-leaving examination passed. This compares with 94% of Indians and whites.

In 1990, 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 dramatcally over the past two years, expenditure per white versus African school was 6:1 to 1 in 1989.

Qualifications

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

Getting rid of race segregation will leave behind problems. But the population ratios are such that 75% 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 26% to 30% of whites 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 were erected for Africans each year for the next five years to address their housing needs. The rate of housing provision, the moment is about one-third of this project.
Our bargaining begins

and violence are on agenda

Armed struggle, need to

First day of the Cape Town

Talks goes pretty well
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 polarized - 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, privatization 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 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."

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 ESMÉ VAN DER MERWE reports.

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 the 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 mass 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 bureaucraty 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 gear ing 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.

In short, a political settlement was necessary, he said, if the economy was to work better and the country was to have a better chance of meeting the expectations of its people.

Mr Steyn, who stepped down as chairman of the Urban Foundation last night, earlier this week was appointed chairman of the Urban Foundation.
A hectic two days as teams bargain

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.

If the past three days are anything to go by, none of the journalists stand 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.
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 issues 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.

stantial 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.
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 government and the ANC.

"We are very apprehensive," said Western Cape representative of the PAC, Mr Barry Deval.

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 behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa for a new deal," Deval said.

Deval 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."

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

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.

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.

By JOE THLOLOE
In Cape Town
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.

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

"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 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."
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, that there is not only movement, but necessary, but possible, and that it was going to be important to get started as soon as possible," he said.

Mr Mbeki added: "When the meeting closed on Wednesday, the general feeling, I think, was that, yes, an agreement had been reached, but we had only begun to understand what we had begun to understand the nature of the struggle."}

Ways to streamline public service sought

Political Staff

The government is almost halfway through a public service review to streamline the public service and establish where it can be centralized.

This was disclosed in Parliament by Dr Willem de Villiers, Minister for Administration and Economic Co-ordination, who is conducting the review.

The government aimed to bring public service and to reduce the number of departments. It was in progress in 10 departments and in 10 more departments.

More efficient

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

He was speaking during his department's budget debate.

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 50 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 R250 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 transport 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’

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

Mr Frans van der Merwe (NP Durbanville) said South Africa respected Namibia's claim to claim loyalty from its émigrés in line with international standards.

Mr Yusuf Seadat (Solidarity nominated) said the Bill was a natural consequence to Namibia's well known racial policy and it was understandable that its government would want to remove a dual loyalty.

Mr Tinn van der Merwe (DP Green Party) 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 a year's leave.

"We do not see why Namibians should lose their South African citizenship so arbitrarily. The government ought to say to the people about this, too forcibly. 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.

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 Burton (NP Eastern Cape) said.

Speaking in the debate on the administration and economic co-ordination vote, he said: "The public service is currently being followed as a source of national income and the President has no mandate to do what you are doing."

Mr Jacobs refused to withdraw the statement and was ordered out. — Sapa.
Goverm't to pay poor ANG's hotel bill

Mr. Ntsikela Nhiwatiwa and Mr. Antwi in the right are Nk. P.R. Batsirai and the late Cdt. Vigeni

Face to face - A battle to the end between the Government and the ANC.

By Cde. Batsirai and Cde. Vigeni.
Security fears could lead to white exodus

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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FW: SA has made irreversible choice

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 Tuyahys 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 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 sportmen 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
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.

"We have been 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 also 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.Rable (CP) and Mr Colin Auret (DP).
talks is, good.

Progress at
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 today, 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

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".

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.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

On Page 2 . . .
- Close watch on teetotal ANC leader
- Good flavour at talks, says Mbeki

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C T
Being there

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

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 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, Westrock.

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 Africans, 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 pre-conditions 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 a quarter of the expected 100,000 people pitched up.

THE PAC

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 irrelevance. 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 epitomising 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.”

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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 Pinetown) 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 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 Yeoville) said that apartheid was a piece of social engineering applied by the State to create economic and other privileges for some, based on race.

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
Govt, ANC signal talks are on track

CAPE TOWN – As the Groote Schuur talks between government and the ANC enter their 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 Tsabo Mbeki said he 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 Koos Kriel 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: "Yesterday'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."

Mr Mbeki said that participants on both sides found each other "perfectly reasonable people, committed to finding solutions" who recognised that 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 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 who 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 "broad divide existed between those political groupings which felt the new SA should be a united non-racial democracy and those who believed that change should be recognised 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 Contras 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 commitment 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 "right."

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.

From Page 1

Talks on track

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Mbeki reiterated the ANC's commit-
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 Claise, said in the House of Assembly yesterday in a written reply to a question from Mr WU Nel (DP Mool 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'

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.

"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.

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.
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

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

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 Kleyman, briefed the media.

Message

The basic message was: There would be no 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 be the only one till after the talks," Kleyman said.

Someone sighed and another said: "Was it worth coming here in the first place."

The journalists were pitted into five luxury coaches with each bus getting its own someone-to-watch-over-the-Press. He was the standard Government issue - grey suit, mustache, 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 a colonialist Cecil John Rhodes' old house that had the Press corps fanning.

"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 panting 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, mustache, 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 signaled 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.

Kleyman 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 Patlan, 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 lawn 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.
State and great, say in

By SHARON SCOROUR and
JOHAN SCHRONEN
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 206 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 92 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".

"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.

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."

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
host readers

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 Coetzee and Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Privatisation Dr Dawie de Villiers.

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 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.

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 security 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."
Mandela
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Alleged to be leaf-packet press confirm that

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The ANC also

Handshake

Improvement

South African parties

abolish South Africa's security laws

Government is prepared to urgently

the same struggle — and the

and ascertain the suspending

last night promised to look "very

By Anthony Johnson

Political Correspondent

CR. This day
Crisis begins on hospital budget talks

President F.W. de Klerk and Mr. Josias Meiring at their joint press conference last night.

Book praise and private donor offered.

TOGETHERNESS.

Urgent talks

NATIONAL TV PICTURE

SOMETHING SPECIAL:

Together we have achieved it all.

It is a stepping stone to the future of our country.
Talks

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."
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 organization 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 the 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曼德拉 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 31 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 deliberately worded two-page joint communique, 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 fulfill 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.
By talks breakthrough, FW's visit given boost
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:

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.
First step to peace
Govt, ANC take
armed struggle
halted in return
for concessions
Peace

FROM PAGE 1:

Blocking the path to formal negotiations.
The critical passage of the Grootes 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 "fulfillment 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 peace process."

"The joint commitment to peaceful solutions which can lead to real negotiations is of extreme importance to all South Africans."

Success 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 be 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 evil deeds be allowed to return.

This technical group is to be appointed by M. de Klerk and M. Mandela and to report back to both the ANC and the Government by May 21.

In the meantime the Government has agreed to look 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 that 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 the 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.

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 operate under a report, term, and to advise on particular aspects of enforcing the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity to persons of political offences in South Africa and outside South Africa. All persons who may be affected will be informed. The working group will have the task of implementing the agreements. The working group will act on the basis of this agreement.

2. The ANC national executive committee and other selected members of the ANC will be free to return to South Africa to help end the violence and to take part in normal political activity.

3. The Government undertakes to review existing security legislation in order to bring it in 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 country and 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 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 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 management 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.

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 plentiful 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 exploitative 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 beneficence behind it makes many managers mistake it for democracy or think that it 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 changes have 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 public 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 in 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 at last 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 after 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-appeared from a past of dissen- sion, 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 began 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.

Harald
Pakendorf
ANC joins
the NP in
a vortex
of change

6/15/90
Hospital crisis looms as urgent top-level talks end in deadlock

By SOPHIE TEMBA

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 Henrie 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:

1. A wage in line with the cost of living and the rate of inflation;
2. Recognition of trade union rights;
3. Segregation of health services;
4. The rejection of privatization of public hospitals; and
5. 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 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 Loubser 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 FW 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 French President Francois Mitterrand on Thursday and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at Chequers on May 18.

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.
Benoid the Liberated Afrikander

Perspectives 3

SYNDAY TIMES, APR 1996
Irony as SAP guard at the historic Cape I

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 impenetrable cordon of security around ANC dignitaries — 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 convenor 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 R9,840.

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 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 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 monument 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 abdication system.”

After the first round of talks on 17 February, both sides had shown a willingness rather than perpetuate the war. The government, the thorny issue of racism and state violence was left for future rounds. On the same day both delegations.


The ANC added head of intelligence UDF national chairman Curnick lawyer Matthews Phosa and exiled
P guard 'enemies' ric Cape Town talks

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. Leekota 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;
- Deregulation 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 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 Louwshcher said 8,000 workers at nine hospitals were on strike.
HAIL ED PEACE DEAL

Historic talks could mean end of the armed struggle
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 for six 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 Grootes 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.
Parliament's business has been rescheduled for a night sitting tomorrow. It will only take 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 "communist."
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 by kept in Natal as long as violence continues.
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 Grootes 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 attributed to the ANC since it was not fully in control of all activity in black communities.
Mr Mandela repeated this point in a circumstantial 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-

To Page 2
PW quits NP
in fit of pique

By LESTER VENTER

FORMER State President PW 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 FW 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 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

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ultra-rightwingBlanka 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 re-activate 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.
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 "pointless" an agreement to end violence announced by the government and the chief negotiator following their first official encounter.

"I don't know what made the ANC approach the government (in these talks). It's their problem," said veteran PAC president Zephania Mothopeng, whose movement advocates black self-reliance and resistance in the 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 they are to have a chance of success." Dr 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 2500 people regarded by the ANC as political prisoners.

Violence

There was no formal declaration of the ANC's 30-year-old guerrilla campaign, but Mandela said his officials would look "very hard and seriously into the whole question of the armed struggle," prompting speculation that the movement was ready to end the violence.

Mothopeng said the CP would not suspend its own guerrilla campaign and would only take part in negotiations when the transfer to a black-controlled majority of South African land was on the agenda.

"We will not go to any talks on discussion, but to make sure the ANC demands are met," said Mothopeng.

Despite his comments, Mothopeng was at pains not to attack the ANC directly, saying repeatedly that Mandela's movement had ended its campaign.

Pro-pan-African CP leader Andries Treurnicht said Mandela warned "not only the armed struggle to prevent Dr Klerk from backtracking from negotiations."

 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 recognition of the variety of South Africa's people," 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 action by the police force and prison service.
Buthelezi 'heartened by action

KWAZULU Chief Minis-
ter Mangosuthu Buthelezi
said at the weekend it was
heartening the Govern-
ment and the ANC had
agreed on the urgency of
addressing the problem of
violence flaring up every-
where 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 at-
tack as a leader and
participant in the negotia-
tion process.

He mentioned specifi-
cally Mr Thabo Mikel.

Japan on Saturday
welcomed the results of
the talks between the
Government and the
ANC.

The Japan's consulate
in Pretoria said in a state-
ment that the country's
Director-General of Pub-
lic Information and Cul-
tural Affairs had said his
government looked for-
ward to continued pro-
gress in future talks.

Japan hoped that the
ANC and the SA Govern-
ment would make further
efforts for the commence-
ment of "full-fledged ne-
gotiations" 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 establish-
ment of a working group
to consider the question
of political prisoners was
particularly hopeful be-
cause the release of all
political prisoners "will
surely guarantee the for-
ward movement we all
desire," the statement
concluded.
PW quits Nat Party

The presence of Joe Slovo, SACP secretary-general, at last week's talks between the ANC and the Government, has linked the former State President Mr. P.W. Botha to such an extent that he has quit the National Party.

Botha's decision was anticipated as he has been critical of the ANC's leadership and the direction the party has taken since he stepped down from the presidency. He said, "If I do not speak up, the government will continue to speak".

Botha also expressed concern over the ANC's foreign policy, particularly its strong stance on anti-apartheid activities in South Africa. He said the ANC should be more cautious in its international activities.

Botha's departure from the ANC is likely to have significant implications for the party's future, as he was a key figure in the transition from apartheid to democracy. His resignation could lead to a reevaluation of the party's policies and strategies.

Despite his departure, Botha remains a respected figure in South African politics and is expected to continue to influence the ANC's direction from the sidelines.
W

Nats

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.

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 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-sought response to the party's new leadership.

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.

Welcomed

Dr Ferdi 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 were 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.
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
Agains Nats

Plays turns

CP may invite him to join, says Dr T
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 reported that a spokesman for the department said the trade representative in Maputo and the South African embassy in Lisbon had not been notified by the Red Cross of the incident.

Reports said that Mr. David Muller and his wife Sandy, together with their two sons, aged 25 East London and aged 12, were sailing around the coast of Africa in their yacht Arvin.

Meanwhile, it has been confirmed that the 38-year-old architect and his family left East London on 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 received a postcard from his son indicating they reached Maputo and were in no way problems. - Sapa

Leopards in good health

THUMBS UP. - The fate of a leopard captured on a somerset West farm was still in doubt yesterday. The leopard, an adult male, was trapped in a cage outside the farm, said. The animal, which is under the care of the Nature Conservation, was said to be in good health.

