S. A. GOVT. AND POLITICS

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OCT.
ANC 'insisting' on urgent summit

By Kaizer Nyasambga and Peter Fabricius

The African National Congress (ANC) insisted today that it wanted an urgent full summit with the Government before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas tour next Monday.

The Government has told the ANC it is not in favour of such a summit, as it does not believe it could achieve much now.

Although the Government is reluctant to hold a summit, it seems prepared to do so if the ANC remains adamant.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation's top leadership had decided at its recent three-day national executive committee meeting in Johannesburg that it would ask for an urgent summit with the Government to discuss a number of important issues, notably the status of talks between the two parties.

"Our position on the meeting is clear," Miss Marcus said. "We want a full five-a-side summit as was held in Pretoria on August 6, constituting the same team of delegates."

"It is not just a third summit, but is an essential meeting to review the situation and where we go from here. It also has nothing to do with the working of the joint working groups."

'Cavalier'

"It is a special summit which the ANC wants, and if the Government is going to be cavalier about it, then that's a problem."

Miss Marcus said the ANC would push for this summit to be held this week before Mr Mandela leaves on a three-week seven-nation tour of Asia and France.

Though the Government does not favour a summit with the ANC at present, it is optimistic that the stalled peace process is starting to move again.

Senior Government sources said at the weekend that with the slump in township violence and the resolution of the "Hani affair", they now believed the six-week-old impasse in negotiations could be over.

The return to South Africa at the weekend of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani has raised the hopes of both the Government and the ANC. Mr Hani returned from Umthata after the Government restored the temporary immunity against arrest which it revoked in August after he had uttered militant statements.
THE peace process enters a delicate phase this week as the Government and the ANC make tentative moves to get delayed negotiations going again.

On the cards is a summit between the ANC and the Government on negotiations and ways of ending township violence.

Although the Government is reluctant to hold such a summit believing it will achieve little - it seems to be prepared to do so if the ANC insists.

Senior sources said at the weekend that the Government was reluctant to accede to the ANC’s request last week for a third summit meeting this week.

They said there was little point in a summit as the joint Government/ANC working groups involved in the nitty-gritty of negotiations had little progress to report.

Government believed in particular that before another summit takes place, there must be progress in the working group discussing the practical implications of the ANC’s suspension of armed activities.

This group has met three times but has done little more than set an agenda. It’s work has been hampered by the controversy over Umkhonto we Sizwe number two Chris Hani, the ANC’s chief representative on the group who has so far been unable to attend because the Government withdrew his immunity against arrest.

Government sources said now that Hani’s immunity against arrest had been restored and he would be attending the meetings, they expected progress to be made.

**Negotiation**

The group would meet this week and thereafter weekly. The sources expressed confidence that these meetings would give new momentum to the stalled negotiation process.

These views had been conveyed to the ANC and the Government was now awaiting its reply.

But the sources indicated that if the ANC insisted on a summit, the Government would agree to it.

ANC sources insist the organisation is very serious about the need for a summit, mainly to discuss the Government’s “Iron Fist” security measures aimed at snuffing out township violence.

Privately and publicly, ANC leaders have been saying that the iron fist measures are intended to thwart their efforts to mobilise support, rather than to smother violence. - *Sowetan Correspondent*
ANC plans to enter white political arena

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would challenge political parties which regard the white community as their sole preserve and fight to win the allegiance of their members, Western Cape ANC leader Reg September said at the weekend.

Addressing more than 500 delegates at one of the ANC's first regional congresses since it was banned almost 30 years ago, he said one of the movement's most important challenges in the Western Cape was to build unity between people across colour lines.

He had recently addressed ANC branch meetings with white memberships as large as the entire regional membership of the former Congress of Democrats.

"This is clearly important, but surely only the beginning. We will need to make it clear that the white population is not only the preserve of the existing political parties — the Nats, DP and CP. We shall also have to challenge these parties and win the allegiance of people in the white community."

However, the Western Cape ANC's primary responsibility was to draw the growing African population into its ranks and to counteract any racialism which its enemies would like to foster.

LESLEY LAMBERT

"We have had enough of racial clashes," he said.

Earlier, ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi accused government of having a double agenda: to negotiate with the ANC in response to international pressure, but at the same time to weaken the ANC by promoting violence.

Government was placing obstacles in the path of the ANC by keeping national executive committee member Mac Maharaj and other activists in detention.

Rivalry

The ANC had launched about 315 branches which had attracted a wide cross-section of South Africans.

The Western Cape congress seemed to start off on a bad footing as rumours emerged on Friday of rivalry between the Bontebok supporters of two ANC heavyweights, Cheryl Carolus — a member of the ANC delegation to the Groote Schuur talks — and politically active Johnny Isol.

But leaders moved swiftly to defuse the situation and there was no sign of rivalry at the conference.
Turn the ANC elite has turned, now to The Arinkaner elite
Shaping the future at the long table

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiations that will set the mould for the way politics is conducted in the future South Africa have begun, informally, and tentatively, but the more difficult challenge lies ahead.

The larger, formal project is still some way off — those who will work on it have to agree on how to start, who they are to prepare to work with and where they are going to sit.

The next big fight will centre on the demands from the ANC — and the government's rejection of them — for a political assembly. What the ANC wants, and the government doesn't, is an open election of parties to determine who may sit in convocation to write the new constitution.

The ANC argues this is the obvious and only way to justly determine the support of contending parties and, therefore, to work out who is eligible to enter negotiations.

Shape of table

On the other hand, the government argues that this runs counter to the very notion of a negotiated settlement. A constituent assembly would be an all-party affair ... whoever won the most support would simply claim a justifiable right to implement its policy. Far from resolving political dissent, this would merely perpetuate it, government negotiators say.

So it is apparent that a critical feature will be shape of the table, and the means of determining it.

Abstractly at least, one view points to a long table, a table of separate thinkers and talkers, of ideas and arguments from more rather than fewer political pigeon-holes.

The next is that there is bound to be a political coalescence before the talks start and that the wide diversity of political parties will realign themselves into just a few big aggregate formations before the negotiations begin.

However it turns out, the long table theme goes right to the heart of the process that the two key figures in it — President De Klerk and the man he freed to help get it going, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela — have outlined since February.

Many times have the president and his chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen agreed, the country that the negotiation forum will not be an exclusive cabal of government and ANC leaders intent on forging a bipartite deal.

"Inclusive" is the keyword in both men's varied references to negotiations over the past months.

In a most recent address President De Klerk said negotiations did not mean a deal would be struck between the government and the ANC and that other parties would be simply presented with a finished product.

Many players

The "negotiations net will be cast as widely as possible", he said.

Mr Mandela too — as well as the ANC as an organisation — has repeatedly committed himself to an inclusive process, one in which he and his movement perceive themselves as one of many players.

Mr Mandela has spoken often of the need to ensure "real, effective and broad participation by all South Africans in the unfolding negotiation process.

Quite recently, the ANC's director of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki went further by saying rival organisations who had not yet been drawn into talks must have "equal weight" in the constitutional debate.

He singled out the Boerestaat Party — whose leader, Professor Carel Boshoff, indicated a keenness to negotiate — adding: "Though we may not agree with their views about a Boerestaat, we are convinced that they, like other political formations, have a right and a duty to present their views in any such negotiation forums as will be agreed."

These sentiments all underpin the concept of a long table, a comprehensive meeting — and, doubtless, clashing — of minds.

Not everybody is ready to pull up a chair, though. Fundamental ideological differences are the primary obstruction.

Among the most important potential absentee are the Conservative Party on the right and the Pan Africanist Congress andAzanian Peoples' Organisation on the left and much political jostling can be expected in the months to come as the agents of negotiations seek to entice them nearer to the table.

The CP rejects the process as an illegitimate exercise that amounts to capitulation in the face of treasonous threats from communist-inspired, black-run organisations.

This party's view is that the only likely result of the negotiations envisaged by the NP and the ANC is black domination.

At the other end of the spectrum, the PAC is deeply suspicious of President De Klerk's olive branch, though the organisation has been less dismissive lately.

Until recently, the PAC rejected negotiations outright as a process that would inevitably involve unacceptable compromises, but it responded more flexibly to an invitation to join the talks from Dr Viljoen, saying it would consult its formations.

That consultation continues. Some expected — and, within the organisation, hoped for — a firm decision at the PAC's recent conference in Harare on whether or not to enter negotiations, but the question was merely postponed. A clear answer, spokesmen said, would be given at the PAC's national conference next month.

Significantly, Zimbabwe's largely government-owned newspaper, The Herald, says the PAC has no choice but to join the talks with President De Klerk.

It warned in an editorial that if it failed to do so, it could be sidelined and totally ignored.

"In an armed liberation struggle there comes a time when the warring parties have to sit down and talk. The De Klerk regime does now want to talk, notwithstanding whether this is the opportune moment to do so.

Bottom line

"The blacks have only to make the best of it, getting the best deal for themselves. The bottom line is an end to apartheid and the granting of one man, one vote," said the paper.

Azapo, for its part, argues that the negotiation process so far has served only to "delay the struggle" and "water down the solutions" to the country's problems.

Undeniably, the more inclusive the long table the better. The more people represented there, the more representative the exchanges are likely to be, and the more legitimate the product to emerge once the talking is over.

The last thing the new South Africa could afford is a new-fashioned, righteous "extra-parliamentary" bloc that could be so keenly been jilted in this crucial political courtship.
Too soon for a summit with ANC govt

GOVERNMENT members last night remained adamant it was premature to hold a summit with the ANC, despite the organisation's insistence that such a meeting take place before deputy president Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas tour next Monday.

The Cabinet committee on negotiations met yesterday afternoon and is understood to have discussed the ANC request for a "five-a-side summit" this week.

A senior government member said after the meeting it was still government's view that it was too early to hold a summit.

Mike Robertson

Government, he said, believed the working groups appointed on August 6 had not made sufficient progress to warrant a third summit.

"We are not ruling out a meeting. It's a question of when. Why make it so urgent when the working groups have not completed their work? We are prepared to meet, if necessary. All we are saying is that at this stage it will not be worthwhile."

At the time of going to press, ANC members said the organisation was still awaiting a response from government.

Earlier, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus was reportedly to have said the organisation believed a fullscale meeting was necessary to "review the situation and where we go from here. It has nothing to do with the working of the joint working groups."

Government members insisted, however, that a third summit be linked to progress achieved by the working groups, and success in implementing other aspects of the Pretoria Minute.

ANC and CP to attend conference

CAPE TOWN — ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and CP MP Koos van der Merwe will share a platform at a conference for emerging business leaders to be hosted by Iodua director Van Zyl Slabbert later this month.

The conference — Young Management Challenge — will enable interaction between young business people, security analysts and labour and economic experts. It will provide an opportunity for young decision makers to voice their hopes, ambitions and fears for SA's future.

The keynote speaker will be Rossing Uranium chairman and Namibian National Planning Commission director-general Zedekia Ngovirue, who will discuss the problems of transition in Namibia, and prospects for reconstruction.

Lesley Lambert
ANC, Govt pledge a secure economy

The Star's Foreign News Service

GENEVA — The South African Government and the ANC have moved strongly to reassure potential foreign investors that they had little to fear.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emerged from the historic World Economic Forum meeting on Southern Africa to give a confident prediction that the peace process was on track and negotiations would start early next year:

"We will have hiccups, tension and growth pains but I believe we will be successful," he said.

ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki gave a fresh indication that investments will not be hit by nationalisation.

At a press conference Mr du Plessis stressed that if the peace process were to be supported by economic growth, it was essential to lift sanctions.

Mr Mbeki gave a clear indication that the ANC was softening its rhetoric on nationalisation to placate the fears of potential investors.

He said: "We can't say: 'Please invest but we are going to nationalise you tomorrow.'"

Answering a question on whether foreign investment in the mines would be threatened by his party's economic policy, Mr Mbeki said that an open economy meant links to world economies.

The ANC was very aware that foreign investors had to have confidence in the security of their investment.

He added: "I don't think nationalisation is particularly high on our agenda."

Earlier, however, he had indicated there were basic needs within the community which needed to be addressed, and interventions which needed to be made in the economy to ensure those needs were addressed.

It was clear that Mr du Plessis and Mr Mbeki have established a warm rapport. As the ANC official arrived at the press conference to replace Mr du Plessis, the Finance Minister said: "Sock it to them."

However, the delegates said the atmosphere of reconciliation had been dented by an address by Inkatha Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Backlash

Chief Buthelezi said if any political party attempted to establish a one-party state "there would be an awesome backlash which would make anything that has happened in Mozambique and Angola pale into insignificance."

According to sources at the conference, Chief Buthelezi's comments were not well received, particularly by non-South Africans who felt they went against the conference's reconciliatory mood.

An Inkatha official also handed out a 60-page legal document entitled "Statement and reports in respect of the violence in the Transvaal": "The main thrust of the affidavits contained in the report was that the ANC had initiated much of the trouble."

In this press conference Chief Buthelezi said the document was not intended as an attack on the ANC: "That is just the facts of the violence," he said.

Mr du Plessis also touched on a subject that was frequently aired in the conference: An economic union of all southern African states, including South Africa.

"There was a general recognition that South Africa's open and visible involvement in the development of southern Africa is necessary," however, he stressed that this should not injure existing structures which promote trade in the region.

There was, however, no indication that there would be a softening on sanctions.

The Conservative Party's Mr Koos van der Merwe said the conference had shown that what South Africa had done so far was "definitely not enough to lift sanctions."

Mr Mbeki said future political stability was of far greater significance to the businessmen present than the short-term issue of sanctions.

Perhaps the most significant benefit of the conference was, however, that it brought together Mr du Plessis and counterparts from the Frontline states for the first time.

Mr du Plessis responded with a political version of "we can't go on meeting like this", saying that, in future, Ministers "and not only Ministers of Finance" should get together in the region.
Students' 'no' to PAC-Govt talks

Political Staff

The Witwaterstrand region of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) has rejected the Government's invitation to the PAC to hold exploratory talks, saying the invitation was an attempt to co-opt liberation movements into the system.

At Paso's first annual Witwatersrand regional congress in Soweto at the weekend, it turned down the invitation and called for the intensification of the armed struggle.

Paso Witwatersrand organiser Mandla Matiko said negotiations would not bring about the total emancipation of "the disposed African masses". The land issue, he said, remained not negotiable.
Everything is different— but still so much the same

By ANTHONY HOLIDAY, a former political journalist who worked on the Rand Daily Mail and the Cape Times. He was arrested in 1936 on charges under the Terrorism Act and spent six years in jail, during which time he gained an honours degree in philosophy. On his release in 1938 he went to Britain for further study and now has a D Phil from Oxford. He is now back in South Africa to stay.

Definite, the culprit's list and (almost) inviolate. There is talk of a sinister "third force".

Transmutation

On the flight from Johannesberg to Cape Town, Nethen Mandela is a few seats away from me. The symbol of this new democratic order, I feel, is troubled with a sense of just how much of unchanging cities. It is on the same flight is the bearded black of Craig Williamson, once a police agent, hunting me and my comrades, now an adviser to the State President himself. Mandela, of course, neither knows nor notices me. But at A. D. Malan Airport, as we wait for our luggage, Williamson gives a friendly nod in my direction. As if, like that fictive image of "deterrence" or "balance of terror", he will somehow catch his "little friend of all the world".

For how long, one has to ask oneself, can these tokens of an old order and a new one co-exist in such unstable equilibrium? Can oppressors and oppressors, hunters and their former guineas, continue to befriend each other with common aims?

Parochialism

What is the South African media doing to help our people grasp these things? From what I have seen so far, the answer to this last question is probably that they are not doing enough. The same parochialism, the same timidity, the same misunderstanding of the situation, the same lack of understanding of the situation, the same lack of global perspectives which characterised newspapers and news broadcasts which I worked with when I worked as a political journalist 20 years ago, still seem all pervasive.

The journalists who are challenging me—many of them highly talented—seem as confused as I, myself often feel, but they also seem to expect that I have the answers and the overview that they lack. Meeting a member of the ANC or the Communist Party is shockingly novel to some of them. How will they cope with the task of explaining the theories, ideologies, policies and strategies of these organisations to a public which has been trained to hate and fear their name?

Common voice

The task it has now set itself, as an extension of the project of the intellectuals, scientists, philosophers and others who will, in their turn, give their cause its proper weight, is to initiate the scientific understanding of these processes, and, above all, the individual and social self-knowledge of the people they so desperately need to dominate.

It is a brave vision. The obstacles in its realization are daunting. But there are the visibly educated, intellectually grounded, backgrounds of so many South Africa's students. With this goes the poverty of the students. They can't, for instance, afford to buy books. I was horrified by the cost of academic texts.

Would you, the reader, have wondered, rather than the journalist or the academics, who will bring South Africa through the storms of her revolution by teaching us to ask right questions and to notice right answers?

One colleague and former friend, black Ndebele, wrote me recently, with determination and despair, that he had found that things look very different at UCT. It's a black and it's early morning. I hope he was wrong about UCT, but he was, as far as I know, the only one about the University of the Western Cape, talking to the philosophers there and to his wife, Johni. Tash, there was no stopping the sense that the philosophy had come through and was making the university a better place for itself and for another philosophy. I was there from being a "South college" to becoming a "people's university".

Back home... Ex-Cape Times journalist Anthony Holiday is on the last day of his tenure at the University of his birth, Cape Town.
Further salute to initiatives

FW to see Thatcher again

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

President de Klerk's international initiative has received a further boost with confirmation that he is to meet British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on October 14.

This will be Mr de Klerk's third overseas trip this year and will be followed within days by an official visit to the Netherlands, Luxembourg and probably one or two other European countries. Diplomatic sources said the Thatcher meeting would be separate from the European trip.

Mr de Klerk's visit to London to see Mrs Thatcher was being described as private. Government sources said it would be carried out without fanfare.

Mr de Klerk had a successful meeting with Mrs Thatcher at Chequers in May this year. However, with events moving so fast in South Africa, it is understood that Mrs Thatcher wishes to be kept up to date on developments. It is also possible he will address industrialists while in London.

Mr de Klerk will return to South Africa from the Thatcher meeting and then return to Europe from October 23 for official visits to the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

Sanctions are expected to loom large in the British and European discussions. Although Mr de Klerk will probably follow his now-familiar strategy of not going "cap in hand" to beg for sanctions to be lifted, the subject will certainly be raised, as in all his other meetings.

The chances of European Community sanctions being lifted when the EC ministers meet to discuss the issue in December are looking good. Mr Bush gave the anti-sanctions effort a large boost after meeting Mr de Klerk when he declared that reform in South Africa was "irreversible".

Key condition

This is the key condition for lifting EC sanctions and Mr Bush's acknowledgement is being seen by the South African Government as evidence that he will use his influence on the EC for them to lift sanctions.

Mr Bush's own hands are tied when it comes to American sanctions as they are bound by legislation and can only be lifted when certain specific reform moves have been made.

SA diplomatic sources said today the visits to the Netherlands and Luxembourg would complete SA's drive to persuade the EC that reform was irreversible.

The invitation from the Netherlands is especially valued because of that country's conspicuous position at the forefront of the anti-apartheid movement over the years. This has now changed to the extent that it is actually in the vanguard of EC efforts to lift sanctions in a step-by-step process following Mr de Klerk's reform moves.
Most 'elite' black men support FW

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

An overwhelming majority of "elite" black men, 86%, believe President FW de Klerk is doing a good job but 51% said Mr. Nelson Mandela was their first choice for leader of South Africa, according to a new public opinion survey.

However, a significant segment of the elite, 33%, said they would support Mr. De Klerk as their first choice as leader.

Among "elite" white men, Mr. Mandela received negligible support — only one out of the 395 men wanted him as leader — but 69% backed Mr. De Klerk and 14% supported the Conservative Party leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht.

The black elite was also more confident, with 62% saying they were more optimistic than six months ago and 16% expressing less optimism, while 43% of the white elite said they were more optimistic and 36% said they were less optimistic than six months ago.

The results of the polls, which were conducted on a door-to-door basis, were released yesterday by Research Surveys.

The "elite" were defined for the purposes of the polls as middle to senior management and people living in elite suburbs.

Two other surveys, also released yesterday, among 800 white and 800 black women showed that they held less confidence about the future than the elite did.

While 79% of black women thought President De Klerk was doing a good job and 8% did not think so, 59% of white women thought he was doing a good job and 26% did not think so.
'Piet Skiet' in call over illegal arms

THE deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph, has called on his followers to return all illegal arms caches, ammunition and explosives in their possession to police stations prior to the State President's prosecution indemnity deadline of October 31.

Rudolph made the call in a signed letter from detention released by the police at the weekend. His letter read in part:

"Upon my request, the SAP has allowed me to hold discussions with the executive council of the Orde Boerevolk about the question of arms, ammunition and explosives."

"This was done in light of the State President's offer of indemnity from prosecution for the unlawful possession of arms, ammunition and explosives if these items were turned in prior to October 31 at a police station."
DET warns of fake study aids and exam papers

By MONK NKOMO

THE Department of Education and Training has warned matric students to beware of bogus organisations or people selling fake examination papers or study aids.

Addressing a press conference in Pretoria on Friday, the DET's acting director-general, Mr Dirk Scholtz, said his department would be neglecting its duty if it failed to warn candidates against "possible exploitation by organisations whose sole aim is to make a quick profit out of the situation".

Scholtz announced major changes in the marking of scripts this year.

For the first time in its history, the DET has secured the services of the Human Sciences Research Council to mark one of the subjects with a scanner and to prepare Mathematics and Physical Science marks using the same procedure.

The move follows last year's public outcry over reports of irregularities at the DET's marking centres. Some of the new changes include:

**Official hours**

* Marking would be done during official hours only;
* Unauthorised people would not be allowed at the marking centres;
* No marking will be done at the Pretoria Showgrounds - the venue infiltrated by newspaper reporters to expose the irregularities last year;
* Strict security measures would apply during the whole marking session at all centres;
* Examiners would not be allowed to mark scripts at home or anywhere else away from the marking centres;
* Only qualified teachers or lecturers with teaching experience in a specific subject would be appointed as sub-examiners for that subject.

Scholtz said additional staff would be appointed to check all scripts and to ensure that all the questions had been marked and all marks allocated or transferred correctly and the mark sheets properly completed.

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"Piet Skiet" in call over illegal arms

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"This was done in light of the State President's offer of indemnity from prosecution for the unlawful possession of arms, ammunition and explosives if these items were turned in prior to October 31 at a police station." - SAPA
Govt reviewing small business development

GOVERNMENT was taking a new look at the financing of small business development in order to utilise limited resources more effectively, Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr said at the launch of Small Business Week at the weekend.

Discussions were under way to merge the activities of small business support organisations — both private and public — to obtain better cost-effectiveness in the application of state and private funds.

Role

He said government was committed to supporting the Free Enterprise Ethic. It intended to further private initiative with emphasis on support for small businessmen. Government support was given through the Trade and Industry Department to organisations such as the Small Business Development Corporation and the

ACHMED KARIEM
Small Business Advisory Bureau.

In the new SA, small business would play a major role and would act as a vehicle for job creation. President P W de Klerk's recent US trip had included a message of hope for support from the US for a market economy in SA.

"This was a call, not for support of a broad economic theory as such but rather for the protection and encouragement of every person's right to share in economic endeavour in whatever way he wishes within an equal opportunity society, according to his talents," Durr said government would encourage people to exercise this right and was pursuing deregulation of the legal environment within which business was operated.

SBDC senior manager Dawie Crous said the Small Business Week was a national promotion aimed at furthering the interests of the small business sector.

"The purpose is to create an awareness of the importance of the small business sector and to give recognition to entrepreneurs operating in a competitive environment," he said.

Crous said more than 85% of business enterprise in SA could be considered small — with total assets of less than R2m — while 75% of new jobs in SA were generated by the small business sector at a fraction of the cost incurred by big business.

Events

The conference was organised by key players such as the SBDC, Wits Centre for Developing Business, the Urban Foundation, First National Bank and Get-Ahead. It was directed at entrepreneurs, big business and local and national authorities, he said.

"The events included activities such as breakfast seminars, fun runs, flea markets, fast food competitions and many more," Crous said.
Whites won't hand in arms - Boere Party

The saying "an unarmed white man is a dead white man" remained true throughout South Africa and it could therefore not be expected of whites to hand over their arms, the leader of the Boerestaat Party said yesterday.

Mr Robert van Tonder was commenting on a statement by the police and Mr Piet "Stiefel" Rudolph, his deputy, for people in unlawful possession of arms, ammunition and explosives to hand these in at their nearest police station.

"I understand Piet's action. He has ended his hunger strike in order to convey this appeal to his men in the Orange Free State. His aim is to prevent further arrests of his men."

"He has asked nothing for himself and has not asked the Government for amnesty or privileges. His action is sincere and honourable and characteristic of him as a Boer leader."

Van Tonder said the call by the Government (to hand over illegal weapons) was not successful, however, because it was one-sided.

To expect them to give these up is unreasonable because nobody can live without weapons in the "anarchy" created by President PW de Klerk's "reform". Van Tonder said. - Sapa
Lunch date for FW, Maggie at Chequers

British and South Africans wanted to break the earlier arrangement and the President will now make at least two visits to Europe.

The visit to Britain is being classed as a private one.

On his second trip, de Klerk will travel to Luxembourg after meeting members of the Dutch cabinet and being received by Queen Beatrix.

After their last meeting, Thatcher accepted that change in SA was irreversible.
Govt 'unlikely' to meet ANC's request for a summit

By Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatumba

The Government is unlikely to agree to the ANC's request for a full-scale summit this week, a senior Government source has disclosed.

But the possibility of small delegations meeting each other has not been ruled out.

"This would have to be a normal appointment rather than a summit," the source said. This could be a one-to-one meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk, or else one or two others could be involved on each side as well.

The ANC today objected to the Government responding to the organisation's request for a full five-a-side summit "through the press".

Contacted for comment today, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus would not say whether, in the event of the Government formally turning down a request for a summit, the ANC would settle for small delegations meeting each other as suggested by the source.
No decision yet on ANC talks request

THE Government was yesterday still “considering” a request from the ANC for a top-level meeting this week before Mr Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas visit at the weekend. 

A Government spokesman in Pretoria would not comment beyond saying that “the matter is under consideration.”

ANC spokesman Mr Gill Marcus said the organisation had requested the meeting in order to “look at the present situation and the way forward”. 

“The ANC has grave misgivings about the measures adopted in response to the violence,” he said.

“Exercise of restraint could lead to a policy called Iron Fist.”

The situation warranted a meeting at the highest level, he said. 

The meeting would have to be held before October 6th when Mandela leaves for Natal from where he was going abroad on October 7.

Supa.
SIMON BARBER in Washington

count against him

omitted to say will

WHAT DE KERK

RACEDP in the Knocks
FW’s reforms will be main issue in Randburg

SUPPORT for President FW de Klerk’s reform initiatives would be the main issue facing Randburg’s voters in the November by-election, NP candidate Marthinus van Schalkwyk said after the two candidates were officially sworn in yesterday.

The election will be a straight fight between Van Schalkwyk and the CP’s Leonie Steele after the DP’s withdrawal from the contest.

The seat became vacant after the resignation of former DP co-leader Wynand Malan.

Steele, after being sworn in at the nomination court in the Ferndale Recreation Centre, said Randburg voters were furious that the NP government had “lied” to them. It had received no mandate for its actions.

Van Schalkwyk, former political lecturer and Fezile Dabi co-founder, said the DP’s withdrawal was an indication of the political restructuring taking place in the white community and in SA generally.

He said the NP’s chances in the November 7 election had been strong before the DP withdrew, but that the move would mean even more votes for the NP.

The NP’s platform would be pro-reform and supportive of President

HIV survey to use antenatal clinics

THE National Health and Population Development Department is to launch a survey of HIV-infection by analysing data from randomly selected antenatal clinics throughout the country.

The study will be the first designed to obtain a national picture of HIV-infection and will be conducted on an anonymous basis.

Department epidemiology director Horst Küstner said yesterday analysis would hopefully begin in the next three months so that results could be available early in the new year.

Statistics obtained would show the degree of HIV infection among various communities in SA, age and geographic distribution, urban and rural distribution and general trends over time.

Küstner said pregnant women were a representative sample of SA’s entire sexually active population — those most at risk of becoming infected with HIV. At least half of the one million women who gave birth every year attended antenatal clinics.

The spectre of AIDS demanded that baseline data on the extent of HIV-infection be obtained on a continuous basis, he said. The survey would be repeated either every year or every six months.
Azapo replies to Govt today

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will today announce its response to the Government's invitation to take part in exploratory talks, Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

He said Azapo president Humele Ngcaba would speak to press in Cape Town today to announce Azapo's response to the invitation.

He would not comment yesterday on the meeting Azapo held with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in Harare at the weekend.

Professor Mosala, who two weeks ago received a letter from Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer urging him to persuade his organisation to engage in talks with the Government, will also speak today about the weekend meeting with the BCMA.
Barend and Thabo spring a surprise

From CHRIS WHITFIELD of The Argus Foreign Service in Geneva

THE South African government and the African National Congress have moved strongly here to reassure potential foreign businesses that it has little to fear in planning investments.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emerged from the historic World Economic Forum meeting on Southern Africa to give a confident prediction that the peace process was on track and negotiations would start early next year. He said chances of it going wrong were “very slim.”

And ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki gave a fresh indication — the strongest yet — that investments will not be hit by nationalisation.

Mr du Plessis told a press conference that he expected the “negotiating process to be under way in the first quarter of next year and visible” and he also stressed that “if the peace process is to be supported by economic growth, it is essential to lift sanctions”.

He said trade sanctions had a “minimal effect”, but financial sanctions “inhibit growth”. And while South Africa could survive “virtually indefinitely” it was in the interests of its people that there was growth in the economy.

Mr Mbeki, returning to the theme he had first aired on Monday, gave a clear indication that the ANC was softening its rhetoric on nationalisation to placate the fears of potential investors.

He said: “We can’t say ‘please come and invest but we are going to nationalise you tomorrow’.” Answering a question on whether foreign investment in South Africa’s economy would be threatened by the party’s economic policy, Mr Mbeki said an open South African economy meant links to world economies.

The ANC was “very aware” that foreign investors “have got to have confidence in the security of their investments”. He added: “I don’t think nationalisation is particularly high on our agenda.

The policy of the ANC for decades has never been to nationalise everything.”

Earlier, however, he had indicated that there were “very basic needs” of the community which needed to be addressed, and interventions must be made to make sure the economy does address those questions”.

Rapport

It was clear that Mr du Plessis and Mr Mbeki have established a warm rapport. As the ANC official arrived at the press conference to replace Mr du Plessis, the Finance Minister said: “Sock it to them.”

Delegates told how the two had joked about their “roadshow”.

However, the delegates said the atmosphere of reconciliation had been dented by an address on Tuesday by Inkatha’s leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi said in the speech — a copy was given to the press — that if any political party attempted to establish a one-party state “there would be an awesome backlash which would make anything that has happened in Mozambique and Angola pale into insignificance”.

He added that: “Threats now of a resumption of the armed struggle are not threats of anything significant from a military point of view.

They are only threats of heated political exchanges and a reduction in the degree of co-operation that can be expected between the ANC, SAPC and the rest of South Africa.”

Chief Buthelezi explained that “there never was any meaningful armed struggle” and “black South Africans voted with their feet against the armed struggle”.

According to sources in the conference, which was closed to the press, Chief Buthelezi’s comments were not well received, particularly by those present who were not South African.

They felt they went against the reconciliatory atmosphere that the conference appeared to be generating.

An Inkatha official also handed out a 60-page legal document titled: “Statement and reports in respect of the violence in the Transvaal.”

The main thrust of the 21 affidavits contained in the report was that the ANC had initiated much of the trouble.

In his press conference Chief Buthelezi said the document was not intended as an attack on the ANC: “That is just the facts of the violence,” he said.

He was, however, warmly supportive of President de Klerk’s peace initiatives, describing him in the speech as “an honest, hard-bitten politician resting on givens and employing existing powerful tendencies. I believe he will be successful,” said Chief Buthelezi.

Hicups

Mr du Plessis was also confident that a peaceful settlement would be achieved. Asked if the process could go wrong, he said: “The chances were ‘very slim’.”

“We will have hiccups, tension and growth pains but I believe we will be successful.”

The Finance Minister also touched on a subject that was frequently aired in the conference: an economic union of all Southern African states including the Republic.

“There was a general recognition that South Africa’s opening up and involvement in the development of Southern Africa is necessary.”

Sanctions

However, he stressed that this should not injure existing structures which promote trade in the region.

There was, however, no indication that there would be a softening on sanctions.

The Conservative Party’s Mr Koos van der Merwe said the conference had shown that what South Africa had done so far was “definitely not enough to lift sanctions”.

Stability

This showed that the world did not trust the National Party, he said.

Mr Mbeki said future political stability was of far greater significance to the business community than the short-term issue of sanctions.

Perhaps the most significant benefit of the conference was, however, that it brought together South Africans and their ministerial counterparts from the Frontline States for the first time.

He responded with a political version of “we can’t go on meeting like this”, saying that in future Ministers “and not only Ministers of Finance” should get together in the region.
It would govern the country in the best interest of all the people and could be called to account in parliament without party loyalties interfering.

Mr Coetsee was speaking at a conference yesterday organised by the SA Institute of Public Administration on "control over the functions of public institutions."

Second hint

This is the second recent hint that the government is thinking of a multi-party Cabinet.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis suggested something similar in a recent speech.

Mr Coetsee said that parliament was the ultimate organ for the exercise of control over the executive in SA.

In a new dispensation the basic principles of parliament should not be meddled with or chaos would ensue.

A new dispensation would offer the opportunity to adjust a shortcoming of the present system — the danger of party loyalties hampering parliamentary control of the executive.

A "best-man government" which did not belong to any party caucus would get around this problem, he indicated. It also would enhance the status of parliament.

Mr Coetsee said, for example, that in the present system the governing parties in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives had an advantage over the governing party in the House of Assembly because they could criticize the government "without becoming embroiled in caucus intricacies."

Mr Coetsee identified another flaw in the mechanisms of control over the executive.

Only good news

He said that under the present system there was a danger that annual reports produced by various government departments might only give the good news.

"It speaks for itself that a department head will not freely and publicly disclose mistakes or problem areas which can embarrass him or his minister," Mr Coetsee said.

The government will soon "deal with" ANC militant Chris Hani's remarks on the continued recruitment of Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers, a senior government minister said last night.

Education and Development Aid Minister Mr Staffel van der Merwe said the government was unhappy with militant statements made by Mr Hani, the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He said the government was particularly concerned about the continued training of MK soldiers after the signing of the Pretoria Minute, which announced the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Mr Hani returned to South Africa on Sunday.

JOHANNESBURG. — In a last ditch effort to get around the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, many Conservative Party councillors are rushing through new measures to effectively keep municipal facilities exclusively for whites.

These include the charging of exorbitant non-refundable library membership fees. In Bethal membership for non-residents will cost an astronomical R500 annually.

Others, like Sasolburg, are to restrict their swimming pools and resorts to season ticket holders. And only residents within the town's municipal jurisdiction will qualify for season tickets.

Ernuelo's CP Member of Parliament, Mr Moolman Mentz, said any person of colour wanting to use local facilities would be referred to the provincial Administration.

It is understood that some councils will consider closing down their swimming pools if large numbers of black people start using them.

From October 15 it will be illegal to discriminate against those wishing to use public amenities on grounds of race.

LIVELY MEETINGS

Meanwhile throughout the platteland during the past few weeks lively and often emotional public meetings have been held under the auspices of the CP to discuss the scrapping of the Act.

In most Transvaal platteland towns nearly all public amenities are still segregated.

At Ernuelo's public meeting, according to Mr Mentz, not one person voted for the opening of the town's amenities. In Bethal a referendum was held among ratepayers, Of the 700 who voted, 60 opted for integration.

In Middelburg last Thursday only eight of about 500 residents said they were in favour of sharing the town's public facilities.

The CP's Transvaal municipal committee chairman, Mr Pikkle Coetsee, said the meetings had shown that white ratepayers were angry and upset with the government's decision to scrap the Act.

"The government has no mandate to open up our facilities," he said.

Get into the with Paul F...and discover real smoking
FW’s tour could stop off in Africa too

A visit to an African country might be included in the itinerary of one of President F.W. de Klerk’s short trips abroad this month.

De Klerk yesterday confirmed that he would be making two visits to Europe in the next few weeks.

His office said the first trip, expected to start on October 14, would include De Klerk meeting a long-standing engagement to deliver a speech at an international conference of a business association, the Young President’s Organisation, on board the Queen Elizabeth II liner. The conference would be open only to delegates. Brief courtesy calls would be paid on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Portuguese President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.

The second trip would involve an official visit to the Netherlands and Luxembourg. A visit to an African state during one of the visits could not be ruled out.
Barend: Negotiations at hand, lift sanctions

From IAN HOBBS

GENEVA. — South Africa is months away from starting constitutional negotiations and financial sanctions should be lifted without delay to stimulate growth and peace, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said yesterday.

He said he expected negotiations to be under way in the first quarter of 1991, but warned that South Africa and not have to keep the damaging financial sanctions were lifted. "My primary concern is that the reforms must be underpinned by economic growth, which will be to the advantage of all South Africans."

He was addressing a press conference at the conclusion of an unprecedented two-day conference in Geneva with frontline states and prominent international politicians and businessmen, sponsored by the non-partisan World Economic Forum.

There were also delegations from the PAC and Conservative Party, the World Bank, the UN and the Commonwealth were represented.

The conference exposed continuing sharp differences between the government and the ANC, notably on sanctions, and between the ANC and Inkatha.

Much attention was focused on the presence, often together, of Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman.

But delegates said that even the sharp clashes of policy and opinion had been "realistic" and they were unanimous that there had been significant breakthroughs.

Mr Du Plessis said he felt that the conference had helped the "very delicate situation" in Southern Africa. He said he had had his first ice-breaking meetings with frontline states' finance ministers and he expected direct contact to continue.

**Nationalisation**

The conference chairman, former British Foreign Office Minister for Africa Mr Frank Judd, said the presence of more than 150 of the world's most prominent businessmen illustrated their keenness to invest in Southern Africa. The message from business leaders was that stability was necessary for investment and growth — and democracy was basic to stability.

He said the meeting had buried fears that the ANC sought rampant nationalisation. On the contrary, they did not have such an entrenched ideological position. Mr Mbeki told the press conference the ANC had never had a policy of nationalisation and it had never been high on their agenda. Their priority was to achieve stability to attract foreign investment and achieve growth.

Incarcerated, they had to have confidence in the security of their investments and the repatriation of their profits, he said. In one of the sharpest speeches, Chief Buthelezi appeared to issue stern warnings to the government and the ANC.

He said: "The stark realities in South Africa are that no policy force will achieve anything other than introducing a multi-party democracy.

"If the government reneged on its undertakings and turned to resuscitate apartheid, South Africa would be torn apart.

"If any party attempted to establish a one-party stranglehold over politics and dictate to the rest of the country what shall happen, there would be an awesome backlash that would make anything that has happened in Mozambique and Angola pale into insignificance."

Chief Buthelezi distributed a 70-page document detailing the bloodshed in Natal and the Transvaal, which laid most of the blame on the ANC.

He said he had made 40 separate invitations to Mr Nelson Mandela to meet him, but a string of excuses had been made every time, and he still awaited the meeting.

Mr Mbeki insisted that a sinister hand linked to the armed forces and police was manipulating the violence. He said committees had been established for the ANC and Inkatha jointly to tackle the crisis.

Turning Chief Buthelezi's protest into a question, he said: "Why must Mr Mandela have a meeting with Gatsha Buthelezi? It is coming across like a fetish that Gatsha Buthelezi must meet Nelson Mandela."
Parcel bomb firm linked to ANC

DURBAN — Computer sales consultant Nick Cruse, whose firm does work for the ANC and several liberal organisations, was killed by a parcel bomb blast in Glenwood, Durban, yesterday.

The ANC condemned the bombing, and sources confirmed that members of the party’s Durban Central branch held several meetings at the offices of P C Plus Consultants in Arrt Avenue, Glenwood.

Friends of the 23-year-old victim said they believed the blast was a politically-motivated attack by right-wingers.

Police said last night neither the type of explosive used nor the motive had been established, but friends of Cruse, who recently completed his national service at Natal Command, said several ANC members worked on the premises.

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Died

The owner of the premises is Tam Alexander, a computer consultant and End Conscription Campaign conscientious objector who fled to Zimbabwe in 1988 after refusing to do military service.

Cruse, a former Durban High School pupil, died instantly while opening a package which had been hand-delivered by a “fast-freight” company early yesterday.

See Bremner-Stokes and Claudine Kelly, who were in the same room, suffered minor injuries. Another 12 people were in other parts of the house when the bomb went off.

Cruse was nearly decapitated by the bomb, which blew out a burglar-barred bathroom window and damaged another window. Alexander, also co-owner of the company, said he had shaken the package shortly before the explosion, and thought it contained a personal computer.

“It wasn’t as a box as such. Layer after layer of tape and packaging paper had been bound round the computer. It was odd enough for us to remark about the packaging,” he said.

But Cruse had received a call from someone in Johannesburg on Monday telling him to expect a computer shortly. He said the bomb package was marked “Attention: Nick.” Alexander’s brother is also called Nick.

SA Police spokesman Lt Bala Naidoo said in a statement yesterday that a domestic servant, Maureen Reddy, took delivery of a parcel from a freight delivery company at the premises.

Alexander said the company did computer work for trade unions, educational institutions and anti-apartheid bodies.

Mr Cruse’s father, David Cruse of Howard, said Cruse had finished the army in April and had worked briefly at Addington Hospital before joining P C Plus in August.

The ANC said P C Plus Consultants had worked closely with many MDM organisations and projects, supplying them with hardware, software, advice and training.

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Urgent bid for release of detainee

SUSAN RUSSELL

AN URGENT application for the release of Internal Security Act detainee Yusuf Mahomed, who is under psychiatric care in the Johannesburg Hospital, will be brought in the Rand Supreme Court today.

Mahomed’s family is seeking the court for an order against the Minister of Law and Order and Commissioner of Police declaring detention in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act unlawful and directing that he be released.

Alternatively, the family is seeking an interim interdict preventing the police from interrogating or questioning Mahomed without the prior permission of one of the senior psychiatrists treating him.

The court will also be asked, pending the return date of the application, to interdict the police from removing Mahomed from the hospital without permission of a psychiatrist treating him.

The family also wants the court to order that Mahomed’s wife and daughters be allowed to visit him.

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‘Democracy must deliver goods’

CAPE TOWN — Unless democratic governments in SA and Eastern Europe produced the economic growth necessary to satisfy heightened expectations, they would be replaced by new forms of dictatorship, Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy chairman Oscar Dhlomo warned yesterday.

Addressing delegates at a conference organized by Stellenbosch University’s Business School, Dhlomo said he believed there was a direct and inexorable link between economic growth and the development and maintenance of a democratic political culture.

It would be a big enough challenge to devise an acceptable democratic constitution for the new SA, he said.

But the success of that constitution would depend largely on the development of a political culture.

This would rely on a strong and growing economy without which “SA is likely to sink into a swamp of poverty and decay in which a democratic political culture and democratic institutions are unlikely to survive”.

Dhlomo said that unless democracy, in SA and Eastern Europe, produced the economic growth necessary to at least reasonably satisfy heightened expectations, political chaos would threaten democracy and would inevitably be replaced by new forms of dictatorship.

SA had an opportunity to become the leader of a new democratic Africa. But, Dhlomo warned, the chances of establishing a democratic political culture in a country like SA with its undemocratic history, would be very limited, and would depend on the development of a democratic culture.

The workplace was one of the most important places to start promoting such development and people in the business community were urged to find imaginative ways of introducing democratic procedures and practices into their offices and factories.

“By doing so you can play an important part in developing the experience of democracy that will be the most important component of developing a democratic political culture. ”

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Own Correspondent

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This would rely on a strong and growing economy without which “SA is likely to sink into a swamp of poverty and decay in which a democratic political culture and democratic institutions are unlikely to survive”. Dhlomo said that unless democracy, in SA and Eastern Europe, produced the economic growth necessary to at least reasonably satisfy heightened expectations, political chaos would threaten democracy and would inevitably be replaced by new forms of dictatorship.

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“By doing so you can play an important part in developing the experience of democracy that will be the most important component of developing a democratic political culture.”
NP seeks huge turnout in Randburg

A National Party victory in next month's Randburg by-election would be meaningful only if the party were able to attract more than the combined votes of the NP and the Democratic Party during last year's general election, according to President de Klerk.

However, NP sources yesterday expressed concern about a low poll following the DP's withdrawal from the November 7 by-election.

Speaking in Kimberley, DP leader Zach de Beer said his party's concession not to stand in the Randburg by-election had not create a precedent.

He referred to "considerable vagueness" in NP intentions as far as the constitution went.

"President de Klerk insists he can do something secret and special to protect minorities. "We say you can protect minorities via a Bill of Rights and independent courts and proportional representation and the federal dispersion of power and by a requirement for special majorities in legislatures for special purposes. "If the President has something more than this up his sleeve, the people have a right to know what it is," he said.

(Report by J van der Merwe, of Joubert Street, Johannesburg, and Sapa)
Azapo turns down State’s offer of talks

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has turned down the Government’s invitation to take part in exploratory constitutional talks.

Expressing a commitment to “peace based on justice for the land and people of South Africa”, Azapo president Professor Gomolemo Mosia said in Cape Town the organisation made a distinction between constitutional discussions aimed at producing a new constitution for a new society and talks aimed at enlist the participation of liberation movements in the removal of measures that keep black people in prison and under legal and socio-economic conditions of suppression and exploitation”.

“A government which claims to be committed to change must use its own instruments of State rule to remove those measures and conditions without drawing in those who are committed to the creation of a new and a just society for their people,”

“We will not negotiate the release of our political prisoners, the removal of the Land Act and other Acts which characterise the apartheid system,” he said.

Sowetan Correspondent

Azapo was committed to a constituent assembly as the starting point for constitutional negotiations.

Such an assembly should be elected on the basis of “a universal franchise, convened under circumstances of safety and freedom for all its participants and refereed by an independent party”.

Azapo’s position was that negotiations should take place at a neutral venue, under an independent and impartial mediator.

African state

Publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the thinking in Azapo was that this country could become an African state in the ranks of the Organisation for African Unity.

The first step towards talks should be a consultative conference of liberation movements and labour organisations “to determine the agenda for constitutional discussions”.

“We have spoken to all organisations and have secured agreements in principle on the need for a consultative conference,” Moodley said.
CP criticised for 'unacceptable moves'

Political Staff,
Own Correspondent

Transvaal Acting Administrator Willie Hoods said yesterday provincial authorities would take up unacceptable moves by CP-run town councils to outflank the imminent end of the Separate Amenities Act.

"It is contrary to the whole reformation process," he said in response to a report that many CP-dominated councils were rushing through new measures aimed at keeping municipal facilities exclusively for white use.

Dr Hoods said the Transvaal's Executive Committee would discuss the matter at its next meeting, and consult central Government as well.

NP sources said applications to court were in the offing to test the validity and legality of retaining racial segregation at public amenities. One of the first may be a Supreme Court hearing involving Springs Town Council's closure of two swimming pools.

It is understood documents are presently being drawn up to challenge the closure of the public pools, which has apparently deprived two white primary schools of their swimming facilities.

Other moves calculated to thwart the ending of amenities discrimination on October 15 include the charging of exorbitant non-refundable library membership fees in Bethal, and membership for non-residents will cost R500 annually.

Restricted

Other councils, like Sasolburg, are to restrict their swimming pools and resorts to season ticket-holders. Only residents within the town's municipal jurisdiction will qualify for season tickets.

Ermelo's MP, Moolman Mento (CP), said any person of colour wanting to use local facilities would be referred to the Provincial Administrator.

Throughout the platteland in the past few weeks, fiery public meetings have been held under the auspices of the CP to discuss the scrapping of the Act.

In most Transvaal platteland towns, nearly all public amenities are still segregated.

At Ermelo's public meeting, according to a CP MP, not one person voted for the opening of the town's amenities. In Bethal, a referendum was held among ratepayers. Of the 700 who voted, 60 opted for integration.