The leopard, an adult male, was released into its natural habitat yesterday. The animal, which was captured on a somerset West farm, was said to be in good health. The animal, which is under the care of the Nature Conservation, was released into its natural habitat yesterday.

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From page 1

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The Government wants to hold second talks with the ANC in June. The Government is hoping for a breakthrough in last week’s talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur. If this happens, the government hopes to begin exploratory talks on the setting up of a body to negotiate a new constitution as early as June. The State Security Council meets today and 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 National Party 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 feasible a decision would be taken to initially suspend the armed struggle for three months.

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Mandela rejects group rights — Page 5
PW has it wrong, says FW

PRESIDENT P W de Klerk said yesterday the announcement by his predecessor PW 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 regulate the former State President.

It was a painful task because of the invaluable 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 anti-communist as under the leadership of Botha but changed circumstances called for different methods, de Klerk said.
De Klerk sets out to capture Europe

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.

In most countries De Klerk will also address businessmen and bankers in the hope that his message will bring loans and investment to SA.

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

De Klerk

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.
Fast progress to more talks is expected

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

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 finally suspend the armed struggle for three months.

Speaking at Stellenbosch University at the weekend, ANC president 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 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 Immunity 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.

More talks...
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."
News

We're here for

No fuss as ANC

The Star Monday May 7 1990 6
Response to Mandela's challenge

We are flexible over group rights – Nats

By Peter Fabricius and Esmare van der Merwe

The National Party responded digitally 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 are 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 die, could possibly 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 racism 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 graveyards’.”

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 an executive, 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 group rights are protected by a system of rules that ensure deeply entrenched normal democratic principles such as a multi-party system, and also the principle of free enterprise.

＊See Pages 3, 6 and 11.

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 to resume today.

Hospitals still hit by the strike by non-medical staff are Baragwanath, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, H F Verwoerd and Natal.

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 chaos and filthy wards, sleeping on dirty linen and hungry 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 Kabekeka believes the strike could cost him a finger. He was admitted five weeks ago with a septicaemia because he did not go for treatment after being burnt. He cannot have an operation he urgently needs since he has been told only amputations are being done.

Nursing staff have doubled cleaners and cooks for the week, working long hours.

Strikers emptied rubbish and scattered litter at Hillbrow Hospital at the weekend and cleaners had cleaned up.

There have been numerous reports of patients discharged. Union officials responding by saying certain people identified as sympathisers were unknown to union and added it was wholly passed to any acts of illegitimate, illegitimate or illegal action.

Emergency rooms only had been treated at the hospital and patients not desperate had been discharged.

By late yesterday it appeared agreements in principle had been reached on all workers’ demands except wages.

Increases

Workers demand a minimum wage increase of R200 per month.
Namibian echo in Groote Schuur Minute.

The core of the echo between the Government and the nation's forces of defense is the strong spirit that was born in the

The Government's aim is to strengthen the nation's forces of defense by providing them with the necessary support.

The Government has decided to allocate additional funds to upgrade the military equipment and improve the training programs.

In addition, the Government is working on developing new strategies to enhance the nation's security and protect its borders.

The echo between the Government and the nation's forces of defense is a reflection of the strong bond that exists between the two entities.

The Government's commitment to the nation's forces of defense is unwavering, and it continues to strive for the best outcomes for its people.

The echo between the Government and the nation's forces of defense is a testament to the nation's resilience and determination.

The Government's efforts are aimed at ensuring the safety and security of the nation's people, and it remains committed to this goal.
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 because 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.

Emarrass

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.
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 representatives 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 communiqué 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 offences" 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
That's our goal - Slovo

Majority rule is our aim - Slovo

From Page 1

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 preparatory meeting on last week's three-day preliminary talks which resulted in the Groote Schuur Minute.

To page 2

He said that 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.
Mandela: "We must remember to make judgment on questions of that nature that we are in total-
distress positions from that of the Government and other white parties of this country.

"Our organization has been banned for the last 30 years. Experenced leaders of the organiza-
tion have been forced to exit. Other well-trained and experienced leaders of the movement have
been thrown into jail and these men who have remained in the country, have been denied.

"Therefore there was
nobody to explain the
policy of the organisation to
start discipline. You must
remember that many of the leaders
who were active today were born
during the last 30 years when
the organisation was illegal and when
there was nobody to ex-
plain the policy of the
organisation.

Support
"If therefore any of
our members were guilty of
intimidation, you must
judge their actions against
this background. Now
that the organisation has
been legalised, we have
considered it to be our
right to stress the question
of discipline, the question
of tolerance and I think
we are getting support
from our membership.

"I therefore urge you to look at the
issue from the back-
ground which I have out-
lined.

"We have made a
clear, that is, that the
struggles which we have adopted, will
remain in place. Therefore we have
authorised the General
Secretariat of the
government to
accept.

"We are therefore not
facing any new calls, but
are we appealing to the
international community
do to anything other than
the strategies which are our
invasion they are
busy with at present.

"However, we hope
that as a result of the
agreement which we have
achieved, we will not
be necessary for us to
call upon the international
community to intensify or
maintain sanctions.

De Klerk: "May I just
say that in this regard that
can be seen in the
broadly
discussion. We do not
believe that sanctions are
needed. We sincerely be-
lieve that it is the
demands of the people
of South Africa.

"We sincerely believe
that as much as we ever
might have been argued
that it was justified,
which we totally disagree
with, the idea has come
for that fall away.

Mandela: "I can assure
you that we have made
progress on almost every
aspect of the situation
which we have identified
here. As I have said at the
beginning of any con-
cernment, we are closer
now to another than we
were at the beginning of
these discussions. I think
this is what it is intended
and that is what you
should tell a way.

"I must tell you what
I have told the State Pres-
dent and his delegation.
Twenty-seven years ago,
when I went to jail, I had
no vote. Twenty-seven
years hence I will
go to vote. And that is
why I will go to vote,
myself. 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
when he says, I have had
for the last three days the
opportunity of exchang-
ing views with members of
his delegation. I have
never expressed it in
terms of my own
interests, and I think
I am expressing not only my
views, but the views of
my colleagues.

Vote
"But the reality is
that I will not have vote.
You can then decide
whether opposition is
allow
De Klerk: "Can I just
say that we have also,
think a broad consensus
on the fact that before a
new governmental
movement which will
grant a vote to all South
Africans can be con-
menced and implemented,
there is a general
agreement that there is a need
that this 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 docu-
ment is an important step
forward in the place
where we can nego-
tiate. From that we will
flow the final solution to the
problem stated by Dr
Mandela to negotiate, we
can say. While apartheid
is going in South Africa,
the anti-apartheid move-
ment are keeping it alive.

Questions: 'If you
wish to explain what you
will do, do you think you could
make a mistake to say this long to
release Mr Mandela, to
withdraw the ANC? Do you
wish it could have been done
maybe 10 years ago?'

De Klerk: "Well, with
kindness one could always
come to many, many conclusions. Dif-
ficult circumstances
prevail. It is not easy, I am
just glad that
we are where we are and
see how to move forward and
work hard to achieve this
point.

Q: "Was the question
of an interim administration
or an interim government
discussed? If it was, was
any resolution reached on
that?"

De Klerk: "The talks
centred totally on the
question of an interim
government. We can
agree to any changes in
the law, we can agree
to any changes in the
law, we can agree
to any changes in the
law, we can agree
..."
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 dominance 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
The discussions were

"praised and supported" by the

"support will be strong, and

"the economy potential..."
Busy for FW in round of talks

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

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 negotiations and the co-operation of whites with Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche of the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging.

The next day, the State President met a delegation of the South African Chamber of Commerce.

Future

"Talks centered mainly on constitutional reform, the independence of economic achievement and political advancement and the role which the business community could play in creating a climate conducive to reconciliation and negotiations in South Africa," the communiqué said.

Then on November 20, 1989, De Klerk met another church delegation including Archbishop Makoloi, Marjorie, chairman of the Council for Apostolic and Zionist Churches, as well as the Rev. Isaac Mokoka 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 negotiations 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 centered 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 Gauteng, Professor Pieter Nkabin- wazi, to discuss negotiations.

On April 5 Buthelezi showed up again at a meeting with the Chief Minister of Quwa, Mr. Kenneth Mqhayi, the Rev Allan Hendrickx, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, and House of Delegates leader Dr. N. 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. Neliseng Mandela, Mr. Joe Slovo, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mrs Albertina Sisulu.
A tribute to Alan Paton, says judge

ALAN PATON

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 Hoërmele 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 Hoërmele 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

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.
Founding Fathers from America’s Wax

Simon Barber in Washington
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 government, 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.
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 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 Denis Worrall, 27 Ounway Lane, Maritzburg
De Klerk's tour kicks off in Paris

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 Pik 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 South Africa’s sincerity in bringing about a new SA.

The Paris visit was especially important as the new 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.

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.

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.
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 fair 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 1977 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 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."
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.
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.

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 777.

The aircraft will show only the presidential seal and no national colours.

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 European nations.

He will also meet European Community President Mr Jacques Delors.

The other leaders he will meet are King Carlos of Spain, King Baudouin of Belgium, Portugese 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 Gonzalez, 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.
Black's, too, are fearful of the reality of majority rule.

Novavenda Mathimane
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.

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 339,167 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 at a result in a saving of taxpayers’ money.
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 governmen.

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’

People’s attitudes the key – Chief Justice

A Bill of Rights guaranteeing fundamental freedoms is indispensable for a new South Africa, according to Chief Justice M M Corbett. KAIzaNYATSUMBA reports.

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 commenta-
tors were agreed that any new Constitu-
tion would have to incorporate a Bill of Rights guaranteeing the fundamental freedoms of all South Africans.

Delivering the South African In-
stitute of Race Relations’ Diamond Jubilee Hoekl 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 state policy, as indeed it was essential for the maintenance of the free and democratic state.

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 convinced of the value of the 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 the powerful US Congress rather than 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 25 articles, provided for the protection of fundamental human rights through the courts.

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 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.

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
FW to meet Swiss bankers

By Derek Tomney

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 all its commitments, unlike many 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 depriving the growth in new investment and employment.

Therefore if South Africa is to earn more foreign currency it needs more foreign investment, possible more foreign loans, and certainly higher export earnings. This in turn means that foreign markets must be re-opened to South Africa.
NP rocked by PwS move

30Apr

SOWTAIN Today: May 8, 1999

AN ascending National

Party

[Image of a dental image]
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE MINISTER: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, for the second time this year, the government has been forced to admit that its Operation Greenery programme is a failure.

In 1989, the government promised that Operation Greenery would create 100,000 jobs. But today, less than two years later, we find that the programme has created fewer than 10,000 jobs.

The government has failed to deliver on its promise to create jobs for our young people. Instead, they have been forced to accept jobs that pay less than the minimum wage.

Mr. Speaker, the government's failure to deliver on its promise has been a major disappointment for the people of this province. It is clear that the government is not able to deliver on its promises.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the government to take immediate action to ensure that our young people are not left behind. We need a government that is committed to creating jobs for our young people.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to move on to another matter.

The government's failure to deliver on its promise to create jobs for our young people has led to a significant increase in the number of people living in poverty. We need a government that is committed to reducing poverty in this province.

Mr. Speaker, I will be tabling a petition calling for a comprehensive poverty reduction strategy. I urge all members of the House to support this petition.

Mr. Speaker, I will be tabling a motion calling for a vote of no confidence in the government. I urge all members of the House to support this motion.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken.

Thank you.
FW's tour slammed

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.

The Cape vice-president of Azapo, Mr Monde Ntwaas, 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."

Ntwaas said De Klerk now felt confident he had done enough to please the international community to assure himself of a good reception in Europe.
Call for tribal trial

"Third Freedom Struggle"

Police again expressed concern over increasing casual situation in Wyoming.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Dr. Andrews

By Michael Morris, Political Correspondent
"Third freedom struggle"

Dr Treurnicht told a meeting of 1,000 in Pietersburg that the National Party continued to stand by the National Congress then the third freedom.

Referring to racially divided Welkom, he reported that the civilian street patrols established themselves and their neighbours.

Reacting to Dr Treurnicht's speech today, spokesman Mr Renier Schoeman said: "For Dr Treurnicht, himself, to set the aura of respectability in quarters of a leader, is irresponsible at best and highhanded Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan to the people of Welkom to remain calm into their own hands.

A spokesman said Mr Vlok would visit assess the situation.

Hundreds of extra police are being ferried into the city to act as a buffer between black township residents and white right-wing extremists.

District Commissioner Colonel Heiny Heymans said the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (A.W.B.) and the Planke Veiligheid (P.V.) 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 Mbulu 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 A.W.B. secretary Mr Blikkies Bilgnaat 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.

SV 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 Stevis 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."
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 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

Slovo's presence worries Kerkbode
Black minorities threatened, says economist

Focus in industrial relations

Call for SA to avoid catastrophe of centenary. How to meet needs...
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 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
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 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 tour — 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.
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.

Kappies 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 35 votes.

But CP hopes that it had captured two NP defectors, both of whom were party organizers under former President PW 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.
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.

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

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 anchor, Patrick Poivre d'Arvor, and leading diplomatic commentator Regis Facon 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.

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 sympatheti-}

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Fanie Jacobs (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.
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 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 in major 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 Ramathan (60) at about 6pm on Monday night.
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 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.
Cup Final on M-Net only

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 to screen 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 Kings Park in Durban.

SATV viewers will also miss the May 28 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

Prehistoric murder victim found at club

THE skeleton, believed to be about 3,000 years old, of a murdered Khoisan man has been found by construction workers at Club Mediterraneo, in Woodstock. It is the second skeleton to be discovered on the site in two years — the first unpublishable find was recently carbon-dated at 2,800 years old (900BC).

Syfrets Cape Town Share Challenge

TODAY'S PRIZE: R1 600
TODAY'S INDEX: 117

Bang goes the white man's identity in Namibia. They're not allowed to call him "boss" anymore!

Abidjan

A motorcycle escort, sirens blaring, held up the 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 gullible dignitaries worldwide.

Much earlier in the day — around 3pm South African time — De Klerk was given an airport red-carpet treatment when his chartered plane landed at the Ivory Coast capital, Yamoussoukro.

While the jet was being refuelled, Mr de Klerk held a surprise 15-minute meeting with President Houphouet-Boigny at the opulent marble palace in Yamoussoukro. During the meeting described as a working courtesy visit, Mr de Klerk and Mr Houphouet-Boigny discussed the recent ANC-government
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 of negotiating 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 without a 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 rules 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.
By Carina le Grange

Minister was warned, say officials

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 officer 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 approached Dr Venter who said the matter was receiving attention. When we approached her again later she initially did not respond. But on April 20 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.
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 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.
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, Marjorie, 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, alternating 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.
in Europe

President

The

French connection could open important doors for SA
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

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.

"This 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 gagging-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, President F.W. de Klerk clearly signalled a "dramatic" improvement in relations with France 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 process - as it intends to do - "great strides" would be made towards normalising South Africa's relations with Europe. "Relations had already improved dramatically, and it is my impression that they are going to improve again in a short time."

Rugby tour

...Mr. de Klerk said that there was now a strong European Community interest in South Africa, and he believes that a tour of South Africa by the French rugby team may be the offing.

He said it is clear to me that Europe is ready to make a total re-evaluation of the situation in South Africa.

There was no question that twelve months ago Europe did not want to normalise South Africa's relations with Europe.

Mr. de Klerk's visit is expected to help ease tensions between South Africa and Europe. "The visit will help to normalise South Africa's relations with Europe." Mitterrand said.

He impressed that he wanted to start a "positive" relationship with South Africa - and so did alle: that, and that he wanted to improve it.

Mr. de Klerk said he wanted to improve the state of relations between the two countries, and that this was now happening. "The two sides have been in touch, and we have agreed on a new approach to the problems between us."

Foreign debts

Mr. de Klerk said he had not directly raised the question of debt relief. He had not come "in a bad way" with a list of debts he wanted lifted. "I am not leaving without a peace," he added.

However, sanctions were raised and discussed. Both sides gave their views in full and in-depth. They said that the developments in South Africa, the time had come for the total lifting of sanctions.

He said the time to lift the sanctions was not a problem for the South African government. It could handle them and repay its debts.

But sanctions were having a negative impact on the country's ability to handle the economic problems it faced.

South Africa was being put in a difficult situation by the need for sanctions and the need to have the resources to embark on imaginative development projects. A total lifting of sanctions would help this process.

Although he had not directly raised the question of debt relief, Mr. de Klerk said he had discussed it with Mitterrand. He said he had asked France to join South Africa in a "negative" effort to support the development problems of its neighbours in Southern Africa.

He said he had met with President de Klerk, who was "highly supportive of the initiative."

He said that 14,400 tons of arms had been shipped to South Africa and that "the French government has taken steps to reduce this trade." 4 The Argus, Friday May 11, 1990

2 The Argus, Friday May 11, 1990

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 PiK Botha arrived in Paris on Wednesday and today on Athens (2). This is followed by Bruxelles, London, Bern, Rome and then a special Boeing 707 to JFK in New York.

LEFT: President de Klerk and French President Francois Mitterrand discuss the situation in South Africa at the Elysee Palace in Paris, yesterday.

FW signals dramatic shift in relations

Mr Michel Rocard

Mr Michel Rocard, the French prime minister, said he believed that South Africa's situation was "a new situation" and that "we must act quickly to help it." He said that the lifting of sanctions was "a new approach to the problems between us."
Judgment on squatters today

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 1998, 24 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, 1998 and a notice to vacate was delivered to them. When they refused, their structures were demolished twice. However, the shacks were rebuilt.

MC Judge P. J. Cronje presided. Mr A. P. J. Boshoff represented Mr A. P. J. Boshoff for RSC, while Mr A. P. J. Boshoff, appeared for the squatters and Mr A. P. J. Boshoff for RSC.
PRESIDENTS MEET... President FW de Klerk with President François Mitterrand of France at the Elysée Palace yesterday.

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

PARIS. — France is re-evaluating sanctions against South Africa and the rest of Europe could follow within months, President FW de Klerk said last night.

The dramatic breakthrough flowed from his "most friendly" and "very positive" separate meetings here yesterday with President François 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 realized 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 — to explain that the approach of the international community "is weakening" and that South Africa's problems could be solved through "good will".

France to 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 candidacy for the presidency.

"That does not depend on me but on the ANC and the South African people," he said. — UPI
Beaming and confident, he told the press conference it was clear that France—"good indeed Europe"—stood ready to re-evaluate relations with South Africa.

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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 — 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 Elysee 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

Mandela for president?

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Speeder snaps up "snail" plate

LONDON. — A British motorist with a taste for speed paid B64.500 yesterday for the car registration number SNA 1. 1.

"I want to be pulled over by the police for speeding and see their reaction when they ask my registration and 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 R5.8 million. — Sapa

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 sportswriters of the year were Boiki Motheo 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 260760 between 9am and 2pm today to make your claim. If you haven't already applied call 260 4760 for a free card. No queries or requests for cards will be dealt with on any other telephone numbers.

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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 Foros 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.

WINNERS!
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.
BY PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Correspondent
and Sapa-Reuters

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 Konstantinos 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 Langelier.

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 "very positive" and "enthusiastic". 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 — it as 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 and told him of his talks with Mr de Klerk and the ANC.
- 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.
DE KLERK AND THE MARKETS

The human factor

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 — dichard 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 want has barely begun. The law still defines voters racially.

Gross disparities in wealth must be addressed where the focus of debate is on nationalisation and control of opportunities in terms of land reform and public spending. Special funds for socio-economic redress must be stretched, perhaps, and can be construed as charity.

Repeal of the pillars of 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 swing 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 a national 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.
INDEMNITY BILL (3041)

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.

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.

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.
NEGOTIATIONS FM 11/5/90

Smiles for now
President FW de Klerk set off on his grand tour of Europe this week against a backdrop 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)

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, 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.

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 PW Botha's tricameral system destroyed Allan Hendriks'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

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

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 whenever 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...
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 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.
Mitterrand, FW meet

PARIS - South African President F W de Klerk arrived at French President François Mitterrand's official residence in Paris at 4.30pm yesterday for the first talks on developments in South Africa.

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.

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
The Greek connection: FW in bid to boost ties

By ESMARE VAN DER WEERVE

The Greek connections between the two countries have been cool ever since 1892, but not taken for granted. Why? Despite an EC council of ministers' resolution, few real ties have been forged between Greece and the EC. Although there have been visits from Greek leaders to the EC, these have not led to any significant breakthroughs. The Greek government has taken steps to improve relations with the EC, but these efforts have been limited. The current government is trying to strengthen ties, but progress has been slow. The Greek president, who is visiting the EC this week, hopes to meet with the EC president and other officials to discuss ways to improve cooperation. Despite these efforts, the two countries remain relatively distant in terms of economic and political relations.
The Greek connection: FW in bid to boost ties

By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE

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 PW 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 Karamanlis and Foreign Minister Anthony Samaras.
INCREDIBLE 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 anti-politics is 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 vigilism attacks.

There was also the "Unita option," with rightwing forces strengthening 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 forever."

The second rightwing objective would be to replace the ANC with the Afrikaner Resistance Movement in the land of white power.

ACCORDING to Professor du Toit the CP can still potentially get the majority of Assembly as long as there are separate voting systems and as long as separate electorates are held for whites.

He pointed out however that from a constitutional point of view it would not be impossible for the CP to make changes to the constitution.

"The 1984 constitution is very rigid and extremely difficult to change. In this climate it is difficult to influence the political system."

So even if they gained overall control of the Assembly all they could do was to throw some people out of the political system.

Professor Jan Grobler of the University of South Africa's sociology department, about a University of Natal study on the rightwing, said there were separate voting systems and as long as separate electorates are held for whites.

Grobler also pointed out the report of the CP was more towards constitutional, white parl.

■ The rightwing rank-and-file membership of CP and its leaders still believed in "self-survival " and were not motivated to influence the system and "were mobilising support by organisation."

Grobler Grobler said within rightwings there was growing "enmity" among whites despite growing talk of assimilation.

DESPITE the increasing militancy of those on the right, a likely scenario was that most whites would accept the inevitability of changes. Most whites would stay on in Zimbabwe after independence and unlike whites colours in pre-independence Africa Afrikaans had no choice but to leave the land where they had their properties, children, houses and culture.

"There is a lot of fluidity in rightwing circles and a strategy is in the process of being formed to increasingly the leadership core is looking at some time to turn the country around,"

Parliamentarians were growing in number but they did not dominate the right's political arena, which was still held by the Witwatersrand 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 with blacks.

"Their position is that they are not prepared to negotiate themselves into oblivion," Professor Grobler said.

The February 2 speech of President de Klerk that he would replace the unbanning of the ANC and SACP with the creation of a "new South Africa" was a "stunt at the altar."

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 that people would not be influenced by these extremists.

The ANC views the rightwing with more alarm.

Dr Thabo Mbeki, ANC director for foreign affairs at the University of Fort Houton, recently "As South Africans we have good reasons to be proud of the fact that we are getting rid of the National party system and the system that we got to real change and we would not have if he were in power."

"There are probably bad people in the system that he was in control of the system and in control of the ANC and the SAPC that would have been a great danger that inevitably arises out of this process of change."

This Realisation, Mbeki said, was not new.

"We have been dealing with problems of hostility towards the ANC for a long time. We have had people who visited us in Lusaka and said to us, ‘We want to be independent of'' and when we caught some of them, we could see it, they were people who believed they had an almost divine mission to destroy the ANC -- that is the principle danger that inevitably arises out of this process of change."

Mbeki's view is shared by Mr Mark Swilling of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of Witwatersrand who said there was a real danger of increased terrorism from the right.

"If you have a small group of highly motivated people with a clear idea that it includes origin, land, history and God, and they believe that they have access to resources, power and influence, 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'.

PARLIAMENT. — The Democratic Party has 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

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

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 firebombs 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.

IN ATHENS ... President F W de Klerk and his wife Marike.
The Future in black and white

MEDIA & MARKETING
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 Sampie 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.
mal experience contained no trial for South Africa’s constitution builders, says Aawid van Wyk of Unisa.

The Indaba ideas have come full circle.

The KwaNatal has useful mates (we have a Professor D). The current constitutional negotiations are a hard and difficult line: “We don’t talk until... it’s on our terms.”

The importance of this was twofold — first, they were speaking for themselves only, and they demanded a solution had to be found to accommodate them; second, they left it to other groups or minorities to decide for themselves whether they want to be constitutionally recognised.

Take the attempts to get participants around the negotiation table. The details differ, but the essence is similar. None profess their belief in the peaceful and negotiated settlement of disputes and are willing to commit themselves. Others prefer to take the easy way out.

Pitfalls

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-
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, talking SA with him, seems to be the cause of the change.

As banks of bass speakers boomed their beat over spring-time Paris and rush-hour traffic curled round the massive feet of the Eifel 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 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-dynasty 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 prospects for the trip seemed good.

France styled the visit as “private” — international protocol designates such visits, in ascending order, as private, working, ofﬁcial, and state. (Mr De Klerk’s earlier 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 sirens-barring 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 luring reminder for the South Africans of the way things used to be. When they last visited France, in 1955 and 1956, 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 Francois Mitterrand, and the French Prime Minister, Mr Michel Rocard.