In Middelburg last Thursday, only eight out of about 500 residents said they were in favour of sharing the town's public facilities. A local minister and representative of industry were repeatedly jeered and shouted down when they spoke in favour of opening the town's "public" amenities.

The CP's Transvaal municipal committee chairman Pikkie Coetzee said the meetings showed that white ratepayers were upset with the decision to scrap the Act.

"The Government has no mandate to open up our facilities. White local authorities built these resorts, pools and playing fields with ratepayers' money. They're ours." - Political Staff and Own Correspondent.
US warns on trends
WASHINGTON

Dangerous trends have the potential to undo the work done so far to create a climate conducive to negotiations and peaceful change in South Africa, the Bush Administration has warned the US Congress.

In its annual report on progress in South Africa to the Congress, the Administration said the trends included growing political extremism from the right and left, intolerance to opposition within the black community and general violence and crime.

The note of warning contrasted with the general tenor of the rest of the report, which was generally positive and optimistic about developments in South Africa in the past 12 months.

Soviet Foreign Service

Mugabe's appeal
UNITED NATIONS

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe said he made an unsuccessful appeal to US President George Bush to impose a ceiling on rising crude oil prices.

"The developed nations can do much more to halt this hiking of oil prices," Mugabe told reporters after addressing the U.N. General Assembly.
Reform gathers pace as Acts bite the dust

One of the country's most emotive pieces of legislation is destined for the scrap-heap, accompanied on its journey to oblivion by the angry cries of farmers, some politicians and hard-line right-wingers.

The death knell for the Black Land Act of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936 — known collectively as the "Land Act" — was sounded in Pretoria this week when President F W de Klerk, leaders of the self-governing homelands and the Administration of the country's four provinces agreed that ownership of land should be open to all and not only to whites.

They said the Acts should be repealed "as part of a comprehensive programme to remove all racially discriminatory restrictions on the acquisition of land."

It was also decided that, simultaneously, credit facilities would be opened to allow non-discriminatory access to the Land Bank and agricultural credit.

Hopping mad

It is, without doubt, one of the most far-reaching decisions yet taken by the Government in its drive to reform South Africa politically.

It means that farmers of another colour would, once the Acts have been repealed, be able to buy land anywhere.

The extent of their rage will be shown tomorrow when they hold a major protest meeting in Pretoria.

They are protesting even though the Government meeting this week also pledged to protect specific community interests in regard to land tenure. A special working group is looking into this aspect.

But farmers cannot say they were not warned.

The State President paved the way at the Pretoria agricultural summit in August when he told farmers their interests would be looked after in a new South Africa but that they had to be prepared to share the land.

Then he said more or less the same thing in an American newspaper interview and to United States government officials while visiting President Bush last month.

Democrat Party finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said this year that the land issue had to be addressed by taking over unused farming lands, against compensation, for settling farmers and aiding new (that is, black) farmers with know-how and finance to ensure adequate use of the land.

The Urban Foundation backs the viewpoints, suggesting that R3 billion be invested over a four-year period for extensive land-redistribution and farmer-education schemes.

It ran into fierce opposition from the Transvaal Agricultural Union, which said the Urban Foundation did not "apparently understand the implications this would have for the production of food for a growing population ... Organisations which had been in favour of an end to influx control now want to transfer the present chaos of squatter towns around cities to the white plantations."

The African National Congress has made land ownership a key part of the negotiating process, saying there was extreme prejudice against black people at the time the two Acts came into being.

That blacks were prejudiced against is without question.

It took just three years after Union in 1910 for blacks to realise that whites would be deciding who could live or farm in certain areas.

The Black Land Act, No. 27 of 1914, made it abundantly clear that acquisition of land by blacks was forbidden except in certain defined areas — now known as "scheduled black areas."


Fallen away

The Acts expressly prohibited the purchase, hire or other acquisition of land or interest in land — meaning no black person could even have a share in a farm (although in some areas this has largely fallen away) — outside "scheduled black areas.

And if a white person bought land in a prescribed area at a sale in execution, for instance, he had to sell it to a black person within a year.

The 1936 Act went further: no black-owned company could acquire or own land unless they owned it before that year. The restriction did not apply to "a legally recognised tribe.

Soon all of this will be history as land ownership is thrown open to all races — apparently irrespective of what white farmers in far-dung corners of the Transvaal may have to say.

The problem is that the resulting upheaval in the country's farming communities may take time to settle down.
THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has turned down the Government's invitation to take part in exploratory constitutional talks.

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"A government which claims to be committed to change must use its own instruments of State rule to remove those measures and conditions without drawing on those who are committed to the creation of a new and just society for their people.

"We will not negotiate the release of our political prisoners, the removal of the Land Act and other Acts which characterise the apartheid system," he said.

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The first step towards talks should be a consultative conference of liberation movements and labour organisations "to determine the agenda for constitutional discussions".

"We have spoken to all organisations and have secured agreements in principle on the need for a consultative conference," Moodley said.
Youths get together to talk about talks

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE youth wings of political organisations ranging from the National Party to the Azanian People's Organisation have been invited to attend a youth conference on negotiations at the Peninsula Technikon.

Invited to attend next Saturday's conference, where the Pretoria Minute will be explained, are the New Unity Movement, Democratic Party and religious groups.

An invitation has also been sent to the Conservative Party, said South African Youth Congress member Mr Richard Martin at a Press conference yesterday.

ACROSS IDEOLOGY

"We are trying to get the youth groupings from various organisations together and are cutting across the ideological divide," he said.

"This should be seen as part of the campaign by the ANC to take the Pretoria Minute to the people...part of the conference is to facilitate this."

The ANC would also be given an opportunity to listen to the "youth's perspective of issues."

Mr Maxwell Moss, regional president Sayco, said the conference was not an attempt to break away from the ANC.

Sayco said in a statement it wished to dispel all distortions that "we are part of a dissident group within the ANC that is against negotiations. We want to affirm our own active support for the ANC in their efforts to create peace and justice."

Speakers at next Saturday's conference include regional ANC executive members Mr Bulelani Nquka, Mr Trevor Manuel and Mr Dullah Omar.
Govt 'has no hidden agenda' for whites

Political Correspondent

THE government had no hidden agenda for protecting white domination in any form in a future South Africa, the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said last night.

In an address to the Institute of Bankers in SA, Mr Van Heerden said the government had made it "quite clear" that the negotiation process was open to all in SA and that no grouping should have the veto over the proceedings or the outcome.

The government was committed to the attainment of democracy as the concept was understood in the Western world.

Mr Van Heerden said the government's rejection of a "winner-takes-all" model of simple majority rule should not be equated with a refusal to accept a representative constitutional democracy.

"The realities of SA, however, suggest a system where minorities are constitutionally protected against the abuse of power by a majority," Mr Van Heerden said SA was passing through possibly the most important transformation in its history.

"This transformation has passed a point of irreversibility. There can be no doubt that the government of SA is irrevocably committed to the fundamental restructuring of the country's political and other institutions.

"South Africans are accepting that they must negotiate with each other, not because total victory for any cause will result but because the alternative would mean total defeat for everyone."

Mr Van Heerden said SA could not avoid the necessity of achieving harmony both internally and with the rest of the world.

"All the world's peoples are in the same leaky boat, for better or for worse, and if we are to survive, we shall have to think beyond exclusive ideological and national frontiers."

Mr Van Heerden said that with the "stark exception" of the events in the Gulf, "the whole world would appear to be moving into a new era of real peace and economic progress".
Differing views over Land Act

A SHARP difference of opinion has emerged between the ANC and the Government on the issue of returning land to blacks in "white" South Africa when the Land Acts are repealed next year.

The ANC's latest draft economic policy document makes it clear that it believes priority should be given to "immediately returning to the land those removed from black freehold land or from plots held under labour tenancy agreements." But the Government has made it equally clear that it does not envisage a redistribution of land when the Acts go.

"The Government confirmed on Tuesday that the two laws which prevent blacks owning rural land in "white" South Africa would be repealed next year. However, Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Gerrit Viljoen made it clear that the Government was against returning land which had been owned by blacks before the Land Acts were introduced."
TIME FOR A CHAT

Cultural Desk

[Text content not clearly legible due to image quality]
Need for Massive Resources

This would require massive
inputs of both skills and expe-
rience into the management and
promotion of the new needs.

The problem is that the re-
source is not available.

Secondary is the whole scene.

Moreover, it is in complete

We need to reconsider our frame-
work of planning and delivery
of services.

The whole scene is different.

Resources like the whole scene
of the area will go well beyond
the scope of planning and deliv-
eries. The scope of services.

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eries. The scope of services.
Mandela cancels visits to Paris and Moscow

Han will be at joint group meeting

Nelson Mandela, Prime Minister of the ANC, is currently in South Africa. He is expected to return to Europe later this year.
Right-wingers disrupt Kriel's report-back

By CLIVE SAWYER
Tygerberg Bureau

RIGHT-WING hecklers disrupted a Parow report-back meeting by the Minister of Provincial Affairs and Planning, Mr Hernus Kriel.

Many of the about 70 hecklers were in Afrikaanse Weerstands beweging khaki and made up about half the audience.

A security guard used an electronic metal detector to check people entering the meeting last night. At least one pistol was confiscated.

Just before the meeting started, 20 minutes late, a stink bomb was thrown in the Parow Civic Centre lobby.

Laughter

The heckling began when laughter greeted chairman Mr Pen Kotze as he introduced Mr Kriel as someone "of whom all Parow can be proud".

Mr Kriel's speech was dominated by exchanges between him and the hecklers.

On several occasions he addressed the leader of the right-wing group, Mr Steven Jacobson, directly.

"I heard the AWB had direct orders from Eugene Terreblanche to break up this meeting, and to use women and children to smuggle in teargas," Mr Kriel said, to derisory laughter.

Mr Kriel said he had come to Parow to tell it the National Party was firmly on the path to the new South Africa.

Boosted image

Namibia was a good example of a necessary transition that had stopped violence.

President De Klerk had boosted the country's image overseas and "African leaders are queuing up to talk to us".

Economic reforms, however painful, were paying off and soon the rand would be worth a rand again.

"I give my word as a member of the National Party the NP will not lead you into a new South Africa where whites have no security, but the condition for this is that right and left-wing radicalism must stop," Mr Kriel said.

'Must talk' 

The removal of discrimination was essential.

"If we are going to negotiate, then we must talk to people who matter, so we freed Mandela and are not ashamed we did so," he said.

At the end of the meeting, the group left during the vote of thanks after a failed attempt to pass a motion of no confidence in Mr Kriel.

Outside the hall, the right-wingers sang Die Lied von Jong Suid-Afrika.
US newspaper looks at FW

WASHINGTON - President de Klerk was one of the least likely and most significant apostles of popular rule, a major US news magazine has written in the wake of his recent visit to America.

The October 8 issue of US News & World Report featured Mr de Klerk's visit to the United States as its first article, accompanied by a large colour picture of a black woman weeping over her dead husband, slain in a recent clash between African National Congress members and Inkatha Zulus.

Under the headline "South Africa: Cry the beloved country", the article said Washington had played host to one of the least likely and most significant apostles of popular rule, FW de Klerk.

Striking symbol

"The first South African President invited to Washington in 45 years, he stood stern and erect in front of a black Marine guard on the White House lawn, a striking symbol of how this once loyal son of apartheid is now kicking and cajoling his country toward the goal of racial equality.

"President Bush's effusive praise, calling the process of change in South Africa 'irreversible', was a sort of laying on of hands, marking the transition of de Klerk from outlaw to insider, from despised pariah to active participant in world councils," the journal said.

It added the price of democracy, however, was dissent, and demonstrators outside the White House angrily reminded both leaders how far South Africa still had to go. - Sowetan Foreign Service
NATIONAL PARTY (3041) (3041)

GOING FOR GROWTH

The "deracialisation" of the Cape National Party at its congress in Port Elizabeth next week is a formality — and the Cape NP is now poised to become the new political home for a significant slice of the largest concentration of "coloured" people in the country.

Nat organisers in the province are confident that the party will attract the overwhelming support of conservative coloureds in the Cape, most of whom have supported the Labour Party up to now.

President F W de Klerk's statesmanlike performance since February 2 and the disturbingly radical line adopted by the ANC in recent months is believed to have influenced many coloured people — who largely share language and religion with traditional Nat supporters.

In a pre-congress interview with the Cape Nat mouthpiece, Die Burger, this week, Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said there was already an "overwhelmingly positive" attitude towards opening the party to all races in the Cape. "Our supporters realise that the principles and values for which we stand are not exclusive, but must be made inclusive so that more people can support them."

The Cape NP is already the most dominant within the party, with 42 of the NP's 93 elected MPs. It is regarded as the only provincial wing that can show significant growth by opening membership to all races.

There is little doubt that the Nats will sap what is left of the LP's support if they make a concerted effort to recruit. Results published earlier this year of an opinion poll conducted by the Port Elizabeth-based Human Rights Trust showed a serious collapse of the LP's support base in its eastern Cape heartland.

The poll was conducted after President De Klerk's opening of parliament speech on February 2.
leased since September 1 even though the deadline for all of them — and estimated 3 500 — is the end of April. The return of exiles, which in terms of the minute should have begun on Monday, with all home by the end of April, is still mired in confusion. ANC officials will meet government on Thursday to discuss the issue; apparently government has been dragging its heels on granting indemnities to exiles.

In accordance with the minute the ANC has classified an estimated 100 000 exiles into seven categories: □ Ordinary members of the liberation movements;
□ Trained soldiers;
□ Conscientious objectors;
□ Defectors from the liberation movement;
□ Prisoners held by the ANC;
□ Members of non-aligned organisations; and
□ Individuals who left SA for other (presumably non-political) reasons.

Under the minute indemnities have to be granted to these groups — and not to individuals — by not later than the end of this year. However, the National Consultative Committee on repatriation, convened by SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane, has still to receive its full budget of R50m from foreign donors. Chikane's council also comprises representatives of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, ANC, PAC, Azapo and Black Consciousness Movement.

While Operation Iron Fist appears to have suppressed the violence it has left the air murky between the ANC and government. At a press conference on Sunday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said it was interesting to note that violence had flared again a day after President F W de Klerk's return from the US. He contends the lull was created to provide "space" for De Klerk's US visit. If Mandela is to be taken seriously on this — and his suggestion is absurd — it demonstrates just how much credibility still has to be built up.

The razzmatazz of overseas trips by De Klerk and Mandela has so far camouflaged the fact that the peace process has stalled, with fine words increasingly obscured by sour accusations and a lack of action on the ground.

As the FM went to press, Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was reported to have finally declined an invitation to attend the meeting between the ANC and leaders of non-independent homelands at Nelson Mandela's Soweto home. The refusal should not have come as a surprise: Buthelezi expressed reservations that he had been invited in his capacity as Chief Minister of KwaZulu and not as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is not an encouraging development.
BUSINESS SHOWS THE WAY

Natal, probably the most troubled region — economically and politically — in transitional SA at the moment, has been offered a workable vision of how it cannot only survive but even prosper in the next century.

As part of a major study commissioned by the Tongaat-Hulett group, the region has also been offered a grim warning of the alternative — a doom-and-gloom vision of stalled reform, racial and civil war and soaring poverty and unemployment.

With the co-operation and combined effort of all key players in the region the reality will probably be a middle path but, even for that to work, strategies and plans of action have to be implemented now.

That's what the giant sugar group is offering. To help hand over the initiative set in motion two years ago, it has appointed a three-man task force.

At the beginning of the year Tongaat-Hulett published a report — compiled by a multi-disciplinary forum of leading authorities commissioned by the group — which outlined the state of the Durban Functional Region (DFR). This is defined roughly as an 80 km semi-circle centred on Durban which, with Maritzburg, serves as the political centre and economic engine of Natal and KwaZulu.

The report influenced thinking on the region and has already resulted in some initiatives, like the formation of the Durban City Council's Economic Development Committee (Current Affairs September 7), a combined effort by the public and private sectors to stimulate development.

Last week the group published its two follow-up reports to sketch three possible directions for the future of the region, with strategies to try to steer it towards a common future.

The vision is predictable enough.

The DFR and the rest of SA remain in a limbo of ineffectual reform and polarisation; or a sort of high-road option is taken for SA and the DFR, where, though nothing is easy, economic growth can overtake population growth; and the low-road picture of endemic conflict and anarchy.

Amid the future-gazing some facts have emerged. For instance, the planning forum finds the DFR's population growth is not going to be as rampant as earlier estimations. The region's population by the year 2000 is now expected to increase by about 2m to 5,1m, of which roughly 3.8m will be African. This, incidentally, puts paid to the popular notion that Durban is the second-fastest-growing city in the world.

The forum also concludes that while the spread of Aids will remain a serious factor in future development, its impact might not be as devastating as feared.

The first report, formulated before the February 2 reform process, also looks less pessimistic now. With changes taking place in SA, some of the proposals to save the future of the DFR seem more feasible now than they did seven months ago.

Less pleasant factors expected still to affect the region by the turn of the century are:

- A fragmented urban distribution and a topography that hampers development;
- An enduring gap between the haves and have-nots;
- Endemic violence because the social causes which contribute to it are unlikely to have been addressed fully; and
- Shack areas making up an important component of housing.

The list of strategies and action plans is impressive and covers factors such as economic, political, social and geographic angles.

Concrete steps

Tongaat-Hulett group chairman Chris Saunders has outlined some steps that can be put into effect immediately. One is establishment of an urban development consortium to co-ordinate and initiate a wide range of projects needed in the region.

Another is establishing what is termed a "mixed-use activity corridor" to try to overcome decades of racially based planning. This has produced Durban's fragmented and distorted urban geography, which finds most residential development lying to the north of the city while most industry and jobs lie in the south.

Saunders focused on Cato Manor, a large piece of land near the city — unused for the past two decades after rezoning and forced removals — as an example of an area which can be productively used to overcome the effects of apartheid planning.

The whole project is ambitious and requires co-operation and goodwill across the spectrum. But it does offer a way of diverting the catastrophe for which the region is heading and which was clearly spelled out in the first Tongaat-Hulett report.

At least Natal and KwaZulu now have a picture of what the future could be like and how to get there.

If people still do nothing to help themselves it will not be possible to blame big business for not making a contribution.
tial agents in August last year.

The point was raised by agent Dawid Hum-
nan, co-director of PWV Housing Agency in Fairland. Manie Smith, a former director of PWV Housing, joined Taylor’s Fortune Homes last year.

The meeting was attended by Human; Bartel Pieterse and Dennis Graham of Gra-
ham Pieterse cc; Ivan Dembo of Projects Air Land Sea; and Frans van Eeden, a former
trust official who is now a director of the
iKajros agency. According to the minutes
the agents informed Khayaletsu’s Dirk Ack-
ermann of their “frustrations, mistrust and fears” concerning Fortune Homes.

Taylor reacted to the FM on Monday. He
denies his company presents any competition
to the residential agents, or that there is a
contest of interest.

He says Fortune Homes acts on behalf of
developers. “We do the paperwork for the
contractors. When we receive an application
we take it to the trust, or the commission or a
building society. About 15%-20% of the fi-
nancing is done through Khayaletsu.” He
says his company gets paid a stipulated com-
mission per house sold: “R100 per house
from the commission and R500 per house
from the trust. Normal commissions are paid
by the building societies.”

Taylor says he is now involved with
the construction of the Ultra City complex near
Halfway House, Transvaal, through
Founders Facilitators (a subsidiary of Sege
Holding, the holding company of Pretjesi
Makelaars, of which he is a director).

Taylor’s involvement with Fortune Homes
— and the subsequent meeting with Acker-
mann — were recently mentioned in another
document which initially had been compiled
to serve as a petition to Planning & Provin-
cial Affairs Minister Hernaard Kriel.

It was intended to form part of a written
complaint by residential agent Ivan Dembo
and fellow directors Trevor Horner and Lin-
da O’Donovan, after their contract with
Khayaletsu had been cancelled.

However, Dembo tells the FM that legal
action is being considered against the trust
instead of a petition to Kriel.

**NEGOTIATIONS**

**PEACE ON HOLD**

**FN. 10/90**

**304A**

The Pretoria Minute, which on August 6
seemed like the first positive step toward the
“new SA,” is being swamped in a bureau-
cratic quagmire created by both sides.

The joint monitoring group to track the
ANC’s suspension of the armed struggle has
made little progress. It has still not even
arrived at a definition of “armed struggle.”

The month-long refusal to grant indemnity
to ANC chief-of-staff Chris Hani is part of
the delay. Government sources, in turn, com-
plain at the ANC’s unbelievable slowness in
submitting names to complement police on
the agreed 96-man monitoring group.

Only 45 political prisoners have been re-
leased since September 1 even though the
deadline for all of them — and estimated
3,500 — is the end of April.

The return of exiles, which in terms of the
minute should have begun on Monday, with
all home by the end of April, is still mired in
confusion. ANC officials will meet govern-
ment on Thursday to discuss the issue; ap-
parently government has been dragging its
heels on granting indemnities to exiles.

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Under the minute indemnities have to be
granted to these groups — and not to individ-
uals — by not later than the end of this year.

However, the National Consultative Com-
mittee on repatriation, convened by SA
Council of Churches secretary-general
Frank Chikane, has still to receive its full
budget of R50m from foreign donors.

Chikane’s council also comprises representatives of
the SA Catholic Bishops’ Conference,
ANC, PAC, Azapo and Black Conscious-
ness Movement.

While Operation Iron Fist appears to have
succeeded the violence it has left the air
murky between the ANC and government.

At a press conference on Sunday, ANC
depot president Nelson Mandela said it was
interesting to note that violence had flared
again a day after President F.W. de Klerk’s
return from the US. He contends the hull was
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The razzmatazz of overseas trips by De
Klerk and Mandela has so far camouflaged
the fact that the peace process has stalled,
with fine words increasingly obscured by
sour accusations and a lack of action on the
ground.

As the FM went to press, Zulu leader
Mangosuthu Buthelezi was reported to have
finally declined an invitation to attend the
meeting between the ANC and leaders of
the non-independent homelands. The refusal should not
have come as a surprise: Buthelezi expressed his
discontent by not inviting the ANC as express
reservations that Chief Minister of KwaZulu
and Natal, Albert Luthuli, was invited as
president of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is not an encouraging development.
New regional govt plan is outlined.
Regional spending could grow from 18% to 23%, while central government spending would decline dramatically from its present 67% to 31%.

De Klerk said expanding powers of local and regional government would militate against any group monopolising power at central government level.

The President said that it would have to be decided during negotiations whether a unitary or federal system would best suit the development of strong regional government.

Govt plan

Financial viability would be of critical importance in deciding the delimitation of regions which could not be drawn up to satisfy political ideologies and aspirations.

De Klerk said government strongly believed there would be an important role for a system of autonomous regional government in a new SA. Devolution of power would play an important role in protecting minorities.

Strong regional government would bring decision making closer to voters and create greater opportunities for participation.

De Klerk told the Administrators the time had arrived to implement action plans that dealt with squatting.

Urgent attention had to be given to the identification, purchase and development of land.

He announced that he had asked the President Council to update government's strategy on urbanisation. The idea was to have a broad plan which dealt with both urbanisation and housing.

It would have to be accepted that new areas with rudimentary standards of housing and services would develop.

Where local authorities were reluctant to lower standards and accept elementary housing structure, Administrators would have to intervene to remove obstacles. SA could no longer afford the application of unnecessarily high standards.

Sapa reported that De Klerk announced a R1bn injection for the financially strapped health services in Natal and KwaZulu and called on those involved to meet Health Minister Ria Manke next week to discuss how best the money could be spent.
Constituent assembly. No talks - Azapo

By CASSANDRA MOOOLE

The AZANIAN People's Organisation said this week negotiations on a future South Africa had to take place outside the country — in a constituent assembly.

The organisation said that a neutral venue "where the threat of De Klerk's security forces did not exist" had to be chosen.

In a press conference this week Azapo announced its refusal to enter talks about talks with the government, but said it was prepared to participate in constitutional negotiations in a constituent assembly.

"Such an assembly could be held in Zimbabwe, but it should rather be as far outside the country as possible," said Azapo President Jerry Mosala.

The organisation was responding to an invitation from Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelof Meyer to join the exploratory talks.

Its decision comes in the wake of a consultation with the external Black Consciousness Movement of Azania over the weekend in Harare.

Last week it was reported that the BCMA had advised Azapo to go to the negotiating table because it would marginalise itself by rejecting negotiations.

However, Mosala said his organisation had "been able to convince the BCMA that staying away from exploratory talks would not be detrimental. It is our absence at the constitutional talks that will marginalise us."

Our demands at constitutional talks will be the return of the land to the landless, an economic system where people have ownership, control and full participation in the creation, distribution and sharing of wealth," Mosala added.

Azapo has set conditions for the structure of constitutional talks:

- A constituent assembly, overseen by an independent party, must be elected on the basis of one person one vote to decide on the new constitution.

- The election of the assembly should be overseen by an independent party — possibly the United Nations, the Frontline states, the Organisation for African Unity or a combination of these.

The BCMA has endorsed Azapo's position and in a joint communiqué the two organisations rejected State President FW de Klerk's process of negotiations as undemocratic, prescriptive and divisive — "in summoning organisations separately and disparately."

In recent weeks several organisations had received letters from the government inviting them to participate in the ongoing talks.

The Pan Africanist Congress is still considering its response. Two weeks ago the PAC leadership referred the invitation back to its membership for discussion.

This week the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation rejected the government's invitation.

Yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said Azapo was "marginalising itself" from the negotiations for a new constitution by refusing to participate in exploratory talks with the government.

"Instead of becoming part of the solution, Azapo is standing aside and merely raising further objection," he said.
The DP has a role... but can it cope?

ANY people in this country still need a Democratic Party. Whether they need THIS Democratic Party is, of course, another matter.

It would be tempting to see the DP's drift into decline as an inevitable sign of the times. Until this year, the DP — and the Progs before it — was a strategic vehicle for anti-apartheid whites.

A DP vote increased pressure to move from apartheid. DP MPs had space which others did not enjoy to defend civil liberties, to prise information out of the government and to press officials to negotiate with the voteless.

Those reasons for its existence no longer hold. Prospects for non-racialism and democracy depend on many things: DP election results aren't one of them.

But this doesn't mean there is no longer a role for a party which stands for the values which the DP says it does.

Parties are needed if there are significant numbers of people who support what they stand for. There are enough people who support what the DP says it stands for to sustain a political party.

Those people wouldn't need the DP, or a party like it, if other, bigger, parties now represented their values. But many of them seem to feel that no other party does.

Since the days of all-white politics are nearly over, it is of some importance that most of those people may be black.

The DP's left suggests that the ANC now represents its values.

But by no means all people who reject apartheid like the ANC's mobilisation.

But why should either want to be influenced by the DP now? Bigger parties are only interested in striking deals with smaller ones if they represent a constituency which the bigger one needs.

Right now, the DP has no constituency to deliver.

Most of its white voters — including its business support — have decamped to the Nats and it has few black members. So neither the Nats nor the ANC have any reason to make concessions to the DP in exchange for an alliance.

Linking up with the Nats or ANC now would only make sense if the DP decides that either so represents its values that it needs ask for nothing in return.

But it is far too early for the DP to take either Nat or ANC commitment to its values on trust.

In the future, a party placed somewhere between the two may well find that it needs to make a pact with either — but it will only be able to win something in return for that deal if it has something to bring to the alliance.

A party which represented, say, 15 percent of voters, could have a key influence on a post-apartheid parliament. Since a democracy here will be the result of a compromise between parties, not a system guaranteed by any one, a small party committed to democracy could play a key role in shaping the future.

But, if the DP has a role, there is little evidence that it is either willing or able to play it.

One of its factions assumes that it can only play a role if it does not offend the ANC by recruiting black members, even if they would be happier in the DP.

This may leave many black profes-
ishing style or rhetoric — or are sure that it
is committed to democracy or represents
their interests.

Some of the ANC’s critics are to its
left and outside the reach of a “moder-
ear” position. But many are not and they
may now lack a political vehicle.

Don’t these people belong with the
Nats, or an alliance led by them — as
the DP’s right implies?

There is evidence that De Klerk
enjoys growing support among black
and white “moderates”.

But the Nats are still the party of
Group Areas, separate education and
all the other baggage of apartheid. To
many people who are wary of the
ANC, they always will be. Others in
the DP may see Inkatha as a vehicle for
their values.

But many people who are uncom-
fortable with the ANC don’t see a party
which insists that carrying weapons in
public is a cultural right and whose
leader brands any criticism as an attack
on “the Zulu nation” as moderate, non-
racial or democratic.

The DP’s potential supporters
aren’t a majority. But, if it bothered to
go out and recruit them, it might find
that there are enough of them to offer it
a reasonable base.

That may solve another problem
about which the DP has been agonis-
ing — how to influence post-
apartheid politics. Some of its leaders
feel the only way to do this is to in-
fluence the Nats; others insist that it is to
influence the ANC.

signals and business people, many
who reject the tripartite parties but
aren’t happy with the ANC, and oth-
ers, without a political home. It could
also force them into a Nat alliance by
default, and both scenarios would de-
prive the DP of all influence.

Others believe the DP should play
an independent role, but seem to see it
as a party locked firmly in the better-
heeled suburbs, out of reach of many
potential recruits.

Over the past few weeks, there
have been signs that there are people in
the townships who reject violence,
but don’t support the ANC’s recipe
for ending it. There are also black
teachers who don’t want apartheid
education, but don’t want to join an
ANC-organised teachers’ union.

If the DP sought to recruit them, it
might increase its base and help de-
ocracy by offering them a more
democratic home than the Nats or their
likely allies. But it has nothing to say to
them — or to anyone else outside its
usual constituency.

The DP doesn’t seem able to de-
velop either a style or a strategy which
would allow it to build support among
the majority. That role may be left to
some other party. But there are no ob-
vious contenders.

That means that a significant num-
ber of people will be without a political
home. And that a voice which could
play an important role in creating a de-
mocracy will not be heard.
Dr Zac de Beer today spelled out the reasons why he will not join the African National Congress as at least three wives of Democratic MPs have done and others consider doing.

His remarks — in a prepared speech to the DP's Free State congress in Harrismith — were clearly aimed at discouraging any further movement of DP members to the ANC.

He made it clear he is fully in favour of closer co-operation with the ANC — but that's where he draws the line. As far as he is concerned, ANC membership for DP members is OUT.

Spectacular

Dr De Beer said that, with the completion of the ANC many DP people had met ANC members, talked with them and found "much common ground. Some DP members were saying: 'We should simply throw in our lot with that organisation.'

"In quite a spectacular way, three wives of Democratic MPs have joined the ANC and others may still do so."

Dr De Beer said he himself had been involved this week in planning close co-operation with the ANC in certain important matters.

"But if I am asked whether I propose joining the ANC, I say unequivocally I do not."

Giving his reasons for taking this stand, he said: "The ANC has not spelled out its policy. It has certain general principles about equal rights, which we fully share, but where does it stand on federalism? On proportional representation? And most important of all, what is its economic policy?"

Not the time

"Is it or is it not for nationalisation? To what extent is it socialist? This I must say to you emphatically: I am not a socialist, and the DP is not a socialist party."

Dr De Beer said it was not his intention to criticise the ANC over the fact that it had not yet explained its policy — it had hardly had the time and opportunity to do so.

"We are all looking forward to its congress to be held in December — that will give us a better indication of where it is going."

Meanwhile, the DP would continue to talk and co-operate with the ANC.

Dr De Beer also responded to those saying DP members should join the NP because the NP had taken over DP policy.

He said he would not do this because he was not convinced that the NP could be entrusted with DP ideals.

See page 6
Some blacks are willing to join Nats

JOVIAL RANTAO

THE national party has received some inquiries from blacks eager to join the “new NP” — despite the fact that the Cape and Transvaal congresses have not yet formally agreed to the opening of the party.

A NP spokesman in Pretoria said, although the party had received calls — not more than 50 — from people interested in joining the party, no one has been signed up yet.

“We have not signed up anyone because the NP is not fully geared to practically accept non-white members. The decision to go multi-racial still has to be endorsed by the Cape and Transvaal congresses,” the spokesman said.

After the congresses had given their support to an open NP, the party would immediately alter its constitution and policy to accommodate membership of all races.

When the decision to open NP ranks was announced, Walter Sisulu, the ANC’s internal leader, said the move was a progressive trend which was welcomed.

Some blacks approached by Saturday Star said they were willing to join any party, including the NP, which would fight for equal rights for all South Africans.

They said if the NP policy was right, blacks who wanted to be members should not be intimidated or victimised. People should be allowed to exercise their democratic right to join a party of their choice.

One person who has said he would join the Nats “tomorrow” was TV personality Justus Tshungu. “I would consider joining the party because there is so much fighting among our parties,” Mr. Tshungu said. “I prefer to ride a horse which has proved that it has the resistance to run the distance.”

Mr. Tshungu said that at last the Nationalists were truly committed to building the South African nation, by ditching their segregatory policies and concentrating on broad nationhood.

He said the majority of black people would hesitate to join the Nats because of township intimidation. “Their houses may be burned down should their affiliation be known,” he said.

I also spoke to people who dismissed the opening of NP ranks to blacks as cosmetic.

Said Johannes Mokoena, a teacher from Killarney in Soweto: “(President) F W de Klerk should have thought of repealing apartheid laws such as the Group Areas and the Population Registration Acts, before asking us to join the NP. He should also have thought of offering the black man a vote because what would the use he of belonging to a ruling party for which you cannot vote.”

Mr. Mokoena’s sentiments were echoed by social worker Puleng Hlatswayo of Vosloorus.
Thumbs down for FW's speech

TRADE unions have given a unanimous thumbs-down to State President F W de Klerk's inflation busting speech yesterday — when he called for curbing wage increases.

Economic woes could be addressed only when workers had a say in how the economy was to be run and had a proper stake in its growth, they said.

Cosatu's Living Wage Campaign spokesman Jane Barret said curbing wages "to push profits up" was a short-term measure, not real economic growth.

Nactu's general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana called Mr de Klerk's call "aspirational at its highest." Government Ministers gave themselves huge salary increases while expecting workers to accept poverty and degradation.

Staff Reporter
The crisis in South Africa has returned to the headlines. The term "Volksfront" has been coined to describe the growing tension in the country. The term "de Klerk" is often mentioned in this context.

Securocrats reduced the influence of the President de Klerk has on the effectiveness with which decisions are made in the government.

Presidents are rarely seen as leaders in the same way as other world leaders. However, in the current political climate, the role of the president is crucial.

In assessing the influence of President de Klerk, it's important to look at the political process and how it is being managed. This is the first year in office for the new administration.

The decision to restructure the police and security forces has been seen as a step towards increasing security in the country. However, the effectiveness of these changes remains to be seen.
Sensitive

He promised swift action on the abolition of racial discrimination and the installation of a new body, the "Afro-Asian Peace Force," in order to prevent the spread of revolution in Africa. The force would be composed of volunteers from "friendship" countries.

Dr. Kinkel, a former head of the Bophuthatswana police, is a qualified police officer and head of the security department at the University of Pretoria. He is widely respected for his role in the security sector and is seen as a key figure in the new South Africa's security arrangements.

In a hard-hitting speech to senior police officers, Dr. Kinkel made it clear what he envisaged the role of the new police force to be. He stressed the need for a force that is not only effective but also professional and accountable to the people it serves.

The appointment of such a force is seen as a key step in the transition to a new South Africa, where the rule of law and protection of human rights are paramount.
Excited crowds surround State President FW de Klerk on his tour of Natal this week.
FW sees no suffering but wins hearts of Natalians

By CHARLES MOGALE

STATE President FW de Klerk might not have needed a single bodyguard when he toured Natal this week.

On the contrary, he looked much in need of a battalion of marshals to keep at bay the euphoric crowds jostling madly just to see him — or maybe even touch him.

Smiling, waving and nodding reassuringly, it was clear De Klerk had scored another public relations coup when he made a whirlwind tour of the troubled province on Thursday.

But if the tour was meant to give the President a first-hand feel of the area, as his aides told the battery of international and local Pressmen in tow, it failed dismally.

Except for a tour of the overcrowded King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban, De Klerk did not see any of the suffering which he later spoke about to journalists.

He acknowledged there was suffering, and announced a R50-million increase in the Natal health budget in the current financial year — but clearly did not see enough.

All he saw was:
- A badly equipped classroom in Shongweni;
- A four-roomed house on the Inkatha side of Imbali township; and
- A trading centre, modern hostel kitchen and a small library at the Indumiso College of Education in Imbali Maritzburg.

The entire tour was over in about two hours.

However, if the purpose was to win goodwill, it was great success. Within minutes of the President’s arrival at King Edward Hospital, patients and staff alike were all clamouring to catch a glimpse of De Klerk and his wife Marike. It was a repeat of his surprise visit to Soweto on September 4, where he was baptised “Comrade De Klerk”.

An old woman patient shed a tear as Marike picked up a newly-born baby from under a bed in a crowded ward, kissed it and returned it to its sleeping place. Some clapped, some ululated, and soon the excited mob broke into a spontaneous “hallelujah” song. This time the First Lady’s eyes moistened, while the President, obviously gripped by emotion, looked ahead sternly.

A similar scenario played itself out at Shongweni, near Hammarsdale. When the presidential, police and Press helicopters landed, what looked like the entire village had assembled at the landing grounds outside the Charles Memorial Higher Primary School.

De Klerk alighted only to be mobbed by children and adults. He stopped for a quick chat with local UDF/ANC member Thulani Zulu inside a classroom, signed a police visit book in another classroom, and in no time was back in his helicopter, bound for Maritzburg.

After Maritzburg, a Durban journalist remarked: “It would be interesting to see if Buthelezi could beat De Klerk if an election were to be held here today.”

If the euphoria on Thursday was anything to go by, Buthelezi would have lost his deposit.
DP starts drive to attract black members

By MANDLA TYALA

HALF the audience that turned up to listen to DP leader Zach De Beer at a house meeting on a Free State farm this week were black.

Party officials report that more than 1,000 black members of the Free State district joined the party in the province — and the Free State congress of the party yesterday gave notice that it intends campaigning more actively in the black community.

DP organisers were pleasantly surprised by the response they have received and are now speaking of "incredible possibilities".

The party held its Free State and northern Cape congress in the black township of 42nd Hill, Harrismith, yesterday. A house meeting on a Viljoenskroon farm on Friday attracted an audience of 45, more than half of whom were black.

Dr De Beer, evidently impressed with the multi-racial turnout, lost no opportunity in selling the DP as a centrist alternative to the National Party on the right and the African National Congress on the left.

He said the DP was not about to throw in its lot with the NP because the Government had not done enough to move away from apartheid.

He said the DP had lost some of its supporters to the new look National Party since February 2, but pointed out that some members were increasingly viewing the ANC as the more attractive party.

Decent

"But we have a role to play. We want to see justice. We want all South Africans to enjoy a decent style of living," said Dr De Beer.

He added that the DP was not unduly perturbed at losing a seat in the white House of Assembly or the other houses of the tripartite Parliament — structures he said were doomed to die anyway.

"We should be doing is preparing ourselves for the democracy that lies ahead."

DP regional organiser Jabulani Molefe said blacks who had joined the DP disagreed with the ANC's economic policies such as nationalisation.

"We have seen what nationalisation has done in countries in southern Africa."
Setback for envoy plan

The government plans to fill two key diplomatic posts with high-profile candidates received a major setback this week.

The first disappointment for the Department of Foreign Affairs came with the announcement that former Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh, widely tipped to be sent to London, cannot take up an appointment because of ill health.

Mr Myburgh will now become an ambassador at large.

The second disappointment was the rejection of an offer to Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the former secretary-general of Inkatha and head of the KwaNatal Inqaba negotiations, to become ambassador to Washington.

According to diplomatic sources, Dr Dhlomo turned down the offer because it was "too soon" in the reform process in SA for him to accept the post, which would link him closely to the previous government.

Dr Dhlomo was seen as an ideal candidate because of the respect he enjoys both within the establishment and in extra-parliamentary circles, such as the ANC.

Diplomatic sources said this week that both appointments would have been a coup for the government.

Speculation in diplomatic circles this week, centred on two possible "surprise" appointments — Democratic Party finance spokesman Harry Schwarz and former London envoy and DP MP Dennis Worrall.

Dr Worrall said yesterday he had heard about the rumours, but he denied he had been approached.

Mr Schwarz is said to be under consideration for the ambassadorship in Berne, where sensitive and informed liaison with Swiss bankers is considered to be a main requirement.
We are now preparing for a New Church in the Cold. Our church will be different from traditional churches, with a focus on outdoor events and a new mindset. We are adjusting our old habits and embracing new ideas.

Permission of the whole NOK.

"We are now preparing for a New Church in the Cold. Our church will be different from traditional churches, with a focus on outdoor events and a new mindset. We are adjusting our old habits and embracing new ideas."
F W and Mandela to hold talks on violence

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Cape Town tomorrow to discuss the violence in black townships.

Government sources yesterday described the meeting as "very important", but said a major summit on the scale of the Groote Schuur and Union Buildings meetings was not expected in the near future.

"Too many summits too often will demean the status of such high-level encounters," said a senior source.

It is understood that Mr Mandela will present Mr de Klerk with three ANC demands on how the Government should tackle the violence:

- All "hit squads" should be disbanded immediately.
- Members of the SAP should only be issued with weapons used to combat ordinary crime.
- Independent monitoring groups should be established to investigate police action.

Speaking at the launch of the new SA Democratic Teachers' Union, Mr Mandela yesterday again accused the Government of backing "benamo-style" violence by Inkatha supporters.

He said Inkatha was training special "township killers" in the white suburbs of Johannesburg, as well as in Captive.

In a hard-hitting address to an appreciative crowd, he said: "There is something more to this -- and I mean the direct cause of this violence."

"It is that some State agencies are using some well-trained death squads. It is the CCB. It is the military security. It is the National Intelligence Service."

"They are using organisations like Koeweet, the Anarkis and other organisations."

Later, at Chief Albert Luthuli's grave on the Natal North Coast, Mr Mandela issued an ultimatum to President de Klerk to stop the violence immediately.

ANC officials claimed five supporters were murdered on their way to the Mandela rally.

Mr Mandela yesterday paid a surprise visit to Communist Party and ANC activist Mac Maharaj in a Durban hospital. Mr Maharaj was detained in July in connection with an alleged plot to overthrow the Government.

After the speech, the audience gave a round of applause. The Reverend of First Baptist Church had been very influential in this community. The NGSK was not 'blind' as our brothers included in the vote and rescinded his previous decision in favor of immediate action by the NGSK.
FW and Mandela set for some tough talking

Political Staff

TOUGH talking is expected between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela when they meet in Cape Town today to discuss causes of township violence.

Other thorny issues on negotiations will also be raised.

The talks are taking place against the background of renewed accusations by Mr Mandela that government agencies are deliberately provoking bloodshed between blacks.

These allegations have been denied by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, but the government has indicated that if they were backed by firm evidence they could be investigated.

NEW DIMENSION

Mr Mandela and other ANC speakers have made accusations about a “third force” said to be behind the violence.

Mr de Klerk has said that while there was a new dimension in the violence in the sense that gangs or small groups had organised to kill people, it was “unscientific” to deduce that that this was of necessity due to a third force.

Mr Vlok, Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, are also expected to take part in today’s talks.

Mr Joe Slovo, a member of the national executive of the ANC and general secretary of the SA Communist Party, is expected to accompany Mr Mandela.

The ANC leader said at the weekend that he would try to persuade Mr de Klerk that government officials had deliberately provoked the bloodshed.

ANC calls for one man, one vote in local government — page 2.

THIRD SUMMIT

Government sources have tried to play down the importance of the meeting and a Tuynhuys spokesman would not confirm it was taking place.

The request for the meeting was made on September 20 when the ANC’s executive committee said if the violence issue were not resolved the peace process would be jeopardised.

There was talk at one stage of a third summit between government and the ANC but the government did not think this was necessary at this stage.

Working committees on political prisoners, the return of exiles and suspending violence have in the meantime continued. An announcement on political prisoners is expected soon.
Ivory Coast may soon forge diplomatic links

The Ivory Coast may soon become the second country in Africa, after Malawi, to establish diplomatic ties with South Africa. The Ivory Coast's ruling Democratic Party has adopted a resolution at its conference in Yamoussoukro, calling for diplomatic links with this country, SABC TV news has said.

It said developments such as the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela were the proof of fundamental change in South Africa.

Last month the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, was in the Ivory Coast along with other international dignitaries attending the papal consecration of a cathedral. Lifted

There's also been an improvement in relations between South Africa and Kenya. Two days after an announcement that South African Airways and its Kenyan counterpart were to begin weekly flights between Nairobi and Johannesburg, the ban by Kenya on travel to South Africa has been lifted. The move is intended to help Kenya explore commercial markets in SA.

In August, economic ties between SA and Madagascar were also restored. Sapa
Mandela, de Klerk to meet on ANC claims

Recieved any such affidavit from the ANC.

We heard that the ANC has not received any such affidavit from the ANC.

We also heard that the ANC has not received any such affidavit from the ANC.

The ANC strongly denies that it has received any such affidavit from the ANC.

Wilson Swan
DP asks ANC: Spell it out

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has welcomed the ANC’s recognition in its latest policy document that economic growth is a vital prerequisite for addressing social and economic inequalities.

But it has questioned the African National Congress’s continued reliance on State intervention in the economy, especially the mining industry, and has asked for greater clarity on its redistribution policy.

DP deputy financial spokesman Jasper Walsh was reacting to the ANC draft economic policy document, which is being circulated in ANC structures for comment before being discussed at the ANC national congress in December.

Conservative Party finance spokesman Casper Uys said the document made it clear the ANC wanted the best of both worlds.

"They ask for a policy of redistribution of income and wealth and the restructuring of the economy, but don't say how they would do it.

"They are against deficit budgeting, but at the same time ask for a massive injection of financing for social needs such as housing and education.”

Mr Walsh said the DP agreed with the ANC that the wide gaps of income and wealth in South Africa required special corrective action, in education, training and in land resettlement and housing.
Dhomo calls for all apartheid laws to go

PORT ELIZABETH. — Remaining apartheid legislation should be abolished during the next session of Parliament and should not be brought to the negotiating table, former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhomo said at the Cape Youth Congress of the National Party here on Saturday.

Dr Dhomo, now an independent political commentator, said no constitutional model could be successful without it having addressed the fears of both white and black South Africans.

He said that, despite the significant changes in South Africa, much still had to be done.

Although he could not prescribe to the NP, he would suggest that all the remaining apartheid legislation be abolished during the next session of Parliament, including the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act.

The benefits to be gained from abolishing these acts far outweighed the disadvantages: Sanctions would be lifted, black support for the government would increase and whites would have time to get used to changes. — Sapa
No clemency for future crimes – FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN—A cut-off date of midnight yesterday has been set for political exiles involved in illegal or criminal events when the Government considers clemency and indemnity, President de Klerk has made clear.

He clarified the position of clemency and indemnity after the latest round of talks with the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) in Cape Town yesterday.

The talks ended on a conciliatory note, with a re-dedication to negotiation.

The Government is to consider ANC submissions on the detention of some of its members, Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela announced in a joint statement after the Cape Town talks.

Mr de Klerk pointed out that the process of indemnity might apply more widely than ANC-related individuals only. This process would be activated after the ANC had accepted a report of a joint working group on indemnity.

Mr de Klerk stipulated the following conditions:

- That no pending or current legal process was suspended by this announcement.
- That no indemnity for anyone or for any event or offence was granted automatically.
- That application for indemnity must be made through predetermined channels, and only those who fell within the guidelines for “political offences” would qualify, for indemnity. The same applied for the release of prisoners.

“In this regard, 45 prisoners have been released since August 6, and 15 more will be released this week. This accords with the spirit of the Pretoria Minute,” Mr de Klerk said.

“The Minister of Justice, HJ Coetsee, will announce the relevant procedures, guidelines and related matters by Friday,” he added.

The statement referred only indirectly to Mr Mandela's previous allegations about a “third force” of Government officials who he claimed were provoking bloodshed in the townships.