**Sumptuous**

Mr De Klerk’s arrival at the Elysee Palace was accorded all the pomp reserved for a visiting head of state. His limousine crashed 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 famously 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’sfavoured newspaper Liberation reported — in what was said to be a government leak — that the relations would be 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 special 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 square up in the search for peace. (315a)

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 (315b)

The view from abroad is that since it was unchained 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 François Mitterrand 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 Schaar talks to help financially with the return of exiles — but was told budget restraints made it impossible.
Talks may be sped up

on obstacles

Timetable hinges

Another success... Be with Conservative Ministers

By Peter van Heeren

The next round of talks between the government and the ANC may

be held within days of President FW de Klerk's return from Europe.
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 Carmanolis 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 François 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." (304A)

Mr and Mrs De Klerk were guarding their privacy closely this weekend.

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 Korosis — 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.
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 favourable 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
Letters

Ken Owen

Down on the new SA:

We lack the words

to make a vision

Ken Owen
FW arrives for Portugal visit today

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.
PW says no to Dr No — and to political comeback

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.

Mr P W Botha
Boycott costs white business R7m

Own Correspondent
Johannesburg - Welkom's white business owners 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 R7 million is lost in turnover, and that is not including the losses suffered by the chain stores," he said.

Some people estimated losses at about R10m, 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 co-operative stores on the mines have not been badly affected, they are actually recording an increase in profits."

Mr Lloyd was drawn attention to inflated town-

ship prices faced by boycotting consumers.

"People in the township are paying exorbitant prices on every-
thing, 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 Weerstandbeweging (AWB) delegation in Cape Town today in an attempt to cool down right-wing emotions and confrontationist strategies.

Tough talking is likely at the meeting after Mr Vlok's warnings to the right wing 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 talk follows 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 zealot," says Rudolph - Page 7

Today's meeting was confirmed last night by Mr Vlok's liaison officer, Brigadier Leon Meftel. 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 Venterstroom on Saturday will be discussed.

UPI reports that khukhuk-laden men and women, wearing the maritza-like emblem of the AWB and defending a "holy war" against President F W de Klerk's reform initiatives, had burned their weekly training sessions at Venterstroom to the press.

Gunfire rumbled across the veld on the outskirts of Venterstroom as young women and grandmothers took target practice. Men drilled along a dusty road through the make-shift 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 our country we would defend ourselves with violence."

Today's talks were welcomed last night by a Democratic Party law and order spokesman, Mr Thobekile Mjondolo. He added that the AWB's para-military gathering at Venterstroom was "repressive 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

Vlok talks to AWB in city
cap t 14/1/88

members of the police were involved in the exercise were correct, Mr Vlok had to move quickly to re-store some discipline in the ranks of his own department.

"The DP has made it clear that all police men 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 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, it should face serious action against right-wing militants appeals inevitable.
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 preservation 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."
SA’s reforms irreversible, says Greece

ATHENS — President F W de Klerk flew to Portugal today, having already convinced Greek and French political leaders of the irreversibility 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.

MIKE ROBERTSON

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 recognize pressures 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.

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 $150m 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 weekend on a private sightseeing tour.

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.
Canadian consultation with Pik ‘significant’

ATHENS — Commonwealth countries are 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

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 Sharman 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

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 representatives 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 anarchist 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 "undesirable 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.
MK Prepares for Ceasefire

Talks need a chance

Lay down arms

ANC Ready to

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

ANC Deputy President Jackson Mthethwa

The million view of the ANC"
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 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 enraged 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 he wins now and June 25, we could put together a package of practical steps, we believe we 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-Reuters.
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk was the real victor in the talks between the Government and the African National Congress, Mothopeng said yesterday.

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 Manqungwana, the PAC's Queenstown representative, told the mourners that the future of black people was being decided behind closed doors. - Sapa.
Simón Barber in Washington

Step to a new SA

Lines is the First

Drawing the Voting
False start for ET party

Staff Reporter

When AWB leader Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche arrived for yesterday's meeting with Law and Order Minister Mr. Adriën Viljoen, 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 Conway, 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 Hermannus-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 FW de Klerk to visit Washington, and officials on both sides are trying to arrange the dates. — Sapa-AP
A CONSERVATIVE 
Party Government 
would negotiate 
coloured and Indian 
homelands before 
claiming the rest of 
the country - exclud-
ing the existing black 
homelands - as a 
white national state.

This was said yester-
day by CP founder-
member and MP for 
Roodepoort, Advocate 
Jurg Prinsloo, during a 
debate on a new South 
Africa with Deputy Min-
ister 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-
cause democracy revolved around self-
government by the dif-
ferent population groups.

Prinsloo said the NP's 
new South Africa would 
be a conglomeration of 
different population 
groups in an unitary sys-
tem.

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, how-
ever, encourage popula-
tion groups to live in their 
homelands by invest-
ments and creating infra-
structures in the national 
states.

Meyer told the stu-
dents that the NP realised 
during the 1970s that a 
policy of partition would 
not succeed, particularly 
as a result of economic 
facors.

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 pre-
vious 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 negotia-
tions with all political 
groups, including the CP 
and the Pan Africanist 
Congress.

Referring to negotia-
tions, Meyer said the 
Government had trans-
ferred 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 
not practica-
1cal.

The result of the 
debate, judged on the stu-
dents' reaction - an 
over-
whelming 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.

Two Portuguese Air Force Corsair trainer fighter jets escorted De Klerk's chartered Boeing 707 into the Portella Airport after it crossed the border from Spanish airspace.

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.

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 Praça do Imperio.

De Klerk inspected the guard of honour after which he and President Soares laid wreaths at the Jerónimos 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 President Soares's official residence and office.

- Sapa
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 Belem 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 Barrosa 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 1772 by French architect JB Robillon, give the palace the ambience of a little Versailles.

See Page 11.
Hopes for peace after AWB, Vlok meeting

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

HOPE S 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 by 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 assurance that 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 Veniersdorp 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.

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 46 years, had returned to work.

The longest stay of 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 would be transplanted before he hoped more patients have the transplants being done was too late.

He ascribed the success of the transplants, done in conjunction with Professor Terblanche of the University of the Cape Town Medical School, to better surgical and immunological techniques and improved drugs.

However, he warned that the young doctor whose programme were able to do research might leave.

Surgeon Dr Del K., member of the transplant team, had learned a unique in Pittsburgh in the United States where he had on an MRC post doctorate scholarship.

See page 4.

Man, baby daughter burnt to death 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 3am.

Regional services council firemen extinguished the blaze and treated Mr Andrews, his common-law wife, Miss Eileen for burns on her hands and face while taking him to hospital.

Police said they had been woken by the explosion and had found it ablaze on their return.

The fire was believed to have started when an abandoned car fell over.

You can stay as long as you like there's no end in sight
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.”

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.
The race classification law was unacceptable and undoubtedly discriminatory, Minister of Home Affairs Gene Louw said in Parliament yesterday.

"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.
Clearing the air on talks
Harare document guides ANC

The ANC's historic meeting with the Government early this month drew a mixed reaction from the community. In an article about Raymond Suttner, academic and leading member of the ANC, justifies his organization'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.

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 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 indiscriminate violence.

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 determined in the first place by the oppressed, but 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 involved 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."

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 that we bring us to the point where obstacles to negotiations are removed.

The agreement does not entail any limit on our non-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'
Chief Sees Yok
Smiling AVB
AWB fires its Joburg leader

By BARRY STREEK

THE Afrikaner Weerstands beweging has fired its Johannesburg leader, Mr Leonard Veenendaal, 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 Veenendaal had lied.

Yesterday Mr Veenendaal, 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.
Protection of minority rights ‘vital’ to new SA

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 for 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 Voortrekker 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

‘Neurotics getting worse, psychotics getting better’

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 on this 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 African 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 believes that the movements to solve South Africa’s problems was negotiated by writing to Mr P W Botha that the demand for majoritarian democracy 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 not 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 these conflicting approaches there is also a clash over an acceptable process of negotia-

Once there is agreement on the problem about the goals, the objectives, the political options that can be defined such as security of identity and the practical means of development, this is done.

The next step is to stage the agreement and study the commission created by its provisions.

At this stage, the most prudent thing to do is to get the agreement and study the commission created by its provisions.

Best options

If the only route is the issue of power, parties about problem-solving, both are to be agreed upon by members of the negotiators, it is to stage the agreement and study the commission created by its provisions.

Grove Mabon University currently has two mechanisms proposed by a team.

The two mechanisms are:

1. a straightforward resolution, introduced by Professor Burton, which would do well to look at the two mechanisms proposed by a team.

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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 emphasize 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 "Veendal 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 WENZEL
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.
ANC fumes over FW-Bush talks

WASHINGTON — ANC officials yesterday called on President George Bush to cancel his planned meeting with President FW 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 Memang 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.”

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.
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 F W 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 1973.

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-à-vis the progress and 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 lightening 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.

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
Govt talks with AWB slammed

By THEMBA MOLEPE

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 Inhaling 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 Monday's meeting be-

between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian 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 Veenendaal, the Johannesburg AWB leader wanted in Namibia.

"Lawyers for Human Rights national director, Mr Brian Currie, 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.
Big shift in schools policy

Minister speaks of single education system for country
THE Big White Baas has spoken again, and we the un-sophisticated 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 marry a...?"

It was unbelievable 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 "Inferior".

He argued that the people classified "coloured" were "brain Africans" 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?

Boyocotted

When these classified "coloured" overwhelmingly boycotted the first Coloureds' 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 brain Africans saw red and boycotted the parliamentary elections, as did the majority of "Indians" who felt their thousand-years-old "civilisation" did not cater for segregated parliament seats.

Virtually overnight, we have changed from "uncivilised" to "unsophisticated", just as most of us changed from saffie to "natives" to "plural" to "black".

Presumably, the ex-chief of the Boerderbond means the white minority is sophisticated. So I checked in the dictionary.

Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary defines "sophisticated" as "an expert; to sophisticate: 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 unsophisticated and uncivilised.

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'.

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'.

Sophiatown

Interestingly, the word "sophisticated" is derived from "soph" which Chambers decribes as "wise, divinity, wisdom".

Now those dark upstarts with long memories will recall that great places of wisdom, Sophiatown, a suburb on the western edge of Johannesburg.

It was named with "unsophisticated" humanit, with people of all shades, skins, 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 "Friends".

It was mainly for sophisticated new immigrants arriving triumpantly from Europe.

So what happened? Instead of the sophisticated Baas having a lustying triumph filled with sophisticated bliss, "unsophisticated" Sophiatowners. Inhabitants such as Joe Modise left the country to take up arms against him. Modise became commander-in-chief of the Witboeke to the Swaze.

The Baas' followers accused Modise's men of using sophisticated arms. They regret 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 up arms or arrive peaceably to ensure that black people do not get their democratic rights, they are "unsophisticated" or "uncivilised".

If white people take up arms or arrive peacefully to ensure that black people do not get their democratic rights, they are "unsophisticated" or "uninformed".

So here we are, with one group of people embroiled in constant fighting with one group of people who are emboldened by the other group of people.

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 poor sophistication educational, economic and social systems. Heavily armed, highly sophisticated Italian police will be cut 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-ooed of operation 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 ballot?"

On an equally racist note: "Would you let your daughter marry a man that comes from such a sophisticated 'race'?"
JOE SLOVO’S thoughtful paper “Has Socialism Failed?” constitutes the first theoretical assault 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 the expansion 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 1960, “it became a goal and a matter of prestige 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 disprove 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” and 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 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 those who 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 base their strategy. Despite the long tradition of similar failed strategies, the Left apart from opposition hopes that recrimination 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.

By HERBERT ADAM

a leading analyst of South African affairs and with Koplala Moodley, author of “South Africa without apartheid.” He is doing research at UCT.

Rather than joining the ANC, the few revolutionaries flock to the SACP. Deep resentment over and security drives the campaign of those who vainly restored it as one of the lessons from Nazi Germany.

By building its base, the SACP not only starts at a low point but opens itself to a significant split. The common enemy is the ANC.

Neither the ANC nor the SACP recognised a strategy to 33% of the ANC unemployed. The role played is essential.

Underclass

Mere employment of the underclass qualifies for a “labour aristocracy” in the narrowest sense of life-chances from housing, medical, and pensions.

Those millions cut off from society live in shacks around the country. Their discontent, however, is expressed in political movements that challenge the established system. The role of the ANC in this process is significant.

In Slovo’s sensible assessment, the South African party leader is “off guard” without risking... Instead of being in the minority, the SACP now advocates a through effective “articulation” of the “political” and “pro levels.”

This amounts to a sweeping generalisation where.” Instead of being in the majority, the SACP now advocates a through effective “articulation” of the “political” and “pro levels.”

Believing that its own factionalism is irrelevant, no one took seriously the adapting, publication, and solidification of the opposition to the SACP’s attempt to impose its version of “international practice” culture by 1980. The long dependence by 1980 of the ANC on Slovo put the ends...