“A review in depth was made of the present state of violence in South Africa. Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the negotiation process on course, and to act in such a way as to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective.”
Cape Nats opt for open party

PORT ELIZABETH — After a short debate, the NP's Cape provincial congress yesterday decided to open the party to all races.

The congress also resolved that a committee comprising NP representatives from all four provinces make proposals about possible future alliances with other parties.

NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers pointed out "the battle for the open membership issue was won long before the congress".

The party leadership decided to put the thorny issue of a possible new name for the NP on the back burner.

Delegates were divided on whether a name change would give the party a fresh image that would be more attractive to prospective black members.

Some delegates argued that while many South Africans of all races could now identify with the NP's policies, they felt they could not bring themselves to join a party which still had the name National Party.

Others said the rapid changes in NP policy over the past year made it clear that the NP was already striving for the broad national interest and that a name change was not necessary.

De Villiers steered a cautious middle path on the name change issue, arguing that "too rapid" decisions at this stage might create problems further down the road.

Support

However, he acknowledged that some people had been opposed to the NP for so long that it would be difficult for them to join a party by that name.

Earlier, during his keynote address, De Villiers noted that a party which remained exclusively directed at its own members and was unwilling or unable to seek alliances with other groupings would have no role to play in the new SA.

"Let's be quite clear about this: A party which depends on the support of only 3% to 10% of the population in a country with 30 million people, can not play a decisive role." 

"Tragic measures" had been necessary to free SA from the cul-de-sac in which it found itself.

"SA has reached a crossroad in its history.

"It became evident that policies of the past presented no answers for the future.

"Over a period of time and more particularly during the '60s, it became apparent that the party's traditional policy of separate development was unrealistic, impractical and unjust.

"We had to change. The old order could not be sustained."
Unanimous vote opens NP to all

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The almost 500 delegates at the National Party's Cape provincial congress here yesterday unanimously decided to open the party to all races after minimal debate.

The congress also resolved that a committee comprising NP representatives from all four provinces make proposals about possible future alliances with other parties.

However, the party leadership decided to put the thorny issue of a possible name change on hold.

The Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie De Villiers, told the Cape Times afterwards that "the battle for the open membership issue was won long before the congress".

Party leaders and workers had been hard at work in recent weeks convincing rank-and-file members that the NP would have to sacrifice a meaningful role in future if it clung to its all-white status.

However, delegates at yesterday's congress were divided on whether a name-change would give the party an image that would be more attractive to prospective black members.

During his keynote address to the congress, Dr De Villiers noted that a party which remained exclusively directed at its own members and was unwilling or unable to seek alliances with other groups, would have no role to play in the new South Africa.

"Let's be quite clear about this: A party which depends on the support of only five to 10 percent of the population in a country with 30 million people, cannot play a decisive role."

He said that "drastic measures" had been necessary to free South Africa from the cul-de-sacs in which it found itself.

"Over a period of time — and more particularly during the 80s — it became apparent that the party's traditional policy of separate development was unrealistic, impractical and unjust."

The NP had now broken with the "dreams and illusions" of the past. It had broken free of the spider's web of redundant and unworkable policy, he said.
Details of talks to be made known

DETAILS of the deliberations by the working group set up by the ANC and Government on the definition of "political" offences and the return of exiles, may be released in Pretoria this week, a Government spokesman said in Pretoria on Monday.

He said suggestions that a report of the working group would be released on Monday were "speculative".

The group was established in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute.

The African National Congress nominated as its members Jacob Zuma, Penuel Maduna, Joe Nhlanhla, Aziz Pahad, Matthews Phosa and Sipho Ndlovu, while the Government's group is headed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The group was charged with the formulation of guidelines for the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of "political offences" committed inside and outside South Africa.

Rejected

A row developed last week when the Government charged that information supplied on 3 000 ANC exiles was incomplete, while ANC officials rejected the format of a Government questionnaire exiles are required to complete in order to qualify for indemnity. - Sapa
pardon

EY's deadline for

political pardons

\[ \text{Date: 06/15/16} \]
tions to help create a
peaceful atmosphere
and make South Africa a
safe haven for every-
body.
At yesterday's talks
at Tuynhuys, Mr De
Klerk was accompanied
by the Minister of Con-
stitutional Develop-
ment, Dr Gerrit Viljoen,
and the Minister of Law
and Order, Mr Adriaan
Vlok.
The ANC delegation,
apart from Mr Mandela,
included its secretary-
general, Mr Alfred Nzo;
a member of its national
executive and secretary-
general of the SA Com-
munist Party, Mr Joe
Slovo, and its head of in-
telligence section, Mr
Jacob Zuma.
The joint statement
said: "A review in depth
was made of the recent
spate of violence in
South Africa.
"Note was taken of the
different current percep-
tions concerning the
causes and handling of
this violence.
"There was general
agreement that all sides
must do their utmost to
bring this violence to an
end."
The statement con-
cluded: "Both sides re-
affirmed the need to
keep the negotiation
process on course and to
act in such a way as to
sustain and strengthen
the atmosphere of trust
necessary to achieve this
objective."
Meeting over violence

Special indemnity applied to those who did so before October 30 while the police continued to locate and remove all illegal arms and explosives. The meeting between the two parties started shortly after 11am. Mandela was accompanied by ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, SACP secretary general Mr Joe Slovo and ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma.

Assisted

De Klerk was assisted by Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen and the Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

After the meeting, Mandela told reporters at Tuynhuys's gates and that there would be no questions taken as "this is a very sensitive issue". The descent of detention was "achieve this objective" of ANC leaders had been.
FW, Mandela hone in on violence

Govt stops the clock for indemnity

GOVERNMENT had "activated" the indemnity process and set yesterday as the cut-off date for people to qualify for clemency or immunity from prosecution, President F W de Klerk announced yesterday.

Anyone who committed a political offence after noon yesterday would not be eligible for the clemency or indemnity provided for in the Pretoria Minute, he said. In a statement issued after his meeting in Cape Town with Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC leaders, De Klerk stressed that no pending or current legal process would be suspended because of his announcement, and that no indemnity would be granted automatically.

De Klerk and senior Cabinet members met the ANC delegation to discuss the recent wave of violence in the country.

In a separate, joint statement after their meeting, Mandela and De Klerk said they had reviewed in depth "the recent spate of violence in SA. The different perceptions of the causes and handling of the violence were noted."

There was general agreement that all sides must do their utmost to bring this violence to an end.

The ANC delegation also made submissions concerning the detention of some of its leaders and members under security legislation. The government agreed to deal expeditiously with these submissions. "Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the negotiation process on course and to act in such a way as to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective," they said.

De Klerk was accompanied by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. Other members of the ANC delegation were Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo and Jacob Zuma.

Sapa reports that after the meeting Mandela read the joint statement aloud to a large gathering of media representatives at the gates of Tuynhuys, and said there would be no questions as "this is a very sensitive issue".

De Klerk said government had decided to "activate" the indemnity process after the ANC indicated its acceptance of the latest report of the working group on immunity and indemnity.

Details of the report are not available. The August 6 Pretoria Minute and the earlier working committee report appended to it did not deal with the question of a "cut-off date" regarding political offences. ANC and government sources indicated at the time that this was deliberate because, while it was accepted the ANC required time to spread word of its decision to suspend armed action, government did not wish to produce that potential offenders would have carte blanche to commit violent political acts until a cut-off date had been set.

An ANC official said yesterday the organisation would not comment on De Klerk's statement until tomorrow, as it

From Page 1

Indemnity raised complex issues and needed to be considered thoroughly.

"Application for indemnity must be made through pre-determined channels, and only those who fall within the guidelines for so-called 'political offences' will qualify for indemnity," he said.

The same applied to the release of prisoners, 45 of whom had been freed since August 6. Fifteen more would be released this week.

De Klerk said Justice Minister Kobie

To Page 2
New precedent for DP as black delegates are elected

By Kaiter Nyatsumba, Political Staff

In an unprecedented development, half the number of people elected into the Democratic Party's 12-man Free State/Northern Cape regional executive committee at the weekend were blacks, DP chairman in the region Cas Human has confirmed.

Mr Human said the DP regional congress, held in Harrismith at the weekend, was overwhelmingly attended by black delegates.

Mr Human said the congress accepted as its primary object the second and third leg of the DP's programme of action as enshrined in the party's constitution. These were:

- The extension of interaction with groups and individuals, whether or not they shared the DP's goals, with the object of promoting negotiations, settlements, compromise and reconciliation.
- The development of a broad front for peaceful co-operation, relations, joint strategies and alliances with organisations which pursued the same objectives, both within and outside Parliament.

The congress said it was both "inevitable and necessary" that the Government and the African National Congress (ANC) agreed on the formation of an interim government or that "as the negotiations process unfolds the ANC will become involved in government decisions".

The DP regional congress also resolved to urgently make representations to the Department of Education and Training on behalf of "a high number of students" in Kestell, an area where the DP enjoyed overwhelming support, who had passed their lower classes but could not further their studies because of lack of opportunities.

People elected into the regional committee are Mr Human (chairman), national council members Izak Molefe, Professor Dirk du Toit, Andries Botha and Dr Rhet Khan; additional interaction representatives Robbie Schultz, and additional members Makiti Selepe, Samuel Motu, Joseph Tshabalala, Billy Mofokeng, Eric Mokoena, N Bernard and M Webber.
Govt says courts must have final say

Shilt in power
NP slated at congress

Political Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH. — Professor Humphries du Randt, chairman of the National Party's Walmer branch, caused a stir here on Monday, at the NP's provincial congress, when he said the party had become a "rubber stamp" for preconceived proposals that originated "elsewhere".

Professor Du Randt was complaining about a "secret" draft document on the government's complete plans for a new constitution currently being circulated for comment among members of the Broederbond.

Government ministers were put on the defensive at the congress when delegates wanted to know how much influence their input from the floor would have if the government already had the answers.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, tried to smooth ruffled feathers when he acknowledged that some members felt excluded from making decisions. He urged rank-and-file NP members not to "wait for others" but to take the lead in initiating proposals themselves at local and regional level.

However, Professor Du Randt was not satisfied with Dr Viljoen's assurance and took the unusual step of criticising him in a statement released to the press after Dr Viljoen's reply to the debate.
New constitution a hurdle for future

A GROUP of wise men or the Chief Justice of South Africa should be appointed to umpire a proposed nationwide constitutional debate among all the country's political groupings.

This suggestion was made by Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, when addressing the Democratic Society at the University of Natal in Maritzburg.

De Beer said the essence of a liberal democracy would be an independent judiciary, a fixed constitution containing a human rights manifesto, universal franchise, and regular and fair elections.

The biggest hurdle South Africa had to overcome was the acceptance of any new constitution by the majority of the people, how it should be drawn up and the way in which it could be invested with legal authority.

The big question was whether an election should first be held to choose representatives for a constituent assembly, or whether a constitution should first be hammered out before such an election was held.

**Election**

"I can only guess that the Government will not opt for an election first because, in the atmosphere prevailing in the country, a victory will be considered by whichever party wins as a defeat of either black or white people, and that might be a false start," he warned.

De Beer rejected the proposal by the ANC several months ago that the present Government should not remain in power during the negotiation process, but instead be replaced by an interim government.

"Mr FW de Klerk and his colleagues strongly objected to this, and I must support them; I truly do not believe that it would make sense to replace the present Government until the successful completion of the negotiations and a new Government has been elected under the new constitution," he said.

Before electing representatives for any constituent assembly, he said, a wide-ranging debate about the constitutional future should be engaged in among all political groupings - to create public understanding of what was at stake.

He warned, however, that it would not do to have the present parliament ratify the new constitution. "This procedure was followed with the bicameral parliament and led to it receiving so little acceptance."

A willingness to compromise had to be shown during all constitutional talks and debates, and De Beer was strongly in favour of the appointment of an umpire or facilitator, which could be either a group of wise men or, as had been suggested by Dr Denis Worrall, the Chief Justice of South Africa. - *Sapa*
Grounds for optimism in constitutional debate

By DR DENIS WORRALL, MP

With discussion forums proliferating across the land, the constitutional debate has reached a new high. People are giving serious thought to what kind of country South Africa should be. The Pretoria Conference, jointly sponsored by the Institute of Public Affairs and the University of South Africa, is the first full-scale academic conference. Many of these people have been discussing the issue for some time. The conference is an attempt to bring together the ideas of different groups and to try to find a way forward.

For instance, the idea of a constitutional assembly has been discussed for some time. The assembly would consist of representatives from different communities and would be responsible for drafting a new constitution. The assembly would be elected by the people and would be accountable to them. The assembly would have the power to make laws and would have the final say on constitutional matters.

Another idea is the establishment of a constitutional court. This court would have the power to interpret the constitution and to rule on constitutional questions. The court would be independent of the government and would be responsible only to the people.

There are also discussions about the inclusion of human rights in the constitution. The constitution could be amended to include a Bill of Rights, which would guarantee the fundamental rights of the citizens. The constitution could also be amended to include a provision for a human rights commission, which would monitor the implementation of the Bill of Rights.

The constitutional debate is a complex one and it will take time to find a way forward. But the discussions are important and they are helping to bring about a new vision for South Africa.
FW leaves on 3-day visit to UK, Portugal

Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and Marike de Klerk leave tonight on a three-day private trip to Europe for meetings with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Portuguese President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Cavaco Silva.

In his absence, Foreign Minister Pik Botha will be Acting State President for the first time.

Mr de Klerk will meet the Portuguese leaders in Lisbon tomorrow before embarking on the British passenger liner, Queen Elizabeth 2, bound for Southampton. The QE2 is scheduled to dock on Sunday morning and Mr de Klerk will go from there to Mrs Thatcher's official residence, outside London, on matters of 'mutual interest'. He will return to South Africa on Sunday.
Are Ministers running ahead of the pack?

By PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Correspondent

Former Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall must be thinking of suing the National Party for infringement of copyright after its Cape congress in Port Elizabeth this week.

It's bad enough that the NP has robbed the DP of most of its policies.

But surely, Dr Worrall must be saying, it's adding insult to steal my best rhetorical flourishes as well.

It was he who stomped the campaign trail a year ago, telling white voters: "If you want to be part of the majority you must join with others on the basis of shared values, not skin colour."

Demands

And that was precisely the refrain at the Cape NP congress, of both Cape leader Dawie de Villiers and Constitution and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

But if the Cabinet Ministers on the podium sounded more than ever like Democrats, the delegates sounded mostly like Nats of old.

Their views on most issues raised the disturbing questions: have President de Klerk and his Cabinet left the National Party behind?

These were some of the demands and concerns expressed by delegates: that police should shoot any rioter who lifted a stone to throw at them; that general curfews should be imposed in black areas; that squatters were being treated better than permanent residents; that the country was plunging to Third World status; that civilised values were in jeopardy.

In general, delegates demanded immediate, short-term action to solve the problems on their doorsteps, while the Cabinet Ministers on the podium pleaded for a broader understanding that the behaviour of blacks had to be seen in the context of their physical lot.

For Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vilok, fresh from meeting ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and answering charges of police excess in the townships, it must have been strange, if not unpleasant, to hear demands that policemen should be unshackled and allowed to shoot any rioter who so much as lifted a stone against them.

For good measure, this delegate said he could not understand all the fuss about rioters being shot in the back "because the back makes just as good a target as the front".

Mr Vilok politely explained that no, policemen were obliged to act in such a way that their actions could pass the test of the courts.

Dr Viljoen had to do much the same. Faced with a barrage of complaints about black conduct and demands for civilised standards to be maintained, he, like Mr Vilok, pleaded for understanding of the black lot.

Solitary note

To Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Herbus Kriel fell the task of defending the Government's squatter policy against accusations that squatters seemed to have more rights than property owners and demands that something be done about them.

He said that every rand spent on black upliftment was a premium paid on a survival insurance policy against anarchy, crime and unrest.

Verligte MP for Newton Park, Sakkie Louw, sounded a rather solitary note when he appealed to the Government for more housing money for blacks and asked delegates if any of them had any idea of the "suffering, misery and hardship" in the townships only kilometres from where they sat.

Did any of these messages get through? Perhaps one will only know at the next poll.
No reduction in Rivals for central

Government
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FW traitor - Jaap

President FW de Klerk had betrayed his people and his country, HNP leader Jaap Marais claimed in a fiery Kruger's Day speech at Vereeniging in the heart of the Transvaal Boer fatherland.

With the reform that De Klerk was instigating, the survival of the Afrikaner was once again threatened, as it had been by the British and the Zulu before him, said Marais.

But it was Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr. Eugene TerreBlanche who offered the culminating speech to this commemoration of President Paul Kruger’s birthday: “You can tell your children: “I was there - Vereeniging October 10. The beginning of the second rebellion,”” he said to a standing ovation.

About 600 people, many of them sporting handguns, gathered to hear the two leaders. - Sapa.
Rightist leaders lash out at FW

THREE right-wing leaders yesterday lashed out at President F.W. de Klerk, accusing him of "political suicide" and "betrayal".

Addressing about 1,000 people at a Kruger Day rally in a Bellville caravan park, CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht said Mr. De Klerk would have to clarify "some issues which were causing grave concern" before he could accept the State President's invitation to talks.

Among these were statements about accepting a black majority government, proposing a system of one-man-one-vote, decreeing the repeal of the 1913 and 1938 Land Act and claiming that the last white election had already taken place.

Dr. Treurnicht said Mr. De Klerk had accused him of "clever political games" but he rather played such games than the stupid game of political suicide.

Meanwhile, HNP leader Mr. Jaap Marais claimed in a fiery speech at Vereeniging that Mr. De Klerk has betrayed his people and his country.

With the reform that Mr. De Klerk was instituting the survival of the Afrikaans was once again threatened, as it had been by the British and the Zulu, he said.

AWB leader Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche told the crowd: "You can tell your children: 'I was there — Vereeniging October 10. The beginning of the second rebellion'". — Sapa
FW and Forum find ‘some agreement’

PRETORIA — Government is to have further talks with the National Forum on ways to achieve political co-operation, says Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Speaking after a meeting between President F W de Klerk and the forum yesterday, Viljoen said it was clear from the discussions there were areas of agreement.

Violence in the townships was also discussed. Viljoen said:

The forum is a black urban organisation which rejects violence as a road to a new SA.

Forum president John Mavuso — who is also Transvaal MEC in charge of local government — said after the meeting the forum had been established to provide a political home for those urban blacks who wanted to become involved in participation politics.

It was, he stressed, a political organisation. It had 15 branches throughout the country and a membership of 150 000.

Asked if an alliance with the NP was planned, Mavuso said the forum was open to co-operation with any political organisation which shared its democratic and free enterprise economy ideals and aims.

Intimidation and violence from certain organisations were hampering forum recruitment, “but we believe we can overcome this. The potential for increasing membership is enormous”, he said.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer also attended yesterday’s talks.
Pik takes reins of power — for three days

Pik Botha's moment of glory arrived last night. For the next three days he's our President.

He's missing out on talks with Portuguese President Mario Soares and a meeting with Britain's Iron Lady, Margaret Thatcher. He's foregoing a cruise on the QE2 in between. But the man with wide popular support, whose colleagues would not back him for leader, has made it to the top.

Pik tried for Prime Minister in 1978, he got 22 votes in the first ballot and had to leave P W Botha to defeat Conrie Mulder.

MICHAEL ACOTT

He had a go at becoming NP leader when P W Botha resigned the post last year, but it was F W de Klerk who beat Barend du Plessis and went on to become President.

From the time he became Foreign Minister in 1974, Botha has always accompanied John Vorster, P W Botha and now De Klerk on foreign visits. Each time an acting prime minister, and later an acting president, was sworn in.

Since the last election and the retirement of Chris Heunis, Botha has been the most senior member of Cabinet to whom that acting task falls. But, as Foreign Minister, he had to accompany his head of state abroad.

For once (and nobody's saying why) Pik is staying home to mind the shop. He was sworn in as Acting President last night as De Klerk flew off to Europe.

Pik now has custody of the Seal of the Republic. His "will and pleasure" shall be expressed in writing under his signature. He can hire and fire, he can make war or peace. For three days. The boss returns on Monday and wants his job back.
Young, bitter and white

Just sweet children ... carrying a virulent message of hate through the streets this week

By CHARLES LEONARD

Rightwing militancy and racism marked this week's Kruger Day celebrations.

"If the ANC wants bloodspilling, we'll give it to them," Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging chief Eugene Terreblanche told his followers in Vereeniging. "Come blood! Lots of blood! Not my blood! Their blood! We will chase them into the sea!"

Terreblanche chose Vereeniging, scene of the final downfall of the Boer republics in 1902, to honour the last president of the Transvaal republic and now that the AWB was picking up the arms laid down 88 years ago.

Four hundred AWB commando members and 200 of their chanting children marched through the town to hear Terreblanche speak on Wednesday.

The march, led by Terreblanche and 13 other horsemen, crawled from the Vereeniging showgrounds to the Freedom Monument in front of the town's civic centre, where wreaths were laid.

Vereeniging's streets were lined with curious black people and, on every street corner along the route, armed AWB marshals, about 130 strong.

Following traffic policemen, policemen in uniform and the horsemen were marching commando members under a red, white and black banner depicting an eagle with spread wings and the words "Wetkommando" — sporting brand-new maroon berets and clad in khaki uniforms.

At their heels were children protesting against the opening of white schools to all races — chanting slogans like "AWB! AWB!" , "Weg met FW!" (Away with FW) and "N Kaffer bly n kaffer! Wis bly wiit!" (A "kaffer" stays a "kaffer"! White stays white).

The children, mostly primary school age, bore banners like "Schiek ons FW, hou skool wiit!" (Please uncle FW, keep our schools white). A boy, barely 12 years old, wore a loaded cartridge belt around his waist and carried a placard saying "Die eerste kaffer in ons skool skien ek week!" (The first "kaffer" in our school will kill). A bemused black bystander shook his head and said to a friend in Sotho: "These people are crazy!"

FORTY kilometres east of Vereeniging, the Boers and the Boere Weerstandsbeweging were holding a boerekongres.

Faster than 100 people heard an economic expert explain that the R2 coin was proof of the decay of the South African economy.

In the Johannesburg suburb of Westdene, a different sort of boerefees was held: a non-racial, no-spaces, no-fee for Kruger — and provision made for vegetarians. It was the Afrikaner Democrat's version of volksefes.

Present at this progressive group's joll were members of the Johannesburg's northern branch of the African National Congress, the Alexandra Civic, the Transvaal Indian Congress, South African Railway Workers Union and their children.

"Our idea was to defamiliarise Kruger's or Heroes Day," Afrikaner Democrat member Elnie Cloete said. "We have a problem with great heroes or the father figures who have to solve all our problems.

"The only people who made a noise here today were the children," she said. "You do not need to shout or scream when you are on the winning side."
Transfer of power is the important stage in the revolution of different countries. Transfer of power differs from one country to another. The most important aspect of this lies on the power of revolutionary movements. The most important one is the total seizure of power where you do not need to consult the enemy. Example: in the Soviet Union. The Bolsheviks destroyed the Tsarist hierarchy. That is why the Soviet Union became the first government to be controlled by workers because workers are the only people who can give direction after the seizure of power.

In France the French revolution brought the idea of democracy. Workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisies managed to overthrow the king in France. The idea of a Constituent Assembly started in France. In France the revolution was dominated by the petty bourgeoisie. The people of France managed to achieve the main goal which was to be free from feudalism. Workers were highly involved in this struggle. They tried to establish their own government, the worker commune under Louis Blanck but due to lack of how they must rule themselves it failed. The bourgeois democracy which was preached by Montesquie and other philosophers was opted but many people were not involved in decision making.

In Nicaragua the imperialist force ruled the country through the puppet Somoza. He was the one to sharpen imperialist’s teeth. The people of Nicaragua organised themselves under the leadership of Sandanista, PSLN. The Sandanistas managed to overthrow the puppet Somoza by mass action and the armed struggle. This was total seizure of power. The enemy fled the country and the people’s state was established. The position was that Nicaragua as part and parcel of Latin America was mostly dependent on the USA. The imperialists launched sanctions against the People’s government and supported the Contras to retard the development of the state. At the last election the Sandanistas lost the elections because people were stirring under their statesmanship. The conditions differ in Mozambique where bandits are destroying everything in their disposal but people believe that Frelimo is their only political party. And that means that Sandanistas have the revolutionary task to consolidate the people’s organs of power on the ground.

In Zimbabwe the transfer of power was initiated by imperialist Britain. The national liberation movement ZANU and ZAPU agreed on the Lancaster House Agreement which all the people of Zimbabwe were allowed to vote. The question of voting is important as the vote going will determine and uplift the standard of living. If the vote agreement does not allow you to do that why continue to fight? The most important issue about Zimbabwe is that the people have the vote but the capitalists still exploit the workers. The final analysis is that there was not total transfer of power to the people. Change must be economic and political.

In Namibia the colonialist racist regime was defeated by Swapo. The problem lies with the Resolution 435 of which the people of Namibia were not involved in drafting it. Workers and peasants were in the forefront of the battlefield but in the end of the day USA and Britain and Canada decided how the people of Namibia must engage themselves in the sharing of power. This creates problems, for example on May day, capitalists were the main guests of the celebration. Workers started questioning the government of the day. Let us hope that change is permanent and people of Namibia will decide how the government of the day must work in future elections.

In our present situation South Africa since 1910 we have been ruled by a minority and people of South Africa have rejected the minority regime. I think we must build the organs of people’s power to the grassroot level before we can entertain the question of a constituent assembly by educating the masses and sharpen mass action on the ground. In our situation we are fortunate because there are no imperialist forces which dictate to our people on how to seize power for the free Constituent Assembly. It means we must eliminate all the reactionary forces otherwise we are going to have problems.

Maredi, (Soweto)
ANC must participate

Govt outlines strategy on negotiations

FULL-scale negotiations would have to start early next year and, despite existing problems, government expected the ANC to participate, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Starting such negotiations without the ANC would be an admission of failure, Viljoen told a Pretoria Press conference.

However, only hours later the ANC's information and publicity department issued a statement accusing government of undermining efforts to achieve a settlement and calling into question President FW de Klerk's integrity.

Viljoen said government could not wait indefinitely before beginning negotiations and organisations that were not prepared to take part from the outset would have to catch up. As a result, the ANC had marginalised itself. While govern-

ment was still waiting for a PAC response, much work would be necessary before that organisation could take part as it was "a leading expert in war talk."

Viljoen said that, because government had worked so hard with the ANC towards a negotiating process under way, it would be an admission of failure to start without it. This did not mean the ANC was the only important player. But, like Inkatha, the ANC was a player of such importance government would not want to begin negotiations without it.

Government had set its sights on a "Groot Beraad" including all participants who had agreed to try to negotiate a settlement, he said.

The ANC's participation in such a meet-

To Page 2

Mike Robertson

Talks would depend on progress achieved by the armed action working committee. "When it comes to the real McCoy, there must be an end to violence and intimidation."

Viljoen said his upbeat prediction was based on recent speeches and statements that indicated government and the ANC could "find ourselves" on issues such as the demand for a constituent assembly election on which there had been sharp differences initially.

He believed this was mainly due to government's acceptance that there would have to be democratic approval for what was agreed to at the negotiating table.

Government believed this could be achieved by a referendum for all South Africans in which provision was made to identify the white result. This would enable De Klerk to fulfill his election promise.

Viljoen said government had considered proposals to hold constituent assembly elections once a negotiating forum had agreed to basic outlines for a constitution.

He said government would agree to such a suggestion only if other parties accepted it should not take place in such a way that the NP's insistence on protection for minorities was "wiped off the table."

Viljoen said the first task of the negotiating forum would be to discuss aspects such as a bill of rights, which all parties had accepted in principle.

He believed there would be "a lot of benefit" in trying to come to an early accord on basic constitutional principles such as a multi-party state, a unitary SA and the need to hold regular elections.

As an interim measure, government was prepared to negotiate channels by which organisations outside the tricameral system could influence decisions taken in Parliament. But, he stressed, government was not prepared to abdicate power.
ANC and FW in row over break of faith

THE Government had refused to release ANC leader Mac Maharaj despite a personal guarantee by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that he would stand trial, the organisation said yesterday.

The issue on Maharaj is one of the submissions made by Mandela at a meeting between the ANC and the Government in Cape Town on Monday.

Yesterday the ANC released extracts of submissions made at the talks, claiming a serious breach of faith on the part of the Government.

But these allegations were denied last night by President FW de Klerk at a hastily convened Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport before he left for Britain and Portugal.

The ANC had accused the Government of “double standards”, saying rightwingers were being released on bail soon after their arrest.

In Maharaj’s case, the docket had been handed to the Attorney-General. This meant investigations had been completed, but he was still in jail.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the two parties had agreed that submissions made at the meeting would be confidential.

However, the ANC had decided to reveal some of the extracts because of breach of faith by the Government.

Reacting to the allegations last night, De Klerk said: “I find it a pity that they have breached the agreement which was reached because they will now force us to publicly react and reject the allegations.

“It is important that we keep the negotiation process on track and I find it a pity that after three days suddenly there is criticism ... and a negative statement is made almost the moment I am due to meet some heads of government during my overseas visit.”
ANC in surprise attack on ‘FW’s integrity’

By PHILIP VAN NIEKERK and JO-ANNE COLLINGS

The African National Congress yesterday launched an unprecedented attack on the integrity of President FW de Klerk, revealing major strains in the relationship between the country’s two main negotiating partners.

Accusing the government of duplicity, the ANC took the unusual step of releasing hard-hitting excerpts of a confidential submission that an ANC delegation, under the movement’s deputy president Nelson Mandela, made at Monday’s meeting with De Klerk.

Until now the movement has been careful to isolate De Klerk from its rhetorical attacks on the government, sticking by Mandela’s line that De Klerk is a “man of integrity”.

However, the attack at the press conference yesterday was made by Department of Information officials and not by any senior members of the ANC’s national executive committee.

Nor was there any sign that the negotiating process was being placed in any real jeopardy.

“The ANC accused the government of betraying an agreement to keep the intention to meet confidential and of diminishing the importance of Monday’s talks by immediately launching a broadside on the ANC at the Cape National Party Congress,”

In a hastily-called press conference last night De Klerk rejected the ANC’s allegations that the government had committed a breach of faith.

He said he had heard that the ANC had made public a document with many “unfounded” allegations which he had rejected at Monday’s discussions.

What the ANC revealed in its statement yesterday is real concern that it is being outmanoeuvred by the government and fears that the report and file will not be available by De Klerk.

The release of the document appears designed to let ANC rank and file know what transpired at Tywyns.

Among other things, De Klerk accused the ANC of utilising suspension of the armed struggle merely as “a temporary strategy”.

In response the ANC charged that:

“This concerted propaganda offensive is designed, as is the campaign of violence, to weaken the ANC and to create an image of vacillation and division so that, amongst our people, there is a loss of confidence in the movement.”

Included among the ANC submissions to De Klerk were:

- That the Reef violence, carried out by a sophisticated and professional “killing machine”, was part of the “strategy of the rightwing”, some of whom undoubtedly continue to have a strong presence in the police, army and security forces.

It was calculated to put the ANC in a difficult position.

- That the conflict had been linked to the media to secret training bases for Inkatha members in Caprivi, run by officers of the South African Defence Force.

“A reluctance to subject such widespread allegations to impartial inquiry fuels popular perception that there are forces close to you, Mr President, with a double agenda,” Mandela told De Klerk in the document.

- That the military itself was veering away from the spirit and letter of aspects of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, particularly in relation to the question of the ANC’s undertaking to suspend armed struggle.

- That the law was applied in a discriminatory fashion to ANC followers.

The Afrikaner Weerstands Beweging was allowed to run armed commandos and training camps.

“None of these can be expected to advise our people that MK must cease its struggle,” Mandela told De Klerk in the document.

In addition, detention under section 29 of the Internal Security Act was more stringently applied to ANC members than to others.

For example, while ANC and South African Communist Party allegations of torture were met with blank denial, rightwing claims evoked immediate undertakings to investigate.

Inkatha leader Thembu Khosa was brought to court forthwith after allegedly issuing weapons and was granted bail, ANC leader Mac Maharaj was still in detention three months after arrest.
FOCUS: Navigating the negotiations labyrinth...

The South African public will be pardoned for not knowing what on earth is happening in this country. At the weekend, the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, repeated charges of a conspiracy in the bosom of the state. He angrily blamed the violence on two forces: the "Third Force" and the askaris, military intelligence, the National Intelligence Service and Koevoet.

The government, for its part, was angry with the ANC over the repeated claims and wanted to confront the organisation over this issue as well. One would have expected — at the very least — for harsh words to be traded at Monday's meeting between Mandela and De Klerk. We don't know exactly what transpired, only the mild joint statement issued afterwards in which both parties agreed to differ on the violence.

"The different perceptions of the causes and handling of the violence were noted," it said, adding that both sides reaffirmed their support for the negotiation process and the "need to strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective".

Three days later the ANC did call a press conference and released the text of Mandela's hard-hitting submission, but the gap between the pre-talks rhetoric and the post-talks silence was puzzling to the public in general and ANC supporters in particular.

Unfortunately, it is something we are learning to live with — the contradictions and the confusion. When ought we to take what politicians say seriously?

Take the government. Interpreting what it really intends to do with the country is like trying to read the tea leaves.

Even the National Party's own members now accuse it of being under the undue secretive influence of the Broederbond.

The South African public could be forgiven for starting to feel stamped upon like the proverbial grass when the elephants start to play.

The liberation movement's supporters are asking a lot of questions themselves. Mac Maharaj, a member of the ANC's national executive committee has — along with other members of the movement — been in detention without trial for almost three months.

In the Groote Schuur Minute in May, the government committed itself to reviewing the Internal Security Act, and everyone has assumed that detention without trial is on the way out. But it is still being used against senior ANC members, even after last week's cut-off point for political offences. The best that comes out of Monday's meeting is that the ANC makes submissions about the detentions and "the government agreed to deal expeditiously with these submissions".

Perhaps Maharaj is a pawn or a minor chess piece sacrificed for some larger strategic game plan. Except that at times the ANC seems desperate to keep the negotiations on course.

The perception, at least, is that this leads the organisation into accepting a lot less than what its rhetoric promises or its credibility threshold allows.

On Thursday the ANC came close to reviewing its opinion of De Klerk — that he is a man of integrity. But at what stage does the ANC retaliate by pulling out of the negotiations or hitting back in some other way?

Never mind, we are told. Somewhere, the negotiations are still on course. Both the government and the ANC are optimistic and will keep us informed when there is anything new to report.

Meanwhile, the "son of God" goes on a stabby spree through the streets of Durban chanting "We've come to take over this place," and unknown gunmen fire on a bus, randomly murdering innocent commuters.

Nobody knows for sure who did it, but everyone is prepared to guess — and more often than not, the conspiracy theories are likely to be true.
A while ago we ran a series on the Transfer of Power. We looked at the history of the transfer of power in various countries and asked readers to write to us telling us how power should be transferred in South Africa. Here are some of your replies.

No elections for a constituent assembly
New Nation 12/10-13/10/90 (304A)
We are writing in response to a call by New Nation (Learning Nation) of 30 August to express our views on how transfer of power should be done here in South Africa. First of all we would like to respond to a suggestion that elections for a Constituent Assembly based on one person one vote be held. We strongly condemn this suggestion because this may result in one of the major parties obtaining two-thirds (75%) of the population which will entitle them to draw their own constitution which will obviously have their own interests and this will result in nationalism among the minority parties and the alliance will be conducive to a renewed struggle.

We therefore think that the best way to transfer power will be in this way: all political parties i.e. parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties including trade unions, with the "exception of bantustan leaders", must sit down (with equal representation and without elections being held) and draft a new constitution for a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa which will have the interests of all South Africans.

We cannot ignore nor can we pretend to be not seeing the problem of who will monitor the process. This is another hurdle that needs sober minded people to overcome it.

Our suggestion on resolving this deadlock is that an acceptable body or authority to the constituent assembly must monitor the process but we would prefer that the UN monitor the process as was the case with Namibia. All the power of the state including the police force must be handed over to this interim government because it would be unacceptable to the other parties if the state powers remain in the hands of the National Party while it is at the same time engaged in talks. After the drafting of the new constitution, a referendum must be held so that the people of South Africa are given a chance to approve what their leaders shall have agreed upon. We however believe that if a political organisation agreed upon the constitution, then their followers will spontaneously support the constitution.

After the referendums it is then that we can have general elections in which power will be the name of the game and the winning party will be compelled to rule the country according to the constitution which was drawn and agreed upon by all political parties and which shall have been approved by the people of South Africa. We think that if our leaders really want to bury the hatchet in South Africa, this will be the best procedure to follow.

From: Reihlo Moredi and Khonasho Motsoelobe, Malebo High School, Rebro
ANC questions De Klerk's integrity

THE ANC yesterday accused President F W de Klerk of a breach of confidentiality and took the unprecedented step of unilaterally releasing details of its meeting with government earlier this week.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus and Saki Macozoma told a Press conference in Johannesburg that government actions this week had jeopardised the negotiation process and the ANC had been forced to "call into question the integrity of De Klerk".

But they said this would not derail the negotiation process.

De Klerk last night rejected the ANC allegations. Sapa reports.

Marcus and Macozoma released submissions made by deputy leader Nelson Mandela to a meeting the ANC had with government in Cape Town on Monday.

Mandela had authorised this step following public statements De Klerk made after the meeting, despite an agreement that both sides would confine comments to a brief joint statement.

Yesterday's statement accused De Klerk of "double-talk" by telling the NP's Cape congress that the ANC had adopted positions that jeopardised negotiations.

In his submission, Mandela warned of growing evidence pointing to a "departure by government from the letter and spirit of certain aspects of both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes."

He insisted that the existence of ANC arms caches did not conflict with the Pretoria Minute.

"Appealing to government not to seek short-term, unfair gains at the ANC's expense, Mandela said government members had subjected him to a "salvo of vicious and unfair criticism"."

In his response, De Klerk said the ANC could be referring to only two instances when they spoke about a "breach of faith". These were a statement on a cut-off date for political offences, and his speech in Port Elizabeth this week.

In both cases, he said fully informed the ANC beforehand, De Klerk said.
Pretoria — Government is to have further talks with the National Forum on ways to achieve political cooperation, says Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Speaking after a meeting between President F.W. de Klerk and the forum yesterday, Viljoen said it was clear from the discussions there were areas of agreement.

Violence in the townships was also discussed, Viljoen said.

"The forum is a black urban organisation which rejects violence as a road to a new SA."

Forum president John Mavuso — who is also Transvaal MEC in charge of local government — said after the meeting the forum had been established to provide a political home for those urban blacks who wanted to become involved in political participation.

It was, he stressed, a political organisation. It had 15 branches throughout the country and a membership of 150 000.

 Asked if an alliance with the NP was planned, Mavuso said the forum was open to co-operation with any political organisation which shared its democratic and free enterprise economy ideals and aims.

Intimidation and violence from certain organisations were hampering forum recruitment, "but we believe we can overcome this. The potential for increasing membership is enormous", he said.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Reolf Meyer also attended yesterday's talks.
Broederbond: Top Nat slams ‘cliques’

THE simmering row over Broederbond “power cliques” dominating National Party policy-making burst into the open yesterday when a leading Nationalist called on the NP leadership urgently to democratise internal workings of the party.

The chairman of the NP’s Walmer Branch, Professor Humphries du Randt, claimed that a small minority of Broederbonders were trying to influence and direct the views of ordinary NP members.

He said it was clear to any intelligent observer that the practice of “nepotism, self-advancement, co-optation and aggressive exclusion of critical fellow South Africans” had become entrenched as a result of Broederbond “cells”.

The row follows the leaking of a secret draft document on the government’s plans for a new constitution being circulated for comment among members of the Broederbond.

Some delegates to this week’s Cape congress asked what the point was in discussing constitutional matters if the government, in collusion with the Broederbond, had already made up its mind...
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY sanctions will be the dominant topic today when President FW de Klerk and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher meet for lunch.

The informal "private" meeting at Chequers, the Prime Minister's country residence, once again highlights Mr De Klerk's growing reputation as an international statesman, unprecedented since South Africa's post-war years.

Dowling Street sources said discussions would centre on the imminent EC Council of Ministers meeting on October 21. Britain believes the meeting may result in an easing of the voluntary ban against investment in South Africa.

Diplomats in London said Mrs Thatcher was likely to again press for further tangible and speedy evidence of reform to strengthen her hand.

London papers yesterday speculated about the likelihood of a visit by Mrs Thatcher to South Africa within the next 12 months. She is known to be keen on the idea, but will not risk offending black leaders by moving prematurely without their approval.

Mr de Klerk arrived in Britain aboard the cruise liner QE II, which he boarded in Lisbon. Last night he addressed a conference of international businessmen on board.

ALL ABOARD! President De Klerk boards the QE II in Lisbon, bound for London and talks at Chequers.
sell ‘new vision’ of SA

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE National Party has embarked on a major drive to build alliances across racial boundaries to ensure it has a strong position in the new South Africa.

And there is a growing belief in Government circles that such a moderate alliance will be able to hold its own against the ANC in a one-person, one-vote election.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen told the Sunday Times this week that his own views on this "have changed dramatically" over the past few weeks.

"I now have a complete new vision about the future," he said. "It is possible for us to be part of the majority instead of only thinking about ourselves as a minority that needs special protection."

Two factors seem to have engendered a new spirit of self-confidence in the party:

- The realisation that the ANC is not the all-powerful juggernaut, sweeping up all political support, that it claimed to be. It is becoming clearer every day that it is struggling with the same problems of apathy, divisions and organisational headaches that are troubling other political parties.
- Recent countrywide polls that put support for President F W de Klerk among the whole population at 22 percent.

Alliance

"And we have not even started to market our visions and policies," Dr Viljoen said.

"There is no reason whatsoever why a broad alliance of South Africans will not be able to beat the ANC in an election. We may even draw ANC supporters away from them."

Dr Viljoen said he believed political divisions in a future South Africa would be based more on ideological differences than on racial and cultural divisions.

"The role of the new NP will be to become part of a broad front that can be built up into the dominant political force in the country."

However, he ruled out any alliance between the Government and the ANC.

"We differ on fundamental issues," he said. "There is a wide gulf between our vision of the future and the ANC's."

Indications are that the party will embark on a four-pronged strategy to strengthen its position after its Transvaal congress this Saturday puts the final stamp, as expected, on opening up the party to all races.

- Position the NP in the middle of the political spectrum as the party standing for law and order, free-enterprise and stable community life.
- Campaign on a multi-media information campaign to project the new image of the party followed by a massive recruitment drive.
- Seek alliances with other moderate political groupings without necessarily merging with them.
- Publicly criticise the ANC's policies, especially on economics.

Dr Viljoen said the Government was confident it would be able to negotiate a new constitution that would be acceptable to the vast majority — including the white electorate.
The bloody cost of leaders who refuse to lead

Democratic

There are leaders who refuse to meet and negotiate. While they refuse, many hundreds, or even thousands, of people die. Only then do the leaders decide to meet!

Such leaders or groups of people must be called upon to answer for the blood of those whose lives could have been saved had negotiations taken place earlier.

No one has the right to exclude other people from negotiations. Only the voters can do that. The only persons who are justified are those who choose to exclude themselves. That is a perfectly democratic thing.

Painful

Even those who choose to go and live in the Karoo—poor Karoo—went to Professor Carl Boshoek's college in Klerksdorp or on a ship in the middle of the ocean are perfectly entitled to do so as long as they do not coerce or interfere with the democratic rights of others.

There are the most shameful events in our country: the Natal massacres and the riots in the Blood of Blood. From Soweto, Thokoza, Soweto and Tembisa.

The blame must be put at the door of our leaders who did not advise the leaders or who held the leaders to ransom. I know that this occurred as some of the leaders actually shared their pain with some of us.

We hope this tragic situation of paralysing leaders will not happen again. Those leaders who feel strongly against peace initiatives should voice their views publicly so history can make its judgement in due course.

I wish to identify those ideologies that are pursuing agendas that have not been clearly stated or motivated. Some of these ideologies do not care for our interests and have no scruples about black life.

Stanley Mogoba slams the failure of South African leaders to bring an end to the violence that has ravaged the country.

ULTIMATE PRICE ... One of the many victims of the recent carnage lies dead beneath a pile of old newspapers.

I use this "racial tag" because the majority of those who die come from the black community. I want to know why, if it is a matter of ideological commitment, so few from other racial groups have been asked to pay the supreme price.

It is also a matter of historical record that the great majority of those who have lost their lives don't know what they are dying for. Some die because they want revenge. God forbid!

We have had reports that there are some policemen and soldiers who are misusing their positions of trust and killing and perpetuating the conflict.

Having said that, I want to pay tribute to those members of the police force and the army who have served the country with courage and have put their lives on the line and performed heroic deeds.

The time has come when we should stop condemning all the police and soldiers. No country can exist without an effective peacekeeping force. No ruler — black or white — can rule without them.

What we need is a new police force for a new South Africa. Policemen who do not want to adapt to change should have resigned long ago. If they have not done so, I call upon them to submit their resignations forthwith. We need policemen we can trust and respect.

Our sympathies go to those policemen who have suffered and even died because they were painted with the same brush as their reactionary colleagues.

Dangerous

Then there is the "Tal Force". These are young and black persons who are professional killers and are now mercenary or self-employed. They see killing people in the townships of Natal and now come to the Rand. These vultures are very dangerous to our country.

Some of them have been killing in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, in Namibia and now they are fighting the last-ditch battle in South Africa. Innocent, unsuspecting victims are their main targets.

We need to arm our people, not with guns, but with facts and training so that they will not be easily manipulated.

Critical

At this critical time in our land, when so many of our children's lives seem to be at risk, I am reminded of the suggestion that the Second World War may have begun as the ink dried on the parchment of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the First World War.

This was as true for the Europe of 1914 and 1940 as it is true for the South Africa of 1990.

The Rev. Stanley Mogoba is president of the Methodist Church and the SA Institute of Race Relations. This is an extract of a speech to the Methodist Conference in Welkom yesterday.
WAR OF WORDS

ANC AND GOVT IN

AWB men blinded

Still on the rails

But both sides

Hughes: says Gardener
ANC man shot
MDANTSANE trade unionist dead during an ANC branch meeting on Friday night.  
A witness said Wabena died when a man wearing a stocking masked his face and entered the house with a handgun and fired into the chest.
He was reported dead at Makwane Hospital.  
Ciskei police could not be reached for comment.
Wabena was chairman of the Theirayi and an official of the SA Dope.
It was the fourth attack on him, Hinta Siwisa said.
POWER SHARING — WITHOUT THE TEARS

Peter Marshall Proposes a

AS THE CASE OF POLITICAL

GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE SITE

RECONCILIATION TO TAKE THE SITE

without the tears
FW faces storm over ANC issues

By SY MAKARINGE

STATE President FW de Klerk returns to South Africa today after a four-day visit abroad and will land in the middle of a storm between his Government and the African National Congress over the release last week of submissions made by the ANC at a meeting in Cape Town.

One of the major issues immediately facing him is the withholding of a report of the joint working group established in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Coetsee said the decision to withhold the report was conveyed to the ANC. The Government was ready to proceed with the peace process once the ANC had clarified its Press statements, he said.

The ANC on Thursday released extracts of submissions made by the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, at a meeting in Cape Town last Monday, claiming a serious breach of faith on the part of the Government.

The two parties had agreed that the submissions made at the meeting should be confidential.

The organisation questioned De Klerk's integrity and accused the Government of applying double standards.

Conflict

He said this appeared to be in direct conflict with the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.
CP stands ready to ditch old Verwoerdsian ideals

MOVES to counter government's reform policies are expected to take centre stage at the Conservative Party's two-day national congress which starts in Illovo, Natal, tomorrow.

CP sources said motions approved by the four provincial congresses were to be presented for ratification, but the main topic — the revision of CP strategies to counter NP policy — would take place behind closed doors.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht is to officially open the congress at a public meeting in the Durban City Hall tomorrow night.

The media have been barred from the whole of Wednesday's proceedings.

The congress will consider motions which, if endorsed, will result in a shift in CP policy away from old-style Verwoerdsian apartheid.

Several of the motions indicate a move away from the prescriptive bantustan policy of the 1960s and the rejection of the use of black labour in white urban areas, in contrast to the prior emphasis on the use of black labour without the granting of political rights.

The second debate would be on borders of a white fatherland and whether the CP should move away from prescribing to other population groups in the old Verwoerdsian way.

Other groups

A motion from the Transvaal, in the constitutional development section, reconfirms CP policy of a separate fatherland for the Afrikaner nation and for those whites who identify with this aspiration.

However, the motion specifies that CP policy should not be prescriptive regarding the inhabiting and control of "the rest of the territory" by other population groups.

This motion contrasts sharply with the prescriptive aspects of official CP policy which, unilaterally, defines which ethnic group belongs in which homeland.

Official CP policy considers the white fatherland as that outside the existing black homelands and the proposed coloured and Indian homelands.

Another motion from the Transvaal indicates a shift away from the CP's endorsement of black labour in the white fatherland.

The motion calls for the gradual introduction of a system whereby dependency on black labour is reduced.

One of the motions also indicates the warming of relations between the CP and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It states that in terms of the CP's principles of self-determination, the congress accords due respect to the struggle of the Zulu nation in resisting the oppression of the ANC/SACP.
DP 'sees two obstacles to alliance with NP'

By Helen Grange

The Democratic Party — no longer feasible as a single party — saw two obstacles in the way of forming a bilateral agreement with the National Party, the party's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said last night.

Discussing the future of the DP at Benoni, Dr de Beer said it was now necessary for the party to become part of a greater whole.

While the ideological gap between the DP and NP was now very small, the African National Congress's commitment to socialism and communism was not in line with DP values, he said.

Dr de Beer highlighted the NP's commitment to the Supreme Court as the future ultimate power, and the abandonment of minority rights as a top priority, as steps that had significantly narrowed the gap between the two parties.

However, obstacles to forming a coalition with the NP were that it was difficult to trust the NP, considering its "frequent somersaults", and that a "ganging-up of two substantially white parties" would achieve nothing in the new South Africa.

"If there is to be a meaningful coalition, it simply must include very substantial numbers of brown and black people." Dr de Beer said although the ANC, the largest political organisation in SA, was a desirable partner, it was just an organisation and a "pretty loose one at that". It was, however, a top priority to develop relationships with ANC groups as well as other political groups representing the disenfranchised people.
CP hecklers boo Minister, force Nat meeting to close

Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — A rowdy Conservative Party audience last night disrupted a National Party meeting at which Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Education Roelf Meyer was guest speaker.

"About two-thirds of the audience at Nelspruit's Van Riebeeck Hall were CP supporters. They booed, heckled and insulted Nelspruit National Party MP Dolf Mare as he tried to introduce Mr Meyer.

When he finally managed to speak there were loud outbursts from the audience.

"We want Dolf! We want Dolf!" they shouted.

Only when Nelspruit's CP chairman, Douwe Steyn, intervened was Mr Meyer given a chance to speak.

"Allow me to speak for 30 minutes and then Mr Mare will answer all your questions," Mr Meyer said. But the audience refused.

"Dolf Mare cannot be trusted. Let us ask the questions first, then you can talk afterwards," the crowd demanded.

When no decision could be reached the chairman declared the meeting closed.
The Premier is said publicly to have the support of all the members of the party. There has been no official comment from the party. The newspaper reports that the government is considering a proposal to give South Africa a United Nation's seat, the Prime Minister has accused the Prime Minister of United Nation's of being a spy for the United Kingdom. The newspaper reports that the government is considering a proposal to give South Africa a United Nation's seat, the Prime Minister has accused the Prime Minister of United Nation's of being a spy for the United Kingdom.
Eastern Bloc ‘not a suitable model’

The state should play a strong but not overbearing role in the reconstruction of SA, ANC chief economist Tito Mboweni said yesterday at a conference on the implications of changes in eastern Europe on SA.

At the SA Institute of International Affairs conference in Johannesburg, Mboweni focused on the role of the state while responding to comments made by Central European Research Center chairman Laszlo Lang.

Lang had said one of the essential prerequisites for the transition of former communist countries to a market system was the necessity to privatise “sectors” because of their inherent inefficiency.

Mboweni questioned this, saying that while it might be useful to learn from the experiences of eastern European countries, the comparison was, to some extent, inappropriate.

“It would be ‘dangerous’ to be pessimistic to the extent that the state was given no role at all,” he said.

“We (the ANC) are of the opinion that the post-apartheid state has a role to play in the economic reconstruction of SA,” he said, pointing out the mass democratic movement expected the state to play such a role.

But he added that the ANC saw this reconstruction taking place in a “fairly developed capitalist society”.

While taking on the tasks that it could, the state should not take over the many other programmes which could be run by the private sector.

Mboweni also questioned how much influence the private sector should have in determining the direction of economic development.

He said most of SA’s economic booms had left the majority of people in the country untouched.

Lang said this was preferable in some ways to having no booms at all.

In his address, Lang said another eastern European experience which might be relevant to SA was that nation-wide support for the anti-communist or revolutionary leadership had faded quickly.

Governments could point to the evil legacy of the past for three to five months, but after that they were called to task for the lack of improvements in living standards.

This had mitigated against another necessity for the success of former communist countries’ transitions — the need for strong governments.

He defined this as normal government with strong national-wide support.
CP policy shifts under discussion

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party's (CP) national congress starts here today amid indications that the party may use the occasion to reconsider its strong opposition to negotiations.

Much of the two-day congress will be held behind closed doors, fuelling speculation that important policy shifts will come under discussion.

Although the party is officially opposed to negotiations involving the ANC and SA Communist Party, it has recently begun to show signs of acknowledging the pressure to enter the process.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has on several occasions stated his willingness to accept the Government's invitation to come to the negotiation table — if President De Klerk clarifies certain reform statements.

At the party's four provincial congresses over the last two months, the rank-and-file have frequently expressed uncertainty about the party's role in negotiations.

The ambivalence in the CP about negotiations is also reflected in resolutions on the party's policy of partition.

One resolution from the Cape confirms the official party line that white South Africa comprises all the land outside the independent and self-governing territories and the envisaged coloured and Indian states.

But much greater flexibility about the boundaries of the white state is expressed in a resolution from the Transvaal which confirms the policy of a white fatherland "without being prescriptive with regard to the occupation and control of the rest of the territory by other population groups."

Scepticism about the workability of partition is clear in a resolution from the Cape Province which asks the party to give guidance to party workers to help them answer questions from the public.

It is clear that the CP is beginning to struggle in theory with the Verwoerdian policy of grand apartheid.

But most of the many resolutions consist of hostile attacks on almost every aspect of NP policy, from the unbanning of the ANC through to the AIDS problem supposedly posed by mixed hospitals.

The only real item of interest during the open debate today will be when congress discusses the NP's "so-called new South Africa."

The real meat is likely to be chewed on during tomorrow's debates, all of which will be held in camera.

Dr Treurnicht will officially open the congress with a public meeting in the Durban City Hall tonight.

The congress takes place at the Natalia holiday resort in Illovo, south of Durban.
CP plans defiance campaign

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — Defiance strategies aimed at neutralising the government's bid to end petty apartheid are expected to feature high on the agenda at the Conservative Party's national congress starting in Illovo today.

However, much of the public debate at the two-day congress will be devoted to how the CP hopes to replace the government's vision of "a new SA" with old-fashioned grand apartheid.

The CP's chief PRO, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said yesterday that apart from the financial measures currently used by right-wing local authorities to keep amenities for the exclusive use of whites, the party was also considering a number of undisclosed anti-integration measures.

This follows a government announcement that it was considering legislation to stop CP city councils from clinging to the provisions of the now defunct Separate Amenities Act.

However, the government is likely first to monitor the extent of CP intransigence, and any new tactics, before settling for additional legislation.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is expected to throw light on the planned defiance campaign when he opens the congress at a public meeting in Durban City Hall tonight.

He is also likely to deal with the party's row with President De Klerk about whether it will take part in negotiations for a new constitution.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party's Mr Jan van Eck warned of possible "nationwide confrontation" during the December holidays.

He called on the Minister of Provincial Affairs, Mr Hennus Kriel, to take urgent steps to ensure that legislation was in place before the holiday period to prevent local authorities from retaining separate amenities.

"Unless this is done, we may see nationwide confrontation between racist local authorities and the majority of South Africans," Mr Van Eck said.
Opening the doors to Africa
No need for alarm, says FW
De Klerk.

The difficulties experienced between government and the ANC in the past week were not alarming and would be overcome, President FW De Klerk said yesterday.

He was addressing a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Britain.

"We must realize that in the (negotiation) process ahead certain tensions will arise from time to time."

De Klerk was reacting to the recent deterioration in the relationship between the ANC and government after the ANC alleged De Klerk had breached a confidence. — Sapa.
ANC, govt to patch up their differences

THE ANC and government are set to patch up their recent differences and put the release of political prisoners and granting of indemnity back on track at a working group meeting today.

But ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday delays in finalising the return of exiles could force the organisation to postpone its congress due to begin on December 16 in Bloemfontein.

He said a routine working group meeting had been planned for today before the row between the parties last week.

"We assume [Justice Minister] Kobie Coetsee will seek the clarification he referred to in his statement on Friday, and expect to sort out the differences in interpretation which emerged last week."

Coetsee announced on Friday that government was unwilling to announce the guidelines and procedures for the release of prisoners and the granting of indemnity in a phased manner that had been agreed to by the parties, until the ANC had clarified statements that appeared to contradict the working group reports and the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes.

MACOZOMA said it appeared to the ANC that government bureaucrats had quoted aspects of the working group accord on indemnity out of context.

"We do not believe government's political leadership would see it this way."

Other top ANC sources said yesterday they were convinced the release and indemnity process would soon be back on track and that the working group report could be released today.

A Ministry of Justice spokesman said: "The matter is progressing satisfactorily."

He declined to elaborate.

Macozoma said the ANC's greatest concern was the impression created by government that each ANC member in exile would have to complete a detailed form on his or her life and political history.

The ANC believed most exiles would fall into groups categorised by the working group report, and the ANC would apply for indemnity on their behalf collectively.

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ANC/govt

It was only "residual" individuals — those whose entitlement to indemnity government would question — the ANC felt would have to give detailed information.

The working group report was an elaboration of the report appended to the Pretoria Minute and defined certain categories of political offences.

Macozoma would not elaborate, as the report's contents were still confidential. But he agreed that an example of such a category could be ANC members who had received military training in exile but not carried out any operations in SA.

The ANC was still concerned about confidentiality. Instances such as government "leaks" about confidential meetings and "verbal attacks" on deputy president Nelson Mandela by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok served to undermine the ANC's standing with its constituency.

The ANC's conference was likely to be discussed at a national executive meeting this week.

ANC sources said there had been pressure from members in exile for the postponement of the conference. They felt they should have a say in leadership elections.
Differences not serious
- De Klerk

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said on his return to South Africa yesterday that he believed the current differences between the Government and the ANC would be overcome without any real problem.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport after a brief visit to Portugal and Britain, De Klerk said he had been kept abreast of developments between the Government and the ANC over the last few days.

"We must realise that in the process ahead certain tensions will arise from time to time."

"I don't regard the present situation as alarming and sincerely believe that any differences between the Government and the ANC would be bridged without any real problem," he said.

De Klerk disclosed that neither British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher nor Portuguese President Mario Soares would be visiting South Africa in the foreseeable future, as both were becoming involved in upcoming elections.

-Sowetan Correspondent.
We’ll stop paying taxes, CP threatens

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

ILLOVO (Natal) — The Conservative Party leadership is considering taking up a strategy of civil disobedience by withholding taxes and television licence fees in protest against Government reform and alleged SABC bias.

The proposals were made in Illovo yesterday by a delegate to the CP’s national congress, which is wrestling with the problem of how to counter the Government’s reform moves.

On the first day of the congress yesterday, cracks began to appear in the party’s unity, between hardliners and “verligtes”, on the issues of negotiations and the boundaries of a white state.

A verligte faction led by Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe is pushing for a more flexible approach to partition, in which whites demand a white state but do not prescribe to other groups what they should do with the rest of the country.

This faction is also prepared to negotiate the boundaries of a white state, which opens up the distant possibility of the CP coming into mainstream negotiations if the chief players accept the idea of white self-determination.

Pressure

Others, including deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, made it clear yesterday that white South Africa would remain where it was at present and the country’s boundaries were not negotiable.

The congress loudly applauded a fervent appeal from Dr Hartzenberg to step up the pressure on Mr de Klerk to call a white general election.

However, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht warned that the Government had created the impression that there would never be another white election. If the constitutional path were closed, the CP would use “other methods” to achieve its goal.

A proposal to withhold income tax and place it in a trust for CP use was welcomed by Dr Hartzenberg.

He said the party leadership would consider implementing the proposal if the Government refused to call another white election.
Right bitter over sharing facilities

The repeal on Monday of the racially discriminatory Reservation of Separate Amenities Act - for 37 years a pillar of apartheid legislation - signalled new freedom for South African blacks.

White rightwingers, however, have expressed bitterness at being forced into sharing public facilities with black people and vowed to counter the scrapping of the law at grassroots level.

The Conservative Party in a statement said it would renew the struggle for Afrikaner freedom and the right for "own" community life, and suggested the Government should accept responsibility for the increasing racial tension that would "necessarily arise from the repeal of the Act".

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the reformist National Party Government of State President F W de Klerk had, with the removal of the Act from the statute books, "destroyed a considerable part of white people's own community life", while previously promising to do the opposite.

The Separate Amenities Act had for years provided for "good order" because it had prevented racial friction at public facilities.

Although Hartzenberg's statement did not say how the CP planned to maintain racial segregation at public amenities without the Act, all 102 Conservative Party-controlled town councils across the country have reportedly promised to introduce measures which would effectively restrict blacks from using public facilities.

Action

These measures include denying "non-residents" access to swimming pools, libraries, pleasure resorts and other facilities or charging them prohibitive fees to use them.

Another racially discriminating law, the Group Areas Act, prevents black people from living in "white" areas. Black people are therefore "non-residents" by definition.

Brakpan CP mayor Willie Olivier said a card system identifying the town's ratepayers would be implemented in order to charge "non-residents" considerably more for the use of the town's amenities.

Response

Although "people of other colours" would be free to use Brakpan's facilities provided they were prepared to pay more, Olivier admitted the measure was being introduced in an attempt to keep the town white.

Government responded to these tactics on Sunday by warning that legislation could be introduced to stop the CP.

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel also said the CP would find itself on the losing side of legal battles in court if it persisted with racial discrimination.

Organisations suggested harsher, more immediate reprisals for the CP-controlled towns.

"Our response is mass action," United Democratic Front spokesman Titus Mafolo said. "Those CP towns who refuse to allow all people to use facilities can expect mass consumer boycotts among other forms of protest."

Mafolo said the CP was creating an atmosphere of conflict by clinging to outdated policies, and the Group Areas Act was providing them with the loophole to continue doing so.

Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck warned that the CP steps to maintain separate amenities would "foul up the political climate to such an extent that the negotiation process can be set back years."
CP aiming to instigate massive tax revolt

ILLOVO - The CP hopes to get at least a million South Africans to stage a tax revolt and TV licence boycott as part of a comprehensive "resistance" strategy to force government to hold another white election.

Announcing the moves at the end of a day of fighting talk and fiery rhetoric at the CP's national congress, deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said the party would soon begin a probe to assess the viability of such pressure tactics on government.

He said CP MPs would be prepared to go to jail for participation in such defiance actions if enough people agreed to take part in a mass disobedience programme.

Earlier, CP leader Andries Treurnicht told about 300 delegates that government suggestions that there would never again be a white election were placing the party's preference for constitutional means of freedom struggle "under much pressure".

He said to loud applause: "If the constitutional path is closed to the party it will still be committed to our nation's freedom struggle and will then use other methods to obtain this goal."

On a resolution censuring government for declaring its reform policy "irreversible", he said: "We will turn (President) P W de Klerk and his party upside down if they talk about irreversibility."

Hartzenberg, speaking in a hall festooned with protest posters, said: "We want an election. "White people are seeking a guarantee that their rights will be protected."

Turning to a proposal that CP members pay their taxes into a CP trust account until government had agreed to a white election, Hartzenberg said such a move "must be investigated to see if it is viable."

CP chief information officer and MP for Overvaal Koos van der Merwe received a standing ovation for demanding government's immediate resignation.
DURBAN — The Conservative Party is holding talks with black leaders and will announce details soon, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

And he accepted President de Klerk’s invitation for talks as long as they were held in public debate so that Mr. de Klerk could clarify certain policy statements in the open.

Opening the CP national congress in the Durban City Hall, attended by about 1,400 people, he said certain black leaders and organisations — such as President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Inkatha, and the independent churches — were the “natural allies” of whites who opposed the “tyranny and oppression” of the African National Congress and SA Communist Party.
Released prisoner plans to work for ANC

By Kaiter Nyatsumba
Political Staff

Recently released political prisoner Stephen Marais, who was reunited with his wife and two children last week, intends to work full-time for the organisation for whose activities he went to jail — the ANC.

Mr Marais (33) was one of 21 political prisoners released from prison on Wednesday last week in terms of the Pretoria Minute agreement.

Mr Marais said he fully supported the talks between the ANC and the Government.

"What the Government is trying to do is quite clear — it wants to create a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance-type of an organisation which will get about 50 percent of the vote.

"What gives me hope, however, is the fact that there is no alternative to the talks ... and I think both sides realise this."

Mr Marais said the Government could prove its sincerity by scrapping Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and either releasing or charging those detained under the Act.

Mr Marais was arrested in the Transkei in March 1986. He was found guilty of terrorism and was sentenced to 10 years in prison. The sentence was reduced to seven years on appeal.

Born in Stellenbosch, Mr Marais matriculated at the Paul Roos Gymnasium in 1974. In January 1975 he spent a week in the army before getting a six-month exemption from conscription for medical reasons. In the same year he enrolled for a BA Fine Arts at the University of Cape Town.

When he received a military call-up towards the end of his studies in 1978, Mr Marais went to live in Lesotho. On his return to the Cape two years later he got a job with the Environmental Development Agency and in 1983 he joined the ANC.
ANC Govt keep mum on talks

Discussions continued yesterday between the Government and ANC working group committed to the suspension of armed action.

Both sides remained tight-lipped after more than three hours of talks at Lŵl'iqhe Department of Justice in Pretoria.

The Government team, led by Mr. Ximela, comprised Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mme. Meyer, and officials from the Ministry of Justice, Constitutional Development and Attorney General's Office.

The ANC team, led by Mr. Mandela, was represented by Mr. Ximela, who led the negotiations.

Sources confirmed that both sides were working towards a joint statement.
Apartheid-communism link

By Sheinaz Bulbulia

Conspiracy was a key feature of apartheid and socialism in Eastern Europe, both systems repressed basic civil liberties and used security elements to marginalise their opposition. Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa co-founder Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

Speaking at the end of a two-day conference yesterday on "Change in East/Central Europe: Implications for Southern Africa", organised by the South African Institute of International Affairs, Dr Slabbert cited several similarities between the two political systems.

He said socialism in Eastern Europe and apartheid in South Africa laboured under the tyrannical yoke of the "grand idea" and moulded societies to fit their images.

In Eastern Europe, communist rule was imposed by the Soviet Union after 1945 and crumbled 45 years later, but there was no reason to use the collapse of one political ideology to vindicate it for another.

"There is a tendency, particularly on the part of some of my friends in the free-market zone, to use the word as some kind of a religious incantation."

"It is equally important that once we have shown that Eastern European communism doesn't work, that this doesn't become an easy way out and we say 'free-market' and hope for a miracle," he said.
CP calls for tax, TV licence boycott

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

ILLOVO. — The Conservative Party hopes to get at least a million South Africans to stage a tax revolt and TV licence boycott as part of a comprehensive "resistance" strategy to force the government to hold another white election.

Announcing the moves at the CP's national congress, the party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said the party would soon begin a probe to assess the viability of such pressure tactics on the government.

He said CP MPs would be prepared to go to jail if enough people agreed to participate in a programme of mass disobedience.

Earlier, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said: "If the constitutional path is closed to the party it will ... then use other methods to obtain this goal."

Responding to a resolution which censured the government for declaring its reform policy "irreversible", Dr Treurnicht told cheering delegates that "we will turn F W de Klerk and his party upside down."

Dr Hartzenberg said a demand that CP supporters refuse to pay their TV licence fees was "a constructive suggestion and must get further attention."

Turning to a proposal that CP members pay their taxes into a CP trust account until the government agreed to a white election, Dr Hartzenberg said such a move "must be investigated to see if it is viable."
CP admits it cannot force new elections

There is no legal way that the Conservative Party (CP) can force the National Party (NP) to hold an election, a CP source admitted yesterday.

Unlike the American constitution which allows for impeachment of the president, the South African constitution does not have such a mechanism.

"We can only influence the electorate through public meetings and rallies," the source said.

**Sowetan Reporter**

The CP has said De Klerk and his Cabinet were acting "absolutely in direct contradiction with what they promised the electorate in the last election".

De Klerk last week dealt with the CP allegations in his speech in Port Elizabeth - which formed part of the Cape Congress of the National Party when he called CP boss, Dr Andries Treurnicht "opportunistic and cynical".

About the CP's attempts to sway the white electorate, De Klerk said Treurnicht should bring his party to the negotiating table. The CP would be awarded the same status in negotiations as every other party, he said.

And if the CP lacks the courage to involve itself in the negotiation process it should not hide behind misrepresentations of declarations by the NP.
Durban City starts local negotiations

A step towards political negotiation on a local level was taken in Durban yesterday when the city council adopted a new "statement of purpose" committing itself to fully democratic principles.

The statement followed a meeting of the mayor, Mr Jan Venter, held with the African National Congress two weeks ago and will lay the foundations for further talks with local political groups.

The statement, which was adopted as a definition of the council's mission and objectives, recognises the political and social changes that are taking place in South Africa and supports attempts to reach a negotiated settlement at a national level.

It says the council believes a democratically elected national government is a prerequisite for a properly constituted and broadly acceptable local government.

"The council therefore recognises that it is currently operating in a transitional phase between the current government structures and future negotiated forms of government," the statement says.
Past may yet bedevil the future, says Slabbert

SA's past would live on through transition and might bedevil attempts at reconstruction, Idaa director Van Zyl Slabbert warned yesterday.

Speaking at the SA Institute of International Affairs Conference on the implications of changes in Eastern Europe on SA, Slabbert said both Eastern European countries and SA had lived under the tyranny of a grand idea.

But SA was going through a transformation, rather than a revolutionary collapse, which meant the country would not be starting from scratch.

The fact that apartheid had gone would not, however, remove its effects.

There was a tendency, particularly on the part of free marketeers, to use the term "free market" like a religious incantation that would somehow secure the benefits of growth throughout society, he said.

"What I hope we learn from the lessons of apartheid and the lessons of Eastern Europe is that we must recognise our own limitations ... then we will be able to recognise mistakes," Slabbert said.
Calm returns as ANC, govt resume talks

PETER DELMAR and ALAN FINE

A meeting of the joint ANC/government working group on political offences yesterday effectively ended last week's slanging match between the two sides, sources said.

The sources described the discussions in Pretoria as "constructive" and said it was likely the group's report would be released by government next week.

It appeared that differences in interpretation, which contributed to last week's hiccup, had been ironed out and the mechanism for further release of prisoners and return of exiles would start soon.

In the meantime, government was continuing with administrative arrangements for the smooth functioning of the release and indemnity process.

The differences in interpretation related largely to whether each candidate for indemnity would have to provide details or if many could be dealt with collectively.

The report is expected to be submitted to the leadership of both organisations after changes have been made.

The working group dealing with the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle met in Pretoria for three hours yesterday.

Umtkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Carla Hani led the ANC delegation for the first time, while Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen headed the government side.

It is understood Umtkhonto, commander Joe Modise and ANC information chief Patto Jordan did not attend.

No statement followed the meeting. Another meeting is expected shortly.
PRETORIA — Right-wing Pretoria University students heckled and mocked Constitutional Development Minister Gerrie Viljoen as he addressed students at the university yesterday.

Viljoen, who talked about a new constitutional dispensation, was interrupted by calls for a "Volkstaat" and a general election.

At the end of his speech, six rightwing students stood at the front of the lecture hall holding the Vlerkleur flag while Tukkies CP chairman Danie de Beer spoke to Viljoen. Viljoen said afterwards he had been offended, adding he had been called a liar.

Meanwhile in Nelspruit on Monday night, hecklers prevented Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelof Meyer from speaking at an NP meeting.

Earlier, local MP Dolf Mare was also shouted down when he addressed the group of 400 people. — Sapa.
The Government is leaving it to private citizens and the courts to deal with local authorities which continue, under various guises, to impose the "whites only" status at public amenities.

This emerged yesterday following a warning by Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Henrus Kriel that town councils who tried to dodge the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act may be taken to court.

He said private people who were discriminated against would have to apply to the courts and resort to common law.

"But eventually if they continue to misuse the situation, we will consider legislation," Mr Kriel said. He thought the outcry was "just a storm in a teacup. I don't believe many councils will really try and carry on with discrimination".

Democratic Party spokesman Mr Tony Leon said that barring blacks from amenities "is, on the face of it, a deliberate flouting of the law and is probably illegal," - Soweto Correspondent.
FW'S REFORMS WIN NEW FRIENDS

"Weeds you're the man..."

From years ago he said are forever open to G.N.A. government. His friend with war..."
FW likely to face disruptions at NP congress

The opening of the National Party congress by President de Klerk in Pretoria tonight could be disrupted by right-wingers. Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Herstigte Nasionale Party leaders Eugene Terreblanche and Jaap Marais said yesterday that if unlimited time for questions and the proposing of a motion were allowed, opposition conduct would remain within bounds.

They were asked by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok recently to stop their members from disrupting NP public meetings. They said they assured Mr. Vlok this would be done if unlimited question time and the opportunity to propose a motion were given. The Minister had agreed to this, they said, but they had heard nothing more from him. Interruptions and disruptions would therefore continue. "Sapa."
'Most democratic' NP congress to open in Pretoria

PETER DELMAR (304) 6

MORE than 1,000 delegates gather in Pretoria today for the NP's fourth provincial congress of the year and one which organizers promise will be the most democratic and open.

NP Transvaal secretary Gerhard Koornhof said yesterday the Transvaal congress, to be opened by President F.W. de Klerk tonight, would focus on where the NP had come from and where it was going to.

Ministers Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen, Magnus Malan, Adriaan Viljoen and Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis will all address the congress.

However, in a departure from the traditional format of NP congresses, each cabinet minister will be given only 20 minutes in which to make his opening remarks.

During their speeches they will have to address themselves to points of discussion from the various NP constituencies. There will be followed by at least 70 minutes of open discussion on each of the four main topics - International, constitutional, economic and security affairs.

The congress, Koornhof said, would give a good indication of the mood and thinking throughout the NP.

On Saturday morning the congress is also expected to discuss and endorse the proposed opening of NP membership to all races.
Passive resistance is CP way – leader

Political Correspondent
ILLOVO (Natal) — The Conservative Party was busy with a campaign of passive resistance to the Government's reforms, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

At a press conference after the CP's national congress, Dr Treurnicht said that, for strategic reasons, he could not divulge details, but the campaign would remain within the bounds of the law and the Constitution.

This followed strong calls from delegates for firm action to force a general election, including a call for CP members not to pay taxes or TV licence fees and to continue disrupting NP meetings.

Dr Treurnicht explained his warning earlier at the congress that the CP would resort to "other methods" if the constitutional path was closed by the Government.

He said the CP spoke of violence only in an "extreme eventuality" and then only under the guidance of its leaders.

Informed CP sources said this statement was a tactic to placate the party's militant "young lions" and should not be taken too seriously.

Earlier yesterday, despite militant rhetoric and threats to take up arms against reform, the CP took a small step towards negotiations when the congress endorsed a proposal that the CP's policy of partition should not be imposed on other groups.

The CP's official policy was still that the white state would consist of everything outside the present black homelands. What was negotiable was the detail of boundaries, including possible land transfers.
Blacks must prepare their political machinery

Black people will soon, for the first time since 1652, become prominent in governing and administering South Africa. They must now contribute their share of office-holders on all levels of government and administration. They have never before had the opportunities to participate in politics and to mould the political and administrative policies and administrators with the necessary knowledge.

There has never been a real need to establish political parties which formed the very foundations of democratic government. The mass of the people (the voters) were also excluded from gaining the necessary knowledge of how to participate in politics and of how to form political parties.

This extends to the recruitment of members and formation of local branches.

Principles

It also includes the motivation of organisation, the principles of proposal and organisation of votes and the organisation of party congresses where every party is represented.

To gain full access to the principles of organisation, every member of a party must be knowledgeable.

The electorate

The electorate is in a position ready to grasp what the significance of the vote is and how to use it in a responsible way.

Blacks have been forced to use non-parliamentary methods to make their views and needs known to government.

Many of them have grown up in political environments where they became part of violent means of making their political and economic needs heard by the authorities.

This was achieved with protest meetings, demonstrations, boycotts, strikes and protests. By what process are they now going to adjust to themselves, after abandoning these violent means of expressing their political views, or modern democratic parliamentary systems?

For Mandela, Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei, South Africa.

Because of all this the black people in the urban areas of South Africa,

remained leaderless and disorganised. In the end they will face the white electorate in the conference table unprepared and less than fully prepared to negotiate on behalf of the so-called new South Africa.

Before black people can take on that responsibility, they must make sure that their political machinery is properly organised and that they have the support of hundreds of thousands of newly-sixty-five-year-old members, organised into networks of branches county-wide.

If they go unprepared, they may find that they will be out-manoeuvred by the white political partners.

The proof

Proof of this is to be found in looking at the situation in South Africa today. It took whites their time to participate in politics in a meaningful and orderly way.

They did not acquire the skills, expertise and political position without proper training and active participation in politics over many years.

For forty years it was not possible for blacks to be leaders of quality and experience to emerge.

As soon as the white people have leadership qualities appeared on the political scene, they were harangued, intimidated, detained, deported, driven under-ground, killed, and worse.

The result was that there was a lack of recognition for leaders.

Modern

"Take the case of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues. It has been impossible for them to establish leadership or authority over people and partly supporters in this time. They have just started to establish political parties and all the machinery with which to make a success of political participation in modern times."

Because of all this the black people in the urban areas of South Africa,
CP has secret plan to resist govt reform

ILLOVO — The CP had secret plans for a passive resistance campaign against reform and the repeal of the Land Acts, party leader Andrés Treurnicht said yesterday.

But, speaking after the CP national congress at Illovo, during which several references were made to the use of “other” means if peaceful attempts to attain CP objectives failed, he avoided defining what precisely this meant.

Asked if it meant “violence,” he said: “We have spoken of violence only in extreme eventualities. There was the strong resistance of 1880 — this was an extreme case.”

Treurnicht pointed out, however, that he did not believe every small group was entitled to take up arms. “We distinguish this from passive resistance,” he said.

The party was formulating various forms of resistance but, he said, they could not be revealed because “it is strategy.”

Asked what the CP would do if the party, asked what the CP would do if the party,

CP plan

which claims to have majority white support, could not force the government into an election, he said there were many facets of passive resistance.

The party would remain within the law but, if the government introduced a dispensation which made white rights subordinate to a black majority “it will be destroying white democratic rights and it must be ready to face strong resistance.”

What action was to be taken would have to be decided on ethical lines.

Questioned about his threat to turn the government and its claim of irreversible reform “upside down,” Treurnicht said support for the CP was growing.

Comment Page 10
ANC and CP will share forum platform.

By SR Makanjee

SOWETAN Thursday October 16 1997
POLITICS

Mobilise — but only if it's strategic

Democratic local government — and a smooth journey to it — will only be possible if white municipalities and black township residents talk to each other now.

In scores of cities and towns around the country, this is happening. But the important point is why it is happening.

In almost every case in which a white municipality has agreed to talk to township groups, it has done so in response to mass mobilisation — a consumer or rent boycott in particular.

It's not difficult to see why.

While a few large city governments have accepted the need to include black residents in decisions, most white municipalities have not. They have never had to take much notice of black needs or interests, and they don't like the idea of doing it.

Since they are still resisting giving up sole control over their towns, they would have continued to ignore their black neighbours unless someone forced them to listen.

In those places where negotiation has begun, black residents forced whites to listen. And the only weapon they had to do it was mobilisation.

Even in those towns where talks have begun, it is too early to say that the time for mobilisation is over.

White local governments may still be reluctant participants — some who have agreed to the idea of a single municipality will still seek ways of retaining control.

Some may also quickly lose interest in meeting township material needs if this is going to cost them money.

So black residents may again have to mobilise if the new “consensus” between them and white municipalities turns out to be false.

Those who reject mobilisation may be interested to know that, in some towns where negotiation has begun, it is not turning out to be a process in which township groups make uncompromising demands and then mobilise again when these aren't met.
So precisely this reason, the government is unlikely to have its way. Resistance movements and local civic groups won't allow white municipalities to have a veto over new local government systems.

It seems likely that the new system will be partly negotiated nationally — and that agreement will only be reached if white municipalities lose their veto.

But, even if this happens, a democratic local government system won't work if it is simply imposed on white municipalities. Local white voters will have to agree not to sabotage the new system.

So a new system can only work if white local governments — and voters — accept that black residents are to play a major role in shaping and controlling local government.

The government's promise to negotiate a new system also doesn't answer a second point: What are black communities supposed to do until it is negotiated, which might take a couple of years?

These communities have been denied adequate facilities — and a say in decisions — for years. They have high expectations and they want some of them met now.

Since some agreement has already been reached and more may be agreed as negotiations continue.

But the compromises would not have begun had the voteless not mobilised to bring municipalities to the negotiating table.

This does not mean that all forms of mobilisation bring us closer to a democracy. They do that only if it is used strategically and if those who mobilise are willing to stop doing it when their voice can be heard in other ways.

Mobilisation is also only a force for democracy if it is not imposed on those who mobilise.

But, far from being a threat to democracy, mobilisation is sometimes the only means people have of making their voice heard. This will still be true even if we have a democracy, since there will still be people — and interest groups — who feel that their voice isn't being heard and want to make sure it is.

Democracies don't curb mobilisation — they ensure that everyone has the right to it, provided it is not imposed by force.

Our progress to democracy may be measured by the extent to which mobilisation by all interests is allowed, not by the extent to which it is curbed.
Soviets refuse visa requests
by Eglin, Soal

PETER DELMAR

DEMOCRATIC Party MPs Colin Eglin and Peter Soal were recently refused visas to the Soviet Union, despite repeated recent visits to that country by government members and officials.

Soal said yesterday he and Eglin were not told why their applications, which they made six weeks before they intended entering the Soviet Union, had been refused.

The two were extremely disappointed, he said, at not being allowed to enter the Soviet Union after attending a Liberal International conference in Helsinki, where Eglin was elected a vice-president.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the department had made representations on behalf of the two, but had also not been given any specific reason for the decision.

This was probably related to the fact that Soviet authorities granted visas on a reciprocal basis and that South Africans visiting the USSR for conferences were Soviet citizens conducting SA.
PIETERSBURG — The unfair distribution of wealth had to be changed, but not just by taking money from the rich and giving it to the poor, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He was speaking at the University of the North near Pietersburg in the first address by a white politician since the 1976 riots.

De Beer said the wealth needed to close the gap between rich and poor simply did not exist, because there were too few rich and too many poor. Wealth would have to be created, he said, which could best be done by hard work in a free society in which government provided education, health services and housing — without interfering with people's freedom.

Today De Beer will be meeting officials of the Regional Services Council, the Venda government, Lebowa Cabinet and executive members of the ANC's Far Northern Transvaal region, and he will speak at a dinner at the Ranch Hotel at 7pm. — Sapa.
Reaffiliates to WCC

THE Methodist Church of Southern Africa's annual conference has decided to resume payment of affiliation fees to the World Council of Churches from the beginning of next year.

In an unopposed motion, delegates, meeting in Welkom, rescinded the 1971 decision to suspend such contributions. At the time the MCSA objected strongly to the WCC's support of the Programme to Combat Racism.

Subsequently, the Government passed legislation preventing South African churches making contributions to the WCC. The issue of financial contributions to the WCC was one of the most contentious issues in the church during the 1970s.

Tuesday's resolution makes provision for fees to be accumulated in a special account until such time as they can be transferred to the WCC.

FRANK CHIKANE

Motivating the resolution, the Secretary of Ecumenical Affairs, the Rev Dr Donald Cragg, said the country had moved into a new era with the unbanning of "liberation movements" and the time was ripe to review the 1971 decision.

The cost of the recently completed official residence of the South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, was raised by a delegate who asked that Methodist representatives request the SACC to be more careful about the image it was portraying to the people.

In response, Cragg conceded that while the residence had been paid for by overseas donations intended for that specific purpose, the cost had become a source of embarrassment to the council.

Sapa
SOUTH Africa will get a political settlement fairly soon, it seems. Both the main actors at this stage — still the National Party and the African National Congress — are out to achieve one.

Their relationship comes under occasional strain but is soon patched up again. And when the NP/ANC settlement train gets going early next year, it will be difficult for other political actors not to get on.

Referee

Yet there are question marks on how the process will unfold.

The questions are: Who writes the constitution? What legitimacy can the writers, and what they write, have? Can the NP be both referee and player?

The ANC has a clear answer to all those questions: There ought to be elections to establish who represents whom at the constitution writing. That is, there should be an elected constituent assembly, somewhat as the one in Namibia.

That would give immediate legitimacy to the forum and to the new constitution.

Of course, the NP cannot remain as the government of the day while it is just another party to the making of a new constitution.

But the NP has an equally clear position on these matters: It is the government of a sovereign state, duly elected and believes in its right to govern.

It will not give up that right and it will not allow elections for a constituent assembly: the form in which the vote is to be given is exactly what the negotiations are going to be about.

It would appear, then, that writing a constitution is going to be almost impossible, unless one looks beyond the political headlines and public position-taking.

Then one will see that both parties are already beginning to soften their positions and are moving towards each other.

Thus the ANC has begun to say it would prefer an elected constituent assembly and has added that the process will be tested publicly at some stage — a significant softening of its former position.

The NP has begun to say that it accepts the process will have to be tested and has moved away from an all-white referendum to the idea of an all-race referendum.

Thus, a meeting of minds is not impossible; the assembly which writes the constitution will not be elected but it is likely that its product will be the subject of a referendum. This will give it, and in retrospect its authors, legitimacy.

The assembly will probably come into being through an organic process we already see unfolding: the NP and the ANC meet and talk, the ANC and Inkatha talk, the NP and Inkatha talk, the DP and the ANC talk and so on — all talking to one another without calling for elections first.

Everybody knows who is what leader of which organisation.

Then gradually, instead of talking only one to another, they begin to talk all together. And this becomes the constituent assembly. A model for who will rule while the constitution is being written may be that the assembly not only writes the constitution but also constitutes working groups on matters of immediate importance.

Consensus

These groups report back and the government — the NP in another form — is bound to take these as binding if it wishes to continue to work towards consensus on the constitution itself.

Thus, all the participants in the assembly begin to have a direct say in the day-to-day running of the government while final sovereignty remains with the NP government. But it will now be a government which has begun to admit others into the corridors of power and thus is itself changed.

Thus we may see an organic process through which the transition is gradual and not one where one flag is drawn and another is raised on a particular day.

It is a process which will include all South Africans and ought to make for a peaceful, orderly transition during which all actors remain on stage.
Eglin receives
Soviet invites

Within a day of returning to SA after being refused a visa to enter the Soviet Union, DP MP Colin Eglin has received two invitations to Moscow — both promising visas.

Eglin thinks Soviet officials made a mistake and that attempts are being made to make amends. He and fellow MP Peter Seal had planned to visit the Soviet Union from Helsinki, where they were attending the Liberal International conference, but were told at the last minute their visas had been refused.

Eglin said yesterday the invitations were from the Soviet Liberal Democratic Party and from a Prof Davidson of Moscow University's Africa division. He is considering both invitations.
Turmoil in SA

'is about rights'

The forces at work in SA are the same as elsewhere, and they are all about human rights, dignity of the individual and freedom, Southern Life chairman Noel Chapman said this week.

In his address to the IPM convention at Sun City, Chapman said South Africans were part of a worldwide phenomenon. "It is as though providence had declared that in country after country after country in Europe, in the Far East and here in Africa, people should have the freedom to speak, to write, to own property and to vote," he said.

Chapman said change was in the air and was always accompanied by uncertainty which could become apprehension. "Turbulence and trauma and unrest become part of the scene and we should not be surprised that this is all part of the change process here in SA," he said.
Turmoil in SA

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'Turbulence and trauma and unrest become part of the scene and we should not be surprised that this is all part of the change process here in SA,' he said.
TOUGH CHOICES AHEAD
State has ‘firm’ control on country – De Klerk

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government had now attained a firm grip on the country after a troubling period of violence, President de Klerk said in Pretoria last night.

This had enabled it to lift the state of emergency in Natal, he told an enthusiastic capacity city hall crowd of about 2,000 NP supporters at a public meeting marking the opening of the Transvaal National Party congress.

The meeting took place behind a tight security cordon, with scores of policemen keeping right-wing protesters at bay, and detector screenings of everyone in the audience on entry.

The stage management also exhibited a new style for NP meetings, with a long-haired male cabaret singer entertaining the audience before the curtain lifted on Mr de Klerk and his wife Marike and Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis and wife Antoinette on the podium — instead of the usual line-up of Cabinet Ministers and party officials.

In a wide-ranging speech in which he made no new announcements, Mr de Klerk:
- Delivered a blistering attack on Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and Ferdi Hartzenberg for advocating “radical” strategies such as boycotts, civil disobedience and disruption and violence at political meetings.
- Urged extra-parliamentary groups to stop lashing out at the security forces and the Government “whenever their own supporters become involved in acts of violence”.
- Re-affirmed his promise to allow the white electorate to accept or reject a new constitution before it was implemented.
- Defended the NP’s decision not to go into an election pact with the Democratic Party.

Mr de Klerk said the NP was on course and would not be deflected from its reform goals by threats and pressure from the CP or anyone else.

In one short year, the NP had moved from promises and hope to the threshold of real negotiation.

Mr de Klerk also said:
- Support for reconciliation through negotiation was growing by the day and the “violent ones” to the left and right were standing naked before the South African public and the international community.
- The debate was widening and deepening.
- International enmity was being replaced by interest, encouragement and even acceptance. South Africa’s voice was being heard again across the world — and being believed.

Stability

“Slowly and surely” the foundations were being laid for economic stability and growth.
- Thousands of millions of rand had been set aside to address socio-economic problems,
- “After a troubling period of violence and intimidation, a firm grip has been attained and today I could announce the lifting of the State of Emergency which still existed in the province in Natal."

The Government had done its part and would continue to do so.

“The door I spoke of at my inauguration is now fully open. Let us start fundamental dialogue.”
The hall was quickly cleared of all residual heads. Among those present were House Majority Whip James Wright and Rep. James Oberstar, who devised a system to control a mass of reporters. About 200 officers escorted awareness at the opening of the National Party's meetings, while supporters outside packed City Hall last night. The protesters' deputation has been delayed a bit more than expected.
Political Staff
President de Klerk's visit to Holland next week would be by far the most important overseas visit he had undertaken, as it would take the shackles of isolation off the Afrikaans language. Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Mr Botha also announced that on the way to Europe, he and President de Klerk would pay a working visit to Morocco.

He said languages similar to Afrikaans were spoken by 26 million people in southern Africa and parts of Europe.

Afrikaans poets, writers and authors would find a greater audience for their work in the wake of the President's visit to Holland.

By helping Afrikaans out of its isolation, he was offering South African artists, authors and writers a chance to move in a new environment.

The Dutch government invited President de Klerk.

Government sources said there was relief on both sides that a visit was taking place. There had been difficult relationships between the two countries over the past decades.

The cultural boycott in Holland is weakening. Several universities there have put out feelers in a move to develop contacts.

Mrs Mariske de Klerk will visit Tholen, the birthplace of her grandfather, and will speak in a church in the town.

King Hassan of Morocco invited President de Klerk to make the first visit by a South African head of state to Morocco.

Pretoria wants to improve its relationship with the Arab world. There is substantial trade between South Africa and Morocco.
RECTIFICATION

Notice is hereby given that the regulation number in the preamble of Government Gazette No. 12790 of 5 October 1990, was incorrectly published. The correct number should read as follows:

Regulation Gazette No. 4569.

PROCLAMATION

of the

State President

of the Republic of South Africa

No. 182, 1990


Under section 5 of the Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges Act, 1989 (Act No. 74 of 1989), I hereby publish the Agreement in the Schedule concluded on 18 May 1990 by means of Exchange of Notes between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of the Republic of Namibia, wherein provision is made for the conferment of immunities and privileges upon Representatives, Deputy and Assistant Representatives, personnel attached to missions and family members of the said representatives.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Third day of September, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

R. F. BOTHA,
Minister of the Cabinet.

REGSTELLING

Hiermee word bekendgemaak dat die regulasie-nommer in die aanhef van Staatskoerant No. 12790 van 5 Oktober 1990 foutief gepubliseer is. Die korrekte nommer moet as volg lees:

Regulasiekoerant No. 4569.

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident

van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 182, 1990

PUBLIKASIE VAN 'n OOREENKOMS AANGEAGAN TUSSEN DIE REGERING VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA EN DIE REGERING VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN NAMIBIA MET BETREKKING TOT DIE VERLENING VAN IMMUNITEITE EN VOORREGTE

Kragtens artikel 5 van die Wet op Diplomatieke Immunitiete en Voorregte, 1989 (Wet No. 74 van 1989), publiek ek hierby in die Bylae 'n Afrikaanse vertaling van die Ooreenkomst op 18 Mei 1990 by wyse van Notawisseling aangegaan tussen die Regering van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en die Regering van die Republiek van Namibië, waarin voorrieding vir die verlening van immunitiete en voorregte aan Verteenwoordigers, Adjunk- en Assistent-verteenwoordigers, personeel verbonden aan missies en familieledes van die genoemde verteenwoordigers gemaak word.

Gegewe onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Derde dag van September Eenduisend Negehonderd-en-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

R. F. BOTHA,
Minister van die Kabinet.
PREPARE THE WAY

IN MY OPINION

RADFORD JORDAN
burnt in Italian power stations comes from Richards Bay and Italy is now SA's biggest market in the EC.

Confindustria, the industry umbrella organisation, has just had a delegation in SA looking at investment opportunities. Adolfo Battaglia, the Republican (liberal) Minister of Industry has visited SA and Trade Industry & Tourism Minister Kent Durr has been to Italy, among other places.

Finally, last week, the Socialist Foreign Minister Gianni Di Michaelis said he wanted relations with SA normalised as soon as possible.

It is not clear, however, whether Italy will use the closing weeks of its EC presidency to get there. Britain, having taken the lead, is now nudging the EC towards taking what will be a largely symbolic step in formally ending sanctions — but one which will have important repercussions on the US Congress — and overcoming the last of the hardliners, Ireland and Denmark.

SA is on the agenda for next week's meeting of heads of government in Rome but, according to the UK Foreign Office, the topic will take its place among a list of more pressing matters headed by European responses to the Gulf crisis, German reunification and British entry to the exchange rate mechanism of the European Monetary System.

There are also worries about US reaction to the failure of EC agriculture ministers to agree to reduce farm subsidies sufficiently.

Discussion about SA is likely to be a general review of events and reports from the UK, Holland and Luxembourg on De Klerk's visits. But it could produce results in the more important communications which will follow Italy's end of term summit in December.

JOHN COWILL

GOVERNMENT POLICY

UNTHINKABLE VISION

When black American civil rights leader Martin Luther King said in the Sixties that he had "a dream," it marked the end of official racial discrimination in that country. Last week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen announced: "I have acquired a new vision ...

Viljoen explained this vision to a group of political journalists. It is the realisation that the NP can become part of the majority in a new dispensation. Compare it to his earlier philosophy that the future of minorities had to lie in the entrenchment of protection for those groups and Viljoen's vision illustrates the 180° turn by the De Klerk administration.

— the salvation of whites does not rest with group (that is, racially based) rights.

Both De Klerk and Viljoen had previously been the most outspoken supporters of group rights and the protection of racial minorities. The sudden change, explains DP leader Zach de Beer, is proof that the Nats are now seeking a broader membership, along with new alliances, principles and policies. Having decided to dispense with its artificial protection, the NP is simply too small in its present form to be effective in the new SA.