Joe Slovo's problem: a Stalinist past and a democratic future

Rather than joining Cosatu or the ANC, the few remaining white workers have chosen to fight the neo-fascist AWB. Deep resentment over loss of status and security drives their 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 SAPC not only starts from false assumptions but neglects an increasing 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 30% of the national workforce which is unemployed. The unions increasingly represent only the employed.

Underclass

More 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 medical care, education and pensions—depends on employment.

Those millions outside the formal economy—on township boarder, in shacks around the cities and in the bush of the country-side—are the permanent underclass. The liberation movements have yet to organize the permanently marginalized outsiders. The unions have yet to address the relation between employed and unemployed people.

In Slovo's plausible, pragmatic assessment, the South African economy will be transformed by "a revolution without risking economic collapse."

Instead of bureaucratic state control along Eastern European lines, Slovo 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 SAPC, by its own admissions, 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 enemy, most exiles never took seriously the warnings about the adapting, diversifying capabilities and modernizing potential of the opponent. Without a adequate theory of the antagonist, the opposition wasted precious years with unhelpful and ineffective strategies.

The test for the future South African democracy may not lie in the SAPC's past alliances but in it's inexperience of a democratic culture. The recognition of union independence by the SAPC together with the endorsement of a multi-party system and traditional liberal freedoms bodes well for South African democracy. Slovo's words on the need for a "collective" rather than "personal" resolution to the contradictions of the ANC's ideological past is the ideological key to the SAPC's call for a "social contract."
OWN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON. — Reports in the press here yesterday indicated that President FW 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.

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.

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 Fabresics 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 260 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 Passloors, former activist who was imprisoned in South Africa, 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."
De Klerk pledges further reforms to Europe

By Peter Fabreids, 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 influential 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 17/5/80
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 budes.

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 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

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 timely 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 prepared 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."
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

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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:

1. Ensuring certain important decisions could be taken only on the basis of consensus or with an overwhelming majority.
2. 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.

De Klerk said that as far as 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 Belgian 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.
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 exactly 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 they had 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 Weerstands beweging 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.
Investment partners Fy archives ahead to As sanctions recede.
The Broederbond getting well into the SABC’s picture

DESPITE talk of deregulation and privatization, 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 security chiefs 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 agents of the Intelligence Service, and at least 50 percent are believed to be connected to one or other of the government’s intelligence agencies.

The announcement of the task force comes against the background of a warning that most 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 run 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 negotiations.

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 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 Low described the task force as consisting of "experts in the fields of broadcasting, communication and technology."

But is 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 Esciel Rodgie’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 Transvaal editor Wimpie de Klerk, is one of its leading figures as is FW’s chief political adviser, Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Hans Strydom, co-author of The 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 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 Broederbond."

The task group was appointed by Low, 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, privatization 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 security chiefs and bureaucrats.

"Admittedly there is a representative from MNet 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 of the market research organisations. There is no representative from the independent radio stations, nor from the education field."

Soal also regretted the SABC board chairman Professor Carlis 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 unrepre- sentative body," said Fawo spokes- man 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.
Change in SA ‘could be aborted’

OGN 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.”

No demo at UK talks, say cops

OGN 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.

IT MUST BE BELGIUM . . .

Prime Minister Mr Wilfried Martens yesterday. Mr De Klerk has asked Europe to renew investment in SA.

Picture: Reuters
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 Mabuza, 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 CAVIN 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 fellow European ally, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Before arriving in London, he met European Community president Jacques Delors and Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens. 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” in order to “fuel 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 Knut Magnus Berdevik said Pretoria had yet to give a “firm commitment” to end the State of Emergency.

De Klerk’s tour has seen him receive several nicknames 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 steps 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-

Mandela was presented the Widad al-Althir medal of distinction for his “courageous struggle to free South Africans from exploitation.”

Mandela last visited Algeria in 1991 when he received military training from Algerian guerrillas fighting against France.

Highest award ... Nelson Mandela receives the Order of Niger from Nigeria’s President Babangida

-President Chahid Benjellal yesterday presented African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela with Algeria’s highest award in recognition of his struggle against apartheid.

Mandela’s 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”.

French businessmen are now anticipating the lifting of coal sanctions against South Africa.

De Klerk is expected to receive positive feedback from 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 Barritt 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.”

Barritt 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 to Pretoria and the other into the ANC. The De Klerk and Mandela visits are indications of the maturation of both of these.”
Waves of detentions and呢financial damages were made.

Repression keeps the pressaway from the polls.

The world recognizes the retaliation, but the retribution is in the minds of the victims. The world also recognizes that the victims are not alone.

By Marsha Sanger

Peak - Visiting Exile

Apartheid still at a
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 Hertoginnen- dal 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, Marika 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.
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 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 that the AWB's "training camp" demonstrations 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 Finemoor

ANC DETAINNEES

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 body-trapped hand grenades of ANC guerrillas, who participated in the running down of Joe Gaba 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 Umkomo and Sishwe 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 Elysee Palace: FW'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 considered.

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), who 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 NA watch-er 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 Veldhuyzen, 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 Rhoddie, head of the Human Science Research Council's Centre for Conflict Ana-

ysis and Management, is not overly concerned about an exodus to the CP. In Democracy in Action, Rhodes 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 "leaves 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 Grand Apartheid was all about, giving it a tenacious 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 Filip 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."

Esterhuysen - who along with other influential Stellenbosch academics became an outcast towards the end of the PW Botha regime - says the difference of style between Botha and De Klerk is that of coercion and conviction. "The disappearance of the demeaning 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 mockingly 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 trienamal parliament. De Klerk knows that would wipe the talks.

An imaginative leap seems necessary - and possible. Esterhuysen 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 rationally 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 Tuyenhuis 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 terms under rulers with whom they have sometimes violently disagreed.

Stellenbosch political philosopher Willie Esterhuysen attributes the change to De

FINANCIAL MAIL MAY 18 1980
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 must pass 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."

Estherhuys 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 ... "

Estherhuys believes strongly that an alliance with the ANC is the only viable prospect for NP survival. "As far as I am concerned, 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 5m of those people would support the ANC does not know black politics."

Inkatha, says Estherhuys, 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. Unlike 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. Estherhuys 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, Estherhuys 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 Estherhuys, 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-speaking 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 exercise the past. And to prepare itself philosophically for coalition government.
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 Peariman, 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.

Peariman 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 Peariman 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. Peariman says additional space will be set aside for market traders.

Explaining the squatter impasse, Peariman 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-
When to Strike

De Clerk Knows

You've got to take your own fate into your own hands.
BRUSSELS, — President F W 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 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 6

FW is sure EC will take note of change in SA

AWB shocked at his leader's defection

PRETORIA. — The AWB has reacted with shock to the announcement by Blanche Veilheghid 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 "Koos" 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
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Sapa
ANC fights rearguard action

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.
Afrikaans ‘to grow in new SA’

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 Afrikanerdem en Afrikaans tot stand gebring." (The National Party established Afrikanerdem 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.

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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 Insign 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".

"But 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 19,000 ethnic Asians.
education system

There have been many calls for a genuinely nonracial, unified and decentralized 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 persistent.

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 shall 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 decentralized 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, Leshwa and the Transvaal could be divided into a southern and a northern region. The Cape Province could be divided into western and 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 "common area". They should become the units into which the education system is decentralized 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 simple and strong.

They are strong enough to guarantee that the TPCs will create a nonracial and unified education system in each of the regions. They are simple 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 will take two major steps towards unifying education in the region. It will 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?

This is why, right from the start, the departments and institutions that are VAT to the DNE in the homelands 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 toward unification 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 whitewash job in the two past steps into the unified education in its regions. 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.

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Apartheid shatters environment — researcher

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 precaution.

A parish to most oil exporters, South Africa has developed an energy policy that makes it among the most polluting nations of its size.

"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 25 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 overcrowdation, 10 times the population density of white rural areas — the homelands are among the world's most degraded regions." Enormous erosion gullies cross the topography, and in some areas the topsoil has been worn down to bedrock. In 1979, 46 percent of Cuba, for instance, was already moderately to severely degraded.

"Forests are disappearing rapidly too. The Kwazulu homeland has lost 600 of its 250 distinct forest types found in the past half century. In the homelands, fuelwood-gathering has spelt habitat re-generation 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 agassiter 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 extract, 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 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-intensive 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 average is 1 ton, and Americans release 5 tons each."

Since the Seventies, South Africa has defended apartheid through a militant 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 land 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 its 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 issues. Yet an end to apartheid will leave other ecological problems — including the volatile issue of land redistribution — to a new government," he says.
Mandela taken to task

CAPE TOWN — The National Party strongly told ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday to stop criticizing 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.
The most interesting c- in the world

SITTING in front of me in the place on its way from Europe to Jan Brown was a pair of

...They resembled the toughest sort of cab, with a weathered and rusty finish, but top-notch drivers and reliable. I opened the door and found it was 10 years' postponing by some houseboys. The country was beautiful and the roads were good. One could probably start farming it. It's Africa, despite the reality, the mummer's quack. World, except new ways of doing things the same.

It looked as though once again I was going to be the very last person to arrive at the airport. The taxi was hustling, the traffic was clogged, the world was waiting for the plane to land. The taxi driver was friendly, but a little bit too cheery, reality, I had been used to thinking of South Africa as an adventure — like a movie. But the country I was looking forward to see, had seen it all before. I remembered. It was green and sunny.

Breakfast was a meal served in real Africa.

There was a lot of noise and commotion, but there was more to it than meets the eye on arrival. In the face of the accents, the language, the customs, the geographical differences, the change was in the air. It was almost 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 Mombusho, who visited the land of his birth last month after a 15-year absence. These are his impressions.

The atmosphere itself was a surprise. The vegetation, the wildlife, the people — all seemed to have changed. The world was a different place.

In Johannesburg I had the feeling that things were going into the opposite way. Apartheid was not ending, and class segregation showed through glass, unlike the dynamic concept. Race is static; a race can be classified or desegregated, but not changed. If it loses its purity it can no longer be a race. It cannot be classified. Categorization is often separated, they do not have to be kept apart. When one thinks in terms of classes, things can be changed.

The next few days I began to realize, however, that though things had not been as different as I had expected, the country had been a probably more varied world. And people started to worry about the world they had set out in.

There seemed to be conflict everywhere, and violence almost everywhere. I saw a stick in Simon's sophisticated shopping mall. A black boy and a white man fighting. Beyond the burly, unseeing, indolent look of the audience, the change was made by "shadows" —

SPECTRUM

On a visit to my family in South, I caught a glimpse of the real roots of the township violence, often diametrically categorised as "black on black." The gardener's house was ordered by the village chairman to pay R100 towards the cost of his new home — the headman's. The gardener didn't have R100. The demand seemed pre-arranged. The family took advantage of this, and their lawyer, "there's not really anything we can do," said the village "we are going to tell him to pay." He paid.

What was this all about? Some thought it was "white" custom, of which the gardener had been found guilty. But not really. Two systems were in conflict, one based on employment in the modern economy, the other on "traditional" territorial tributes. In the former, both had been used as a means of control; the former for "direct" (governmental) and the latter for "indirect" (traditional) rule. Both were still being used. They would not simply go away.

Black implied a political stance. But this stance could not be made, explicit. Blackness needed to have people working in the modern economy. Frustration needed the more or less traditional class. But neither could really say it. Neither "traditional" Ulundi nor modern Pretoria could afford to admit that they were also working through the opposite system.

The forces in conflict therefore remained invisible. The state of play could not be dis- cussed. Was that not why everything seemed incomprehensible — obscure and unclear? Was this a forecast 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 not only some of the problems, perhaps not even the main ones. After a few days I was not sure if the government was really a reformer, or merely a government attempting to maintain the status quo. An Afrikaner politician who had been at 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 politician, to be a play, used not of innocence, undoubtedly, but probably improvidence.

Did he really say a new direction, or simply blind forces, which were already "black" and "white"? Were we being shown a change of heart or merely a change of style? Did he see the ANC as the interpreter of a new power-broker, or merely as a rival group of power-heavers? Was he President of the march or just having another despairing round of golf?
most interesting country
ed

How much has South Africa changed in recent years? In some ways, quite a bit. In others not at all, according to French President Francois Mitterrand, who visited the end of his birth last year after a 15-year absence. This was his sessions.

Spectrum

areas from head to foot black. Their labour is desired mainly for its results. Black is the colour of irls. In South Africa, labour has always been one of the functions of apartheid. This is not new, however. The world system.

- South Africa patterned itself on the rest of the world. But on world on South Africa?

parts of the globe are new Northern Suburbs actually accepting Western men, and South-Eastern. The Northern Suburbs' had long been the bastion of apartheid, but the black and white had fought. The battle was often brutal.

- South Africa's development has been slow, with the country's unskilled workers and farmers having to suffer.

in South Africa, from tagging behind, turned in fact to have pioneered "Post-Moderate Age."