Viljoen — visions of trains

present form to be effective in the new SA.

Viljoen certainly raised new and difficult questions. Discussing his new vision that minorities could retain some hold on power, the Johannesburg Afrikaans daily Beeld warned in an editorial that government would be behaving irresponsibly if it could not back up such claims with research.

Earlier in the year, Stellenbosch political scientist Willie Esterhuysen — regarded as a Nat insider since the exit of P W Botha — suggested to the FM that the NP should open its ranks, change its name and form an alliance with the ANC. Viljoen openly discarded these ideas.

This week Esterhuysen, who had just returned from overseas, told the FM that he had read about Viljoen's rejection of an alliance with the ANC with "some surprise." Esterhuysen says it is to be expected that certain differences still exist which would make an alliance difficult now. However, Viljoen's statement may only be strategy, says Esterhuysen.

While it is to be welcomed that the Nats want to drop the group concept, Viljoen's vision cannot be ascribed as a mere change of heart. Strengthening the belief among Nats that they could actually beat the ANC at the ballot box is an increasing feeling among political commentators that the ANC is in dire need of restructuring.

NEWSWEEK correspondent Joseph Con-
CURRENT AFFAIRS

Treras says in the magazine's latest issue that until the ANC meets in December for a special conference, it will "continue to be a chaotic organisation struggling to find its feet in a rapidly changing political environment."

He ascribes the organisation's internal crisis to Nelson Mandela's "mixed performance," and says that "the multiple challenges and obstacles confronting the ANC are probably beyond the ability of any one man to solve." The ANC's confused struggle to transform itself from an underground liberation movement to a political party leads ANC regional official Barbara Hogan to admit to Newsweek: "Basically the ANC will have to prove itself before it draws in a lot of whites."

While the ANC, according to Beeld, may be surprised by the confident steps its traditional opponents have taken, Viljoen has conceded that the negotiation train cannot depart without the ANC. In the same breath, however, he is prepared to let the train out of the station without the CP (in its whites-only carriage).

Viljoen's rejection of the ANC as an ally elicited a sharp response from Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, who challenged the government to elections. "We are prepared to challenge them in open and fair elections," said Hani.

To abandon the group concept and predict a broadening of one's political base in a future SA is undoubtedly far-sighted. Now, many divisions remain artificial because of apartheid. Says Zach de Beer: "The undue emphasis placed by the Nats on minority protection was really the continuation of their former obsession with different groups. If they are now dropping that, it is a distinct step forward."

If a NP leader feels compelled to reject an alliance with the ANC — thus implying that such an alliance is possible — then we have come a long way indeed.
Major obstacle to talks removed

Natal is free of emergency

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday lifted the four-year-old state of emergency in Natal, thus enhancing prospects for an end to sanctions and removing one of the key obstacles to constitutional negotiations named by the ANC.

De Klerk told a media conference in Pretoria that conditions in Natal had stabilised to such an extent that ordinary laws were sufficient to ensure the public's safety and to maintain order.

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk will visit Morocco for a day on Monday, where it is believed he will hold talks with King Hassan.

De Klerk and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha will pay a working visit to the north African Arab country on the way to Europe for talks in the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

The President will hold talks with the Dutch minister president and foreign minister, and attend a lunch hosted by Queen Beatrix.

On Thursday he will leave for Luxembourg, where he will meet the prime minister. — Sapa.

EDYTH BULBRING and PETER DELMAR

His announcement was hailed by the ANC and Inkatha who agreed it would help pave the way to full negotiations.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said the lifting of the emergency was further proof that the process of change in SA was irreversible.

"We see this as yet another landmark on the road toward full normalisation of political activity in SA, President de Klerk deserves credit for his political courage and leadership," he said.

De Klerk said conditions would remain such that it would not become necessary to reintroduce the emergency.

He would not hesitate to do so to protect lives and property and maintain order if circumstances required it.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok told the conference that security force levels in Natal townships would remain the same in case of renewed violence.

De Klerk said clashes between Inkatha and ANC/UDF supporters had claimed more than 4 000 lives over the past four years.

Government had consulted KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as its own security advisers. De Klerk said there was a broad consensus on the extent of stability in the province, he said.

He said the door to peaceful negotiation was now fully open and he appealed to all political leaders to accept the challenge of "this open door" to bring about peace and reconciliation.

By ending the emergency, De Klerk has met another of the five requirements in the US's Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAA). The Act says the US president can lift sanctions if four of the five requirements are met.

The others are the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties, the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts and an agreement to enter good faith negotiations.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that a US administration official confirmed yesterday that government now had to satisfy only one more of the CAA's conditions.

De Klerk told yesterday's media conference it was impossible to determine a

To Page 2
NGK says apartheid a sin

Carlin le Grange

The Ned Geref Kerk general synod in Bloemfontein last night accepted a major revision of its policy document, Church and Society.

The document was first drafted and approved at the NGK's previous synod in 1996.

In its 1996 form Church and Society was hailed as a breakthrough in terms of the NGK policy on apartheid and current affairs in comparison with the NGK's previous policy document: Ras, Volk and Nasie.

Church and Society, however, was still rejected by anti-apartheid churches and other critics.

Yes to women's ordination — Page 6.
The Power of Speech

Talks and Negotiations
should rather refer to it as a government of national unity. It is part of the negotiation process and cannot be seen in isolation.

"People in that interim government will all be members of a constituent assembly, but not all can be government ministers. At the same time, someone must run the country, but without one party governing. That government will have responsibility over instruments of power (such as the army and police). What the government fears is the ghost of the ANC — a ghost they created."

He says those who feel excluded from talks should see "no sinister plan to exclude them. We have brought certain issues to the government such as the release of political prisoners and the return of our exiles; other parties have the opportunity for discussion too."

Phosa maintains the ANC cannot continue to talk about negotiations and ignore the need for elected representatives at the negotiations table. "A constituent assembly was good for Namibia and there is no reason why it should not be successful here. I don't think white people have anything to fear. They are not the minority; Vendas, Indians and Swazis may be, but not whites. They should participate in this process that will help usher in a new democratic SA."

He said the ANC would not be able to prescribe the form elections should take: this would be a product of discussion. However, any elections would have to be guided by non-racial principles which could see white candidates in black areas or vice-versa. "I foresee people like Joe Slovo being elected in black areas."

"There needs to be a delimitation of seats or constituencies and people must contest openly and sell their policies." Phosa foresees that an ultimate parliament would be far larger than the present one.

He says the amendments to the ANC constitutional guidelines are due out soon. "I prefer to say we have added flesh to bones and that it will be more of a position paper on a constitution, than guidelines." Like the ANC discussion paper on the economy, the paper would be open to debate before being submitted to the ANC's December 16 National Consultative Conference.

Phosa says the ANC has no particular constitutional preference and is drawing from various constitutions.

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NEGOTIATIONS

MIDDLE AHEAD

If the ANC has its way, next year will see elections for all, followed by an "interim government" and a "constituent assembly" leading to a new constitution (see Leaders).

Matthews Phosa, ANC constitutional spokesman, says elections are vital to ensure that those who negotiate have a mandate. "Anyone else is an impostor, particularly those leaders of bantustans who say they are leaders when those things are a direct product of apartheid. We need to clear the deck and get people to choose who will represent them."

He acknowledges that the NP is opposed to the concept of an interim government produced by elections. "They see it as surrender. Perhaps we..."
Of African Writers' Guild

K. COSTELLO: Aspiring the execution of...
Minority rights come home to roost

WELL, yes, the fact that the Separate Amenities Act has been expunged from the statute books is a step away from official apartheid. But it was in any case dying well before President FW de Klerk announced his born-again South Africa package in February.

The Act was being strangulated not so much by the Nats’ pronouncement of the death sentence on apartheid, but more by pressure from the populace at large.

The beaches became a symbol of civil disobedience in the 1980s. The population explosion and easier travel, together with the government’s Scrooge-like allocation of beaches for black-classified people, ensured pressure on white-designated beaches throughout the country.

In Durban there was little chance of the authorities being able to limit access to the beachfront paddling pools without a major racial confrontation. In the Sixties and Seventies heyday of white arrogance and bravado, armed security forces would have scared off many people. Not anymore.

Sports-mad white South Africans, having been largely denied the pleasures of official international contact, sought to “normalise” sport by allowing open access to hitherto whites-only fields. Following recommendations by a Human Sciences Research Council team nearly a decade ago, the Nats agreed to modify the Separate Amenities Act, and the Group Areas Act to make the sporting life easier.

But international competition didn’t automatically follow; and now even the most stubborn administrators are complying — or claim they intend to comply — with the international moratorium.

That does not mean one condones, or sympathises with, the rightwingers’ actions. They were very much part of Verwoerdian apartheid which tried to force the concept of “separate but equal” down our throats. They promised that black-classified people would be given the same rights and facilities as whites in their own areas.

They never did get down to providing equal facilities in the separate areas. They never could and they never will. In the United States in 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of Brown vs the Board of Education of Topeka that separate could never be equal. Nevertheless these Nats — and their offshoots in the CP — were hell-bent on enforcing what everyone knew was based on a false premise.

The Nats still don’t want to learn from that lesson, and in a classic case of the pot calling the kettle white, they continue to emulate the CP while condemning it.

For example, so-called white education Minister Piet Claisse’s class-rage policy of tortuous percentages makes it so very difficult, if not impossible, for white-designated schools to be desegregated. That is a trick to preserve educational apartheid.

Never mind nursery, primary and secondary school apartheid. Ask parents classified Indian or coloured, or African how difficult it is for them to enrol their children in technikons or technical colleges.

The effect of the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act while other apartheid legislation exists is that black and white classified children may now swim together, eat together in restaurants, play sport together, study together in libraries... but they...
Cinemas and theatres were segregated not so much by Nat willingness as by the cultural boycott, actual or threatened. Economics played a key role too. With the advent of television, white-classified people weren't exactly flocking to the "bioscopes" any longer.

Economics also played a part in the desegregation of hotels and restaurants, and it may well turn out to be the factor that eventually ends the Custer-like right-wing stand on public amenities.

What the CP is unwittingly doing is privatising these facilities — and privatisation is the National Party's catchword to off-load the problems its policies have created over the past 40 years.

But privatisation also means you have to pay, often through your nose, over and above your rates and taxes. The rightwingers may well find support and sympathy in the initial spirit of resistance. In the medium and long term, however, they'll find that especially in the rural areas, white-classified people are not so wealthy as to be able to afford exorbitant admission fees indefinitely.

The interesting reaction of course comes from the Nats, who accuse the right-wing town councils of being racist and going against the spirit of the law. The Nats are threatening dire consequences for them as a result.

But can one really blame the rightwingers?

The Conservative Party was elected to power in these councils on a racist ticket, not of its own making, but on the basis of a racist constitution pushed through by the Nats.

The rightwingers were constitutionally (though undemocratically) elected by white-classified people to protect and further their interests, not of those classified something else.

...cannot attend the same schools or live next to one another.

The National Party cannot expect the right-wing councils to comply with its born-again spirit so long as separate educational systems and the Group Areas Act are alive. It cannot expect the rightwingers to become non-racists in a racist parliamentary and municipal set-up if created in the first place.

In Johannesburg for example, "coloured" and "Indian" group areas within the municipal boundaries have no direct representation in the city council. Their "management committees" are effectively sub-committees of the council. In fact, only those classified white can vote for council candidates, who also have to be classified white. Even the most radical councillors can only represent their constituents.

Most damningly, the Nats cannot expect apartheid to start dying unless they scrap the disgraceful Population Registration Act. That is where apartheid starts.

If the Nats are really sincere, let them scrap all the remaining apartheid laws immediately and introduce legislation to outlaw racism and bigotry.

But while they accuse the rightwingers of going against the spirit of the law, they themselves are digging in their heels for protection of minorities, for minority rights. From De Klerk to Gerrit Vosloo and others in between, they are spiritedly repeating that refrain.

Well, the right-wing councils are singing along in that spirit through their ploys to preserve segregated facilities. They are giving the Nats and the rest of us a fine example of how the concept of minority rights and minority protection works — and will work.
Red carpets, protests for globe-trotting SA leaders

By GAVIN EVANS

RED carpet treatment — as well as vigorous anti-apartheid protests — awaits State President FW de Klerk during his three-day visit to the Netherlands and Luxembourg this week.

De Klerk will set foot in The Hague on Tuesday morning, a week after his return to South Africa from a successful trip to Portugal and Britain.

And as De Klerk prepared to leave, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela was receiving a tumultuous welcome in Calcutta on the first leg of his three-week Asian-Australian tour.

Mandela, who leaves Calcutta for Jakarta today, has been received like a visiting head of state by the Indian government.

When he arrived in Calcutta yesterday, most of the cabinet of Chief Minister Jyoti Basu was at the airport to receive him and the crowds in the street, which welcomed his cavalcade and attended a rally at the city’s Eden Garden cricket stadium, were estimated at 100 000.

The two major purposes of Mandela’s tour are to help ensure that sanctions against South Africa are maintained and to raise money for the ANC — with R13.5-million having been donated in India so far.

After a week in India, Mandela will visit Brunei on Sunday and will arrive in Australia for a four-day visit on Monday. He will spend Friday in Indonesia and will visit Japan for a week, returning to Johannesburg on November 4.

De Klerk’s Dutch itinerary includes meetings with Dutch President Frans Lubbers and Foreign Affairs Minister Hans van den Broek, lunch with Queen Beatrix on Wednesday, and a parliamentary session which he will address. He leaves for Luxembourg on Thursday and is expected to return home on Friday.

The Dutch anti-apartheid movement has announced that it will hold a series of protests actions to express its opposition to the official welcome given De Klerk.

These will include presenting a “widely supported” petition to the Dutch government, a protest meeting to be addressed by Zarinah Maharaj, wife of detained ANC and South African Communist Party leader Mac Maharaj, and pickets in front of the Dutch parliament.

On Monday De Klerk returned from a four-day visit to Portugal and Britain, which saw him meeting Portuguese President Dr Mario Soares and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and addressing British businessmen on sanctions and related issues aboard the Queen Elizabeth II ocean liner.

De Klerk’s trip was described by a Downing Street representative as “very positive and constructive”. He added that “the prime minister is very much in support of Mr de Klerk”.

De Klerk opened the NP’s Transvaal Congress yesterday evening. The congress is expected to follow Natal, the Free State and the Cape in agreeing to open the party’s ranks to all races.
The Sparks Fly at Meeting

Books
The Broeders creep back to the centre

In the age of good Broeder FW, the Broedersbond has made a comeback to centre stage, reports CHARLES LEONARD

In an interview with the NP-supporting magazine Inlig, Broedersbond chairman De Lange hinted that the 17 000-strong Broedersbond might have to "open up", but remained vague about membership for people of other language (other than Afrikaans-) speakers and race (other than white) groups.

The interviewee, fellow Broeder and Free State University historian Gertie Geyer, paraphrased De Lange as follows: "The interdependence of different vleis has become so interwoven that if you want to promote Afrikaner interests, you will also have to promote those of other groups."

De Lange merely hinted at "liaison" with a broader Afrikaans culture community "across the colour-line". It is also clear from the interview that the primary objective of the Broedersbond is still to further the interests of the Afrikaner. He said: "If the Broedersbond does not get involved in the constitutional problem of the day, it cannot lay claim to defending Afrikaner interests in a changing South Africa."

De Lange's personal ideal, he told Geyer, is to have the Broedersbond to play a role in reconciling a divided Afrikanerdemocracy. Unlike another Broedersbond, who claimed in an interview with The Weekly Mail that the organisation has become merely a "black-and-white" without any say in government decision-making, De Lange admitted that the Broedersbond periodically has "serious discussions" with members of the government about a specific range of viewpoints.

"The discussions which take place between the Broedersbond and members of the government are open, and even critical," De Lange added.

Another Broeder, who did not want to be named, said his organisation was still recruiting members in much the same way as outlined in The Super-

Afrikaners. In the book journalists Syrdom and Iuur Wilkens tell of the protracted screening process prospective members have to survive before joining the ranks of Afrikanerdom's elite. Membership demands specific cultural, family, moral, religious and political characteristics. Even if you come from a good Afrikaans background, but have married an English-speaking woman or perhaps do not attend one of the four major Afrikaner churches regularly, your chances are nought of becoming a Broeder.

Nowadays, the political affiliations are not that important. Prominent Democratic Party members like former leader Wy- ndard Malan, founding member Advocate Langalibalele de Villiers SC and Johannes-

burg city councillor Sissie Reyneke are all members of the Broedersbond. Meanwhile, the secrecy of membership remains important to the organisation. For example, policy documents have to be burned by a cell secretary after they have been discussed at a cell meeting.

De Villiers says that several members like himself would prefer the organisation to "come out of the closet" and Du Randt, who turned down an invitation in 1971 to become a member - says it is "the very secrecy that makes the Broedersbond dangerous."

"It is about public accountability. We do not know who the people are who make the NP's policy. Rank and file members have no say in this process,"

Du Randt says.

"Wilkens is not going to convince the ordinary person that the NP is an open, democratic party whom it still has a strong link with the secretive Broedersbond.

"The last time the electorate makes its input is when it votes the party into power - then another machine goes into action and takes over," he says. "If the NP allows this to continue it will be building its new South Africa on sand."

"This would not only 'sting' (befon-der) the non-Broeders, but also blacks and coloureds who can now be members of the party," he says.

"If the NP braids Mandela in a clean sheet it will be fine, but not when there is a secret agenda determined by the Broedersbond. They will try to chop him up.

He proposes that the NP immediately sever ties with the Broedersbond. "If they do, it will give the party credibility. If they do not, it will throw it 50 years back in time. It is time for the NP to plan its strategies visibly within the party."

Du Randt says he still sees the Broedersbond operating daily. "Here at the university, in the party and even in the church," he says.
The Nats shouldn't be the only ones who think small

not for the first time, the present government may be in danger of giving a good idea bad name.
The idea this time is limiting a majority government's power.

For a while now, some government strategists have been arguing that this is a better protection for "minority" interests than "group rights". This idea is gaining ground.

Last week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, until then the chief standard-bearer for "group rights", declared that he, too, had decided that there were better ways of protecting his values when white rule goes.

Limiting government powers is clearly part of his, and his party's, agenda. Viljoen said a new government should not be able to infringe democracy — or to raise taxes excessively or exercise too much control over the security forces.

The Nats are also now interested in devolution, in transferring powers from central government to lower levels.

The State President is one of devolution's keenest supporters.

In a recent speech, he noted that more than 60 percent of public money was spent by central government and only 10 percent by local government.

A government inquiry, he added, had found that it was possible to reduce national government's share to around 30 percent and raise local government's to 46 percent.

If local government is to spend more, it must have far more power than it does now. De Klerk clearly supports this: he argued for stronger regional and local governments.

He and other Nats go further — they argue for devolving power from local government to "communities".

Neighbourhoods, they argue, should take over some of the powers of municipalities. School management committees should take over some of the power — such as that to crediting limits on government. Even if resistance movements accepted it, a government which was this limited would not last long.

Unable to meet any of its voters' expectations, it would either be replaced by one which would tear up the constitution and give itself much greater power or it would do that itself.

A post-apartheid democracy may work only if power is devolved to lower levels of government.

Its chances of lasting depend on ensuring that people at the grass roots are involved, through their organisations, in making decisions and compromises.

This won't happen if most power rests with central government.

It is very difficult for people at the grass roots to ensure that the national government takes notice of their local
The government should not be able to infringe democracy — or to raise taxes excessively or exercise too much control over the security forces.

The Nats are also now interested in devolution, in transferring powers from central government to lower levels.

The State President is one of devolution's keenest supporters.

In a recent speech, he noted that more than 60 percent of public money was spent by central government and only 10 percent by local government. A government inquiry, he added, had found that it was possible to reduce national government's share to around 30 percent and raise local government's to 45 percent.

If local government is to spend more, it must have far more power than it does now. De Klerk clearly supports this: he argues for stronger regional and local governments.

He and other Nats go further — they argue for devolving power from local government to "communities".

Neighbourhoods, they argue, should take over some of the powers of municipalities. School management committees should take over some of the power — such as that to decide who attends the school — from education departments.

It is not difficult to see why these ideas have such appeal: a strong central government is an excellent idea if you are running it, but a very bad one if you're not.

The Nats — and white voters — fear that a majority government would raise their taxes, redistribute their wealth and ban their political parties — or at least interfere with "standards" in their suburbs or schools.

The more limited that government's powers are, the less able it will be to do that. The less power it has to intervene in their lives, the less reason will whites have to care who controls it.

So the Nats may enter constitutional negotiations insisting not that the majority rule principle should be limited in a new government, but that the government itself should be limited. Is the new Nat strategy simply a way of protecting white privilege — or a way of ensuring a workable democracy?

It is a bit of both.

A government with unlimited powers would not be democratic, and a majority government will have to operate within rules which prevent it cancelling elections or infringing its citi-

will they accept responsibility for them.

They will only enjoy that power if the government's is limited.

But the Nats also seem to want a system in which the government cannot take decisions its voters want it to take.

This is a sure way of discreditng limits on government. Even if resistance movements accepted it, a government which was this limited would not last long.

Unable to meet any of its voters' expectations, it would either be replaced by one which would tear up the constitution and give itself much greater power or it would do that itself.

The Nat version of devolution might face the same problem.

A post-apartheid democracy may work only if power is devolved to lower levels of government.

Its chances of lasting will depend on ensuring that people at the grassroots are involved, through their organisations, in making decisions and compromises.

This won't happen if most power rests with central government.

It is very difficult for people at the grassroots to ensure that the national government takes notice of their local concerns — but they can persuade a local government to do this. So their concerns are only likely to be listened to if local government has enough power to respond.

But again the Nats seem to want more than this. A system in which mainly white neighbourhoods or schools are immune to any control by the rest of society would discredit devolution as quickly as an overly limited central government would discredit democracy.

If the fight for limits on government and devolution is left to the Nats, both may be rejected automatically by black constituencies. But it may not be left to them. Some unions, civic groups and resistance movement politicians are also beginning to argue for versions of these ideas.

They are doing this not to protect privilege but because they believe their independence from government is essential if their interests — and democracy — are to be protected.

The more they take up the fight, the more likely is it that a post-apartheid democracy will have the limits on government — and the devolution which it will need.
Why third-tier control needs first-tier ideas

What form local government will take in the "new South Africa" is a question almost as problematic as that of central government.

JO-ANNE COLLING looks at the frameworks being mapped out

Fiscal Relationships in Southern Africa had come to preliminary conclusions that "in a decentralized state it would be possible to allocate 46 percent of government expenditure to the local levels and 23 percent to the regional level. Only 3 percent of available financial resources would remain for expenditure at central level." Earlier this year, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee—also a central member of the government's negotiating team—warned decentralisation as a means of "satisfying the distinctive needs of different communities and different cultures." Both De Klerk and Coetsee hasten to add that the extra resources are usually associated with devolution of power.

And who can fault them when they say that it is a fundamental feature of a democratic society to recognize the special needs of different communities and different cultures. This is a recognition that the state must be sensitive to the needs of different communities and different cultures. This is a recognition that the state must be sensitive to the needs of different communities and different cultures.

At a time when centralism is basically an element of the precarious state, how can the African National Congress avoid supporting devolution? Equally, if the state chooses to opt for strong decentralization, how does it avoid reinforcing the class and race segregation apartheid has stumped the map of South Africa. Glad is the ANC grappling with the relative virtues of devolution and the redistribution of resources, when it acts De Klerk the issue goes beyond the abstract notion of decentralisation. For example, how will it deal with the unevenness of resources between areas, and redistribute at the centre in order to deal with apartheid-era inequities?

Earlier this month the ANC held a three-day workshop on local government in response to the problems of decentralisation and the Constitutional Council for Local Authorities in May. The government's alternatives are:

- Separate, economically viable local authorities for various population groups, with their own areas of jurisdiction. This segregationist model would incorporate an agreed formula for sharing resources to ensure viability.
- A local service council for each city, made up of several local bodies which lack individual viability. Decision-making and joint administration would vest in the local service council.
- A joint local authority, incorporating the non-racial neighborhood management committees. The neighborhood management committees are seen as an optional way for "local communities" to exercise "community autonomy over their own community life on a geographical basis."

"Power to take central government decisions would vest with the local authority.

- A simple majority of members, with or without section for minorities."

In ANC circles there is a growing belief that in the government's pre-negotiation inquiries into local government models may be an attempt to sideline black Africans with a fait accompli by the time local leaders get around the negotiating table. They liken the new local structures to the next phase of apartheid. They believe that the ANC will be able to impose the new local structures on the country by the end of 1990, over the heads of the black community. This view has been expressed by a number of ANC leaders in recent weeks.

While government spokesmen place great emphasis on the local structures in a decentralised system of government and on the exercise of local options, they are realistic that this task is far from complete. The ANC has so far only dealt with the central government and in this context, local government must be seen as a stepping stone to the future. The ANC task is to ensure that the local structures are not only exercised, but that they are used to bring about the desired changes.
Referendum demand — then lights go out for CP

By CHARLES LEONARD

IT'S a good thing members of the Conservative Party are not superstitious. You will have to give people the choice in a referendum between a white fatherland or an Azania," delegate Ronny van der Merwe told the party's congress in Illovo on the Natal South Coast this week. Then the lights went out.

The heavy curtains in the hall at the whites-only Natalia holiday resort had to be opened for some light to be shed on the congress and the chairman appealed for silence so the audience could hear the messages of white supremacy without the microphone's help.

During the two-day congress the CP took a leaf out of the left's book and decided to become passive resisters.

The party is already busy with a form of passive resistance, which it did not want to divulge publicly for strategic reasons, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said at a news conference later.

He said they would only use violence in extreme circumstances "like when the Boers took on the British in 1880".

"But we will stay within the limits of the law and the constitution. If the government implements a new dispensation which subjects the freedom and right of the white nation to a black majority government, it can expect serious resistance," Treurnicht said.

During Tuesday's open (to the press) session, delegates suggested a campaign to get at least a million whites to stop paying tax and their television licences to force a general election.

The tax revolt will be investigated by a committee, deputy leader Ferdi Hartzen-

berg said in the session on "The National Party's New South Africa and the CP's Alternative".

Calling the TV licence boycott "a constructive suggestion", Hartzenberg told SABC journalist Clarence Keyter to take note and report it back to his superiors. The NP must also expect to have their meetings broken up in future, numerous delegates warned.

Delegates James van Heerden from the Heilbron constituency in the Free State said everyone should stop paying rates and taxes, and the money should be put into trust to be paid only when the government promises to call an election.

Hartzenberg told journalists that CP MP's would be prepared to be jailed for passive resistance actions if there was sufficient support for the programme.

"Don't think we haven't read Che Guevara and other such revolutionary writers," MP Pieter Gouws said in an in-
terview after the session.

Resistance from white farmers to the government's decision to scrap the Land Acts of 1913 and 1956 would be similar to that of farmers in Europe and the United States, he said. "Until now people have been too ordenlik (respectable)," Gouws said. He hinted at the withholding of products and other acts of protest.

"We are mobilising farmers and soon we will be in control of all the provincial agricultural unions," he said. At the moment the Transvaal Agricultural Union is the only one controlled by the CP.

The expected differences between delegates on the borders for a whites-only fatherland did not materialise, although possible policy changes were discussed only in closed sessions on the last day.

The only hint of dissent on Tuesday was when MP Koos van der Merwe tried to raise the issue of less land for the whites in a CP nirvana, and was effectively silenced by Treurnicht.

Van der Merwe proposed a motion calling for the immediate resignation of the government because "we have majority support".

Even the outside world does not support State President FW de Klerk's government, MP Tom Langley said. "When we were in London recently, a taxi-driver told my wife he did not like FW," he revealed, as proof of De Klerk's waning support in England.

The CP is clearly trying to gain support from English-speakers. At Tuesday night's public meeting in the Durban City Hall, Treurnicht's hour-long speech had a mere five minutes of Afrikaans.
activists in Holland

EWJ vice enranges
Donald Simpson is on the National Progressive Party's slate for the New Brunswick Provincial Election. His campaign promises include support for education, health care, and the environment.

Herning

Concertative Party Presence

Donald Simpson sees the NP

NP will be host with its own petard
Delegates applaud 'new concept' at lively NP congress

By LESTER YEUTZER
Political Correspondent

FINANCE Minister Barend du Plessis described it best when he told National Party congress-goers in the Pretoria City Hall on Thursday night: "We are meeting under threat."

Outside, 250 white right-wingers chained, howled and shouted against the police lines defending the portal.

Change, clearly, is a challenge to this once militant conservative element of the National Party.

In an effort to move away from the slick, polished and ultimately contentless congresses of the past, the party this week introduced a new format. Ministers were allowed a few minutes to put their point and then it was over to the delegates.

They took full advantage of the time and opportunity.

Many of the delegates come from places where friendships are determined by political allegiances and where National Party ministers are routinely booted off public platforms.

It is tough out there and they meant to convey that to their leaders.

One delegate, Hardie Muller, said he and others faced the charge that the NP was reluctant to spell out its constitutional vision of a new South Africa.

"It may be baseless, but the perception is a fact," he said.

Another delegate, Onum Creswell Sinclaire-Joynt, a 70-year-old retired sergeant-major from the CP strongholds of Delmas, said: "We need a vision to convince others — and we are starting to hear it now."

These were not idle anxieties.

It is apparent that today's NP is markedly changed from the party it used to be.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen told the congress that the NP had a "new concept." It was his view of the rule of law, where the Supreme Court would supplant Parliament as the highest authority in the land.

The spontaneous applause that greeted his remark revealed a party of followers who had radically shifted emphasis in their quest for identity and survival from simply a monopoly of power to a fairer system within which power can be exercised.

Many delegates demonstrated this.

Etel Kruger, son of former Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger, said from the floor: "It's not important who the players are..."

Confident

"We must have confidence in the rules of the game — and we are confident we are now on our way to that situation..."

"Other delegates showed a willingness to move beyond white-only politics in response to the party's decision, finalised at the Transvaal congress, to open its doors to all races."

Miss Ray Grashof of Pretoria Central, urged the party to take care of cultural differences to ensure that all future members and 'alliance' partners would be able to comprehend a new constitution and make intelligent judgments.

Another delegate warned that people now gaining voting rights should be prepared for their responsible usage.

Dr Viljoen said the party was planning a broad education programme.

The NP and its supporters have changed in other ways, too.

Its Afrikaans support base has visibly become economically emancipated and urbanised. In this process, increasing numbers of English supporters have been drawn in and both languages enjoy prominence.

The longest debating time was set aside for economic affairs — two hours as opposed to 90 minutes for other topics.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis accused an elevated discourse on inflated balance of payments and international trade. Speakers from the floor responded in similar vein.

One delegate, however, put downma grades and bolls of economic nationalism by international oil prices.

Why, he wanted to know, did Saoed fuel — extracted from coal — go up in price along with oil prices caused by international oil prices?

Mr Du Plessis said a 'complicated' equilibrium mechanism caused that.

Saoed did not benefit unfairly from oil price rises...

But the tough fight in the transitionalities was never far from the congress's mind...

In closing Friday's debates, Mr Du Plessis said delegates who took the party's new vision into their home towns displayed a committed nationalism worthy of wonder.
Ross leads resignations of DP head office staff

SEVERAL top Democratic Party members have resigned from the party’s head office.

The party’s most serious loss is that of Nell Ross, the national director of political organisation, who has quit to go into business. She remains a party member.

The DP “inherited” Mr Ross from the defunct Progressive Federal Party and he is acknowledged as one of the most experienced political organizers and election strategists in the country.

Another resignation is that of DP media relations officer Miss Del-Marie White.

DP information chief James Sefe said there had been other resignations of head office clerical staff but that none of the resignations were politically motivated.

Disputes over whether the DP should align with the African National Congress, the NP or remain independent continue in its ranks.

The ANC-inclined faction has narrowed since the resignation of the party’s so-called “fourth force” of disaffected Afrikaners.

Many of this group’s leaders, like Professor Wimpies de Klerk, Louis Luyt and David de Villiers — founder members of the DP — are no longer active in the party.

The figurehead of the ANC-inclined faction is now Mr David Dualling, MP for Sandton.

He said: “I believe the DP should identify with the victims of apartheid rather than its perpetrators.”

Dr De Beer, however, has been holding the party on an independent line.

He said policies and views of parties surrounding the DP still needed to be clarified.

“Until there is clarity on all these matters I am certainly not going to get into a contractual arrangement with anyone.”

Some of this clarification should come in a formal meeting to be held by the DP and the ANC.

The meeting was postponed last month and is now expected to take place next week.

The two groups will discuss policy differences between their two parties.

Logically

A faction on the right flank of the DP wants to form an alliance with the NP and supported President FW de Klerk and some party members believe Dr De Beer is moving closer to this view.

Mr Sefe said: “Dr De Beer is approaching it logically. With every step the NP takes it gets closer to what the DP believes in.”

But, Mr Sefe said, the dominant view was that the issues need time to “percolate”.

The DP particularly wants to see the extent to which the NP’s new commitment to liberal democratic values extends beyond the president and how enduring that commitment will prove to be.
Year-end target for an open NP

The NP is expected formally to open its doors to all races before the end of the year after the party's Transvaal congress unanimously approved open membership at the weekend.

A committee consisting of Cabinet members from all four provinces will prepare a report to the NP's federal congress, almost certainly before next year, on formally opening NP membership.

A decision on membership will pave the way to alliances between the NP and other parties — a theme stressed by President FW de Klerk in his opening speech on Thursday.

Closing the congress on Saturday, Finance Minister and Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis said the "new NP" would have to mobilise beyond its traditional areas and engage in new initiatives.

Party machinery would have to be prepared to win elections on a broad front, he said.

Organisers of the congress — the NP's fourth and final one of the year — got what they wanted from the 1,000 delegates: a visible display of unity in the face of growing conservative militancy, illustrated by right-wing demonstrations on the opening night.

Du Plessis said on Saturday the NP had freed itself from worn-out, unrealistic and impractical policies, and since February 2 it could fight elections on the "moral high ground".

He called for an all-out effort in next month's Randburg by-election, which he described as a "watershed election", and appealed for DP support against the CP.

The Randburg poll, he said, was more a referendum on reforms and the negotiation process than an election as such.
President de Klerk — the man who is bringing South Africa in from the political cold — breaks more barriers this week. Today, he visits the influential north Afri-
can state of Morocco, tomorrow he begins a two-day visit to the Netherlands and on Thursday he will spend several hours in Luxembourg before returning home. What

Tackling the lion in his den

The word apartheid is laden with special emotion in the Netherlands, a country with a reputation for being South Africa’s fiercest critic in Europe. It comes straight from the Dutch and means separateness.

The fact that it is also universally used to describe South Africa’s system of racial segregation is abhorrent to most Dutchmen, reminding them of the complicated historical, linguistic and religious ties that both bind and divide the two countries.

These ties will be highlighted on Tuesday when President de Klerk makes a two-day state visit to The Hague. It will be the first time a South African Government leader has been invited to the Netherlands in more than 40 years.

Mr de Klerk’s presence in the Netherlands is a diplomatic triumph for Pretoria and a direct reward for his efforts to foster political dialogue with black South Africans. It is also a historical first for his country, which is traditionally vocal in the Netherlands.

The visit is not expected to change the Dutch government’s stance on economic sanctions.

The fact that the visit is taking place at all is reward enough, according to Mr Ruud Broekaart of the Southern African Committee, an anti-apartheid group. Anti-apartheid campaigners argue that the invitation to Mr de Klerk was premature.

The Dutch government is no more stringent in its sanctions policy than any of its European Community partners, preferring to build consensuses rather than go it alone. But, among the population at large, opposition to apartheid is strong and widespread.

Undoubtedly the biggest factor setting the Netherlands apart from other European countries is the violence and property damage that have accompanied the Dutch anti-apartheid campaign.

These hard-hitting tactics, which include arson attacks, bomb threats and other actions aimed at Dutch companies that do business in South Africa, are the work of small, secretive groups of extremists, not of the three mainstream anti-apartheid organisations.

The often tense relations between the Netherlands and South Africa are a result of intertwined histories, languages and religions. Today’s Afrikaners, who dominate South African political life, are descendants of Dutch farmers who emigrated to southern Africa in the 17th century.

Of all the links between the two countries, religion best illustrates the evolution of bilateral relations over the past few decades and the Netherlands’ gradual disenchantment with the descendants of South Africa’s Dutch settlers.

The two largest Dutch Protestant churches, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, long maintained close ties with South Africa’s Dutch Reform Churches, but until the 1960s and 1970s these links were primarily with the white branches. From the 1970s, however, the focus switched to the reform churches for black and coloured South Africans — Financial Times News Service.
Coming in front

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Mr de Klerk’s presence in the Netherlands is a diplomatic triumph for Pretoria and a direct reward for his efforts to foster political dialogue with black South Africans. But the controversial visit will be far from easy for him, as criticism of his policy is traditionally vocal in the Netherlands.

The visit is not expected to change the Dutch government’s stance on economic sanctions.

The fact that the visit is taking place at all is reward enough, according to Mr Ruud Hoffmann, chairman of the Southern African Committee, an anti-apartheid organisation. Mr Hoffmann argues that the invitation was a reward to Mr de Klerk for his efforts.

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Viljoen's boast: Rush of blood or serious claim?

There are two quite different explanations for Gerrit Viljoen's boast. One is that the National Party alliance can beat the ANC in a general election.

One is that it was uttered in a rush of blood in the heady atmosphere of a party congress. The other is that Dr Viljoen knew exactly what he said but did not spell out whether he was talking of a competitive election (which the ANC will win by a huge margin) or a heavily qualified one (in which the NP could well come off best).

Of one thing we can be certain: The NP will not take much of a risk in any future inclusive election. The story is told that Dr H. F. Schlebusch urged Prime Minister Vorster in 1976 to take some major political risks in defusing the unrest which had broken out: Twice this century, he told Mr Vorster, the Germans made major miscalculations which had catastrophic results; nevertheless they survived to become one of the most prosperous nations in the world. Mr Vorster's reply was brief: "My people cannot afford to make a single major mistake. If we miscalculate our chances are slight."

Landslide win in real competition?

A genuinely competitive election is one in which the NP and ANC would clash head-on in an electoral showdown which would determine not only the future government but also the kind of political and economic system South Africa would have. On the other hand, we would have the incumbent regime defending its representation of minorities, property rights and the existing system of partition and redistribution.

On the other hand, the ANC would propose "accurate representation" (which comes down to majoritarianism), a rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth and substantial affirmative action in employment.

There can be little doubt that such an election would be violent and result in a landslide win for the ANC. In his magisterial study Ethnic Groups in Conflict, Donald Horowitz calls elections in multi-ethnic societies which pose starkly opposite choices "polarising elections" which result in large-scale violence and bloodshed. Countries which had such elections were: Congo (1959), Zanzibar (1961), Nigeria (1964) and Sierra Leone (1997).

Such polarising elections tend to be an ethnic census: People overwhelmingly vote for the main party which represents the ethnic or the larger racial group. The main task of parties is to get a high turnout and invariably this is achieved through making blatant ethnic appeals which often ignite inter-ethnic violence.

There is little reason to believe that things will be different in South Africa with its long and tragic history of black subordination and humiliation. There is a prematurc excitement about the roughly 22% of blacks who in opinion polls indicate they may support the NP. The Schmitter- Donnell study of societies which underwent a similar transition as South Africa shows that such polls in the period up to the founding election "must be greeted with a very large dose of skepticism" because they believe pollsters would want to hear. It was because General Pinheiro paid undue attention to these polls that he was defeated last year in a constitutional plebiscite.

The ANC seem well placed for a landslide election win using both fair and foul means. They have the charismatic leaders, a record of sacrifice and suffering, the symbols, the dances—and the youth. And the unemployment rate (now about one of the black population is 27 years and younger). One would not want to bet much more than a few depressed gold stocks on the fact that the NP would win more than 25% of the vote in a competitive election.

Foundational pacts 'seem second-best'

However, in the absence of a viable opposition and a viable alternative, the ANC would seem to have no alternative but to follow the same road as the Afrikaners did after the war—write the constitution and get the whole thing sorted out. That would be the road to power and perhaps to the future. It would also be the road to the future.

Instead of being a "carnival for the oppressed", the elections are largely an anti-climax. Foundational pacts are virtually irrelevant to the policy agenda to placate the dominant classes. In the South African case one can expect the NP to insist on strategic representation both in the Upper House, and (more importantly) in Cabinet and to retain a decisive measure of control over the Defence and Finance.

Qualified vote may split the ANC

For the ANC such a qualified election may very well constitute a painful part of the way. There would be those who, like Mr Alan Hendrickx in 1994, would argue that the existing offer is the best available one and would pledge themselves to reform the system from within.

On the other hand there would be a faction of the ANC who believe that the electoral process is just part of a deal which would compromise the entire liberation struggle.

What the outcome of such an election would be is hard to predict. However, one would almost expect an absence of the fervour and the massive violence of a polarising election. There may in fact be large-scale abstentions if the message gets through that the election will not change the fundamentals of South Africa.

Joint ticket far-fetched?

In such an election the NP, aided by SATV, Mrs Thatcher (if she is still around), Dr Dubelaar and, who knows, even some liberal stalwarts currently sitting on the sidelines, may do quite well. If the ANC is split with a controversial foundational pact, the NP may even win the election. As likelier possibility is the NP going it alone, and of the NP fighting on a joint ticket with a faction of the ANC.

Whatever happens one should not expect peace to descend upon South Africa after the election. Political normality and rose-gardens were never promised to those who are both blessed and condemned to be South Africans.
Cash crisis hits the DP
Morocco gives FW red carpet reception

RABAT.—The Moroccans rolled out a red carpet for President F W de Klerk yesterday when he arrived in Rabat. (Sow A)

De Klerk was officially welcomed by Prime Minister Azzane Larbi at Rabat airport before leaving for an audience with King Hassan II later in the afternoon.

Sapa reports.

His plane was met by cabinet ministers and representatives of the army and the government of Rabat Province.

The two states' national anthems were played, after which De Klerk inspected a guard of honour.

De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Pits Botha, was on a one-day working visit to Morocco — marking the first top level contact between SA and the Arab world since the Second World War.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Foreign Affairs director-general Nell van Heerden has said 'weapons forms a large part of significant trade between Morocco and SA'.

He disclosed this to reporters before leaving with De Klerk on his visit to the Pits Botha state and the Netherlands.

It was also reported that while this arms trade had long been known in diplomatic and military circles, it had not before been officially confirmed.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Pretoria that 12 family members of political prisoners handed over a letter to the Netherlands embassy in Pretoria yesterday to be forwarded to Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers before his meeting with De Klerk today.

The family members expressed their dissatisfaction with the lack of progress on the release of political prisoners. Section 27 deacons, political refugees and the families of exiles.

And Sapa reports from The Hague that anti-apartheid campaigners have announced protest rallies against De Klerk when he arrives.

Comment: Page 3
Govt to continue reform if talks fail – Viljoen

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Should negotiations break down, the South African Government would keep striving, through gradual reform, to restore a climate conducive to their resumption, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has written in an American publication.

In the Journal of Democracy, released in the US this month, Dr Viljoen said normal or “real” politics could begin only after a new constitution has been implemented.

“The socio-economic inequalities and the development needs of South Africa are so great that any government faces a formidable challenge that cannot be successfully met without the active co-operation of every South African and the constructive assistance of well-disposed foreign governments,” he said.

“Many foreign governments have devoted themselves over the decades to the furtherance of what is now happening in South Africa and it would make a mockery of their endeavours should they now refrain from actively supporting the process.”

Dr Viljoen said a commitment to the protection of minorities was not a ruse to continue the injustices of apartheid. What was involved in minority protection was the ability to maintain one’s own identity and community life.
Warm Arab welcome for De Klerk

RABAT - State President Mr FW de Klerk received a glorious reception when he arrived in Morocco yesterday.

Moroccan Prime Minister Azzane Laraiki welcomed De Klerk. The South African and Moroccan flags were flown alongside each other while the two countries' national anthems were played. (SOL)

De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, is on a working visit to Morocco to mark the first top-level contact between South Africa and the Arab world since World War 2.
NP will be open by end of year

BLACKS will probably be able to join the National Party before the end of the year, Cabinet Ministers said at the weekend, after the Transvaal NP congress at the weekend joined the party's three other provinces in voting in favour of opening the party to all races.

Although Transvaal NP officials have pointed out that technically the party could open ranks immediately - by a decision of its constitutional committee to change the constitution - in effect this will not take place until the federal council has ratified the provincial congress decisions.

Before that, the special high-level committee would report to the federal council on the implications of the decision to open ranks.
Zach blames ‘third force’

Political Correspondent

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer has added his voice to suspicions that a "third force" from inside the security forces is stoking township violence.

He called on the Government to take action to root out of the security forces people who had put a monkey foot on Archbishop Tutu's stoep and perpetrated similar acts.

If not there would be reason to believe that the 'third force' was operating within the security forces, with or without the knowledge of Cabinet Ministers and senior officers.

Dr de Beer was speaking to students at the University of Natal, Durban, yesterday.

"I have seen some snatches of evidence given before the Harms Commission which strongly suggest that there are still clandestine elements operating within the security forces," he said.

He had considered the bus queue murders and the train massacre.

In both cases the murders had been cold-blooded, ruthless and efficient and in neither case could the murderers have had any inkling of the politics of their victims.

The only motive for the murders must have been simply to "raise the level of carnage in our country with a view to creating chaos and delaying or derailing the process of democratic settlement".

Dr de Beer said he suspected that only extremist elements, either from right of the Government or left of the ANC, would want to to that.

He believed the far Left lacked the military or organisational skills to execute such operations and he could not see what they had to gain.

"On the other hand it is all too clear that murderous behaviour of this kind among black people strengthens the hand of right-wing extremists whose aim is still to re-establish total political control by whites.

"The Renamo flavour of the whole thing is strong."

Dr de Beer said he had no evidence to support his view but said his reasoning was sound."
SA CAN LEARN SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE FROM US

ALBERTA BLAUSTEN

9/07/24/0/10/20
Government will buy white farmland

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is to buy out white farmers who claim they have been ruined by plundering squatters from Orange Farm near Vereeniging.

Acting Transvaal Administrator Willie Hoods said yesterday that R24 million had been earmarked to buy white land in "scheduled" black areas to prevent white farmers being surrounded by black urban areas.

He said smallholders were on land earmarked for black development under the Land Act.

The TPA would first buy properties south of the Lenasia development area, north of the old Golden Highway and west of the Johannesburg-Vereeniging railway.

Next, it would buy the land belonging to whites on the northern, western and south-western sides of the present Orange Farm. Then it would buy out white landowners on West Rand Agricultural Holdings (Zuurbekom) whose land had not yet been sold to blacks or to developers.

* Owners welcome buyout

— Page 9.
Vital ANC congress postponed

Govt fear of big delay in negotiations

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government expressed concern today that the ANC's decision to postpone its national congress for six months might delay the start of real constitutional negotiations.

The ANC confirmed today that its all-important first national congress inside South Africa — which would choose a new leadership — had been postponed from December until next June.

The main reason given was that many exiles would not have returned in time for the December conference.

The process of indemnifying exiles was not yet resumed and the ANC said it did not think the Government should be given in effect a veto right on who should attend the conference — by deciding which exiles would be allowed back.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed that under the Pretoria 'Minute all exiles' shall have been returned by April next year.

This was why the congress had been pushed forward to June next year.

The December gathering would now become a "consultative conference" which would decide on strategy and tactics but not on the leadership, Miss Marcus said.

The gathering would be held in Johannesburg.

She said she did not think the postponement would delay the start of negotiations. These could begin under the present leadership.

There was complete consensus within the ANC about negotiations, Miss Marcus said.

Blow

The Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, said he thought it was possible that the postponement of the leadership elections might delay negotiations.

"We hope not, of course. We would like to move into real constitutional negotiations as soon as possible."

Observers believe the decision to postpone the conference is a blow to some "old guard" and formerly exiled leaders, such as secretary-general Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

ANC sources believe many exiles would vote against these men because of their allegedly poor performance as leaders abroad.

Miss Marcus rejected speculation that the congress had been delayed because of fears in the ANC that a militant internal leadership might take over the organisation and take a hard line in negotiations.

She said the internal leadership was already represented in the ANC's national executive committee and that reports of rivalry between hawks and doves were an invention of journalists.

She conceded there could be problems if the ANC went into negotiations with one set of leaders who were then changed "midstream" at the June conference.

But this assumed that the leadership would be changed.

Miss Marcus said delegates from around the world would attend the December consultative conference.

She expressed the hope that differences between the Government and the ANC on the procedures for indemnifying exiles had been resolved and that the report of a joint Government/ANC working group on the subject would be released this week.

The Justice Department was unable to confirm this today.
Historic visit for De Klerk

THE HAGUE - President FW de Klerk arrived in the Netherlands yesterday at the start of an historic two-day visit as the first South African head of state to be officially received by the Dutch Government since World War II. 24/11/90

In the pipeline are substantive discussions with the Dutch Government on the approach the Netherlands will adopt within the European Community at its December summit in Rome, where Europe's sanctions package against South Africa is up for review.

It was decided at the Brussels EC Foreign Ministers' Council meeting on Monday to formulate measures to encourage De Klerk to continue reforms.

The three main anti-apartheid groups in the Netherlands have promised vigorous protests against De Klerk's visit.
DP leader hits at electricity cuts

ELECTRICITY and services cuts to townships by town councils could lead to desperation that would aggravate unrest and conflict, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing University of Natal students, De Beer said boycotts of rent and service charges and the refusal to pay mortgage bonds were endangering stability and the very social contract on which society was based.

He blamed the town councils' lack of legitimacy for the problems and urged the Government to treat the situation seriously.

De Beer said there were certain sinister and frightening aspects of South African life that were threatening the political settlement process.

The recent taxi and train murders on the Reef were executed with ruthlessness efficiency and the perpetrators had no link as to the politics of their victims.

The DP leader suspected extremist elements either from the right of the Government or the left of the African National Congress.

He said the left lacked the military and organisational skill to execute the operations and it was also not clear what black nationalist extremists had to gain from exacerbated violence and killing.

"It is also clear that murderous behaviour among black people strengthens the hand of right wing extremists."

"The xenophobic flavour of the whole thing is strong," he said.

De Beer said unless the Government took effective action to root out people in the security forces who planted a monkey's fetish on the door of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, there would be reason to suspect a third force was operating in the security forces without the knowledge of the Cabinet. - Sapa.
Hani praises De Klerk for his 'courage'

MR Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, said yesterday the National Party had taken "courageous steps" by unbanning the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Speaking during a Radio 702 talk show, Hani said State President PW de Klerk stood alone among other former leaders of the National Party.

But, he said, more would have to be done before ANC cadres could consider handing over their weapons to the Government and disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The ANC was willing to play the role of facilitator in organising the release of prisoners like Odille Harrington, jailed in Zimbabwe for spying, and was already taking steps to release Government agents being held in its own camps, Hani said.

Negotiations with Inkatha were going ahead and a delegation headed by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would meet a delegation headed by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi soon, he said.

Hani said an Unita-style force such as that used for Namibia's independence elections would not be necessary to monitor a future election.

What South Africa needed was a constituent assembly.

Germany's unification and the resultant loss of military support from East Germany had come as a blow to the ANC, although it was still receiving "humanitarian" aid from Germany, he said.

Questions on how he could believe socialism would succeed in South Africa when it had failed in Europe, he said the country's future economy would be decided by a democratic vote.
HARARE - The meeting on Monday between South African parliamentarians and Zimbabwean MPs was an historic, ice-breaking event, he head of the South African trade mission.

But he told newsmen after the two-hour meeting that it would be premature to speculate on a rapprochement at government level between Harare and Pretoria.

Net said Zimbabwe had shown some reluctance initially but finally the visit had received Cabinet approval.

The leader of the six-man delegation, Mr Tommy Abrahams, Labour Party Member of the House of Representatives, said the friendliness with which the South Africans had been greeted by 14 Zimbabwean Members of Parliament had been striking.

No reaction

Newsmen were told, however, that a hoped-for meeting with Vice-President Simon Muzenda had not taken place.

There had been no reaction to a request to pay a courtesy call on the Vice-President.

The Zimbabwean delegation which met the South Africans included a deputy minister.

Since independence Zimbabwe has maintained trade relations with South Africa but has barred political or diplomatic contact with Pretoria.

The parliamentary visit was part of a five nation tour undertaken by the delegation which also visited Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Malawi. - Sowetan

Correspondent.
FW: ‘I will serve under Mandela’

From BARRY STREEK

THE HAGUE. — President F W de Klerk said yesterday that he would serve under any president, including Mr Nelson Mandela, who was elected in terms of the new constitution.

He was replying to a question put to him at a press conference.

A military band played the South African anthem and Mr De Klerk inspected a guard of honour to mark the start of his two-day visit, the first of its kind by a South African head of state since World War II.

Mr De Klerk said that if the new government was to be fully representative, black, coloured, Indian and white people would be represented in the executive and blacks would probably form the majority in parliament.

However, he did not believe the new president should have as much power as he had at present, or as much power as Mrs Margaret Thatcher in Britain.

He believed there could be alliances and co-operation between different groups and there could be cooperation on specific issues.

However, he did not think there could be a full alliance between the government and the ANC because they had major differences on economic issues and so on.

"The ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party is a very big stumbling block."

He had not come to Holland to discuss sanctions but the fact was that they were going.

"White South Africans who still support sanctions should be more realistic."

Direct dialogue

- Sapa reports that the Dutch government intends to create more opportunities for co-operation with South Africa in education and culture.

- The time had come for a restoration of direct dialogue between the two countries, Dutch Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers said last night when he hosted a formal dinner for Mr De Klerk after they held official talks.

While he made it clear that relations between the two countries could be normalised only once apartheid was totally gone, he said the Netherlands would strive towards this goal as progress progressed.

In his address, Mr De Klerk, speaking in Afrikaans and Dutch, outlined progress made with reform steps away from apartheid in the past 13 months.

"I will not claim that I have succeeded (yet), but what I have undertaken to do, I have done, and what remains for us to do will be done."

Mrs Marike de Klerk

Marike says: ‘One can’t eat the vote’

From BARRY STREEK

THE HAGUE. — South Africa was moving irreversibly to a system of one-man-one-vote, Mrs Marike de Klerk, wife of President F W de Klerk, said on Monday.

Every citizen would have a say “in things deciding his life”, she said in a speech in Tholen, The Netherlands, where her grandfather was born.

"But as a concerned woman and mother I must tell the world that one cannot eat the vote."

"One cannot subsist on a constitution alone."

"What we need is support for the fast-growing population to combat poverty, illiteracy and unemployment."

South Africa needed 300 000 new jobs every year which the country could not supply without the help of outside countries like The Netherlands.

Mrs De Klerk's grandfather, Pieter Willemse, left the town of Tholen just over 100 years ago, on June 1, 1890, to settle in Warden in the Free State.

In a short speech she said South Africans were linked to Dutch people because they had the same culture and beliefs and many Dutch customs were still known and in use.

- Landing rights in Morocco could lead to South African Airways being able to fly across the continent of Africa instead of being forced to fly round the “bulge” at considerable extra cost.

President De Klerk said in Rabat in Morocco on Monday that the government was determined to do everything possible to make SAA as competitive as possible through landing and overflying rights.
Government sources said yesterday the council investigation had been requested a year ago and that government thinking on constitutional matters was undergoing a process of re-evaluation. The report was not its final thinking.

Sapa reports that President's Council chairman Willie van Niekerk said the report was intended to be non-prescriptive. It was hoped that it would be of value as a basis for negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation.

The document will be debated by the council today and tomorrow before being formally adopted.

It will then be submitted to President de Klerk.

The report says that in a bicameral system a first chamber, elected on a countrywide proportional (rather than absolute majority) basis, would accurately reflect the countrywide support of each party and give each group "the opportunity of self-realisation."

"A second chamber will only be meaningful if it is not composed on the same basis as the first chamber."

Both chambers should be able to initiate and approve legislation and should enjoy equal powers.

The report said a holistic approach, which addressed basic human needs at grass roots level, ought to be followed.
Plan to give city councils more power

PRETORIA — A new non-racial system of local government based on maximum devolution of government functions and fiscal resources is expected to be accepted by a government think tank in Pretoria today.

The report drawn up by a committee investigating new local government structures also proposes the protection of minority rights and the elimination and prevention of group domination.

This system would be presented by government at the central negotiating table, but local level talks to finalise local options were expected to be initiated by provincial administrators within months.

Local initiatives have already been launched in various towns and cities or are in the pipeline.

The Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, which acts as a clearing house on local government legislation, acts today to consider recommendations drawn up by the investigating committee under the chairmanship of Planning and Provincial Affairs deputy director-general Chris Thormall.

The committee's report proposes a new system consisting of autonomous non-racial local authorities with maximum powers and functions.

It proposes an Act of Parliament which will specify basic policy and norms based on non-racial principles to replace the existing systems based on race.

Within this policy framework, divergent local needs could be accommodated through negotiations at a local level.

The proposed Act would provide for four constitutional and three institutional local options which would be negotiated locally and ratified by local charters.

Communities would be able to negotiate any other model as long as it took place within the recommended legal framework and adhered to the basic principles.

The Act would provide for the elimination of discrimination and the provision of mechanisms for control by voters. The report proposes an authoritative code of conduct for councillors and officials.

The basic principles on which the new legislation would be negotiated include recognition that the new authorities would be fully fledged government institutions with legislative and executive powers.

The report recommends that the new system must provide for democratic political participation, the elimination and prevention of group domination, the protection of minorities, a free and independent community life, the elimination of discrimination and freedom of association.

It is based on the maximum devolution of government services to local government level and minimum administrative control with devolution of fiscal resources.

Local govt and financial responsibility.

The devolution would depend on the capacity of a local authority to handle greater autonomy successfully, given its size, financial independence and the availability of administrative and functional expertise.

As fully fledged government institutions at the third level, autonomous local authorities must in principle satisfy the requirements of financial independence.

Functions proposed to be devolved to local levels include hospitals, police, prisons, primary education and welfare. Local options will have to be negotiated by all sections of a community.

The report proposes that negotiations should include businesses, community leaders and political leaders.

It recommends that provincial administrators be given the necessary powers to facilitate local negotiation processes and they should be able to proclaim a period within which local negotiations must be completed.

If consensus cannot be reached about the areas concerned, the administrators may request a demarcation board to determine, as a final arbiter, which communities should be involved in a particular negotiating process. In the event of a deadlock, or abstention, the administrators can take steps to proclaim a model.

The negotiated local options could only be formalised when the necessary legal framework had been established after negotiations at a central level.

However, the report recommends that the local negotiations take place as soon as possible and they could be initiated by local interest groups.
Mandela gives FW high praise

By Adrian Dunn
Foreign News Service

MELBOURNE — Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, yesterday praised President de Klerk for his "magnificent efforts" to bring about fundamental changes in South Africa.

A crowd of more than 20,000 gathered outside the Sydney Opera House to hear Mr Mandela say that there were, however, forces seeking to derail the peace process.

Bidding

He said the ANC had evidence that the recent bloody violence in townships was not "black on black warfare", but rather the work of death squads trained in the security forces. The Government had either lost control of the security forces, or the security forces were acting at the Government's bidding.

He warned that the country would be "on fire again" if it backed away from a commitment to one person, one vote.

As Mr Mandela spoke, supporters danced and sang "Nkosi Sikelelwa Africa."

Earlier, Mr Mandela had met Aboriginal leaders, who rejected recent criticism of him by some Aboriginals.

"We want you to know that we dissociate ourselves and everyone we represent — and that is more than 93 percent of the Aborigines of Australia — from the disgraceful behaviour of one or two individuals," said Marcia Langton, a spokeswoman for the Aboriginal delegation.

"They do not represent Aboriginal Australia and we are saying on behalf of the Aboriginal people that it was the greatest pleasure of our lives to meet a real hero."

Ms Langton added: "This man is the greatest man of the 20th century in that, through his lifelong commitment to dismantling racism, he has explained clearly to the entire world what a poisonous institution racism is."

Mr Mandela yesterday went further than his earlier Canberra talks in discussing Aborigines, saying he felt an empathy with them.

"As far as I can understand, they are striving to improve their lot. Any people who are trying to improve their living conditions have our sympathy because that is what we are doing in our country," he said.

Mr Mandela expressed interest in visiting the areas where they live.
Sanctions: Racist Laws Must Go, Say Dutch

NEWS
Archaic HNP is 21 years old

Sowetan Correspondents

Nasionale Party.
The ultra-conservatives accepted the then-NP policy of separate development, but clashed with the NP on the "liberal" application of these principles, especially in regard to the admission of "non-white" diplomats and visiting sportsmen.

Today, in an era of vast changes, it still staunchly adheres to those principles.

Fighting its first general election in 1970, the HNP vigorously contested 78 out of 166 parliamentary seats.

It failed to hold or gain a single seat, polling just over 53 000 votes as against the NP's almost 822 000.

Upsurge

It reached a peak 11 years later, polling roughly 200 000 votes in the 1981 general election. This upsurge in Afrikaner nationalism paved the way for the formation of the Conservative Party in 1982, which has since reduced the HNP to a mere fringe group.

Only once did it boast a Member of Parliament: Louis Steynberg, a former NP MP for Worcester, who joined the HNP at inception and won the party's only seat in a by-election in Sasolburg in 1985.

In 1987, he lost the seat again when the CP split the right wing vote. Then he joined the CP, and won Sasolburg back last year.

At worst, the HNP comprises a group of "Afrikaner" who refuse to let go of the racist past. At best, it planted a seed of conservatism which has grown into a formidable force.

To its credit, the HNP has stood fast on its principles.

So, in the words of Francis Bacon, here is an inspiring birthday wish to the HNP: "New nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time."
Going will be tough - expert

WASHINGTON - The process of co-operation that has been created at the top levels of South Africa must be broadened and made real for the average man and woman in the street.

"This is the view of Dr Pauline Baker, an eminent American expert on the country, in an article in the latest issue of Journal of Democracy.

Even compared with the seismic political transitions elsewhere in recent years, she wrote, the process of change in South Africa was daunting.

"This is a country that has to do it all," she commented.

"Derecionalise its society, democratise its policy, and restructure its economy under some of the world's most arduous conditions and cultural diversity, ideological polarisation and economic stratification."

As a result, Baker believes that there was no guarantee that negotiations would succeed or that democracy was "around the corner." - Sowetan Correspondent.
New SA plan proposes axing of President's Council
NP, DP election pact likely in Jo'burg

THE DP and NP are expected to reach an agreement not to oppose each other in two pending municipal by-elections in Johannesburg. In return, the DP would not contest the southern suburbs ward vacated by Dave Verster, who was suspended by the party recently. 

City council sources yesterday predicted the NP would not challenge the DP in the marginal ward of Melville, following the resignation of DP councillor Deon van Greunen. Meanwhile, senior NP spokesmen have urged DP supporters to back the NP in next month's Randburg parliamentary by-election.

Negotiations between the two parties were continuing, but it was likely the NP would stand back for the DP candidate, despite losing the seat to Van Greunen by only 53 votes in 1988.

PETER DELMAR
Europe

achieved overnight, he said.
Santer concluded by saying the process of change was definitely launched on both sides and proposed a toast to De Klerk.

Coming after his warm reception in Holland, Luxembourg's similar approach can only be regarded as another indication that the EC will modify its policies towards SA when the 12 heads of government meet in Rome in mid-December.

De Klerk also said yesterday that all four of the international tours which he had undertaken this year had been aimed at removing misunderstanding and promoting the changes in SA internationally.

The EC would have to play a central role in promoting international attitudes towards SA in the years ahead.

He also said his visit to Holland was very important because in the past it had taken the lead in imposing restrictions on SA.

De Klerk and his party were due to land in Dakar, Senegal, late last night where he will have discussions with President Abdou Diouf and members of his cabinet. De Klerk believes the fact that he visited two countries in Africa and two in Europe is indicative of SA's steady return to the international community.

He is due to land in SA this morning.

From Page 1

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Picture: Page 3

FW buoyed by mood in Europe

believed SA would be judged "fairly and objectively" by the EC when it reviews its SA policies in Rome in mid-December.

He said SA's house was now in order and it had set itself acceptable goals. However, there was a residue of mistrust and suspicion which had to be attended to.

At a lunch held for De Klerk yesterday, Santer did not raise the issue of sanctions but his remarks reflected support for government's reform process and the move towards negotiations.

De Klerk had Luxembourg's support in knowing that reconciliation could not be

To Page 2
CP will accept a smaller SA
Rightists ready to ditch Johannesburg

Political Staff

CONSERVATIVE Party MP Koos van der Merwe's concession that Johannesburg would not necessarily be included in a "white" state has drawn strong criticism from the National Party, weeks before the Randburg parliamentary by-election.

Mr Van der Merwe, Overvaal MP, told Monitor, Journal of the Human Rights Trust, that the CP was prepared to accept a smaller "white" South Africa, but would never give up Pretoria.

Asked about Johannesburg, he initially replied: "You see, now you're leading me into trouble. I can't give predictions."

The interviewer responded: "But then you're doing what you accuse De Klerk of. You will have to do a deal leaving Johannesburg, or some big urban areas at least, in black hands. Otherwise you can't keep Pretoria. And this is not what you're telling the electorate."

Replied Mr Van der Merwe: "I will say this. We will eventually have to sacrifice important land, but I can't tell you which land. People will have to think for themselves."

Media speculation

The NP's election agent for next month's Randburg by-election, Mr Johann Lutz, said it was clear that the CP was prepared to sacrifice Randburg and Johannesburg in its bid to keep Pretoria "white".

This acknowledgement of a change in CP policy underlined again that the CP was not spelling out the consequences of its policy.

Mr Van der Merwe's statement gave weight to media speculation on serious differences in senior CP ranks regarding the borders of their so-called "volkstaat", he said.

Said Mr Lutz: "It seems as if the voters of Randburg will succeed in achieving the impossible — to force some CP leaders to acknowledge the weakness of its ill-defined policy.

"The NP is not prepared to sacrifice the people of Randburg to keep Pretoria white. We believe in a constitutional model that accommodates and protects the just aspirations of all South Africans."

Minister opens dam

DURBAN. — The Minister of Environmental and Water Affairs, Mr Gerrit Kotze, opened the new Imizamo dam which will supply water to Durban and apparently reduce the effect of floods. The dam will regulate water flow from the lower Mgeni River. — Sapa.
TO negotiate or not to negotiate? That is the question an increasing number of South Africans and political parties and organisations have had to grapple with since February 2 when President de Klerk changed the face and direction of South African politics with his bold announcements.

For a number of organisations to the Left and Right of the ruling National Party (NP) the decision has not been easy to make, and consequently pro- and anti-talks rhetoric has abounded at different organisations cautiously seek their followers' views.

Predictably, the Right charged vociferously that the Government was selling whites out and that they would, therefore, have nothing to do with the much-talked-about negotiations, while extra-parliamentary organisations on the Left remained suspicious of the Government's new-found liberalism and were consequently wary of negotiations.

But if the flux in which Mr de Klerk has plunged South African politics was not readily understood by the NP's foes, it was welcomed by those parties operating within the 1983 tricameral parliamentary system. Parties in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives bemoaned that their involvement in the system was vindicated and that South Africa was finally on the road to democracy, thanks to their political foresight.

Eight months after the February 2 speech, not all organisations have made up their minds regarding participation in negotiations.

Of the three major liberation movements in the country, at least one, the African National Congress (ANC) is already involved in talks with the Government. A few weeks after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's release from prison on February 11, the ANC national executive committee met in Zambia and decided to send a delegation to South Africa to hold talks with the Government.

It is now history that the ANC has held at least two high-profile meetings with the Government, yielding the Grootdrau Minister and the Pretoria Minute respectively.

Eager to bring the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) into the fold, the Government resumed invitations to these organisations asking them to become involved in exploratory talks with a view to getting real negotiations off the ground as early as next year.

Azapo has rejected the invitation, thus prompting Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen to say events leading up to the negotiation of a new constitution were gathering momentum and Azapo was "marginalising or excluding itself from this process".

After holding a three-day consultative conference in Harare, Zimbabwe to discuss the talks invitation, the external and internal leadership of the PAC referred the matter to various PAC branches and structures in the country for exhaustive discussion.

However, the Government is assured of the involvement of homeland leaders, the coloured and Indian parties in the tricameral Parliament and organisations like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in negotiations.

In the House of Assembly, the Democratic Party (DP), fierce advocates of negotiations and western-style democracy for many years, is patiently waiting for the right moment to take its place at the negotiating table. The same, however, cannot be said of the official Opposition, the Conservative Party (CP), which has always insisted it would never talk to either the ANC or communists.

Along with Azapo and the CP are smaller, lesser-known extra-parliamentary organisations like the Workers' Organisation for a Socialist Azania (Woes), the New Unity Movement (NUM), the Afskanser Weerstands beweging (AWB), the Blanke Boerderings beweging (BBB), the Boerestaal Party and countless others which presently reject negotiations.
Vote for the Nat Party in Randburg, says DP leader

By Adam Gordon

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night that people should vote for the National Party rather than the Conservative Party in the coming Randburg by-election.

The DP-mooted Randburg election pact with the NP had not set a precedent for his party in the future, he said.

Dr de Beer was speaking with fellow MP Harry Schwarz at a meeting in Craighall Park, Johannesburg.

Mr Schwarz said he had been mandated by the DP to negotiate with the NP on the issue of the by-election. For varying reasons, none of the DP caucus had wanted to fight the election.

An opinion poll had shown that the NP had twice as much support among blacks as the DP.

Dr de Beer said South Africa needed a government of national unity with moderate, centrist, non-socialist values.

He expected such a government to incorporate large elements of the NP and the ANC, as well as the DP.

In a new South Africa, in which everyone had a vote, the DP had more of a role to play than ever.

(Report by A Gordon, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
It's time to take another risk

Political Editor John Patten discusses stumbling blocks to progress on political reform
Shock CP win in Boland by-election

By Anthony Johnson
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party yesterday described the victory of their candidate, Mr. Daantjie Malan, in this week's Wellington municipal by-election as indicative of a "massive swing" towards the CP in the Western Cape.

Mr. Malan beat National Party President's Councillor and well-known Wellington personality Mr. Johann von Wielligh by 16 votes.

Nationalists pointed out yesterday that Mr. Von Wielligh had been the local ratepayers' association candidate and had stood on a non-political ticket.

However, CP national secretary Mr. Andries Boyer said the result showed that "even in the deep Western Cape we are growing steadfastly".

"We were so weak in the area during the 1988 municipal elections that we did not even bother to put up a candidate," he said. "We did not expect this result but it is very important to us."

Wellington Ratepayers' Association chairman and NP member Mr. Danie Theart said the result of the election had come as "a great disappointment" to the association.

He said party politics should not play a role in municipal elections and that this was the first time this had become a factor in a municipal election in Wellington.

Mr. Theart said the fact that only 1,076 votes were cast in a 37% poll was equally disappointing.

The MP for Wellington, Mr. Giel Malherbe, won the Wellington seat in the general election last September with a comfortable majority.
Principles for Local Government

NEWS FOCUS

A special report on a new

Leaders, ethics and business

community and business

government's local policy would be regulated and

coordinated by the Ministry of

institutions and the implementation of

A special report on a new

Principles for Local Government
PAC leader positive about negotiations
THE Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs yesterday accepted proposals for a new nonracial local government system and suggested that local government be the first item on the agenda in constitutional negotiations.

The accepted principles, which would be published as a manifesto on local government, would form the framework on which a new democratic and nonracial system of local government would be negotiated.

In a statement, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel, who chairs the council, said it decided to make the report available to all political parties and the National Forum for comment.

The council would recommend to government and all involved in the negotiation process that local government receive priority in the negotiating process.

Local government should, perhaps, be dealt with first as part of the whole process, the council decided.

The report would be made available to political parties in the self-governing territories for their urgent consideration and comments, Kriel said.

The committee which drew up the report on a new local government system was under the chairmanship of Planning and Provincial Affairs deputy director-general Chris Thornhill.

It was asked to investigate particularly personnel matters, finance, metropolitan government and the role of regional services councils.

The council also decided to appoint a high-level committee to investigate interim measures to alleviate the pressure on black local authorities and coloured and Indian management committees.

This committee will be chaired by Planning and Provincial Affairs Deputy Minister Tertius DeJongh. It will consider interim measures for accommodating the transitional period to a new system of local government.

The basic principles of a new local government system contained in the manifesto include:

- Local government is an independent tier of government consisting of autonomous, directly elected local authorities which are fully fledged government institutions with legislative and executive powers. Local government, therefore, should be protected as a basic democratic institution in any new constitution.
- Any new system of local government should provide for democratic political participation, elimination and prevention of domination, effective participation of minorities, free and independent community life, elimination of discrimination, freedom of association, and a commitment to negotiation as a method of change.
- Existing and new sources of local government income and intergovernmental grants must be utilised in effective and non-discriminatory manner to promote the sound economic development and financial independence of a town or city.

Comment: Page 10
See Page 11
ANC, business have 'room for agreement''

RECENT policy statements showed there was much room for agreement on ideas and attitudes between the ANC and the business community, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking at a function in Sandton, De Beer said the differences between the ANC and business were not as great as many would expect.

Quoting from the ANC draft economic policy document and the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) paper on economic options for SA, De Beer conceded that although there were distinct differences in emphasis when read as a whole, there were selective quotations showing that neither organisation had refused to recognise the possible validity of the other's attitude.

The ANC stated that "it is absolutely imperative to reverse the present trend towards stagnation and to promote economic growth" without which "we will not be able to address the pressing problems of poverty and inequality".

Sacob, meanwhile, noted that "apartheid has been the cause of historical injustices and redressing these will require economic policies that go beyond the repeal of social laws and functional deregulation".

PETER DELMAR reports that De Beer told a party meeting in Johannesburg last night that the DP would have to be included in a future moderate government consisting of the ANC and NP.

De Beer said any "lurch to the right or left" which prevented the creation of a nonracial, moderate government would be disastrous for SA.

Recent developments had positioned the DP to play a more effective 'role in the future than we have played in the past," he said.

A government of national unity would have to include at least large elements of the NP and ANC to hold the line against extremists.
A secret visit by former President P W Botha to Morocco paved the way for this week’s official visit by President F W de Klerk.

Botha made a successful three-day visit to King Hassan in 1979 (when Botha was still PM and Minister of Defence). After the visit, Morocco — which was then locked in battle with the rebel Polisario Front — signed a major arms deal with Armcor. Details about the Armcor deal emerged later, when various defence magazines reported that SA arms had been confiscated in the Moroccan conflict.

Botha’s visit took place during the early part of the 1979 parliamentary session. He travelled with Foreign Minister Pik Botha and the chief of the SA Defence Force, Magnus Malan, who later succeeded Botha as defence minister.

In an exclusive telephone conversation with the FM this week, the former president — who has been in retirement at his Wilderness home, Die Anker, since his resignation last year — confirmed his visit to Morocco and agreed to answer questions. Though he suffered a stroke last year, Botha was friendly and sounded very healthy and relaxed.

It has emerged that the visit by the PM and his party to Morocco was made possible after high-level contact between SA intelligence officers and the Moroccan government. The FM understands the party travelled in an SAA Boeing 707 which had been repainted for the trip and was afterwards taken out of service.

Apart from P W Botha, Malan and Pik Botha, the party included Brand Fourie (then director-general of Foreign Affairs), Captain Ters Ehlers (P W’s aide-de-camp and a former submarine commander) and other officials. The visit followed an earlier secret trip to the Ivory Coast, says Botha, the first by an SA minister.

Botha was received by Hassan in his palace at Fez. However, the former president would not comment this week on reports that a deal was negotiated between Armcor and the Moroccans. He said that it had always been his policy not to talk about arms sales to or from SA.

He says he was well received by Hassan and that he and Pik Botha stayed overnight at the king’s guest house on the coast. Afterwards the SA party also travelled to Rabat and Casablanca.

During his meeting with Hassan, says Botha, he presented the king with a hunting rifle which had been specially made by an Armcor affiliate. Hassan presented Botha with a gift of silverware which — along with other gifts and personal possessions — Botha has pledged to the museum at George. The presentation will take place soon.

The significance of Botha’s visit to Hassan, at a time when SA had already been isolated by many Western countries and most African nations, became clear this week.

It is also clear that full diplomatic relations and an expansion of trade links may follow De Klerk’s meeting with Hassan. And a visit by Moroccan Foreign Minister Abdallatif Filali to SA is to take place soon, according to De Klerk.

De Klerk says he briefed Hassan fully on reconciliation in SA and that Morocco has an important role to play in Africa’s move towards the free enterprise system. Hassan said, in turn, that De Klerk’s next visit would have “full State status.”

It is expected that the De Klerk entourage will make a brief stopover in another African country of some significance, on route from the visit to the Netherlands’ Queen Beatrix and Luxembourg. Sources speculate that it could be Kenya or Nigeria.
I would be happy to supply references from my present and past employers.

The article you mentioned is quite insightful. It discusses the importance of critical thinking in decision-making processes. The author emphasizes the need for individuals to question the assumptions underlying their beliefs and actions. This is particularly relevant in today's fast-paced and complex world, where the ability to think critically can make a significant difference in various aspects of life.

I completely agree with the author's perspective. Critical thinking is essential not only in professional settings but also in our personal lives. It helps us make informed decisions, communicate effectively, and adapt to changing circumstances. Developing this skill can lead to personal growth and professional success.

I hope this information is helpful. If you have any questions or need further assistance, please don't hesitate to ask. Thank you for reaching out.
DANGER

The committee on the

Interior for the

Department of the

Interior, is to

consider the

measures of the

Forest Service

regarding the

use of the

Pacific

Forest.

These measures will be

considered in

the

committee.

October 10, 1917

PHILIP DAVIS

By MAURICE

On PAC

Pacifist Pressure

Zepp's Death

F.W.'s Move

S.F. March 10, 1917

The negotiations were

punctuated by the

emergence of a

characteristic daily

pace of events. A

newspaper editor

wrote: "The press

is free in this

country, but it is

still

controlled by

the

Forest Service."
Let's visit SA, UN urged

JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLER

NEW YORK - The group of African states at the United Nations proposed in a resolution circulated on Wednesday that South Africa receive a special mission to study, among other matters, the protection of minorities.

South Africa's white population is apparently not the primary concern, but such a mission, if it ever got under way, could hardly fail to look into all aspects of the country's society.

The resolution, being debated in the General Assembly's social committee, would instruct UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar to request Pretoria to allow a visit by the special rapporteur of the subcommission on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities.

The intention is that the official, Mr Ahmed Khalifa, would update his report to the General Assembly.

However, the sponsors do not appear to believe that such a mission is on the cards or that they would have insulted the South African Government by referring to "the racist and colonialist regime" - for most of the membership an outdated term under the favourable impact of State President FW de Klerk's reforms.

The resolution calls on all governments and organisations to maintain sanctions "until the total dismantlement of the apartheid system has been achieved".

It will probably command a big vote in the 159-nation committee, but is hardly likely to impress Pretoria or those countries now encouraging reform. - Sowetan Correspondent.
DP warning over new constitution

THE transitional stage of a new constitutional system would be the most difficult period and steps should be taken to allay fear, Mr James Rennie told the President's Council.

He was speaking in a debate on constitutional mechanisms drawn up by the council's constitutional affairs committee.

Rennie, a Democratic Party member of the council, said that warnings against the 1983 constitution were based on two cardinal issues - the failure to include blacks and the fact that it was the brainchild of the National Party and not the result of negotiations with the people of South Africa.

A new constitution could develop strong, but lean, local and regional government and a minimum of central control that would effectively be consociational.

The results of past differences could not be erased overnight and unfortunately there was a good deal of suspicion, apprehension and fear on all sides.

Attention should now be given to the need for specific mechanisms to ease tensions and allay fear.

There were numerous examples of such measures in Western democracies where deep divisions existed.

In most instances they were, either not used or fell away when mutual trust and cooperation were established.

It was important to bear in mind that mechanisms and techniques applied in isolation were unlikely to be effective.

They could only function successfully as part of a package deal, within an appropriate combination of constitutional structures and franchise options.

**Essential**

"We are told that apartheid is dead but it seems to be taking an extraordinarily long time for rigor mortis to set in."

"It is essential that the Government moves fast to hammer the final nails into the coffin of apartheid and unceremoniously bury the monster."

"Only then will we be able to get on with the serious business of planning the future."

"Rennie said that, "no matter how successful we may be in the constitutional field, it will be in vain unless we can resolve the land issue and achieve an annual economic growth rate of at least six percent."

"It would need "wise heads and nerves of steel at the negotiation table."

fortuitously there was a
Alzheimer's disease involves the destruction of brain cells, leading to memory loss and cognitive decline. The disease is progressive and currently has no cure, but research is ongoing. The image below illustrates the progression of Alzheimer's disease, showing the areas of the brain affected over time.

1. Early Stage: 
   - Mild cognitive impairment (MCI)
   - Memory loss, especially short-term memory
   - Difficulty with problem-solving and planning

2.中期 Stage: 
   - More severe memory loss
   - Difficulty with daily tasks
   - Changes in personality

3. Late Stage: 
   - Severe memory loss
   - Inability to perform daily activities
   - Difficulty with communication
   - Agitation and behavior problems

Research into Alzheimer's disease continues, and advances in early detection and treatment are being made. Awareness and education are key in managing the condition and improving quality of life for those affected.
The NPs' Desperate Search For Relevance

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There is no doubt that since FW de Klerk's watershed speech on February 2 the political ball-game has changed drastically. The party is experimenting with all kinds of new formulas to find a policy approach to ensure its relevance in the new South Africa. Professor Sampie Terreblanche, who teaches economics at the University of Stellenbosch, examines these different experimental phases.

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Curtis
The National Party, which was founded in 1912, was a significant political force in South Africa. Its early leaders, such as Jan Smuts and Daniel Malan, were instrumental in shaping the party's ideology and policies. The National Party was known for its conservative and nationalist stance, often advocating for a strong central government and minimal interference by the judiciary. Its policies were often criticized, particularly for their impact on the non-white population. Despite these controversies, the National Party managed to maintain a foothold in South African politics for several decades. Its legacy continues to be a topic of discussion, especially in the context of apartheid and its aftermath.
Why a ‘quick fix’ plan will fail

A NEW constitution for South Africa will only enjoy broad legitimacy among the majority of the population if it is drawn up by an elected Constituent Assembly.

This is the conclusion reached in a study project of the Human Sciences Research Council released in Pretoria this week.

Dr Bertus de Villiers, of the HSRC’s Centre for Constitution Analysis, warns against a “quick fix” agreement between elites that does not enjoy popular support. This short-term solution could run out of steam once the present leaders are replaced.

The HSRC’s recommendations seem to present a middle road between the divergent views expressed by the Government and the ANC on the feasibility of a Constituent Assembly.

Dr De Villiers favours a step-by-step approach in drafting a new constitution and phasing in the transfer of power to a newly elected government.

AN initial meeting between the leaders of existing political groups to reach a consensus on broad issues, such as the levels of government and universal franchise.

Dr De Villiers proposes that the present Cabinet should operate in a close working relationship with senior representatives of major black movements and that all cabinet decisions should be negotiated before their announcement.

The start of “mini-national conventions” on local and regional level to determine the structure of these bodies. This would culminate in elections for local and regional government.

Elections for a Constituent Assembly to draft the final constitution. Meanwhile, this week’s proposal by the President’s Council for a “best men” coalition form of government has been given the thumbs down by the ANC.

A member of the ANC constitutional committee, Dulah Omar, described the PC models as an attempt to maintain white domination.

The PC report calls for a national conflict management system and a special constitutional court, to enforce the principals embodied in the new constitution, and a Bill of Human Rights.

The PC report argues that in a bicameral parliamentary system a first chamber, comprising popularly elected representatives on a country-wide proportional (rather than a simple majority) basis, would accurately reflect the support of each party.

By DRIES van HEERDEN and NORMAN WEST
Morocco is all set to resume SA relations

MOROCCO is preparing to announce full diplomatic relations with South Africa early next year, according to diplomatic sources.

This will make it the first recognised African state—besides Malawi—to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria.

The move was prompted during President FW de Klerk's recent visit to the Moroccan capital of Rabat.

President de Klerk announced after talks with King Hassan that SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Moroccan counterpart, Abdellatif Filali, would begin discussions about full diplomatic relations.

Pleased

This would include a visit by Mr Filali to SA. A date has not yet been fixed.

Moroccan diplomats indicated after the announcement that they hoped to exchange ambassadors early in the new year.

SA diplomats were surprised, but pleased, at the speed at which diplomatic exchanges with Rabat developed this week.

The man currently being tipped to become SA's first ambassador in Africa north of Malawi is Justus de Goede, the No 2 in the SA embassy in London.

Mr De Goede flew to Rabat to act as interpreter for President de Klerk in French-speaking Morocco.

Morocco is a conservative Arab state. It has a stable government under King Hassan, who is only the second ruler the country has had in three decades.

Morocco's lingering dispute with other states over its annexation of Western Sahara has estranged it from the Organisation of African Unity.

It has also been something of an open secret that Morocco has substantial trade links with South Africa and has been an important Armscor customer for years.

Yet it remains an influential African member of the so-called Maghreb group of states, which include Tunisia, Algeria and Libya.

Diplomats expect many African countries to want to take advantage of SA's accelerating acceptable and to do so in the flush of the "honeymoon" period.

With many African states now desperate for foreign sponsors after the developed world's swing to Eastern Europe, none will want to be left out in the queue in opening political and economic exchanges with SA.

The symbolism of the Moroccan move and its portents of more of the same from the rest of Africa, will now place the ANC's sanctions policy under near-breaking strain.

Diplomats expect the Ivory Coast to be the next country to follow Morocco's example.
Pioneer of SA's liberal politics has died

By ION CREWS

DR JAN STEYTLER, one of the founders of the Progressive Party and a champion of liberal politics in South Africa, died in Johannesburg on Sunday. He was 83. His death came two days before his 84th birthday.

He played a decisive role in South African politics in the 1950s when he broke away from the United Party to form the Progressive Party.

Paying tribute to Dr Steytler's "inestimable" contribution, a friend said: "Dr Steytler was a remarkable South African."

"Son of a Poor Lawyer," Lou Steytler, his son, said: "Dr Steytler was a remarkable man, a distant relative of the Steytler family." He was a general practitioner who qualified as a doctor at the University of Cape Town and served with distinction in the South African Army during the war.

"He had lived a hero's life," said a friend. "He was a brave, fearless and had a phenomenal strength of will. He was never a man for detail, but his politics were always based on broad, strong principles."

"Prophecy"

Dr Steytler said Dr Steytler had told him five years ago: "Zack, your party will never be in power, but we will have to see other possibilities." He added: "We live in a time when the doors of history are open." He continued: "I don't think you have any other choice, but to see how the world is and how the church is now happening." He was a man who had a profound experience of a man who could have played a major role in democracy."

Colin Hain, the former leader of the Progressive Party, said: "He was a politician of the old school who was able to make his mark on the world and on the South African political scene."
Constitutional matters high on Sacob conference agenda

Staff Reporter

Top politicians and business leaders are to attend the three-day annual convention of the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), starting in Johannesburg today.

A key aspect of the convention will be discussions on constitutional matters following the release of a report on South Africa’s constitutional options by a Government-appointed committee.

Other motions include constitutional reform, local government, education, security, agriculture and urbanisation.

President de Klerk is to address a banquet tomorrow night. In the afternoon a discussion on the role of big business in the future South Africa will take place.

Wednesday’s programme centres on economics. Speakers will include ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, Development Bank of Southern Africa chief executive officer Simon Brand and Reserve Bank senior deputy governor Jan Lombard.
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

In a unique local initiative, Democratic Party and ANC structures in the Free State started discussions last week on joint regional strategies to promote the creation of a democratic and non-racial dispensation.

DP and ANC leaders met in Bloemfontein following the adoption of a resolution at the recent DP provincial congress to "negotiate regional joint strategies with the ANC aimed at building a broad non-racial democratic alliance/pact" to encourage the move towards the creation of a new South Africa.

A member of the DP's Free State/Northern Cape executive and of the DP's national council, Professor Dirk du Toit, said this initiative was in line with the DP's programme of action of seeking closer ties with the ANC and the National Party.

The programme committed the DP to the development of a broad front for peaceful co-operation and alliances with organisations within and outside Parliament which were pursuing the objectives of negotiations and reconciliation.

"One of the issues discussed was to establish a joint unrest monitoring and prevention committee. A large number of the DP's black executive members were present," Professor du Toit said.

The only definite decision taken was that a follow-up meeting would take place before the year end.

DP sources said the resolution to seek closer ties with the ANC had been taken after DP leader Zach de Beer left the DP conference. They suspected he would not be "too happy" about the initiative.
ANC in Africa

What South Africa

ANC gaining on FW in Africa

On arrival in Kigali, the ANC President, Jacob Zuma, was greeted by interns and ANC members.

The ANC

Although the ANC's presence in Africa is limited, its members and supporters are increasingly active on the continent. The ANC's influence in Africa has grown significantly in recent years, particularly in countries such as Tanzania and Mozambique.

Advantages

The ANC's advantages include:

1. Strong grassroots support: The ANC has a strong base of support across Africa, particularly in countries where it has been in power for a long time.
2. Strategic partnerships: The ANC has formed strategic partnerships with various African countries, which have provided it with significant support.
3. Economic policies: The ANC's economic policies have been praised by many African countries, which have seen positive economic growth.

Issued

The ANC has issued a statement on its stance on various issues, including:

1. Human rights: The ANC has called for respect for human rights across Africa.
2. Economic development: The ANC has emphasized the need for economic development and growth across Africa.
3. Peace and stability: The ANC has called for peace and stability in Africa, and has worked to promote these values through its policies and actions.
FW to Visit Vail Townships this Week

BY SY MACKENZIE

STATE President FW to Kincaid

To the readers of The Fairbanks News,

This week, FW will be visiting Vail Townships for an important meeting. The Townships are excited to have him as an guest and look forward to his arrival.

FW is currently serving as the President of the State, and his visit will be an opportunity to discuss important issues with the local community.

We encourage all residents to participate in the meeting and share their thoughts on the matters to be discussed.

Stay tuned for updates on the meeting and the Townships' progress.
ANC calls for immediate creation of an interim govt

ANC leaders appealed at the weekend for alliances with other political organisations and strongly repeated the ANC's insistence on the immediate creation of an interim government.

ANC president Oliver Tambo had a speech read on his behalf and internal leader Walter Sisulu also spoke at the relaunch rally of the ANC Youth League at Soweto's Orlando Stadium.

In his speech, Tambo, 73, confirmed he would return to SA in December.

More than 10,000 youths attended the rally, many of them in military fatigues.

Sisulu told the crowd the ANC had entered a new phase of struggle in which it was contesting the "fundamental question of power".

"We are talking about nothing but the transfer of power from the minority government to the people as a whole," Sisulu said.

The ANC, he added, should seek a broad front of those opposed to apartheid. His call was echoed by Tambo, who said the ANC should win over and seek alliances with those who had not identified with it in the past.

Sisulu urged the youth to repeat the ANC's call for an interim government.

"The demands for a constituent assembly must reverberate everywhere, including in the corridors of power. Only then will the Pretoria rulers sit up and listen."

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo called for an intensified campaign for a constituent assembly.

In a strongly-worded speech, Naidoo said government had no legitimacy and should agree to an interim government immediately.

And SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo said if the people "stopped their clamour" the ANC would become "mere beggars at the negotiating table".

Slovo rejected government's stated intention to get white approval for a new constitution either through a referendum or election.
President F W de Klerk has given the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance the go-ahead to participate in the upcoming negotiation process. FIDA president John Gotsema made the announcement after meeting Mr de Klerk yesterday.
'Go-ahead' from FW to join talks

PRETORIA — President F.W. de Klerk had given the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance the go-ahead to participate in the negotiation process, Fida president John Gogotya said after meeting De Klerk yesterday.

Eleven members of Fida's national executive committee met De Klerk at the Union Buildings to discuss Fida's participation in the negotiation process.

Gogotya said after the meeting Fida had a "feeder membership" of 400,000 to 600,000.

But at this stage, Fida was not prepared to form an alliance with the NP because it still considered the party oppressive.

Fida, he said, was prepared to negotiate with the ANC, but would not go to its "cap in hand".

The formation of 'ad hoc' discussion groups between Fida and government on such issues as security and local government had also been discussed yesterday.

He said De Klerk's response to the question of Fida taking part in negotiations had been "no problem".

Fida said in a Press release yesterday it doubted whether people would learn to elect leaders on political rather than cultural or ethnic grounds. Under such circumstances, majorities carried the risk of being artificial and ultimately oppressive if the democratic process were to be limited to simplistic models, such as the Westminster system.

Fida said national resources should be protected by the state. It considered culture, art, national traditions and symbols as such resources. It also advocated the right to private economic initiative, the right to private property, land to one's own rewards and fair taxation. — Sapa.
Fida meets De Klerk for talks

THE national executive committee of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance met President F W de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday to discuss Fida's proposed participation in the negotiation process.

The FIDA delegation was led by its president, Mr John Gogoi, while De Klerk was assisted by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

According to a Fida Press release, the alliance advocates the formation of joint working groups between Fida and the Government.

Fida said it doubted whether people would learn to elect leaders on political rather than cultural or ethnic grounds.

Models

Under such circumstances, majorities carried the risk of being artificial and ultimately oppressive if the democratic process was to be limited to simplistic models, such as the Westminster system.

According to Fida, national resources should be protected by the state. It considered culture, art, national traditions and symbols as such resources.

It also advocated the right to private economic initiative, the right to private property, and only one's own rewards and fair taxation.

"Special and penalising taxes may be imposed in cases of an under-utilisation of personal resources, capital or land," it said.
ANC must cut its ties with communism, says De Beer

DP LEADER Zach de Beer suggested last night that the ANC cut its ties with the SACP and stop adhering to socialism as necessary steps towards forming a moderate, centrist government with the NP.

De Beer told a meeting in Queens-town that the sort of government needed to ensure political stability and foreign investment could not be formed without a coalition consisting of elements of the ANC and NP.

"The gap between the Nats and the ANC is not as wide as some people have been suggesting. What is needed is for the ANC to cut their links with the Communist Party and abandon socialism as their economic policy and for the NP to dump its remaining apartheid policies," he said.

De Beer urged local DP leaders to make contact with the ANC and NP, adding that regular and constructive contact was taking place at leadership level.

Speaking in King William's Town earlier yesterday, De Beer said he did not think an interim government at either national or regional level would be either feasible or practical.

"They would have no constitutional basis and no clear authority.

"Even the present structures, bad as they are, are better management units than interim government would be," he said.

He added, however, that every organ of government at every level should start urgent consultations with representatives of the majority
Pik: list SA as a developing country

Pretoria Correspondent

South Africa's classification should be changed from a developed country to a developing country, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking at a Pretoria conference, "Southern Africa towards the year 2000", Mr Botha said such a classification should be seen against the background of the European Community's Lome Convention which covers a range of issues, including development aid to African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.

Mr Botha said the majority of South Africans suffered backlogs which the Government was committed to erase and the country should therefore qualify for development aid in terms of the Lome Convention.

Opening

"Present world trends were not only favourable to closer co-operation but made closer co-operation in Africa essential. The economic unification of Europe in 1952 had caused confidence in Africa because the opening of markets in the USSR and eastern and central Europe might draw investors away from Africa and reduce interest in the continent, he said.

Mr Botha expected that the transfer of public funds to Africa would decrease and more reliance would be placed on the transfer of private funds.

Private investors, however, did not invest in regions where there was unrest and political systems were not in line with the private sector in Europe.

Acknowledging that South Africa had an essential contribution to make,

Pursuing policies supportive of South Africa's efforts to evolve a domestic social and political order acceptable to the majority of South Africans,

Granting and/or mobilising funds for the modernisation of the region's infrastructures,

Assisting southern African governments to create economic conditions which would attract private investments,

Instituting training programmes,

Considering other appropriate measures to stimulate growth in the region.