I did sense that there was a渴望 between the Northern - and California, how - What's the point? In the atmosphere at last? The fact that here was not as the way on the map.

- First World is becoming and more cybernetic. Relief from history, it's now in all above all in reductive, of cultivating the past and optimizing the yield from its pension fund. The long march towards Modernity has to an indifferent and Diss

- Post-modernity turns to consist mainly in underlining, categorizing and forgetting that will change. Beyond the "proving, "indistinctness probably j情报, and accept-

- On a visit to my family in Durban, I caught a glimpse of the real people of the township in the main. Our visit had been ordered by his village leadership to pay R100 towards the cost of his new home - the headman. The black haven't done with Black. 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.

- Was this all about? Some bought "ethnic" custo, of which the gardener had fallen foul. Not really. Two systems were in conflict, one based on an employment in the modern economy, the other on the "traditional" territorial tribe. In the fast, both had been used as means of control, the former for "direct" (governmental) and the latter for "indirect" (domestic) 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. The laws needed to have people working in the money economy; Pretoria needed the more and less traditional, black, but neither could reasonably say, No "traditional" In either, for instance, it was a role of power brokers? Was the President on the march or just having another despising round of golf?

- Cultural identity lies clearly with the leadership. Culture there sets an escape from every day life, but to enhance and transform it. One only has to see the musical "Township Fever" to realize how the theatre can become a means of understanding old and changing things - de Najima's disturbing re- response to Broadway's theatrical decline. It has probably been a boon that the supply of conversational suburban culture to the leadership has always been a miniscule. This has left room for the production feature building on urgent issues, and not just on problems left to be important by other people, at other times, elsewhere.

- In comparison, suburbia is still dull, with Euro-American spectacles firmly stuck to life now well paid pro-

- The observation with "European standards" and "making it" into "black class" are admitted not very different from those of suburbia's First World eminences - and in that respect the suburbia is probably done better than they realize. 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 in South Africa to survive.

- There is, as far as I can see, no ready-made "solution" to South Africa's problems, and current white attempts to displace one (the colonial attache, for example) merely betray the bad faith of the suburbia and the poverty of their imagination.

- South Africa will need to keep at something that the leadership's image is so far the prospects of the black.

- Donald Blond (57) was born at Cape Town and educat-

- Now he is Professor of Diplomatic and International Relations at the University of South Africa, where he has been teaching for 10 years. He is currently a private consultant in South Africa. His latest book is "The Black in South Africa: A History of the Twentieth Century."
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 towards 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 arm-waving 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.
Time for caution as the talks get moving

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 of force 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 ally 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 firm 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.
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.
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 advisor, Mr S S 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 Pat- hed — 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 personnel 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 amnesty from prosecution to enable them to return to SA for future negotiations.

A list of 36 senior ANC members granted amnesty 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 Immigration 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 l’dasa-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
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 transcontinental 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 proximity, 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 26th and 30th, feel free to come later.

Perhaps this was garbled in transmission. Equally possible, there were some in Cape Town who smelled 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.

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 lower 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.
Historian F A van Jaarsveld says it’s time to give the new South Africa a new name (30C)

As a historian, I would like to propose the name Men- sania (Mensania 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 1732 the French astronomer Nicolas Louis de Lacaille spent some time in the Cape studying the southern skies. He named one of the southern constellations Mensa 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 plateaus 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 coun- try.

Opportunity

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 the names of Van Riebeeckland, Orania, Protealand, Acania, Springbokland, Ossewaland and Apartheid.

But perhaps – with South Africa on the brink of the “Third Republic” – the time is now opportune to again consider a new name.

In 1989 Peter Baboroko, 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 “Malandii” – a combination of the Sotho and Zulu words for the Drakensberg (Maleli and Umlandii).

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 Kismayu to Kilwa. It is therefore an apt description for eastern, 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 inhabi- tants.
EUROPE AND SA FACING THE SAME DILEMMA

By LESTER YENTER: 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 F W de Klerk has had here.

President de Klerk began the process by placing SA politics on a moral footing acceptable to the ancient civilizations 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 civilized 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 visit 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.

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 responsibility 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.
For the Right Moment of Truth
The options range from a table political alternative to direct action to convert them into votes.

Hecklen argues that it is one Sunday Times writer's view that "Clouds over the election..."
The new Suzette is smashing!

Miss SA 1930

SA to expose and莓 it was a show of affection towards the young women in the audience.

By WILLY POLLOCK

London

FRIENDSHIP

WASHINGTON D.C.

Magazine accepts FR invitation to visit South Africa
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 Robert Mugabe, who was the last major government leader to set foot in SA 30 years ago.

On that occasion he made his famous 'wind 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 should 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 inconceivable 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 Margaret de Klerk and Mr Denis Thatcher.

The couples engaged in animated chatter punctuated by much laughter.

"Are you going get good pictures?" Mrs Thatcher asked photographers - 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 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 underway in London this weekend to arrange a meeting between Prime Minister and Britain's Labour leader, Mr Neil Kinnock.

Diplomats said "signals" had been sent out, but they had not been interpreted 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, has said he is nervous about meeting the South African leader because it might cause an upheaval in his party.

Mrs Thatcher is especially pleased that her open support, which added to her appeal in Western capitals, 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.

Mrs Thatcher will have her first meeting with the ANC's 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 56 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.
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 TV 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. Ramsey Coote, 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. Sampe Golden, was asked — at 3 am — to cancel the day’s programme.

As 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 organisations, 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 aspect 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 the Peugeot limousine on to the white gravel of the Elyse Palace, however, the cool demeanur 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 homilies.

When he alighted at the Elyse he was mercifully not compelled to be confronted with a full guard of honour.

He passed, 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 found only in long taxi rides — but there were to be confronted by the worst of all — the travellers’ curse: a driver who speaks a little English, and insists on doing so.
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 now 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 unification, multiracial South Africa a viable proposition".

In a feature article in the Daily Mail on Saturday, South African correspondent Peter Younghusband wrote: "Already the white conservative backlash against De Klerk's reforms is such that if an election were 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."
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 Willemsen, the head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, and a member of the ANC national executive committee, Mr Aziz Pahad.
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 P 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 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
the tyranny of Cry out against

KEN O'WEN

The majority
Negotiated settlement won’t free workers

Today the newly formed Workers’ Organisation for Socialist Action gives its views on negotiations.

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 expects, 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 battalions.
  - Agrarian reform that allows for redistribution and nationalisation of the big landholdings,
  - 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. Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication.

Complaints may be sent to the Council at The Constitution/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 671-7317. Inquiries are welcome.
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 definition 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
100 000 expected at CP '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 coincides 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 vergadering would be overwhelming proof of the Afrikaner's resistance on self-government in an own fatherland.

The Volkswag would endeavour to unite Afrikanders to prevent individuals or groups from leaving the country, and from letting down their volk in its struggle for freedom.

He said: "The strength 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

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 35 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.

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 governments would not repeat mistakes of the past.

Justice Minister Kobie 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.
Germans ready to invest, says FW

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. 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 ministers' meeting on June 18 and the G7 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 "inclusive dialogue", in SA.

The West German government symbolically signalled their approval for changes brought about by De Klerk by acceding to his red-carpet treatment and a guard of honour when he met President Richard von Weizsacker at his official, Villa Hammerschlud, 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 business was ready to invest in SA.

"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 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 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 Coetzee, 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

A SOWETO businessman is fuming with rage after a TV programme, Ingalo Yomkhetho, 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 Nowlands Police Station.
Aids claim 
ludicrous, 
says NP

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.
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 localities 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 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.
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 negotiations, 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 1950s and 1960s.

"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 disposessed 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

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.

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

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 at a distance with portable water jets. Later reinforcements came in and used teargas on the demonstrators, who had used stones, bottles and powerful firecrackers 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.
LETTERS

To the editor,

The editorial team of the newspaper is pleased to announce the launch of our new feature, "Letters to the Editor." This section provides a platform for readers to express their opinions on current events, social issues, and other topics of interest. We encourage all readers to contribute their thoughts and perspectives.

We invite you to submit your letters to: letters@newspaper.com. Please include your full name, city, and contact information. Letters should be concise and well-written, not exceeding 300 words. Submissions will be reviewed and published at the discretion of the editorial team.

Thank you for your participation in our community dialogue.

Sincerely,
The Editors
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.

White De Klerk was feted by leaders such as President François 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 England’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 and 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.
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 Henris 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. "Black towns have never been properly developed. But black labour has been used in white areas. It is 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 legislation as "a major 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 extraparliamentary 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 Pieklo Coetzee, said the move towards integrated local authorities constituted "the breaking of another Nationalist election promise."
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 decide 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"

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 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 problems 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 forGovt clarity over land issue

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 Kraai van Niekerk and Minister of Development Aid Dr Stoefel 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-

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 3% 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 opportunities.

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 immunity 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.
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 R60 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 set the stage for a political dialogue, 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 R2,88 billion at the end of 1986, 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. — Reuters.
South Africa is believed to be throwing all its diplomatic weight behind promising new efforts to resolve the civil war 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 overriding 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 political reality, 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 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 subcontinent's '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 prospects 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 liberalised 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, which 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, Anasmo Dhakama, is not confident that his security can be guaranteed there.

Both President Joaquin Chissano and Mr Dhakama 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.
**A who's who manual of the far-right**

SOUTH AFRICA’s right-wing organisations are divided into two main groups: the separatists, and the neo-Nazis.

The separatists want a white homeland or Volkstaat and the Boer leaders only want Boers in their — in the original Boer republics of Transvaal, Orange Free State and Vryburg.

The neo-Nazis are fringe groups who share a majority opinion, are mostly organised in genuine cells. Their number fluctuates, but neo-Nazi organizations and the groups have close links with similar groups overseas.

**The separatists**

**Conservative Party**

The CP is the biggest right-wing group with a substantial voter support and is also the official opposition in Parliament. Tomorrow will be the day of the year when it comes to the numbers game. The South African government expects close to 100 000 supporters of the Volkraak Manifestor to attend today.

The CP is maintaining within the CP over the official policy of partition of the Black communities: the present situation.

In Johan Kriel, a political science lecturer at the University of Pretoria, a prominent CP member, said that the party is not going to stand for this situation.

The CP’s traditional "nationalists" including a continuation of Voortrekkers are traditionalists, the Afrikaners or Herregesat National Party (HNP) movement.

Kriel does not see a split within the CP at this time. The most recent and the present situation by Niel Pretorius, PW de Klerk is involved to keep them together.

Kriel predicts either a referendum or a white election will take place.

On Saturday a Volkstaat rally at the Hoërskool Manifestor will launch what has been called the "Third Freedom Struggle," which will bring together most of the leading right-wing groups.

CHARLES LEONARD examines the guest list — and also those who were not invited.

This will unite the right-wing under the CVL, he says. He believes the CVL will become a practical party. It will be the front door for conservative whites who would not want to live under a black government.

African National Congress (National Party)

The ANC is the largest political party in South Africa. It is a broad-based movement that includes members from various racial groups, with a focus on social and political issues.

In the 1994 elections, the ANC won a majority of seats in the National Assembly. The party is led by Cyril Ramaphosa, who has been the President of South Africa since 2019.

The ANC is known for its history of struggle against apartheid, a system of racial segregation and white minority rule that was in place in South Africa until 1994.

**The Boerestaters**

The Boerestaters (Boer State Party)

Members of this organization, who feel the leadership of Frans van der Westhuizen is not representative of their interests. The party was formed as a reaction to the perceived neglect of white farmers and Afrikaner interests.

The party was founded by Jan Both and is led by Pieter de Villiers, who was a member of the National Party and later joined the Boerestaters. The party advocates for a separate Afrikaner homeland.

**Afrikaner Wahlvolk**

This movement was founded by Pieter van der Westhuizen and is known for its concentration on Afrikaner nationalism and the restoration of Afrikanermajority rule in South Africa.

The party has a strong support base in the Afrikaner community and has been a significant force in South African politics.

**Neo-Nazis**

The neo-Nazis are fringe groups who share a majority opinion, are mostly organised in genuine cells. Their number fluctuates, but neo-Nazi organizations and the groups have close links with similar groups overseas.

On the far-right, the white-only Afrikaner Wahlvolk (AW) and other neo-Nazi groups have been active in South Africa. These groups advocate for a separate Afrikaner homeland and often use hate speech and violence.

The AW was founded in 1984 and has a strong presence in rural areas, particularly among Afrikaner farmers and conservatives.

These groups have been associated with violence and intimidation, particularly in areas where they have been active.

The AW has been involved in multiple incidents of violence, including the so-called "Battle of Seascale" in the 1980s, where members of the AW allegedly attacked black farmers.

In recent years, the AW has faced criticism for its activities, and some members have been arrested for charges such as assault and public violence.