Although South Africa had a contribution to make to such a programme, it was limited by disabilities such as unemployment and lack of education, housing and health care, Mr Botha said.

New investment

"He said the time for sanctions was over and if Europe delayed lifting sanctions, especially the ban on new investment, history would one day judge them as having damaged the prospects of the majority of black South Africans and South Africa's neighbours.

Addressing himself to the ANC, Mr Botha said the organisation's trump card was gone and it was only making it impossible to achieve a growth rate for ANC followers.

It was essential for the region to pool its resources and to present a stable market to the world, Mr Botha said.
Business wants a say in constitution

By Michael Chester

Big business yesterday demanded seats of its own alongside political parties at negotiations on a new constitution.

Pressure on the government to allow the business world to voice its views about the shape of constitutional reform took first priority on the agenda of the first annual convention of the SA Chamber of Business when it opened in Johannesburg.

The response from the Government was positive and swift. Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelt Meyer, who attended as an observer, said business participation in negotiations would be welcomed.

The proposal was put by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which said business had a vital stake in the outcome of political negotiations.

\[\text{\ldots\ldots}\]

The main objective was to ensure that the constitution that emerged inspired a new wave of business confidence and new flows of domestic and overseas investment rather than leave doubts over the economic outlook.

"Business confidence in South Africa in particular depends to a large extent on perceptions of political stability and sensible economic policies," the Johannesburg chamber said.

"It is accordingly imperative that the process of political change is handled in such a manner as to avoid creating a climate of needless uncertainty for existing businesses and potential investors."

Among the critical factors were the issues of nationalisation versus the private enterprise system and how the redistribution of wealth should best be tackled.

It was crucial that constitutional reform was underpinned by economic growth.

"Dubious and failed systems such as socialist centrally planned economies will — as has been the experience in Eastern Europe and Africa and elsewhere — lead not to wealth creation but to a destructive loss of opportunities," it said.

"South Africa must avoid opting for measures or policies which threaten the wealth-creating mechanisms of the market economy."

"This does not imply that business should not be prepared to look at ways and means in which the performance of the market economy in South Africa could be improved or restructured."

"On the other hand, however, business will have to deal with nationalisation and related arguments as vigorously and critically as it previously dealt with interventionist policies by government."

Zimbabwe opens door to SA MPs

HARARE — Zimbabwe will not stop South African MPs from coming to talk about changes taking place in South Africa, the Speaker of Zimbabwe's Parliament, Nolan Makombe, said at a press conference yesterday.

Replying to a question on how Zimbabwean legislators interacted with their "reactionary" counterparts from South Africa, he said: "We cannot deny people the chance to come and talk about change in their country. There are changes going on in South Africa and discussions between the ANC and the South African Government which are of interest."

He added that the door could not be closed to people who wanted to learn from Zimbabwe's success under a black majority government.

Six MPs from the National Party, Conservative Party, Democratic Party and Labour Party visited Zimbabwe recently. — Sapa
Pik: SA could qualify for aid if reclassified

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha yesterday called for the classification of SA as a developing country so that it could derive benefits from the Lomé Convention.

He told delegates at the Africa Institute’s conference, Southern Africa towards the Year 2000, that SA should be invited to join the convention as the country — classified “developed” — was not, in fact, a developed country.

The Lomé IV Convention, an EC agreement to provide about $12bn in aid to African, Caribbean and Pacific countries during the next decade, supplies aid for development projects and allows products made in member states tariff-free access to the 300-million consumers in the EC.

Botha said that as a regional power, SA had a vital role in assisting its neighbours to prosperity, but had no intention of dominating the region.

SA could render assistance, particularly in the fields of agriculture, mining and manufacturing, because it had knowhow adapted to African circumstances, he said.

A concerted effort was needed to develop a southern African development programme, which would require extensive discussions with the EC and southern African countries. If southern African countries combined their resources, they would be well placed to compete in world markets. SA’s total trade with Africa was growing by leaps and bounds. Trends favoured closer co-operation.

SA needed to build a school every day, he said. It was time black South Africans woke up to the fact that they were being harmed by the continued application of sanctions.

Botha said the ANC’s continued calls for sanctions were making it impossible to achieve the 5% growth rate needed to create the required 350,000 jobs annually.

“The season for economic pragmatism and realism in southern Africa has dawned,” he said.
Gap between NP, ANC is not wide

THE gap between the National Party and the ANC was not as wide as some people had been suggesting, the leader of the Democratic Party, Zach de Beer, said this week.

Addressing an audience in Queenstown, he said what was needed was for the ANC to cut their links with the Communist Party and abandon socialism as their economic policy, and for the NP to dump its last remaining apartheid policies.

"Negotiation is the only game in town. We are in regular and constructive contact with both the ANC and the Nats at leadership level.

Local contacts

"I want to ask you to maintain similar contact at local level. Talk to the other political groups here. Get to know their viewpoints and their motivations.

"Build trust. Debate, either privately or publicly, your viewpoints about our new constitution and the new government we should elect. You will find - and so will others - that the principles and policies on which a successful South African Government needs to be based are those which we in this party have always supported."

Earlier, De Beer said South Africa was in the position of a person walking across the Victoria Falls on a tight-rope.

"We may not make it to the other side, but we sure as hell can't go back to where we came from. Any attempt to reassert white domination over the whole of South Africa now will cause conflict and bloodshed on a huge scale, the collapse of our international position, the ruin of our economy and finally a descent into a morass of anarchic violence.

"We simply must negotiate our way to a new constitution which gains broad acceptance by all the people of South Africa. It must provide for guaranteed equal rights, personal freedom and the Rule of Law.

"And it must accommodate the establishment of a thriving economy which encourages free people to make their own decisions. - Sapa."
S. A. Gouv. & Politics

1990

November
Broeders selling 'false' reform to whites'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The Broederbond, which played a key role in the formulation of apartheid policies, is now working behind the scenes to sell President de Klerk's reforms to whites.

The startling claim is made in the International Herald Tribune, which credits the secret organisation for the acceptance of Mr. de Klerk's initiatives in the government and the National Party.

According to the Tribune, the Broederbond's volte-face is confirmed by a secret document, circulated among members.

The document explains the Broederbond's objective of extending equal rights to blacks and other South Africans while incorporating minority protections for Afrikaners, who account for less than 10% of the population.

The document suggests the following:

- Under a new constitution, 'the hand of government does not necessarily have to be white' but that the presidency's prerogatives be defined such that it is not possible for one group to dominate another.
- The abolition of statutory discrimination should not be seen as concessions but as a prerequisite for (white) survival.
- An acceptance that 'the majority of the government members will be black'.
- So-called 'group interests' may transcend colour differences.

THINK-TANK

While pointing out that many Afrikaners and whites still opposed the dismantling of apartheid, the Tribune reports that the Broederbond has remained influential in white politics, education, broadcasting and the Dutch Reformed Church.

The report suggests that the secret organisation, of which Mr. de Klerk is a member, has been turned into a 'think-tank' for the president.

It quotes Professor Pieter de Lange, Broederbond chairman, as saying: 'Some of us became convinced that Afrikaner interests had become so intertwined with everyone's interests you couldn't promote Afrikaner interests in isolation.'
ANC 'won't delay negotiations'

Staff Reporter

The African National Congress would cause no delays in negotiation with the Government, ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki told a business conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing the annual convention of the South African Chamber of Commerce, Mr Mbeki strongly denied rumours that the process of negotiations had been jeopardised by an ANC decision to postpone a full-scale conference scheduled to take place in December.

He hinted that the ANC might be close to easing back on pressures to maintain international sanctions on South Africa.

The ANC intended to review its stance on sanctions at a national conference next month, Mr Mbeki said.

High on the agenda would be discussions on how the ANC intended to approach negotiations on a new constitution.

"There will be no delays in negotiations caused by the ANC," he said.

"Both constitutional affairs and policies towards sanctions will be debated next month. The ANC is aware that there are a number of issues too pressing to delay decisions about.

"The agenda may be restricted only because there are all manner of questions that still need discussion."

One item certain to be on the agenda was the ANC stance on sanctions.

"We are aware it needs to be reviewed," he said.

"It must be remembered that sanctions were an important part of pressures to bring about change in South Africa. "Given the changes now taking place, we have decided we need to review the issue," Mr Mbeki added."
Randburg seat: Last-ditch bid for
Democracy is not automatic, says MP Fuchs

THE political process currently under way in South Africa would not automatically lead to a democratic system of government.

It would only occur if "those brave enough" ensured that the liberal democratic dream lived on, Democratic Party MP for Hillbrow Mr Lester Fuchs said this week.

Giants

Speaking at a report-back meeting in Hillbrow, Fuchs said neither the National Party on the right nor the ANC on the left could be trusted to deliver a liberal democracy.

"It is a fact that our party is caught between the NP and the ANC, the two giants of South African politics, as it is a fact that many of our sup-
porters have deserted us since February 2."

There would be no room for the DP if the principles and policies of these bodies or one of these bodies were the same as those of the DP.

Fuchs said racism still abounded in the policy of the NP and people were still being discriminated against on the basis of skin colour.

Although the Government had taken far-reaching bold steps, apartheid was still very much alive. The Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act remained on the statute book.

Referring to the ANC, he said the organisation's policies were incompatible with the principles of a multiparty democracy.

Recent statements by Mr Harry Gwala, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Joe Slovo threatened democracy.

According to the organisation's recent constitutional guidelines, those who advocated regional exclusiveness would not have a right to exist in a future South Africa.

Solution

It would mean that the DP, with its belief in a federal solution, "would not have a right to exist."

"Taking into account the ANC's commitment to an economic policy which has failed all over the world, we should be under no illusion that the ANC is not exactly the beacon of democracy that some people even in our party claim it is."

SOWETAN Correspondent
Govt says no to Communists

THE Government and the police warned yesterday that they would not tolerate the SA Communist Party or other organisations forming “private political armies” under the guise of self-defence units.

They were reacting to a plan for an elaborate structure of township self-defence units published in the latest issue of the SACP journal Umsebenzi.

It said discussion was still being held on whether the units would be armed with firearms licensed in the normal way or whether they should demand that the Government allow them to carry weapons of the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

SACP interim leadership group member Chris Dlamini has been quoted as saying that the issue had been raised at discussions of the Government/ANC working group discussing the practical implementation of the ANC decision to suspend armed actions.

The SACP argued that its proposal for self-defence units was not inconsistent with South African practices.

Weapons

The Government allowed Inkatha to carry “cultural” weapons and Law and Order Minister Adriam Vlok had told the AWB there was nothing wrong with self-protection provided it did not attack anyone and the SACP did not intend to attack anyone.

Government and police sources said today the SACP plan was “absolutely intolerable” and that no SACP plan had been raised in the working group.

Police sources said no political party could have a private army. It was the role of the SAP, assisted if necessary by the SA Defence Force, to defend township residents.

“There is no need for self-defence units as we are protecting them and we will continue to protect them from attack.”

“The trouble with self-defence units is that they can easily become offensive ones.”

The problem of the AWB’s self-defence units had been raised by Law and Order Minister Vlok in a meeting with AWB leader Eugene Terre’Blanche. It was not true that he had told Mr. Terre’Blanche it was all right to have self-protection units.

He had only told him it was all right for individuals to protect themselves. This was different.

The sources said the ANC had also been told that police were disarming Inkatha. The SACP plan contradicted the ANC’s view expressed in the working group, the sources said, without elaborating.

They dismissed the issue of how the units would be armed and said the whole point of the working group was to reach agreement on disarming people.

They believed the SACP plan was a “political trick” and could not be meant seriously.

Sowetan Correspondent.
FW's growing effect on SA's white women


Pres. F W de Klerk is becoming something of a ladies' man.

Research indicates that support for him among white women has been "steadily increasing".

"A striking upward trend is evident" when September's results are compared with those of March and August, the survey agency Research Surveys Ltd said.

His reform initiatives and successful visits to heads of state had resulted in steadily increasing support for him among white women voters.

In March 34% of white Afrikaans women and 50% of white English-speaking women supported Mr. de Klerk. In August this support grew to 45% and 67%, respectively.

This further increased in September to 52% of Afrikaans women and 84% of English women.
Democratic Party stalwart Harry Schwarz is the surprise choice of the National Party government to become SA's next ambassador at the Court of St James. Schwarz's appointment (which will be announced as soon as it has been cleared with the British government) is certain to weaken an already punch-drunk DP.

According to highly placed sources, the Department of Foreign Affairs has made contact with Schwarz and an agreement has been reached that he will replace ambassador Rae Killen.

The FM has learnt that Schwarz's appointment is the direct result of a request by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, who has, on occasion, publicly admitted that he enjoys a valuable working relationship with Schwarz. In the past, Schwarz was severely critical of Nat fiscal and racial policies.

There has been some unhappiness in DP circles with Schwarz, after President F W de Klerk rejected an election pact with the DP for this month's Randburg by-election. DP members had hoped that Schwarz would reach such an agreement with Du Plessis, who is also Transvaal NP leader, while both were at the recent meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, DC.

Some DP members may not exactly shed a tear when Schwarz departs from the local political scene. During the recent DP congress, he was involved in numerous arguments with MPs like Dave Dalling (Sandalton) and Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) on the issue of dual membership.

When he was overseas recently, there was much press speculation that Schwarz would become an ambassador in a European country, but he denied the rumours.

Apparently it was initially suggested that Schwarz take the top diplomatic job in London. ...
rather strained alliance.

Prof Alf Stadler, head of political studies at Wits University, believes the media have been unkind to the DP, but says that "for a party of very able people on the whole, they look remarkably foolish. There is something slightly archaic in the way they interpret things. Federalism, as an example, won't work in this society and yet they push it."

"Maybe the real problem is that the DP are now the genuine conservatives — but, man for man, they're easily the best bunch."

Stadler says the DP has been damaged particularly by its leadership issue; the departure of Wynand Malan; and the "Nats kicking them in the teeth with Randburg."

The DP stood down from Randburg in favour of the Nats to avoid splitting the vote in favour of the CP. Last year, the DP won Randburg from the Nats by 1 714, while the CP managed only 755 votes.

The lack of purpose is reflected in the finances. It seems the Natal coastal region (after the humiliation of Umlazi) is not healthy: last week, regional director Roy Ainslie had not been paid for a month. However, DP leader Zach de Beer says the national organisation has no problems.

Low morale is reflected in the resignation of national director Neil Ross, a brilliant organiser, who could get the volunteer troops working like professionals.

Colin Eglin, former DP leader and veteran MP for Sea Point, recently wrote that it was time the DP stopped "behaving like a bunch of self-indulgent prima donnas and behaved like a cohesive team that knows what it is, where it wants to go and has a strategy to get there."

The trouble may be precisely that the DP is not a cohesive team, that it does not know where it wants to go. Or it does — but De Klerk already seems to have the route mapped out.
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said yesterday that talks between him and an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had focused on the urgent need for negotiations to get underway.

He and Buthelezi were jointly briefing journalists at the Union Buildings after a two-hour meeting.

De Klerk said a decision was taken for two joint committees to continue with their work.

One joint committee, between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, would be reactivated and would focus on the negotiations process.

A second, between the National Party, led by Natal leader Mr George Bartlett, and the Inkatha Freedom Party, would continue with its functions.

Buthelezi warned there were people in South Africa who did not believe in negotiating peacefully and on the danger of the negotiation process being sabotaged.

He added that Inkatha had not received a formal invitation yet to a meeting between Inkatha's central committee and the ANC's national executive, proposed by the ANC's national executive.

Buthelezi said according to the ANC decision, both he and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would participate in this meeting.

He assumed he would receive an invitation once Mandela returned from his foreign visit.

In the meantime, there were regular meetings between a seven-member Inkatha committee and an ANC national executive committee.
Schwarz may get UK envoy job

According to highly placed sources, the magazine reports, the Department of Foreign Affairs has made contact with Mr Schwarz and an agreement has been reached that he will replace ambassador Rae Kilien.

The FM says it learnt that Mr Schwarz's appointment is the direct result of a request by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, who has, on occasion, publicly admitted that he enjoys a valuable working relationship with Mr Schwarz.

In the past, Mr Schwarz was severely critical of National fiscal and racial policies.

When he was overseas recently, there was much press speculation that Mr Schwarz would become an ambassador in a European country, but he denied the rumours.

Top job

Apparently, it was initially suggested that he take the top diplomatic job in Washington, succeeding Mr Piet Koomhof, and former Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh who was earmarked for London. However, after Myburgh's decision not to take up an ambassadorial position abroad, Mr Schwarz was given his number one choice.
South Africa facing a test - Jan Steyn

Socio-economic pressures will challenge the established economic institutions in the South African society as never before, says chairman of the Independent Development Trust Mr Jan Steyn.

He said South Africa had one of the highest measured income inequalities in the world.

Steyn, who was speaking at the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation function on Wednesday night, said the real transition was yet to come, and that it was the economic and socio-economic policies that a new government would pursue that were the real issue.

"These socio-economic policies cannot all be defined and circumscribed by the constitutional process. They will be defined by needs, pressures and expectations."

The issue facing South Africa was, therefore, only partly the political or constitutional resolution.

Steyn said, however, that he had some confidence that the country's future constitution would reflect reasonable compromises.

As it was known that the poor were going to become voters, it was clear that in their economic policies, the ANC, the PAC or Azapo would have no option but to put the needs of the disadvantaged South Africans at the top of their agendas.

**Principle**

Steyn said another principle that had to be considered was the necessity to address the needs of people who were excluded or alienated from all networks of social and economic delivery.

These were the rural poor and the swelling army of unemployed and under-employed school-leavers, whose general background and educational qualifications make them not only unemployable but also difficult to involve in productive economic activity of any kind.

"Perhaps the socioeconomic problem with the greatest impact on political stability and therefore on business confidence is associated with issues of alienated youth."

Alienated youth was a common factor in most of destabilised areas in the world; and when they were organised in networks, street formations or gangs they constituted a high level of availability for violent destabilisation, Steyn said.

"Unless development initiatives address this alienation, we will fail to assist in creating a social climate in which people can prosper - whoever governs." - Sapa.
CP march in Pretoria tomorrow

Sowetan 2/11/90 (3049)

CONSERVATIVE Party supporters will march tomorrow from Pretoria’s Church Square to the Union Buildings to protest the Government’s handling of “the Afrikaner’s freedom”.

Protesters will meet at Church Square from 11 am onwards before marching along Church Street at 1pm.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will participate in the march and later address protesters in the gardens of the Union Buildings.

CP chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers said a memorandum, detailing certain demands, will be delivered to the State President’s office.

Beyers said the demands will only be made public tomorrow.

Sowetan Correspondent
Victory to the candidate who got no vote

by SHADLEY NASH, Port Elizabeth

VOTER apathy for the Port Elizabeth city council's "tricameral" approach to the one-city campaign plumbed new depths last week when less than one percent of voters turned out for by-elections. One candidate won, but did not receive a single vote.

The council has been trying to build one city administration with the largely discredited management committees from coloured and Indian areas.

In a by-election in one part of the coloured Northern Areas last week, only 13 out of more than 4 000 eligible voters turned up to vote — an effective poll of 0.325 percent. They all voted for John Fondling, who was duly elected. His opponent, Phillip Abraham Goliath, got no votes at all.

In Hellenvale, one candidate withdrew after his taxi was stoned, and the other was duly elected by default — without anyone having voted for him.

Unusually, city officials themselves have slammed the results. Acting city administration director Harry Roer said they were farcical.

The Bloemandal Action Committee, which organised pickets of the polls, said the result was a "bad blow" for the Northern Areas Management Committee and further demonstrated that it was not representative.

The results come at an embarrassing time for the city council, which has begun holding talks on forming one city authority. — Pen
Treurnicht and Buthelezi to hold exploratory talks today

CP leader Andries Treurnicht will meet Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi for talks in Durban later today.

Treurnicht said the Inkatha leader approached the CP and discussed the possibility of the two parties meeting, although it is understood that Treurnicht put the plan in motion and organised the meeting. "There is no set agenda for the talks, it is just an opportunity for members of both the CP and Inkatha to meet each other and get to know one another," Treurnicht said yesterday.

He said a joint statement would be issued after the meeting.

Meanwhile, Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday that the two parties would probably discuss negotiations and where each party stood and where they "were coming from".

"I'm sure both sides will table their views on current developments in the country," she said.

Vos said Inkatha believed in reconciliation before meaningful negotiation could take place, as only through respect for freedom of political choice could a new open and race-free SA be created.

She described yesterday's meeting between Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk as "very positive".

Danger

EDYTH BULBRING reports from Pretoria that after his two-hour meeting with Buthelezi and an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation, De Klerk told a joint Press conference there was an urgent need for progress to be made in the negotiation process.

Buthelezi told the conference, held at Union Buildings, there was a danger of the negotiating process being sabotaged as there were people in SA who did not believe in peaceful negotiations.

The two parties decided to continue with the work of a joint committee between the NP, led by Natal leader George Bartlett, and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Another committee focusing on the negotiation process between government and the Inkatha Freedom Party would be reactivated, Buthelezi said.

This committee would focus on the definition of principles.

He also expected to receive a formal invitation to a meeting between Inkatha's central committee and the ANC's national executive.

He said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was expected to be present after his return from abroad.

Buthelezi said a remaining obstacle to negotiations was the question of violence.
Buthelezi: CP represents many

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN, 10. The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the Conservative Party represents a large constituency and cannot be wished away.

Speaking at a press conference here yesterday after a two-hour meeting between top-level delegations of the IFP and the CP, Chief Buthelezi said political differences in South Africa would not be resolved if parties tried to hold one another at arm's length.

Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a joint communique approved by both parties that both leaders subscribed to Christian principles and rejected domination, terrorism and communism.

Dr Treurnicht said there were differences between the IFP and the CP as to political models to accommodate the political claims of various groups but the two parties maintained an open-door policy on future talks in the interests of peaceful and good relations.
Randburg: Nats faced with double headache

SUNDAY TIMES November 1999
We can buy off white SA - Oh, no, you can’t

TWO top academics clash on possible white attitudes to change in a future South Africa. HERIBERT ADAM says whites will put their cheque-books first and ethnic concerns second. LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER argues that to underestimate white ethnicity is perilous. The articles appear in The Elusive Search for Peace: Israel, Northern Ireland and South Africa, edited by Hermann Giliomee and Janine Gagiano (Oxford University Press) and released this week.

It has yet to be proven anywhere that a BMW-owning bureaucratic bourgeoisie with swimming pools and servants readily sacrifices the good life for psychologically gratifying ethnic affinities.

Racial sovereignty proves durable only so long as it can deliver. A bureaucratic oligarchy can be expected to drop its “albatross” when racialism becomes dysfunctional.

In truly nationalist conflicts, a group identifies with the homeland or state as an exclusive property. But, in South Africa, the ruling minority shares the territory with a vast majority and control of the state is not so much a matter of identity for most whites as a source of blatant self-enrichment.

The NP government regularly buys its vote through pre-election handouts.

Cynical

A dramatic increase in corruption scandals among government officials also testifies to an instrumental rather than an emotional use of the state.

It is this access to spoils and a privileged lifestyle, more than identity, which the South African regime does not want to lose.

If it needs to co-opt auxiliaries from other racial groups or even shame some of the spoils, it is ready to oblige.

Expediency at the top affects the bottom as well. Increased opposition to army service and emigration by professionals is only one indication of the weakening commitment to nationalist sacrifice in South Africa.

Emotional identification with an ethnic cause can also be gauged from the position of writers and intellectuals. Poets, artists and singers have always been the prime artificers and mobilisers of nationalism.

In South Africa, on the other hand, many of the Afrikaner intelligentsia have defected from the nationalist cause.

HERIBERT ADAM

Many Afrikaans writers and poets now sing the praises of the ANC. They identify with a common patriotism.

What is left of academic support for the old order is of the social engineering kind.

The words of the cynical leader of this group, Piet Cillie, apathetic had to be tried in order to prove it could not work.

NP managers display smug bemusement at the quint essential antics of the ultra-right.

Opposition parties on both the right and the left criticise the government mainly for economic mismanagement and no longer for ideological betrayals.

They bank on a protest vote, not on the superiority of their own vague programmes.

FEAR

This strategy reflects the electorate’s clear priority of economic issues.

Concerns about identity rank far below worries about inflation, pensions and currency values.

The conventional wisdom that whites act out of justifiable fear of a potential black takeover needs, therefore, to be revised.

The fear is better described as anxiety about losing the lifestyle to which they are accustomed.

Professor Herbert Adam is professor of sociology at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada, and the author of Modernising Racial Domination.

HERIBERT ADAM may be right in saying that at present whites or Afrikaners, unlike the Northern Irish communities, are not a cohesive ethnic group with a strongly manifested, primordially based solidarity rooted in myths of origin.

He is wrong to assume, however, that this implies that they will willingly desegregate and blend into a society which they will perceive as pilfered against their material, occupational and residential interests in the name of racial equity.

To assume this is to endorse policies which will risk creating an emotional solidarity which does not exist yet among whites.

South African whites as a collectivity do not have a fully blown myth of origins but they have an equivalent and equally powerful myth of mobilisation – “European standards”.

CONTACT

South African white ethnicity has been a self-reinforcing product of the very earliest contact between technologically advanced European settlers and technologically far less developed indigenous people, out of which a plural society emerged.

Today, apartheid and the universal tendencies for social and economic advantage to be perpetuated through the family system have ensured that, in terms of broad proportions, the relative educational-technological disadvantage of blacks is almost as great as it was in the 17th and 19th centuries.

There has not been sufficient black occupational mobility to break the apparently valid stereotype.

While white social identity may not be primordial, but rather an “instrumental” unity, a kind of popular-class advantage, most whites nevertheless adhere to the myth that there is some kind of very basic contrast between First World and Third World.

They see their middle-class privilege as the manifestation of their origin as Europeans, protecting certain “standards” in a sea of Third World conditions.

This is not to defend the white myth. It is simply to say that whether the roots of white identity are primordial or instrumental is not the issue.

In politics, perception is everything and whites perceive themselves to have a social identity, latently as powerful as the commitments of true ethics.

The whites, without contemplating its possible shallowness (Afrikaner ethnicity excluded), have a myth of lifestyle which, because of its coincidence with colour, is tantamount to the identity formation in ethnically divided societies.

Whites will compromise, they will open the formerly closed group boundaries and they will share resources and power, but they probably will not put their myth of having special standards to protect on the line.

If the shelter of the structure of white domination were to be stripped away and Afrikaners cultural symbols and their collective sense of “place” in the society were to be an issue, virtually all comparative and historical precedent would suggest that Afrikaners “nationalism” would come to the fore once again.

Professor Schlemmer is Director of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University.
Ambassador
Schwarz off
to America

By LEONARD VENTER,
Political Correspondent,

HARRY SCHWARZ, for 14 years a leading opposition figure and Democratic Party
MP for Yeoville, has been
appointed South Africa's "ambassador" to the United
States.

The posting will have a
serious impact on the DP,
which is already burdened
with dwindling voter support,
financial "troubles" and the
surrender of its Randburg
seat to the National Party.

Mr Schwarz's appointment
the first time the ruling
party has named a member
of the opposition to an ambas-
dadorial post so far in line with
President De Klerk's move
to create less partisan repre-
sentatives.

Social Coun

"Mr Schwarz's appointment does not
mean that the new South
Africa is already here," said
Mr Schwarz yesterday, "but I
hope it means it is irrevers-
ibly and rapidly approaching.

"After a political career in
which I have always been in
opposition politics and
opposed to apartheid, I find
that what I have fought to

HARRY SCHWARZ
achievement is now, being real-
ised. Now that apartheid is
ending, the crucial question is
what will follow.,"

Since February the state
President has been advocating
"political" and "processes
which are in accord not only
with my beliefs but with the
political changes in which I
believe," he said.

There was no question of
his joining the National Par-
ty, said Mr Schwarz.

Mr Schwarz, a navigator in
the SAAF and RAF in World
War Two, has a background
in banking and insurance.

He entered Parliament in
1976 as a member of the Uni-
ted Party and was a founding
member of both the Progress-
ive Federal Party and the
Democratic Party.

See Page 2
Nat threat to Yeoville
as Schwarz goes west

THE Democratic Party has been dealt a potentially disastrous blow by the appointment of Harry Schwarz as ambassador to Washington. His departure puts the traditional opposition seat of Yeoville within the National Party's grasp. Mr. Schwarz's personal standing in the constituency has helped to keep the seat in DP hands. Without an election pact with the NP, which seems unlikely, the DP could well lose it.

Mr. Schwarz's appointment is the latest in a series of blows the ailing DP has endured, including its election defeat at Umzazi, the resignation of national director Neil Ross, internal dissent and declining financial resources.

A symptom of the state of the party is its decision not to contest Wednesday's election in Randburg, once a safe DP seat.

"Harry's appointment is a great loss to us and to parliament," said southern Transvaal DP chairman Piet Seijs. "He's a fighter and very popular. He has an enormous public profile." Mr. Schwarz's loss will be most felt by the majority of the DP that believes the party should stay independent of both the NP and the ANC.

"It's a battle," sighed the Party's public relations officer P. J. Blom, "but the DP is determined to stand up to the ANC." Mr. Schwarz's departure will create a tactical gap for Mr. Dalling and his followers. Ironically, it is a time when the two factions seem to have come to an agreement to disagree about the question of alliances. The absence of Mr. Schwarz will considerably disrupt the DP's formulation of economic policy. Mr. Schwarz was a social democrat who coined the term "economic democracy" to describe the DP's policies, which he largely drafted.

The party is plagued by declining donor confidence. Leader Zach de Beer has acknowledged that the DP's encroachment on the DP's policy terrain has switched a lot of financial support to the ruling party.

Mr. Seijs said the DP would expect the NP not to stand in Yeoville, which has in recent elections been an uncontested opposition seat.

Deals

Senior Transvaal Nationalists, however, have indicated they may yet stand back, and the NP has not yet set a policy on deals with the DP.

The DP felt it was "dumped" by the NP when a proposed pact on the Randburg by-election fell apart. Since then, party leaders have called on DP supporters in the constituency to vote for the NP, the latest call coming from Major Reuben Sive, retired DP MP for Benoni North.

Mr. Seijs said the idea that the two parties would stay out of one another's constituencies in by-elections before a post-negotiations general election "made sense." The DP argues that this would facilitate the NP's stated desire to form political alliances.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Report by L. Venter, IT Division
Johannesburg.
Dr No ducks out of protest march

By HERMAN JANSEN

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday told a cheering crowd that President F W de Klerk did not have the support of whites to negotiate with the ANC.

The crowd had marched 5km from Pretoria's Church Square to the Union Buildings in the midday heat to deliver a petition to Mr De Klerk, who was not there. 

CP chief secretary Andries Beyers appealed for all but the old and infirm to walk to the Union Buildings, but Dr Treurnicht covered only about 500m. He ducked into a Mercedes and reappeared at the Union Buildings half an hour later to receive his supporters.

Dr Treurnicht then said the CP would not recognise any agreement made with the ANC and accused Mr De Klerk of destroying white unity.

Among the numerous posters displayed by the marchers was one with the acronym AIDS. Its explanation: "Apartheid Is Definitely Safe".
Arrested MP promises to defy police township ban

DEFIANT Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck vowed yesterday to ignore an order preventing him from entering Cape Town's troubled black townships.

His vow comes a day after he and UDF regional secretary Willie Hofmeyr were arrested while taking part in a high-profile tour of Khayelitsha by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, Cape Town deputy mayor Frank van der Yelden and city administrator Gys Hofmeyr.

Mr Van Eck and Mr Hofmeyr were released an hour after their arrest. Police said they had opened a docket after the arrests relating to the "failure" of the two to leave an unrest area.

Law and Order Minister Aanvan Vlok declared Cape Town townships unrest areas on Wednesday and police reinforcements were brought in from Pretoria.

The declaration of a mini-state of emergency was followed by the banning of Mr Van Eck by Western Cape police commissioner Maj-Gen Flip Fourie from the townships.

He claimed Mr Van Eck had "taken sides" with residents and that his presence caused them to "over-react".

In an interview, Mr Van Eck said that DP regional chairman Janie Mommberg had been informed that the ban extended to all DP members.

"The ban on MPs like myself and others who have been involved in monitoring police action in townships since 1990 can only mean that the police are trying to hide something," Mr Van Eck said.

"I'm aware of various excesses committed by elements within the police and if I went there I would be able to testify to the nature of police actions."

Mr Van Eck said he believed a personal vendetta was being waged against him because of his high profile and critical monitoring of police actions.

"I've taken sides. I'm taking the side of black communities throughout the Cape who've been completely dentless against the might of the security forces. For that I don't apologise."

"However, I have never said anything against the police that was not the truth."

Anarchy

Mr Van Eck said he was concerned that police action was destroying the climate needed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to allow the negotiations process to succeed.

"Security forces actions in Cape Town is in fact turning residents against negotiations."

"I consider it my duty as an MP and a man who deeply wants negotiations to succeed, to expose these excesses that jeopardise the process."

He warned that the situation was explosive and had the potential to degenerate into chaos.

"You have all the elements - a third force and assassination squads who seem to have a free hand and who are targeting civic association leadership."

"People feel helpless. They can't defend themselves against baldcave-clad men in vans circling their houses. The situation could result in anarchy."

"We thought that F W de Klerk had brought back civilian rule. To pass the political buck to the security forces is doing exactly what P W Botha did."

In the Supreme Court in Cape Town this week, Brigadier Frik Kellerman denied that police had provoked Khayelitsha residents to act violently so that his police unit could take action against them.

He was responding to allegations in an application by Khayelitsha civic leader Michael Mapangawana for an interdict restraining police from using excessive force during the funeral of his wife Nomza, murdered by an alleged assassination squad.

An affidavit from Mr Van Eck on record police action formed part of the evidence led.
Defiant white squatter digs in

SHACKED UP . . . Jan du Bruyn in lakeside hut  Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

BY FELICITY LEVINE

RIGHTWINGERS have rallied to support alleged Melrose House bomber and AWB official Jan du Bruyn, who is squatting at Randfontein’s Richeek Lake.

"If the blacks can do it, so can we," said Mr Du Bruyn, who has erected a shack on the lawn surrounding the lake. "And what's more I intend filling the area with other white squatters."

Jean Golden, head of the Boere Wacht Party, said: "We aim to encourage whites to move in and pitch their tents."

Boerestraat Party leader Robert van Tonder said yesterday he fully supported Mr Du Bruyn.

"He was merely fighting for a cause and now he has lost his house and job as a result of government discrimination," he said.

Mr Du Bruyn, 37, lost his house and job five months ago after being arrested in connection with the Melrose House bombing in Pretoria on May 23. He is out on R3 000 bail.

"Before my arrest I worked as a mine developer for Goldfields Deelkranal mine and I had a house on the premises," he said.

"They fired me after the Melrose bombing but I have taken the matter to the industrial tribunal and am waiting for justice."

Mr Van Tonder, who conferred honorary party membership on Mr Du Bruyn at their national congress in October, said Melrose House was regarded by his party as "a symbol of intense humiliation for the people of South Africa."

"It is the place where the four generals signed away our country to the British and my regret is that whoever was involved in the bombing did not blow it up entirely," he said.

A divorced father of four, Mr Du Bruyn said he set up his shack "to prove a point".

"While whites are being locked up for so-called political crimes the government is giving our land away to the blacks," he said.

He has been squatting since Thursday in a small corrugated iron shack in which his only luxuries are a green plastic sheet on the floor, a camp bed and a small camp table holding glasses, soft drinks and a bottle of brandy for guests.

Order

Mr Du Bruyn, who has to report to the Randfontein police station daily, said he was "happy living as a squatter."

But on Friday the Randfontein council obtained a court order in terms of the Illegal Squatting Act to evict him. He has been given until Monday to move.

"I defy them to come and move me," he said. "It is the people against the town council."
Schwarz for US — and deal on Yeoville

**Political Staff**

JOHANNESBURG. — The appointment of veteran Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz as ambassador to Washington has revived hopes of a deal between the DP and the National Party.

Foreign Minister Mr Piki Botha announced Mr Schwarz's appointment at the weekend — the first time an opposition politician has been appointed ambassador.

And Transvaal NP leader Mr Barend du Plessis has announced that the NP will not fight the DP in Yeoville when Mr Schwarz vacates the constituency early next year.

"Reject CP"

DP Southern Transvaal MP Mr Peter Soul responded yesterday by calling on DP supporters in Randburg to vote for the NP in Wednesday's by-election — something he has conspicuously refrained from doing so far.

"In the light of the Yeoville decision, I would hope that DP supporters in Randburg would vote to promote reform and reject the policies of the Conservative Party," he said.

DP sources said they believed the NP offer could be the start of an "arrangement" with the NP.

The NP offer has some way to placate the DP for the NP's last-minute withdrawal from an election pact a few weeks ago.

"If sources believe Mr Schwarz engineered the Yeoville deal as a condition of taking the Washington job, to help the DP," he was intimately involved in negotiations with Mr Du Plessis for the election pact which fell through after two other NP provincial leaders got cold feet.

Mr Schwarz has also minimized the damage of his departure from the DP by making it clear that he would remain a member of the party and would not join the NP.

"Still relevant"

And he said in an interview yesterday that the DP was still relevant because it was still the best party to promote human rights and because its social market and federal policies had to be put on the negotiating table.

DP leader Mr Zac de Beer said yesterday that although he was sorry to lose an ME of Mr Schwarz's calibre, he was proud that a DP member had been chosen for such an important job.

"DP sources believe that the NP offer of not contesting Yeoville was an important concession as the party would have felt it necessary to keep it without Mr Schwarz's personal following."

Nonetheless Mr Schwarz's decision to retire from active party politics has inevitably had some demoralising effect on a party already doubting its relevance.
Schwarz to be US envoy

DEVELOPMENT:

Mr Harry Schwarz, a Democratic Party MP, has been appointed South Africa's new ambassador to the United States. The MP for Yeoville has accepted the appointment and will take over the position when Dr Piet Koomhof completes his term in January next year.

Announcing the appointment, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said Mr Schwarz had excelled himself in the private sector, in the legal profession and in public life. The government was grateful that Mr Schwarz had accepted the position of being the representative of South Africa in the United States.

"The government has full confidence in Mr and Mrs Schwarz's ability to represent South Africa and all its people in a dignified and capable way," Mr Botha also paid tribute to Dr Koomhof for his "excellent service".

Mr Schwarz said he accepted the appointment, "conscious of the honour".

— Sapa
NP to stand back in Yeovil by-election
De Klerk's position under threat — Mandela

The Argus Correspondent
KUALA LUMPUR. — Black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela has warned that rightwing elements in South Africa could topple President De Klerk to prevent black-white power-sharing talks.

"You have a right wing among whites in the country and they are very strong indeed. If De Klerk makes the mistake of trying to seek a mandate from whites, as he did during the last elections, then his position is under threat," Mr Mandela told a news conference at the end of his three-day visit to Malaysia.

Township violence

The African National Congress deputy president accused the security forces of inciting the violence in black townships, and said that as a result his coming meeting with leaders of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party was unlikely to end the bloodshed.

"The violence now raging is instigated by the security forces themselves and therefore the meeting may not put an end to the violence," Mr Mandela said.

But he said the meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Zulu-based Inkatha, should be held "because we are of the opinion that Inkatha has allowed itself to be used by the security forces".

The meeting is expected to take place when Mr Mandela returns to Johannesburg at the end of his Asia-Pacific tour. He leaves for Brunei, the last stop, on Sunday.

About 600 people have died in violence in Johannesburg's black townships since August. Police blamed rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha for the violence, but Mr Mandela said the killings were the work of "death squads" trained by the security forces.

He said on Friday that the violence, if left unchecked, could provoke the ANC into resuming its armed struggle.

Asked on Saturday how close the ANC was to this, Mr Mandela said: "If we were close to that possibility, I certainly would not discuss it with the Press.

"We are determined to keep the peace process on track and will deal with the problems as they arise.

Decision

"But once we reach the position that the government no longer intends to go on with the peace process, we will have to take a decision ... an appropriate decision."

He said it would be a blow to the peace process if Mr De Klerk fell, but the government must keep to its commitments.

He described his six-nation tour as a success, with the possible exception of Japan, whose government rejected an ANC appeal for $25 million in financial aid. — Sapa-Reuters.
Reform Vote for Strong RW Asks
DP calls for urgent meeting with FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has been asked to meet a delegation of Democratic Party MPs from the Western Cape urgently to discuss the controversy over the police ban on Claremont MP Jan van Eck entering Crossroads and Khayelitsha.

Mr van Eck was arrested and detained on Friday when police claimed he had defied an order restricting access to the townships.

Mr van Eck said the call for the meeting forms part of a campaign to have the ban lifted so that DP MPs can continue their work unhindered. He said he would defy the ban and "continue my monitoring work in the townships".

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer yesterday again protested against Mr van Eck's arrest.

He said Mr van Eck was loved and respected in the townships because he had involved himself in the lives and the problems of the people. On the other hand the National Party and police had never been loved in these areas. — Sapa.
Normal relations a priority

PRETORIA — The normalisation of relationships between SA and the US would have a profound influence on the development of a democratic dispensation in SA, ambassador to the US Harry Schwarz said yesterday.

Normalisation would be his immediate priority, Schwarz said.

With the progress being made towards a new SA it was vital there should be an exchange of views over a wide area including constitutional, economic and cultural issues.

Also needed was a better understanding in the US of the difficulties which lay ahead for SA.

It was vital that the US's political, governmental and economic concepts not be ignored. It was equally important that they should be clearly understood by SA's constitutional negotiators.

On trade and investment restrictions imposed in terms of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, Schwarz said a priority would be to convince Americans at all levels that SA had gone well beyond the point of no return in its determination to establish a non-racial dispensation.

There were "many things" that could be done under US influence to assist the underprivileged in SA, which had been retarded politically, economically and socially by decades of discrimination.

Schwarz said the US, having chosen to interfere in SA's affairs, should reassess its attitude in the light of the dramatic developments of the past 10 years.

The US should use its influence to ensure that in the new SA the economic system had to be firmly based on social market-oriented principles, and that this was clearly understood by all who would have a say in shaping economic policy.

US sanctions had hurt SA. Another of his tasks, he said, would be to persuade Americans that these were no longer justified against the background of recent events in SA.

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Church debates role in talks

WILSON ZWANE

REPRESENTATIVES of 144 Christian denominations began a five-day conference yesterday to discuss guidelines on Christian principles for politicians involved in the negotiation process.

The National Conference of Churches (NCC), being held near Rustenburg, is co-chaired by former Mineral and Energy Affairs director-general Louw Alberts and SA Council of Churches (SACC) secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane.

The NCC said that, given that 78% of the population was Christian, a "united Christian witness" in the process of change would have a great influence on SA society.

Alberts, who was asked by the President FW de Klerk to organise the conference, said it was not convened to form a united church.
FW hints at closer links with DP

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night hinted strongly at closer links between the NP and DP.

Wrapping up the NP's Randburg by-election campaign, De Klerk told a meeting of 600 people he believed SA could no longer afford petty politics that bedevilled co-operation between people sharing the same basic values.

The obvious differences between the NP and DP were best dealt with constructively through the negotiating table and in Parliament, De Klerk said.

In dealing with failed efforts to reach a by-election pact between the NP and DP, De Klerk said the NP believed an agreement could endanger the achievement of government's main objective - establishing broad co-operation.

EDITH BULBRING

The NP was, at the time, asking each of its four congresses for a mandate on the issue of alliances. To have entered into a pact would have been "jumping the gun".

He stressed that he would like to see the DP becoming part of a broad discussion on the subject.

"The new SA demands that those who belong together through inner conviction should find ways and means of standing together and working together," he said.

Earlier, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said government had plans to talk about co-operation with the DP in 'two Johannesburg municipal by-elections.'
'Group rights' is dying a quiet death in SA

The protection of political group rights — historically the keystone of National Party policy and almost everybody else's despair — seems to be dying a quiet death in the constitutional thinking that marks the new government.

Recent clues suggest rapid evolution in NP thinking has reached the point where groups may no longer figure as such at all in the constitutional proposals which the NP eventually puts on the negotiation table.

"Minority rights" — which in the NP mind have largely become universal democratic values such as the need for regular elections — will only be protected indirectly through political parties or through loaded majorities, it now seems.

As recently as August this year a leaked Broederbond document — leaked to groups still prominent in NP thinking.

The plan confirmed that government envisaged a two-chamber legislature with a lower House of Representatives elected by one-man, one-vote on a common voters roll.

Groups voluntarily formed around common principles such as language, culture or religion and not race would be equally represented in an upper house or senate along with representatives of 10 geographic regions.

Advice body

Groups would exercise powers disproportionate to their numbers through various mechanisms including a requirement that the senate approve all legislation — by a two-thirds majority — and through an "advice body" which would resolve deadlock between the two houses by a three-quarters majority.

Only senators would serve on the advice body.

One representative for every five groups would also serve on a multi-party cabinet, along with one representative for every region and seven members of the lower house.

Late last month the President's Council produced a similar constitutional blueprint.

By PETER FABRICIUS, Argus Political Staff

Gerrit Viljoen

But it was probably still-born.

In the meantime the NP had announced its decision to open its ranks to all races and seek alliances with other parties.

Dr Viljoen had revealed a "new vision" — that Afrikaans and white interests would better be protected in a multi-racial alliance rather than in enshrined minority rights in the constitution.

This might have been a signal that the group idea was dying.

At the Transvaal NP congress another prominent member of the government's high-powered Ministerial Committee on Negotiations, (known by its Afrikaans acronym MKO) Education and Development Aid Minister Reołf van der Merwe, gave notice of a further dissolution of the group concept.

Minority values

Asked how minorities would be defined if not racially, he gave a surprising indication that minority groups were losing their definition in NP thinking.

He suggested that different minorities would form to protect different "minority values."

And the same person could belong to different "minorities" on different issues.

Yet another MKO member, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Reołf Meyer, had made the point more explicitly at a Foreign Correspondents Association lunch, when he said "the days of group rights are gone."

This meant any definition of group based on race, religion or culture, he added, implicitly refuting the Broederbond and President's Council models.

Mr Meyer suggested that to define groups on the basis of language would split the two major white groups.

Apart from a bill of rights, "party political participation" would be the best way for whites to defend their interests.

The same suggestion cropped up about the same time in a confidential British report.

The report described a NP constitutional blueprint almost identical to the Broederbond model but significantly with all explicit references to groups removed.

There would be only 10 representatives from each of the 10 regions and 100 elected by parties on a proportional basis in the senate, it said.

Another significant omission from the new plan was the "advice body" to resolve deadlocks.

The other features of the constitution corresponded closely to the Broederbond plan. They were:

- A bill of rights that would by protecting individual rights, protect languages, religions and cultures as well as human rights;
- Devolution of power to ten autonomous regions, (corresponding to the present economic regions) that would in turn devolve power to local councils;
- Regions could differ in their official languages, education policies, public holidays and flags;
- A 300-seat lower house based on one-seat one-vote and proportional representation.

Parties would need to win a minimum of the percent of the vote to be represented in this house;

A cabinet of seven members elected from the lower house, one each from the ten regions and one each from political parties.

The idea would be to establish a Swiss-style grand coalition with parties aligned on different issues rather than the British-style permanent confrontation between the government and the opposition.

Like the US

A largely ceremonial head of state elected by the legislature and a rotating executive prime minister chosen from each of the Cabinet members in turn;

Legislation to be originated from either house with consensus being reached, as in the American system, by joint committees of both houses;

Changes in the constitution only by a two-thirds majority of both houses;

An independent high court to guard the bill of rights and the constitution and to settle disputes between federal and regional governments;

An economic system based on free-market principles.

"What is emerging looks more like the United States constitution than any other model," the report concluded.

"It would protect group rights without saying so."

It is not yet certain that this fully represents government thinking.
Pik flies to meet leaders at ‘breakfast’

By Ken Vernon
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Foreign Minister Pik Botha flew into Lusaka today for a prayer breakfast and a “seminar” with the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity and other African leaders.

On his arrival at the airport Mr Botha congratulated President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia for arranging the “spiritual initiative” in an effort to help solve southern Africa’s problems.