The AW leadership includes figures such as Afrikaner Wahlvolk leader Pieter van der Westhuizen, who has been charged with sedition and other crimes.

The AW and other neo-Nazi groups have been associated with a broader movement of Afrikaner nationalism and the push for a separate Afrikaner homeland.

The movement has had a significant impact on South African politics and society, with some supporters advocating for a more inclusive and democratic society, while others have used their influence to advance their own interests.

The AW's activities and influence have been a source of concern for many South Africans, who see the group as a threat to the country's democratic values and the rule of law.

The AW has also been involved in political campaigns, including supporting candidates in local elections and engaging in protests against government policies.

As the movement continues to evolve, it remains a significant force in South African politics and society, with supporters and opponents engaging in heated debates over its role and influence.
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 was 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.

In the November Parliamentary by-elections in Vaal and Ceres the NP lost significant support and the CP registered moderate gains.

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 apartheid 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

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

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 those 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.
European business takes the lead

Triumph for FW boosts SA's image

SA's credibility among both politicians and businessmen in Europe has soared following President FW 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 Commerce 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 banks 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 important 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-

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3. Portugal
4. Belgium
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7. Switzerland
8. Spain
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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 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 en route to the EC summit, 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 SA to stop over on its US flights.

Referring to yesterday's right-wing gathering where 60,000 people took to the streets 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 meetings or any kind of manoeuvres of meetings can anybody stop this process ... we know where we are going and we are going to succeed."
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. (30.4.8)

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 16, a week before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela visited the White House on June 25. It is 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 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.

US trip

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.
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 including 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 Roony Mamoepea.

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 Skurberg 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’

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 Pieterson, 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 decide 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 isolation 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 “terrific 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.
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 suburban 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 bridgebuilding. The Nationalists cannot simply write off the rightwing — 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

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 Amanath 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 stronger foundation for protecting rights than concepts of group 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 of things it can be checked out and not decide on the specifics of economic policy and not the 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 establishes 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. It sets up a system of diluted 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 covenants, 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. I see the system as 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 room 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.

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FINANCIAL MAIL MAY 28 1989
Businessmen may be harder to woo than the politicians

MIKE ROBERTSON in Rome

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 of 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 retreat 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 de Klerk's 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 had 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 one of his toughest challenges. At the invitation of Europe's biggest bank, the Deutsche Bank, he addressed German industrialists and financiers with more than RM3bn 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 environmental 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 finest 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 havoc in EC countries that the expansion of mineral and metal beneficiation plants has almost been ruled out because they are too "environmentally unattractive".

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 straitjacket, 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.

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 of a horizon 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, but his days of political isolation — lionised for his unswerving opposition to apartheid — politically, is too soon for him to stop talking about sanctions, to do which would mean 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 bureaucrats over the 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 the southern African region 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.
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's 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 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 Afrikaners' 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 march towards the new South Africa". — Emn
The rest of the day will be spent with cultural activities. That, surely, includes the battle of the giants at Loftus.

The Volsaatatrek 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 Mareis. "This is not a volks rally, it is a party affair."

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeveging's Kaye 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 Waterfall 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, Amapol
Safe but fluid

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.
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

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 flag-waving supporters welcoming the president after his European tour was packed by 50% 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 hoisted with "I Love FW" stickers.

Squarly in the eye

Before the president's arrival the police choir from Soweto, accompanied by singers Innes and F. on 'Nesurd, sang a welcome.

President de Klerk stepped on the podium accompanied by Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrie Viljoen and Foreign Minister Mr Pia Botha. After a welcome from the Viljoen, the president took the microphone amid great cheers.

He said that he had spoken to 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 we that we will be successful in the new South Africa."

President de Klerk said the public in Europe seemed to have changed and the few demonstrators were patriotic. There were no demonstrators or protestors 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 police lines manned almost every bridge and at the airport building itself there was a heavy police presence.
IN SEARCH OF SYMBOLS FOR ALL 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-speaking 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, when whites did not realize that, in jail, they had unwittingly placed themselves in captivity. While Mr Mandela — the symbol of their hopes for freedom — remained in prison, so could truly be free.

South Africa's bondage and repressive measures against the Afrikaner nationalism is being examined by local psycho-therapists.

Warned of Hitler

At a time when white racism is mobilizing 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: "Psychotherapy is pure prejudice. Everyone was a combination of light and dark."

Light is perceived to indicate the rational, or the universal 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 or intuition will be undermined. However, if the underlying aspects of the psyche are repressed they won't go away. They will be repressed into the unconscious and start taking on a life of their own.

So, if a person strives towards rationality by ignoring these elements, the result will be a person 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 repressive measures had been the lockdown Act (1913), the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), the Population Registration Act (1950), the Reintegration of Separated Aminities Act (1950) and the Group Areas Act (1950).

The purpose of these acts was to ensure the existence of the "white race", "white civilization" or "Christian civilization" in Southern Africa.

The crucial element, however, was the continued existence of the Afrikaner "weird".

The architects and enforcers of apartheid in the past refused to acknowledge these "counterpeople" 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 even a считу with a black person? Logic dictates there is no danger.

Psychologists say there are deep-rooted unconscious fears at play in the "white right-wing's" makeup, drawn from a cultural reservoir built ever since in Europe and eventually manifested in a conflict which is conditioned universally as apartheid.

Mr. Nelson Mandela . . . on the road to freedom after leaving Victor Verster Prison.

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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 culture of the later classic 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 underclass is "feminine as hell."

Perhaps the most radical denial and repression of the feminine was the doctrine of Calvinism, which, by means of a militant repressive authoritarianism, sought to impose the law of the ancient Judaic patriarchal god, Jehovah.

The preservation of masculine identity through "separateness" from the archetypal feminine is the basis of apartheid," says Dr. Faber.

Mortal enemies

Mr. Weilman says you have to look at what black means to your strongly traditional Afrikaner sense. "You can't have a different culture and colour, it's a symbol that everything they grow up to fear."

"Every time they repress in their unconscious is projected onto the black man, who then becomes their mortal enemy."

The dark skin has unconscious associations with negativity (including femininity) and one thing that a characteristic of Afrikaner families is that they stress masculinity, or the male culture, to an incredible degree.

"Part of the reason why there is such irrational dislike and fear of black people is that if they trebuie to accept blacks it would be tantamount to them believing that their masculinity would be destroyed," says Mr. Weilman.

However, it is vital that this black man, or shadow, be acknowledged to avoid serious psychological disturbances as seen in the case of Edward Strydom, unable to comprehend his designated guilt and totally不平衡 psyche that went on his murderous rampage, killing eight innocent Orientals.

It is also significant that family members are generally the Afrikaners. The sense of failure and guilt belonging to a culture whose masculinity isSAN and where there is no release for pent-up emotions. The result is disaster.

Hada to unravel ANC

Mr. Weilman says that from a psychological point of view the African National Congress had to be unbaked.

"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 his "shadow" locked away for so many years, first on Robben Island then on the political stage.

The labour pains of the new South Africa could not begin until those black men and white oppressors were released.

In acknowledging the right of blacks to be free, the National Party governments took the first steps to healing a psychologically tortured country. It can also be the greatest gift when a courageous and heroic people could give to their country.

Academic Jungian psychologist, Mr. Mark Weilman, says of UCT, refers to what Jung called the "shadow."

"In terms of Jungian psychology the shadow represents a part of yourself that is not of person of a different religious colour, it is someone inside you, my shadow. In his racist is fighting the black man inside him."

"The shadow is his own externalized projection of the black man who then becomes his mortal enemy."

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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 Pretorius Street towards the monument.

Souvenir hunters

In spite of the cold the crowd was jovial, waving the Vierkleur, CP, old Free State and Afrikaner Weerstands beweging 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 the amphitheatre of the monument at 10am there were about 26,000 people gathered, but crowds were still streaming up the hillside.
A day to remember for Nationalists

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 loudspeaker, proclaimed him Prime Minister.

Malan commented: “It was a miracle.”

Apartheid, in law, was born. In its infancy, it was only a shaky start of a long road to a racial ideology that cost South Africa dearly.

Now, 42 years later, President De Klerk has been touring Europe to promise that South Africa is really 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 the D F Malan 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 so 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 demarcation 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 Momburg, 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 so powerfully entrenched in its four decades in government, it would not have had the capacity to mastermind today’s comprehensive project, the grand retreat.
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 P.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."
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, it was a line he often used.

The visits were more a "get-to-know-us" drive where Europe had to welcome 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 François Mitterrand was crucial. It was to set the tone for Europe. Here was a leader who had snubbed former President F W de Klerk twice, who had almost refused him landing rights in France.

Hostility transformed into a warm welcome at the Elysée 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 taught as he entered. An hour later, double the normal time for such a head-of-state meeting, he emerged with M Mitterand, 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.

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 pariah of the world to the place where whites 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

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 Heinrich 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 15.5% DP.

Monitor added: “Despite the huge blows it has taken since February 2, the DP, albeit unwittingly, has given 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.”
ROME. — The Afrikaner Weerstands beweging 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 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

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 division) 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."
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 publicly 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

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 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 Fel-
low 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 NRF Handelsblad.

Curious

Well-researched as the book is, its
falling is its subjectivity, something
to which the author confesses.
One cannot get away from the feel-
ing that Mr Sparks made up his mind
well before writing the book.
It comes as no surprise that Afri-
caners are introverted, immovable, a
curious lot; the English are intelli-
egent, energetic but, regrettably, imperious, while black South Afri-
cans are really quite nice.

Before the distantly 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 them-

selves.

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 view-
point.

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 Afri-
can history available which attempt
to give the story of the whole country
and all its people — unlike the stan-
dard 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 abid-
ing 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, unfor-
tunately, 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 P 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...
CP won't travel down MW's road of reform

Frag of the 904, an angel view of the footpath stomper and the emminence of the path in the footsteps of the leader given to a great new reform.
were the real rewards

At the end of President De Klerk's grand tour, Lester Venter assesses its success and the prospects for the easing of sanctions

Stunning

The ultra-discreet General of Zeltweg were eager to meet President De Klerk - but asked the French not to disclose the names of bankers and other important guests who attended a dinner of the International Bankers Association. Yet, at the end of the exhausting journey, the business above looks good. Credits outweigh the debts by far.

And in no material respects was this more promising than on the vital area of arms exchanges.

The trip was judged a huge success, with some important trading blocs - the European Community - moving in Dublin in a month's time to review its policy on sanctions. The requirement for lifting sanctions to the EC must be that the SA must be more aggressive in its political and economic reforms.

The acceptance that apartheid is rapidly and genuinely coming to an end is the most important factor in the EC's decision to press for a new European attitude towards South Africa.

This acceptance means the EC will have to be more realistic in the way it deals with the West. In the past, the EC has often been too lenient in its approach to the situation in South Africa.

The decision will hinge heavily on the credibility of the South African government.

Struggling

Africa is still struggling with its own political and economic problems.

The EC made its message clear - no new expensive deals until the situation in South Africa improves. The EC's task is to be more realistic in the way it deals with the situation in South Africa.

The EC's message is clear - no new expensive deals until the situation in South Africa improves.
The bombs of hate we must defuse

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 20th 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, nationalism, 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 Volk".

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 schools of 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 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.

Since a majority government is no good if it results in the permanent domination of one or another group, the enthronement 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 at political manners, and manners keep us from the obvious pleasure of giving orders and throwing our weight around.
Prejudice

Africa yesterday
or white South
The two races
The Last White House

The White House watchers were tense in their seats. There is a lot to lose if we don't get the government right. Vote for...
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."

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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. - Supa.

See Page 2
Now FW plans his African campaign

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 underway.

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 government 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 Klerk’s envisioned trip will concentrate on southern Africa.

But Egypt and Morocco are mentioned as the 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 “silenced 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

From Page 1

and in which all discrimination will be removed.

Referred to in the CP’s mass rally in Pretoria, President De Klerk said: “Through the coming 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 the country’s minority groups without any racial discrimination.

See Red carpets were the real rewards: Page 19
IT'S THE FW ET AND JOE SLOVO SHOW

THREE politicians dominate the Umlazi by-election.

But none of them will appear on the ballot paper on June 6.

They are P 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 bagman in its general election battle against the Democratic Party.

Drugged into the campaign in the last week before the September 6 poll, NP adverts

Another picture of a slightly bemused Communist Party boss wedged between the ample figures of DP-strength men Wynand Maixian and Sample Terreblanche.

The message written underneath left nothing to doubt: "Do you want these areas to determine your future?

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 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 Biclov" Vote CP.

This time the shoe is against the other halfside.

Because between September 6 and June 6 the Red Road has enjoyed some cabernet sauvignon with its 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 bête noire as a foil for its attempts to beat off the CP challengers and Eugene Terre Blanche and his chauvinist AWB.

SCARE

NP leaflets pull no punches: "CP = AWB = mulleted right-wing violence" it shouts, illustrated with pictures of AWB heavies doing their version of baton drill.

The NP is using "wit gevain" tactics in the same skilful manner it used "swart gevain" to stay in power for so many years.

It is the sort of message destined to scare the wits of middle-class English-speaking Umlazi.

Late this week, a new NP poster was put up to reinforce the message: a massive skull and crossbones against a red and white chevron background. "CP stands for Coloured Party," it proclaims.

"We took the gloves off against the CP," says the NP's Plot Matthee. "They are running a smear 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 acrimony in Umlazi.

"We see no reason to be humble by the way the NP reacts," says the CP's Francis Hitchcock.

Has the time to establish a link between CP and AWB scared off potential supporters in suburban Mntamandla 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."

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275-1/4

In the CP-NDP fight, the DP has almost been reduced to an innocent bystander. Its message is cerebral and difficult, one of reconciliation and pulse 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 Raysor 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 persona of Mr P W de Klerk. His successful European visit has caught the imagination of Umlazi voters and the CP is capitalising heavily on this 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."
The Special

Available

Battle for the Last White Vote

Reports from Umlazi

Perspectives
Europe hails reforms so far, but...
By MARK STANFIELD

A TRIUMPHANT President FW 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 African tunes thought more fitting for the occasion — Jubilant Africa was sung in quiet harmony.

The overflowing crowd, many proudly wearing "I love FW" 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 in attention.

Slowly the crowd dispersed and Jan Smuts again became just another airport.

And President De Klerk went off to Loftus Versfeld to watch rugby rivals Northern
Red carpets, royalty were the real rewards

A SOBERING truth lurks behind the success — even though replied to President PW 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 recognize 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 British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Casual

With characteristic style, Mr. Pitt Botha was «slipping over to Mr. Murdoch the argument he has been pressuring in capital circles: «Our President is making, as you acknowledge, great strides. But they are not without risk. The world very much likes giving him rewards which he can display at home.»

According to a diplomat who was there, Mr. Murdoch said: «The fact that you are being received openly, officially and warmly, so you are 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 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 non-nuclear 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 the trip with previous South African forays into Europe.

When Mr. PW Botha went to France in 1986 he did so in spite of a French Government suspicion 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 function — 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.

Mr. Botha said: «It's almost as if they were leanings over backwards to please us.»

The acceptance of SA's ambassador in London, Sir Ian Macdonald, was «a real prospect of achieving a diplomatic breakthrough in one day.»

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 nonetheless — and in France and Switzerland they were violent.

Stunning

The ultra-far right groups of Zuid Afrika were eager to meet President de Klerk on this trip, but only the Press not the number of SA's 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. Credit outlasted the debts by far.

And in no material respect was it more promising than on the vital issue of sanctions.

The trip was joyously timed before SA's most important trading bloc, the European Community, held talks 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» of the reforms process.

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 emphasizing that the message of «irreversibility» had been put across.

Some of the government heads 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 ease the sanctions dilemma from their agendas.

Now there are real hopes among senior diplomats that a staged rollback of sanctions will begin with an early end to economic, cultural and scientific boycotts.

It was clear, too, that President de Klerk's personal qualities — a back-up persuasiveness and integrity — contributed greatly towards the emergence of a new European attitude towards South Africa.

The acceptance that SA is indeed slowly 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 blazed 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 Cooperation, Mr. Jurgen Warneke, 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 35 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 lead to 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

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 Jacobsen 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 exercises.

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 Jacobsen 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 Jacobsen.

A city council spokesman said an AWB emblem spray-painted onto a signboard at the Strand Street end of the Eastern Boulevard at the weekend would be removed as soon as possible.
FW slams right-wing

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 NP "on a slippery slide to a morass of violent brodertwin."

He also warned that the government would not be erased or intimidated by any right-wing backlash against the government's reforms.

Mr De Klerk's broadside came in response to the Voorstreek movement's "veiligheid vanstelling" at the weekend attended by more than 60 000 Afrikaner conservatives.

At the meeting NP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht accused Mr De Klerk of betraying the volk, recognising 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 future 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 closed to us we have no option but to use the methods of an oppressed people for the liberation of our people."

Yesterday Mr De Klerk said the CP was guilty of "irresponsible radicalism," describing NP 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 blatanlie that the CP has now suddenly surrendered the future 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 18 last year and May 8 in 1987.

"On both these occasions the white voters gave a clear decision in favour of a 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 of RCP leaders within the CP.

Don't panic, Gorbachev pleads

MOSCOW - President Mikhail Gorbachev, seeking to stem public alarm over nationwide increases in 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, militarists 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-Reuters

R5m bank fraud foiled

Johannesburg - First National Bank's computer audit system two weeks ago caught an employee who allegedly tried to defraud the bank of R5m 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 altered another to a fourth, and the money was later recovered.

TOP: Colleton MP Mr Lampis (right) and the Minister on Environment and Water Affairs, Mr Gert Kottke, on their way back from the stranded Trawler "Trawler" yesterday.

ABOVE: A Nature Conservation officer finds a dead seal and penguin on the trawler yesterday.

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© Mandela's vow — Page 2
PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk returned from a visit 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 at 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 unstoppable — 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 Mangosuthu 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.
Mandela vows to scupper tour gains

Political Correspondent

MR. NELSON MANDELA vowed at the weekend to scupper President F.W. 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 any more."

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 M NKOMO
Three sides of SA shown by meetings

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 Albertina: "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 would isolation. Sanctions are vital to force the government to abandon its 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

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-rollered was clearly illustrated.

The congress had a message for government: move cautiously and do not betray the rights of groups. Voters would not sim-
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.

"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)."

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

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."

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".

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

THAT the economic imbalances in South Africa are enormous is uncontested. The thinking today has been considerably accentuated 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 and equitable distribution of wealth.

The business community remains predominantly driven by the individualistic 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 term communal-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 tension 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 Reilly'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 (removing 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 emphasis 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 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 mental through transfer payments from one tax payer to another (for pensions, subsidies and interested 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 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 cooperatively 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 destinies. Blending communal individualism and broader societal cooperation will allow the First World part to develop dynamically, while making use of those areas of communal interests and cooperative endeavour, whichever may be desired or useful.
HOUSE OF ASSOCIATION

[Text not legible or unclear]
CP would put FW on trial, says Koos

By MICHAEL MORRIS Political Correspondent 20/3/90

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 is why the CP believed the President's reforms would lead to the oppression of whites by blacks."
SA business lacks a social conscience

By BOB TUCKER, Managing Director of The Perm division of NedPern Bank

Time for a change

SOUTH AFRICA'S status as the world's "Pariah" State is ending and business must begin to prepare for the changes, says DERYCK SPENCE, the head of Castrol SA.

Mr Spence said: "We have long said that reform in South Africa was 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 verge 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 meet the needs of the society in which they live."

In short, the natural, 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 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 focus has likewise been diverted away from the nature, or "mix", of wealth-generating activities towards 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.

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 make an immediate claim to that asset which would give them both the opportunity to exert influence and to appropriate that 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 materials suppliers, small contractors and the financial institutions, 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 these resources?

The first task would be to identify the most urgent needs of the affected communities.

Community

Historically, we have tended to sit on our towers and have determined those needs for the people concerned. If, however, that identification is undertaken with them, the potential for integrated and synergetic co-operation is significantly enhanced.

Having identified the needs, all the resources, ranging from the finances, skills 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, 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 Heran 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 November last year when President FW 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”.

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 MPs would be shot by firing squads as traitors. Dubbed an "open message to "fairwell" white man De Klerk", the threats were received by 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
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.
PARLIAMENT

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?"
CAPE TOWN — Government had decided to remove discrimination from “own affairs” legislation, Minister’s Council chairman Kobie Coetzee 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.

Coetzee challenged Opposition leader Andries Treurnick 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."

Duán 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.
Reforms: CP threat to mobilise

Political Story

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 resident finance spokesman Geerge Uys warned Parliament 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 the "victims" to violence.

Introducing the second reading debate on the white own affairs budget, Uys said the CP wished to warn de Klerk it would mobilise the "volk" in every area to prevent "if possible" loss of freedom.
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. KAIIZER NYATSUMBA reports.

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 Nafoce economic conference in Pretoria 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-defined 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 outcome."

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, and the Government's willingness to negotiate, 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 be 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 privatization 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."
Delegates turn red at CP talk

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.
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 1999 as in 1945, but we haven't got 40 years now. We need a major market system.

The NP had come into power with 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 release.

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 could make a more positive contribution to our mutual relations.

He had decided to postpone the visit "due to a controversy that has arisen in the United States and 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’

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 helpful examples, Sachs believed the only model for South Africa was South Africa itself.

While group rights were 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 development of people’s demands for constitutional goals.

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 veils 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 were signs of splits in their ranks.

"The so-called 'new South Africa' of enforced integration which the government wants to impose on us involves no other choice but to defend our rights and property at all levels of our national life," Treurnicht said about 60 000 supporters who congregated on a hill beneath the Sydenham Monument.

Armed rebellion

Treurnicht's speech was rich in mendacity and condemnation but thin on substance: "We've whipped people up for something which he ensure 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 respectable.

Treurnicht's call fell far short of solidly massed support for his thinly disguised forces of far-right fringe groups like the neo-fascist Allein Vorrand, Beweging (AVB) and the Boerema Party (Rees Republic Party) who have begun preparations for an armed rebellion to overthrow black rule.

A "freedom manifesto" released in the meeting called on Treurnicht to use "all available means" in the struggle to maintain white supremacy.

Expectation

Mandela, who addressed an estimated crowd of about 60 000 at a stadium in Atteridgeville, said Treurnicht had failed to meet his expectations.

"At this time Dr Treurnicht that prophet of doom — is meeting over this hill — trying to escape the forces of the ANC and the government to achieve peace," he said.

"If you try to fight, you will never succeed," Mandela said to his audience.

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 in 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 diplomat.

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:

"The rightwing was subdued and directed. De Klerk re-committed himself in rapid change and Mr Mandela calmed white fears in his message," an Analyst believes 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 its potential to 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 politics 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 he could not command the country without the cooperation of whites.

"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 would recede rapidly once a political deal is agreed and whites realise they are not a force to be reckoned with.

In recent months, African Nationalists have seized the initiative on the right by training armed units, organizing armed vigilante patrols and taking arms and ammunition from state agencies. Last week, Piet Rudolph, the deputy leader of the Boeremani Party who was shot on the run from police for a month, claimed responsibility for the burning of a museum in Pretoria which Afrikanders run as a symbol of British domination.

The growing militancy among rightwing groups has inspired Treurnicht — who has commonly condoned violence — to reissue the formation of white vigilante units in rural and mining areas, provided they remain within the frame 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 white-nationalist 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.

Three people were arrested.

The last leg of the path is an election one million white signatures demanding a general election in which the Conservative will want 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 for reaching political reforms and has some last major vote which.

De Klerk has vowed to fulfill international commitments on a non-racial constitution which would deny whites another chance of determining the future of the country.

The Conservatives demand a firm 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 stadium fell short of the 100 000 predicted by organizers and the Conservative position — initiated a month ago — is nowhere near its target of one million supporters.

But it was arguably the biggest rightwing gathering in the country's history and is seen as a head-on confrontation with de Klerk's government in its last days.

Racial hatred

The overwhelming sentiment at the gathering was one of fear and racial hatred.

"This is an evil on the wall," said Harry Breytenbach, a former editor from the Orange Free State who travelled some 45km with his family to attend the meeting.

"If it comes to black majority rule we will consider violence to protect our culture," he said.

"I would rather be six feet under the ground than under a black majority government."

His rough manner was typical. Some admitted they would settle for a system in which whites were given water rights only.

"I'm not saying that I will fight for the sake of fighting," said Dr de Bruyn, a Pretoria lawyer.

"As long as a system can be worked out in which whites have the vote, 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 PW 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 forsaken 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.
democracy in SA
Key to freedom and
A federation is the

Zach De Beer
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For the Nats at Wits

Babba takes up cudgels

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, May 20 1990
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 F.W. 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 Nuremberg 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 broedervrede [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

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.

"We are ready to see him whenever he wants," Fitzwater said, AP-DJ reported.

SA officials said attempts by TransAfrica 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 "diss" 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

US trip

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 Mande

la'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 9
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 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.

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 understand, 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 reformulate 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 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 put 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 statement, 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.
By this time next year international price collapse could result in the Australian dollar taking a nose dive in the exchange rate. The wool price at the recent London auction exceeded South Africa's and this was despite the fact that in the past the price of wool they have experienced downward. If the AWC ever gets to New Zealand we expect the AWC's carrot to be pulled and the AWC's stick to be applied. The wool price at the recent London auction exceeded South Africa's and this was despite the fact that in the past the price of wool they have experienced downward. If the AWC ever gets to New Zealand we expect the AWC's carrot to be pulled and the AWC's stick to be applied.