The presence at the meeting of President Museveni of Uganda is seen by observers to be especially significant as he is the current chairman of the OAU. In addition, his country at present is playing host to a thousand members of the African National Congress’s armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Also attending the meetings is ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

President Chissano of Mozambique arrived yesterday for the meetings. The head of the Lesotho government, Major-General Metsing Lekhanya was expected to pull out of the meeting following the government’s decision yesterday to de-throne King Moshoeshoe. President Buyoya of Burundi has also withdrawn.

President Quett Masire has sent his Foreign Minister, Dr Goodwill Chibeza, in his place. Others due to take part were Transkei’s military leader, Major-General Danu Holomisa, Swazi premier Sotsha Dlamini and a representative of the Namibian government.

Significantly, Zimbabwe’s President Robert Mugabe — still the most vociferous opponent of Pretoria — declined to attend or send a representative.

A Zambian government spokesman said the prayer breakfast and the seminar that was to follow it were a demonstration of reconciliation in southern Africa following the easing of regional tensions.

However, observers in the Zambian capital see it as a desperate attempt by Dr Kaunda to regain credibility in Africa as a regional peacemaker.

Zambia’s economy is in a parlous state and the president, having agreed in principle to a multiparty state — should that be what the majority of his people want — could be on the brink of political extinction.
SA has 'fair chance' of reaching stability

THE Economist magazine, published in London, this week features SA in a 36-page survey titled After Apartheid.

It examines the country's chances of achieving stability and prosperity under a democratic constitution, and concludes that they are fair.

Writer Sebastian Malabry, The Economist's Africa correspondent, says the more President F W de Klerk involves the ANC in the 'changes, already in train, the more certain he can be that they will stick'.

"As the ANC's leaders accept more responsibility, their followers will start to realise that politics can bring only compromises, not the miracle of liberation that they have been taught to expect.

The survey, supported by advertising from major SA companies, looks at problems caused by violence, the breakdown of black education, and revolutionary attempts to make the country ungovernable.

It says Nelson Mandela is appealing for discipline, "but ungovernability is appealingly difficult to undo".

It estimates that unemployment is close to 50%, and says that, an economy suffering slow growth, low investment, declining production and AIDS cannot be expected to support the huge expansion of welfare that blacks expect.

Racial justice would not reverse the "damage to growth done by sanctions."
Yeoville part of Schwarz deal

DEMOCRATIC Party
Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz accepted an appointment as ambassador to Washington on condition the National Party pulled out of the Yeoville by-election, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

This appeared to contradict Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis, who said last night at a Press briefing in Randburg that the Yeoville offer was not a condition of Schwarz taking the Washington job.

The NP had decided "spontaneously" to pull out of Yeoville, to reciprocate the DP's gesture in pulling out of Randburg.

Schwarz's appointment and the NP decision not to fight the DP were indicative of a new phase in South African politics, De Beer said.

"I should emphasise there is no question of the Democratic Party surrendering any of its identity, its independence or its integrity."

Proposal

"Harry Schwarz was approached to accept the Washington job, which he can certainly do better than anyone else could, and accepted on the basis that he retains his DP membership (while obviously not being active in the future) and that we do not have to fight a difficult election in Yeoville."

"There is a loss to the DP in that we lose an outstanding debater from our parliamentary team, but South Africa undoubtedly gains in that the appointment begins to establish a bipartisan approach to Government, and also the cause of democracy gains from the fact that a lifelong democrat now represents South Africa in this crucial post."
Nats pray that CP will lose deposit

May 1 special.

Greatly enhanced chances announced in the Press. Nats pray that CP will lose deposit. May 1 special.
Left shift just as bad - Zach

A shift to the left in South Africa would be just as destructive as one to the right, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking in Cape Town De Beer said if there was a shift to the right the country would descend into a morass of民族 violence, international rejection and economic collapse.

A shift to the left, brought by a government with a socialist policy, would result in a command economy in which nationalisation or massive government intervention in industry would occur, he said. - Sapa.
Rapid evolution in NP thinking

THE protection of political group rights - historically the keystone of National Party policy and almost everybody else's despair - seems to be dying a quiet death in the constitutional think tanks of the Government.

Recent clues suggest rapid evolution in NP thinking has reached the point where groups may no longer be as significant to the constitutional proposals which the NP eventually puts on the negotiation table.

"Minority rights" - which in the NP mind have largely become universal democratic values such as the need for regular elections - will only be protected indirectly through political parties or through loaded majorities, it now seems.

As recently as August this year a leaked Broederbund document revealed that groups were still prominent in NP thinking. The plan confirmed that Government envisaged a two-chamber legislature with a lower "House of Representatives" elected by one-man, one-vote on a common voters roll.

Exercise

Groups voluntarily formed around common principles such as language, culture or religion - but not race - would be equally represented in an upper house or senate along with representatives of 10 geographic regions.

Groups would exercise powers disproportionate to their numbers through various mechanisms including a requirement that the senate approve all legislation by a two-third majority - and through an "advice body" which would resolve deadlocks between the two houses, by a three-quarters majority.

Only senators would serve on the advice body.

One representative for every group would also serve on a multi-party cabinet, along with one representative for every region and seven members of the lower house.

Late last month the President's Council produced a similar constitutional blueprint.

But it was probably stillborn.

In the meantime the NP had announced its decision to open its ranks to all races and seek alliances with other parties.

Viljoen had revealed a "new vision" - that Afrikaner and white interests would better be protected in a multi-racial alliance rather than in enshrined minority rights in the constitution.

This might have been a signal that the group idea was dying.

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Minority

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This meant any definition of group based on race, religion or culture, he added, implicitly refuting the Broederbund and President's Council models.

Meyer suggested that if groups on the basis of language would split the two major white groups.

Apart from a bill of rights, "party political participation" would be the best way for whites to defend their interests.

The same suggestion cropped up about the same time in a confidential British report.

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Features

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High Court

* An independent high court to guard the bill of rights and the constitution and to settle disputes between federal and regional governments;
* An economic system based on free-market principles.

"What is emerging looks more like the United States constitution than any other model," the report concluded.

"It would protect group rights without saying so."

It is not yet certain that this fully represents Government thinking. An important contrary indication was Viljoen's explicit stipulation at the October Cape NP congress that "minority groups must be constituted according to a new, acceptable and non-racial system of guidelines laid down in the constitution."

Has Viljoen already gone past this view? Or are there different schools of thought debating the issue inside the party? This is not clear. But it seems likely that the NP - knowing that group protection is unacceptable to the ANC and other major negotiating potential alliance partners - is moving past this notion in order to properly prepare itself for competing on a level political playing field. - Sowetan Correspondent.

In every election in the constituency since then those PFP voters have been asked to support another party, and have done so — securing Malan comfortable majorities first as an independent and then as a DP candidate.

In today’s Randburg by-election the old Frog supporters are again being asked to vote for another party — this time F W de Klerk’s revamped new look NP, which is challenged by the CP. If they do, de Klerk will receive a thumping endorsement for his reform policies. Their failure to do so could bring a severe embarrassment for de Klerk and the NP.

The result is not in doubt. Both parties agree the NP will win — but by how much?

NP canvassing in Randburg has confirmed a drift amongst its former supporters to the CP and the party expects the CP to poll at least 2 000 votes — three times what it did last year. The CP expects a minimum of 2 800 votes.

Even allowing for a drift of 2 000 former NP supporters to the CP, if all the other voters who cast their ballots in favour of the DP and NP last year voted for NP candidate Marthinus van Schalkwyk, the party would receive a huge majority of more than 9 000 votes.

But this is highly unlikely. For one thing, ever since the DP withdrew from the contest, interest in the by-election has been minimal.

The CP predicts a poll of just 50% while the NP’s campaign manager Johan Loots, although hoping for a 60% poll, expects one in the middle 50s.

The expectation is that whatever the percentage the NP vote will remain constant so in the event of a 60% poll, the NP could expect a majority of about 7 800 while in a 50% poll this will fall to about 6 000.

Whatever the turnout, the CP will claim that trebling or even quadrupling its support in a solidly middleclass to upper middleclass constituency justifies its claim that de Klerk has no mandate for his reforms.

But there are several reasons working in favour of the CP which militate against this victory-in-defeat argument.

For one, in their canvassing both parties attest to encountering numerous DP supporters who simply cannot bring themselves to vote for the NP.

Protest

Because the result is a foregone conclusion many NP and DP-inclined voters will simply not bother to go to the polls.

Both parties also say they have come across a small (NP) or significant (CP) number of DP supporters who, enraged by the way in which the NP rejected an election pact worked out by Finance Minister Barend de Pl�s and DP Finance spokesman Harry Schwartz, say they will cast their ballots in favour of the CP as a protest vote.

Loots believes the number of DP supporters who will do this has declined since the CP’s announcement that it will not contest Schwarz’s Yeoville seat when he takes up his new post as ambassador to the US. His CP counterpart, Marthinus MP CP de la Rey, says he still expects a significant number of DP supporters to make protest votes.

A final reason to question CP claims that its expected defeat in Randburg will in fact be a vote against reform is that the TSS votes it received in last year’s election is almost certainly not a true reflection of its support then.

Glenn Babb, the NP’s candidate, fought a negative campaign epitomised by the publication of a photogaph of Wynand Malan with SACP chief Joe Slovo — the suggestion being at best that Malan was soft on communism and “terrorism” or at worst that he was a sympathiser.

Given the high profile of last year’s campaign, it is highly likely that voters, who were more at home in the CP camp than in that of De Klerk’s NP, probably cast their ballots in favour of Babb.

This can be seen by the fact that while the CP vote increased dramatically in the countrywide, in Randburg it fell from 684 (1987) to 764.

With the CP’s Léonie Steele doing so well for Van Schalkwyk what Babb did then to Malan, these voters will return to their more natural home.

When the result of today’s election is announced, it will show that a majority of voters in Randburg support change. If the former PFP stalwarts again rally to support another party the endorsement will be overwhelming. If they don’t the NP will have cause for concern that the erosion of its traditional support base by the CP is not being offset by gains from the left.

Report by M Robertson, 11 E 20th Street, Johannesburg.
Coat Ills Current

CP loses deposit in Randburg

New Goats Clinic in Randburg
Randburg poll clear thumbs-up for FW

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Randburg voters have given a clear thumbs-up to President De Klerk's constitutional initiatives in a parliamentary by-election which has been interpreted as a mini-referendum on white urban support for the reformist government.

In a severe blow to the Conservative Party's claim that it now represented the majority of whites following the government's dramatic reforms, the NP scored a resounding 9,1% victory in a 56,5% poll. There were 72 spoilt papers.

The NP's Marthinus van Schalkwyk got 10,628 votes compared to the 1,969 votes of the Conservative Party's Leonie Steele.

Jubilation

However, the CP increased its support by 1,214 votes compared to the 795 it had received in last year's general election, fueling its belief that it could obtain the majority of parliamentary seats in a general election.

Jubilation reigned in the NP camp when the election result was announced by electoral officer Gert Reyenekë at 11:30 pm.

The NP's Transvaal leader, Finance Minister Barend de Plessis, and an enthusiastic Mr. Van Schalkwyk were carried shoulder-high by supporters who had patiently awaited the result since voting closed at 6 pm.

Mr. Van Schalkwyk said the result had confirmed that the government did have a mandate for its reforms, and that "we are unfalteringly on the way to a new South Africa".

He urged the CP to become part of the negotiating process, since "it has now been proved that this is the only way forward".

CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht expressed disappointment at the result, saying: "We would have been happy had we fared better, but we are thankful for the support received."

Analysts interpreted the result as a boost to President De Klerk's reforms.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University, said the result showed a 7 to 8 percent swing to the CP — well short of the swing needed to challenge Mr. De Klerk's mandate.

Former Randburg MP Wynand Malan, whose retirement from politics brought about the by-election, said it had been a good result for Mr. De Klerk.

"The message from Randburg is that they are behind him. He must take the process and carry it on until negotiations."

Political observer Professor Willem Klevnhan said the low poll of 56 percent was a "fiasco" in a by-election which had been billed by President De Klerk and all political commentators as one of the most important in decades.

He said that nearly half the people of Randburg to have decided not to vote indicated a deliberate stayaway, which should be disturbing to the National Party."
'We don't want cheap NGK confession'

By Carina le Grange

RUSTENBURG — Serious dissent between the white Ned Geref Kerk and its sister black and coloured churches threatened at the National Conference of Churches yesterday.

It followed a personal confession of guilt about apartheid by an individual NGK member, which was later endorsed by an official NGK delegation.

The deepening of the already-existing rift between the NGK, the (black) NGK in Afrika and (coloured) NG Send climbingkerk was triggered by the confession of guilt by theologian Professor Willie Jonker on Tuesday morning, which he made on behalf of the NGK.

This was followed by the spontaneous forgiveness and acceptance of the confession by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Yesterday, NGK moderator Professor Pieter Potgieter told the conference that the NGK delegation had unambiguously stated that they identified with Professor Jonker's statement.

The black and coloured NG churches had however required an urgent clarification on whether the confession had been accepted by Archbishop Tutu on behalf of the entire conference.

As the matter became a dominant issue, both inside and outside the proceedings, these two churches also said they would be "enormously compromised" if the conference were to become a platform for the theological viewpoints of the white NGK.

In a statement and at a press conference, these churches said their position of protest was not aimed personally at Archbishop Tutu or Professor Jonker and that they also accepted the latter's confession.

They pointed out that the NGK had not yet clearly committed itself to a structurally united church and that many ministers were members of the Broederbond.

Their major objection centred on the fact that recent progressive developments in the white church were couched in words which could be interpreted in more than one way.

Sam BUTI, of the NGKA, said: "We do not want a cheap confession. You can only confess after you have repented that you have done wrong in the past."

Russell Botma of the NG Sendingkerk said the NGK confession meant that Dr Andries Treurnicht and Professor Carel Boshoff, both NGK members, had also confessed their sins and guilt over apartheid.

"If that is true, we must also hear it from them," he said.

The Rev Frank Chikanu said: "The trauma we are going through is part of the pain of confronting one another. It is a constructive event, in my opinion."
JOHANNESBURG.—The National Party's constitutional blueprint, which it hopes to submit at the negotiation table next year, is taking shape behind closed doors, according to a report in London.

The latest issue of FRONT FILE, a subscribers' only newsletter published in London, says the blueprint is a "classic United States-style geographic federation" consisting of 10 or 12 semi-autonomous regions and a powerful Supreme Court as a final arbiter of the constitution.

It includes a Charter of Human Rights and a division of power between the Supreme Court, a bicameral legislature and a rotating executive presidency with proscribed powers.

Minority interests will be protected through a combination of the Human Rights Charter, entrenched constitutional guarantees within a free market system and frequent elections and proportional representation at all levels of government.

The plan allows neighborhoods to take decisions on their own schools as long as these do not impinge on the human rights of others as protected by the Charter of Human Rights.

Autonomous regions will be able decide on economic and security issues and will even determine regional official languages, anthems and flags, provided the national symbols are accepted as the highest embodiment of the state.

Several important aspects of the party's constitutional vision have yet to be finalised.

One of the most contentious is the exact nature of the executive.

It talks about a rotating executive presidency, with limited powers. The president would be chairperson of the cabinet based on proportional representation and consensus decision-making.

Significantly, the National Party has dropped its earlier demand for specific guarantees for the white minority, even on a temporary basis as was the case in Zimbabwe.
The National Party would welcome a pact with the Nats.  

DP WILL WELCOME Pact with Nats
De Klerk's sincerity challenged

Sir, I appeal to all liberation-hungry Africans not to be fooled by De Klerk. I believe that the struggle for liberation of Africans in this country should be an entirely African affair. I condemn the ANC and other liberation movements who allow Europeans, the engineers of apartheid, to infiltrate them.

What De Klerk is doing is what the NSL has done to the FPL. We do not want to be assimilated into the existing apartheid Government structures, we want them all demolished. We do not want to share power with the Afrikaners, to further oppress those of us (Africans) who will not be in Government.

To Africans, liberation is a must, it is not a favour which the whites should grant us. We have to liberate ourselves without their help.

No white South African should be allowed to deceive us by feigning sincerity and commitment to our struggle, be he De Klerk or whoever.

KM
Mmbatho
New leaders vital, says Van der Post

STELLENBOSCH — The solution to SA’s problems did not lie in politics but in unlocking the attributes of its nations in a dialogue which would reveal the new leaders, Sir Laurens van der Post said yesterday.

In an address at Stellenbosch University, the author and philosopher said the Afrikaner had found his true self again and was able to laugh after 40 years of dour silence because he was once more living up to the dictates of his Huguenot conscience.

“I do not accept that our problems can be solved politically,” he said.

“Too say the future leaders are to be found only in the few parties involved in the current process is a terrible error,” he said.

“The call for the real trek, the greatest trek of all, is upon us. The real trek with consciousness of our real freedom to choose between truth and error,” Van der Post said.

“This is the weapon we have got.” — Sapa.

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KAS
Randburg result shows NP strength
FW calls for a pledge to peace from ANC

STATE President FW de Klerk said on Wednesday night South Africa expected the African National Congress to take a stand against everything which did not accord with the search for a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

Speaking at Bethlehem in the Free State, De Klerk said the ANC had to distance itself unconditionally from destabilisation, boycotts, intimidation and military build-up.

There was a clearly defined strategy of intimidation and undermining of local management systems, regional government and self-governing states, he said.

He wanted to know who was responsible for these misdeeds and their potentially far-reaching consequences.

By agreeing to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes the Government and the ANC had bound themselves to finding peaceful solutions and to curbing intimidation and violence, De Klerk said.

He said the ANC should not be involved in violence, in preparing for violence or in so-called "non-violent destabilisation actions".

The country expected deeds to match words and was waiting for ferocious elements in South Africa to be brought under control.

De Klerk said unless he received a satisfactory reply he would certainly hold the ANC responsible.
Churches to meet over interpretation of apartheid

By Carina le Grange

RUSTENBURG — The white Ned Geref Kerk and its two younger black and coloured churches will meet officially early next month to clear up their differences over the interpretation of apartheid, it was announced at the National Conference of Churches (NCC) yesterday.

This meeting is considered a breakthrough out of the deadlock which exists between the churches.

It is the outcome of a rift which has existed for some years, but which surfaced publicly at the NCC after the white NGK confessed its sin and guilt over its support for apartheid.

The black NGK in Afrika and coloured NG Sendingkerk have responded to the confession by saying there are differences in the interpretation of apartheid between the white and black churches, creating problems for the latter to accept the confession of guilt.

The announcement of the scheduled December meeting came after a consultation during which the “air was cleared” with regard to the NGK’s confession to the conference this week, according to NGSK moderator Nic Apollis.

This has ended an issue that had been dominating the conference since Tuesday and created much soul-searching over the nature of confession and forgiveness which should follow it.

The initial spontaneous personal confession of NGK theologian Professor Willie Jonker was accepted by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Yesterday Professor Jonker was thanked for his confession by close friend Beyers Naudé.

Pastor Ray McCauley, on behalf of the Rhema Bible Church, the Network of Christian Ministries and Christian Fellowship International, also formally confessed guilt yesterday.
Govt in tough stand over 'mass action'

Political Staff

The Government and the ANC are expected to cross swords today over ANC mass action. This is likely to be the key issue at today's resumed meeting of the joint ANC/Government working group in Pretoria.

President de Klerk has singled out boycotts and other forms of mass action as destructive and tantamount to violence, and has promised to "call the ANC leadership to account" if it fails to give a clear undertaking to distance itself from boycotts, intimidation and mass action.

Emphasised

But Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, only this week emphasised at a meeting in Johannesburg that Mr Mandela had called for the intensification of the struggle on all fronts.

She said Mr Mandela had telephoned her from London and asked her to convey this message.

During a speech in Bethlehem this week, Mr de Klerk said the Government had accepted the necessity of change, but mass action, threats and intimidation were not necessary to achieve this.

He expressed deep concern about the emergence, "stronger than ever before", of a "clearly defined strategy of intimidation and undermining of local authorities, regional and self-governing states, the refusal to pay rent and service fees, boycotts of mortgage bonds and other forms of destabilising orderly government ... just about everything that is not violent but has the same destructive capacity of violence if it is not brought under control".

Mr de Klerk added: "These things are in reality just another form of violence."

In terms of the Grootete Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, he said, the ANC should distance itself from these activities.

"I expect from them an unqualified stand against everything that is not conducive to the peaceful search for solutions. The whole country expects this of them. The ANC must accept its responsibility in this regard."

"If I do not get a satisfactory answer, I will certainly call the ANC to account."

The Government has differentiated between political mass action such as rallies and meetings, and mass action linked to the armed struggle, including boycotts and stayaways.

The joint working group's work has taken on a new importance with the announcement of guidelines for the granting of indemnity and the release of political prisoners.

The Government has linked this process to progress made in reaching a peaceful political settlement and the satisfactory resolution of the armed struggle.

Granting indemnity and release of political prisoners will be partially linked to progress made by the working group.
Naude urges the NGK to confess guilt

By Carina le Grange

RUSTENBURG — One of the ways in which the Ned Gereif Kerk could make a confession of guilt over apartheid would be to do it at Blood River or the Voornekker Monument in front of the widest possible representation of blacks, Dr Beyers Naudé said yesterday.

Healing

Similarly, the English churches could confess at the Bloemfontein-Vrouemonument over the deaths of 25,000 Afrikaner women and children in concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War, he said.

Speaking at the National Conference of Churches (NCC) near Rustenburg, Dr Naudé said:

"All the churches in South Africa should participate in an expression of guilt.

"No healing is possible without reconciliation, no reconciliation is possible without justice and no justice is possible without genuine restitution."

"He said the NGK had a special role to play in this regard, as it was responsible for specifying laws and actions which promoted apartheid.

"He said the NGK also owed the World Council of Churches (WCC) an apology for the serious wrongs which the NGK's rejection of the international ecumenical body in 1981 had caused the WCC.

"Added to this was National Party propaganda which, "through decades, deliberately created and sustained a totally distorted image of the WCC and its important ecumenical role of love, service and reconciliation."

"Dr Naudé also said: "My deepest concern today is not focused on the political but on the economic issues in South Africa."

Later, at a press conference, he said sanctions could not be lifted yet.

"We need to resolve political problems as soon as possible so that the door can be opened to investment."

In the meantime, the pressure of sanctions on the Government was still necessary.

Mistake

He said the immediate lifting of sanctions might cause a division within African National Congress ranks and hamper Nelson Mandela's handling of the negotiation process.

Earlier, Dr Naudé cautioned that it would be a "grave mistake if the NCC, in our urgent longing to achieve a united Christian witness, denied or ignored the deep differences in our midst to reach an acceptable compromise."

"This will not lead us to the truth, or help in removing deep-rooted injustices, nor help pave the way for lasting reconciliation and peace."
The resounding NP victory in the Randburg by-election was a thrust for what the Government wanted to achieve in South Africa, President de Klerk said today. "It was a good result for reform," he said at the Union Buildings. He said it completely disproves exorbitant claims of white support that the Conservative Party had been making for some time. Supporters of the National Party (above) were visibly overjoyed when their candidate in the Randburg by-election, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, convincingly emerged victorious on Wednesday night; while (left) disappointment was written all over Dr Andre Trounicht's face after the Conservative Party candidate, Mrs Leonie Steele, made an unsuccessful bid at the seat. She polled 1,969 votes and lost her deposit.
The appointment of Democratic Party finance spokesman Harry Schwarz as ambassador to the US followed consideration at Cabinet level of various candidates and postings. The FM has learned that former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo had been the first choice for the Washington job.

A top government source tells the FM that Dhlomo’s possible appointment, and that of Sunday Times former editor Tertius Myburgh as ambassador to London, had been discussed and agreed upon at a Cabinet meeting before President FW de Klerk’s meeting with President George Bush. Dhlomo, however, turned down the offer.

As the FM reported last week, Schwarz was keen to take up the UK post and, say sources, it was decided to appoint Myburgh to Washington. However, a few days after the announcement that Myburgh was to be an ambassador he was forced to turn down a foreign posting for health reasons.

The decision to send Schwarz to Washington in place of Myburgh was taken at a much later stage. Senior government officials were still under the impression last week that Schwarz was going to London.

Meanwhile, Cabinet has approved several other diplomatic postings, to be announced as soon as the host countries have cleared them. The names of new ambassadors to Israel and Portugal can be expected before the end of the year. The replacement for Rac Killen in London is also expected to be made known soon, though no names are circulating in the Union Buildings since the decision to send Schwarz to Washington.

There have been rumours that senior DP
Torture claims in train massacre case

LINDEN BIRNS

FIVE Zulu men charged with the December and Jeppe Station train massacre in September insisted they had been assaulted and suffered electric shock torture at the hands of police, a Johannesburg magistrate heard yesterday.

State counsel advocate David Gordon told Magistrate C J van Heerden, who was hearing a bail application, there were no signs of the men being shocked or physically injured after allegedly being assaulted by police. Defence attorney Ian Smith argued that the men's confessions were made under duress and contained factual errors.

These related to descriptions of the men's movements at the railway stations and also indicated contradictions in witness accounts of what happened.

Solomon Khumalo confessed to having shot one of the victims in the head, but the weapon he claimed to have used could not be linked to the murder even after extensive ballistic tests, Smith said.

Smith said four of the accused — Martin Ngoboe, Bavi Nkwst'ngondle, Solomon Khumalo and Mabinela Mandla Magazi — belonged to Inkatha while Mncen-gala Magabane did not.

Judgment on the bail application is expected today.

We have refuted the CP, says FW

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk said yesterday that the Randburg by-election result was a good sign for reform and gave the government impetus for what it wanted to attain.

Speaking at a media call with a visiting group of British MPs at the Union Buildings, De Klerk said the result had disproven the CP's exorbitant claims.

However, he warned that the CP still enjoyed 25% support among the white electorate.

The MPs met De Klerk as part of their fact-finding tour of SA.

Our Political Staff reports that Natal University political science professor Mervyn Frost said in Durban yesterday that the Randburg result showed the CP did not have a future in the urban areas of the country.

Richard Humphries, research officer at the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the outcome was not a bad result for the CP, but was a hopeful signal for De Klerk.

Pretoria University election analyst Donald Simpson said the result meant the NP would "easily" beat the CP in a general election.

Comment: Page 9
NAT VICTORY... THANKS TO THE DP
On May 13 Harry Schwarz will celebrate his 67th birthday in Washington as SA’s ambassador to the US. Harry Schwarz? A diplomat? This was not expected.

Schwarz’s combative nature has served him well in his role as one of the chief opponents to the National Party over the past few decades. But will the blustery Yeoville MP be able to tone down the rhetoric when he reaches Massachusetts Avenue? And do the Americans know that they have given the OK to a politician who hasn’t always held them in the highest esteem?

Earlier this year, Schwarz, a leading proponent of a lottery for SA, was asked by an American reporter if he had considered the problems created by legalised gambling in places around the US. His response: “Baser instincts prevail on better instincts nowhere more than in the US.” And when told that American lottery players have been known to bet the rent money, he said: “Americans are stranger than I thought.”

That’s Harry. Love him or hate him, you have to acknowledge that he has always been one of the few white South Africans willing to back the Nat machine openly — and a few of his party colleagues.

During the recent debate over who would lead the Democratic Party, Business Day called Schwarz “the leader who possesses the political intelligence, the education, the principled toughness and the passion for the job.”

But at least one DP MP has said privately that Schwarz, the party’s so-called economic guru who supports the German “social-market” philosophy, was the stumbling block to allowing the party to embrace a more free-market, pro-privatisation economic policy. Schwarz has put the brakes on privatisation.

Schwarz says he won’t leave the DP, though he is to be one of the most important front men for the Nat government. However, for the past few years he has been developing closer links with government. In 1988 he represented SA at the IMF-World Bank meeting — the first time a member of the opposition was a delegate — and he was part of the team in Washington this year.

He may also have surprised fellow Democrats when he pledged support for this year’s Budget, a first for an opposition party. “His choice was for integrity,” said Finance Minister Barend du Plessis at the time.

Born in Cologne, Germany — which may help explain his unswerving devotion to the German economic model — Schwarz and his family came to SA in 1934 and he attended Jeppe High and Wits University. In World War 2 he served as a navigator in the SA Air Force and was seconded to the Royal Air Force.

During the Rivonia trial, the young counselleur defended James Kantor, who was acquitted. But don’t get the wrong idea. “I went to the same university (as Nelson Mandela), attended the Rivonia trial and visited him in prison,” he said in September at the DP Congress. “I like the man. But that doesn’t mean I have to join the ANC.”

Never one to mince words, he criticised Wynand Malan for a lack of commitment to the DP when Malan resigned as MP for Randburg in July, and then said he hoped others would not follow Malan out of parliament. For his part, Schwarz says he’s leaving the green benches because, by picking him, the Nats have proved they are serious about the new SA.

So how is it that the Nats have become so wild about Harry? Some observers suggest that they wanted Schwarz, who’s known to be an excellent parliamentarian, out of the way. And if the DP suffered, so be it.

But it is more likely that the NP wants a political boost from appointing a non-African, non-Nat, anti-apartheid Jew to a showcase post.
South Africans urged not to use force

LONDON - The most important thing South Africans had to learn was to solve their problems through political means, not force, veteran anti-apartheid activist, Mr Albie Sachs said this week.

Speaking on BBC-2 TV's *Fifth Column* programme, Sachs said this meant that the vote for all and the institutions of democracy must be "installed as soon as possible."

"Far from the violence provoked by elements in the State being used as a pretext for postponing democracy, the bloodshed reminds us how urgent it is for us to give democracy a chance - and to enable our people, all our people, to accustom themselves to settling their differences in a peaceful way." Without the vote and the democratic institutions, he said, "peace stands no chance at all."

**Call**

He also called on the "honest and dedicated" personnel inside South Africa's security forces to join with trained personnel of the ANC and the "non-corrupt forces" of the various bantustans to create a genuinely national peace-keeping force for the Republic.

"The whole network of squads dedicated to internal and external destabilization has to be uncovered and disbanded."

Sachs described himself as just one victim of the "low-intensity war" which has left thousands limbless, blind or disabled. - *Sowetan Correspondent*
White varsity students are ‘slaves of ignorance’

A survey conducted amongst white university students shows them to be politically insulated and uninformeted.

Samantha Weinberg

White South African university students are politically short-sighted, apathetic and ill-informed, according to a research report compiled by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Responses to questionnaires sent to a random sample of 8 747 students indicated that the attitudes of most white students were singularly out of synchronisation with those needed for leaders in a changing South African society — at least by June 1989 when the survey was undertaken.

Political science academics Jamie Gagiano of Stellenbosch University and Susan Booyzen of the Rand Afrikaans University had a response rate of over 40 percent in what they hoped was a representative sample of the student population at the major white universities. Questionnaires sought the students’ views on political institutions, both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary; the country’s foreign policy; violence as a means to political ends; and general outlook and beliefs.

The researchers found, among other things, that:

- More than 80 percent of Afrikaans students in the survey indicated support for the National Party and the Conservative Party.

- More than 80 percent of English-speaking students questioned supported the Democratic Party or political formations to the left.

- Most of the students who supported the CP and NP voted the same way as their parents, whereas DP supporters tended to lean more to the left of their parents’ political convictions.

Stellenbosch MA candidate Comis van der Luit wrote in an accompanying paper that it could be argued that the minimal political interest of white students manifested itself in exclusivist nationalism in the case of Afrikaans-speakers and capitalism in the case of English-speakers.

Their political viewpoints appeared to result from tradition rather than informed, deliberate choice, he wrote.

When attitudes towards the African National Congress were tested, the research uncovered not only significant hostility and resistance from the more conservative Afrikaans students, but also inconsistencies in the liberal beliefs of the English-speaking minority.

For instance, the responses from DP supporters indicated that only six percent of them would welcome an ANC government, while more than a third would emigrate for political reasons should the ANC govern South Africa. Nearly 40 percent of NP-supporting students would do the same and just over 40 percent said they would physically resist an ANC government.

When it came to the question of whether they would accept an ANC government, 21 percent of English-speakers said they would, but 42.8 percent indicated that they could accept it.

The survey was conducted last year — before the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations. Still, more than 90 percent of the Afrikaans students questioned were unsympathetic to the ANC (five percent sympathetic and a further five percent apathetic), whereas 28 percent of English-speakers described themselves as sympathetic, 58 percent unsympathetic and 14 percent apathetic.

And when they were quizzed about the future shape of this country’s constitution, most students said they would prefer a dispensation which made some provision for the protection of group rights, and almost 70 percent of Afrikaans students indicated a preference for a dispensation where racial forms of political representation are built into the constitution.

Gagiano and Booyzen then asked questions aimed at discovering why white students were so out of line with their black counterparts.

They found that a majority had very little interaction with black people — especially when it came to political discussion. Nearly 75 percent reported that they never discussed politics with their black counterparts and 80 percent said they never discussed politics with black people outside the university.

They were also rarely exposed to divergent views expressed by the media. Over 80 percent said they never read newspapers sympathetic to the left (like Vrye Weekblad or the Weekly Mail) — whereas more than 70 percent said they watched news reports on the SABC at least three times a week.

While the compilers of the research admitted it was not necessarily accurate, because of the deep-seated changes that have taken place in this country since it was conducted and the new stance of the ruling National Party, broad conclusions about the attitudes of students were still regarded as valid.

According to Gagiano: “Studying the political attitudes of white student populations in South Africa yields a vantage point from which one can gauge the moods and attitudinal trends that are prevalent and emerging within the ranks of the politically-dominant white middle-class”.

While student bodies are inevitably artificial communities, existing within an intellectually stimulating and demanding environment, he claims they are still broadly representative, as a microcosm of the society they fall within, and as the generation from which future leaders — political or business — will be taken.

The short-sightedness and apparent lack of political knowledge and interest exhibited by the students in the survey could be explained in a number of ways, said Van der Luit.

He suggests the statistics show that “the students have grown up in a separate world in which there apparently existed no political injustices whatsoever. The social structure of apartheid over the last 40 years has ensured that prejudice and privilege remain unscorched behind the barriers of non-exposure and lack of contact”.

He described the white students as “slaves of ignorance”, politically uninformed and apathetic.

Their attitudes, he said, would have to change to enable them to understand the actions taken in the future by black youth. But to change them they would need more contact with black youth, programmes to improve and broaden their political knowledge and a free press operating in an atmosphere of an unrestricted flow of information.

Also, to promote harmony among the emergent generation of future South African leaders, black youth would have to understand the position of white youth better.
Pik's speech proves a big hit in Zambia

LUSAKA — Foreign Minister Pik Botha's visit to Lusaka seems to have made a big impression on most Zambians.

His speech, calling for greater economic co-operation among southern African countries, has become a talking point — a temporary diversion from domestic political issues.

Both state-run national newspapers on Thursday carried Mr Botha's speech as the lead item on the front page, with the Daily Mail carrying a picture of Mr Botha shaking hands with OAU chairman Yoweri Museveni.

State TV broadcast Mr Botha's speech at length late on Wednesday night. "I stayed up to watch it," said a local businessman. "It was very good. If we opened up trade with South Africa it could solve a lot of our problems."

MIKE HALL
Africa News Service

Political analysts say there is widespread support among Zambians, especially urban consumers, for the normalisation of economic ties.

In August the government lifted an official ban on the use of South African transport routes.

However, Mr Botha's visit brought little comfort to exiled members of the ANC in Lusaka, about 3,000 of whom are still waiting to go home.

Scores of ANC members, attending a celebration of the Great October Revolution at the Soviet Embassy in Lusaka on Wednesday night, scoffed at Mr Botha's speech, with most of them describing it as "deceitful".

However, judging by the reaction of most Zambians, Mr Botha's visit was a minor diplomatic coup.
Apartheid definitely an evil, says NGK

The Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerk issued its strongest repudiation of apartheid yesterday, joining other Christian denominations in confessing the sins of segregation and denouncing the policy as "evil".

Then it unexpectantly issued a statement distancing itself from some points of the Rustenburg Declaration adopted by the National Conference of Churches because they found some political trends in the declaration "very one-sided".

The dramatic move by the NGK came while the conference was in the plenary session during which the declaration was being debated and adopted — but long before proceedings were over. The statement was released to the media only, and immediately led to the NGK once again dominating the scene, albeit off-stage.

Jeopardy

The precarious unity fashioned during the week-long conference of churches of every persuasion in the country, which came about largely due to the NGK's "confession of guilt over apartheid, seems once again in jeopardy.

Reacting to the NGK statement, Dr Beyers Naude said it would create serious problems for other participants at the conference, and that unless the NGK clearly indicates which points it cannot support as well as the reason for it, the integrity of the whole church would be at stake.

CARINA LE GRANGE

They have found it difficult to go the whole way with us," said the Rev Frank Chikane, a conference co-chairman and leader of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches. "I feel that we have started a process and I'm just hoping the Dutch Reformed Church will be able to move ahead with us."

The Rev Sam Buti of the (black) NGK in Africa responded to news of the statement by saying the NGK's confession earlier in the week had been a "cheap confession, not one of repentance."

"You can't trust what they say," he said. "Warning that the NGK would not unreservedly endorse the Rustenburg Declaration came early on during the session when moderator Professor Pieter Pogge said that although the church could comply with many things in the statement, he had to state very clearly that the church had difficulties with some "political trends."

He referred to a provision made in the preamble — saying "some of us are not in full accord with everything said at this conference" — and added that the NGK delegation was bound by church order to remain within the parameters set by decisions taken at its last synod in October.

(The declaration calls on the Government to remove all apartheid laws, calls for a one-person, one-vote democracy in a multi-party state, and appeals for a redistribution of wealth.)

Rev Chikane, however, later said he understood the Dutch Reformed Church's hesitation to give full support. "I understand they're constrained, they have to answer back to their own membership."
WHAT SA'S FUTURE HOLDS

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Columnist

A COMPREHENSIVE opinion survey among leaders in many fields has produced an inclusive new insight into what the next five years might hold for South Africans.

One of the issues on which clear guidelines are provided is whether young people should leave the country to escape upheaval or to seek a better future elsewhere. The answer in effect is: "No, don't leave now!"

The reason offered is that while there might be some volatility in the country's situation and perhaps some need for relocation, the situation will ultimately be containable.

The survey findings and analysis are contained in a report by political analysts at the Future and Environment Bureau. It is designed to give strategic guidelines to business and to go on sale by this month at the introductory price of R5 for a copy.

Among the contributors are Professor Michael Overy, a political scientist, and a specialist in South Africa's international relations; and Mr. Andre Nel, who has been involved in extra-parliamentary politics for years.

WEEKEND ARGUS has been given an exclusive look into the new political "political hold," which disclosed the following guideline:

"At an early stage, South Africa will start to be run by a constitutional working administration, but it will take at least five years for a fully constitutional and democratic government to be in place.

"South Africa can expect a measure of political and economic instability in the country's transition period — but the overall trend is clear and stability is increasing.

"A big problem will be maintaining the political spectrum: a radical left that is alienated from the country's future by the Basics. The right is an inspiring force, able to inspire people to stay home.

"People will be wondering about the economy and the future of the country. But the economy will continue to improve and the stability will be clear.

"Some people are afraid to stay home, but they need to understand that they need to stay home and shape the environment for the next generation.

"The government must be dynamic and ensure that all the parties are involved. It must be a transparent and accountable government.

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WHY FW STUCK UP FOR MURAN

The Defence Minister is back on the warpath. Alan Dun din discusses questions this raises.
My politics barred me from conference, claims archbishop

ARCHBISHOP Mzikazi Masiya this week claimed he was barred from attending the historic church conference which was held for five days at Hunter's Rest, Rustenburg.

He said the reason given to him was that his credentials were suspect, and the organisers "seemed unsure" when he told them he represented about 2.5 million Christians. The Archbishop is the head of the Council for Apostolic and Zion Churches in Southern Africa.

The Archbishop said when he arrived at the conference, the Rev Barney Pityana "told me the steering committee decided I was not welcome".

One reason given to him was that he was the leader of a political party, he claimed.

The disappointed church leader said the treatment he received at the hands of the organisers reminded him of the Book of Matthew 22: 13—14.

He said it read: "How terrible for you, teachers of the law and Pharisees! You hypocrites! You lock the door to the Kingdom of Heaven in people's faces, and you yourselves don't go in, nor do you allow in those who trying to enter!"

He said he had no apologies to make for his anti-sanctions campaign.
Informal first steps to a constitutional summit

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

The government and the ANC have begun informal discussions on an agenda for constitutional negotiations expected to start next year.

The discussions have focused on what sort of priorities the parties should set, according to sources.

One suggestion is that constitutional talks will begin with local government structures and move from there into regional government and, finally, the mechanics of national government.

The government has also begun exploring the format of negotiations with other negotiating partners, such as the self-governing and national states, and the National Forum led by John Mavuso.

A proposal that negotiations begin with local government has been made by the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs. S' hours 11/11/90

The council included black and white local authorities and is chaired by Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Hermus Kriel.

The government view is that this area of negotiations could be based on the recent Thornhill Report which recommended that local authorities be autonomous, directly elected and non-racial.

The report was drawn up by a committee under Chris Thornhill, a deputy director-general in Mr Kriel's department.

Neither the government nor the ANC would officially confirm the discussions.

Formal issues, such as whether negotiations should be undertaken by an elected constituent assembly, as the ANC favours, or in an open forum, as the government favours, have still to be resolved.

A government official said it was not yet known where the formal negotiations would take place. Details of the venue and other issues will emerge from talks now taking place with potential participants.

One motivation for starting negotiations with talks on local government is that this could bring early success to the negotiations, which would lay a foundation for further agreement.

The joint working committee of the government and the ANC received a setback at its meeting on Friday when Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani failed to arrive.

Other members of the ANC group, including its foreign relations portfolio holder Thabo Mbeki, were unable to explain Mr Hani's absence, according to sources close to the committee. The meeting went ahead without Mr Hani.

The government group was led by Minister of Law and Order Adrian van der Vyver.
Louis Pienaar, who has been appointed as the new Minister of Finance, replaces Trevor Manuel in the Cabinet, effective immediately. The appointment was announced by the President, who said that Pienaar's experience and expertise would be invaluable in guiding the country through challenging economic times. The move is part of a broader Cabinet reshuffle aimed at strengthening the government's ability to implement policies and improve service delivery. The reshuffle also includes the appointment of new ministers for other portfolios, reflecting the President's commitment to ensuring a competent and effective government.
DP is SA's watchdog for democracy

**Boo Rogers**

Address the face of the Democratic Party in the

Slogan: Save our democracy
Drawing a cross for new voting values

MICHAEL MEADOWCROFT reports that the ANC is discovering there is more to election systems than the slogan of one-man, one-vote.

Michael Meadowcroft

The workshop was that political power had to be exercised within a framework of wide acceptance of a government’s legitimacy, rather than against the background of an alienated and potentially dangerous opposition — inside and outside a constituent assembly. This view encompassed the whole political spectrum. I sensed no feeling that any party currently on the actual or potential ballot should not be allowed to compete for votes.

Unsurprisingly, there was a rejection of ethnicity as a motivation for voting for a particular party or group. This manifests itself, for instance, in a demand for a unitary state. No system of federalism was on the agenda. I do not think that the ANC has yet worked out the implications of this deeply held view for its own evolution into a formal political party. I doubt whether it is possible to move away from ethnic politics without moving towards ideological politics.

Cordial

Indeed, the rapid development of a party structure in South Africa in which parties are based on expressed values — the role of the state, the nature of national sovereignty, the boundary between individual and corporate rights, federalism, attitudes to ecology, etc — is, I believe, the only way to transcend the current racial compartmentalism of politics here.

It is also essential for the cohesion necessary to sustain government. A liberation movement has one overriding and unifying purpose — the overthrow of the existing regime.

The achievement of that aim inevitably requires the movement to develop a programme which will create a very different country. This is perhaps the key challenge facing the ANC today.

The Stellenbosch workshop strayed beyond the rather dry agenda of the usual systems into the realm of electoral processes.

An independent election commission, with nominees of all the major political groupings, is clearly seen as a visible requirement for open and fair elections.

Honesty

Rarely does one attend a political conference which addresses important topics as openly as did the one at Stellenbosch.

The willingness to acknowledge ignorance on the nuances of different election systems, and the commitment of intellectual honesty, even if it led to a change of mind, suggests to me that this occasion will prove to be a further important milestone in the creation of the new South Africa.

Getting the election system right is fundamental to the success of the current process. Those who attended the Stellenbosch meeting ought now to take the debate to a wider audience.

I came to South Africa this time unsure of what I would find. I returned to Britain with considerable optimism not because there is any naive belief here of a smooth and easy road ahead, but because there is a determination, even among sceptics, to make the reforms work.

Mr Meadowcroft chairs the all-party Electoral Reform Society of Great Britain and Ireland. He was Liberal MP for Leeds West, 1983-87.
Humiliation for the CP

Randburg Result was a

First World Congress; the CP was humiliated.
FW shuffle eases load for govt’s negotiators

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk strengthened the hand of his negotiating team and lightened the load of some of his more overworked ministers at the weekend by shuffling and expanding government portfolios.

However, he stopped short of assigning certain cabinet ministers to dealing exclusively with the negotiation process — a step he mooted at last month’s National Party Transvaal provincial congress.

Instead, Mr De Klerk moved to ease the burden on some of his busiest ministers and bolstered some key portfolios by appointing a number of deputy ministers.

No ministers were dropped from the cabinet in the process, which appears to be geared mainly to achieving greater efficiency and a fairer distribution of workload.

However, the controversy-plagued Mr Gert Kotze has been relieved of his Environment portfolio — but will remain the cabinet minister responsible for Water Affairs and Forestry.

The only “outsider” to be drafted into the expanded 22-member cabinet is the country’s chief censor, former administrator-general of Namibia and former MP for Belville Mr Louis Pienaar.

The 88-year-old avowed nature trail lover and perlemoen diver takes over the portfolios of Environment and National Education.

The other newcomer in the cabinet is the white “own affairs” Minister of the Budget and Local Government Mr Amie Venter. He keeps his old job but will also head the newly-created Office for Regional Development, designed to boost industrial decentralisation and regional development.

A number of government ministries will be consolidated and strengthened by additional deputy ministers.

One of the busiest ministers in government at the moment and one who has been heavily involved in negotiations in recent months, Mr Adriaan Vlok, will once again be getting a deputy minister of law and order. Mr Vlok will now be assisted by Vryburg MP Mr Johan Scheepers.

Despite the predictions of some pundits, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan retains his post. Nationalist insiders say his position is more secure than ever.
Pik to set off on European tour

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha is expected to visit former communist bloc countries Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia on a European tour this week. 2/12/1970

A Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed yesterday Botha would address the Hans Seidel Foundation in Munich this week, but he declined to name a number of other European countries he was expected to visit. (204A)

However, it was unlikely that Botha would visit Hungary and Poland, as SA had accomplished as much as it could at this stage with the establishment, in the past six months, of low-level diplomatic ties. The setting up of diplomatic ties between SA and Czechoslovakia has been on the cards for several months since the visit by a senior Foreign Affairs official to Czechoslovakia in July.

An official said at the time it was likely SA and Czechoslovakia would institute formal diplomatic ties before the end of the year. Botha is expected to visit Prague in preparation for this step.

The forging of formal links with Yugoslavia is seen as the second priority, and Botha is expected to visit Belgrade to assess the situation.

Formal trade links between SA and Romania were established this year and Botha might also stop over briefly in Romania. However, diplomatic ties between SA and Romania were expected to be formalised only later next year.

This will be Botha’s second visit to Central Europe this year.

He visited Hungary at the beginning of the year, and diplomatic ties were agreed on six months later.

Diplomatic ties between SA and Poland were finalised this month.
FW shuffles into position for real hard dealing

Presidential Staff

President de Klerk has shuffled his Cabinet largely to prepare his team for the next constitutional negotiations which are expected to begin next year, government sources said last night.

The main effect of the shuffle announced at the weekend is to lighten the burden on principal negotiators and others overloaded by the reform process. As one Cabinet minister said last night: "Reform is a very labour-intensive business."

The ministers of Constitutional Development, Law and Order, and Finance get new deputies, while another minister involved in negotiations, Minister of Education and Development Aid Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, has been relieved of his lesser Development Aid portfolio.

Mr de Klerk's changes have also hinted at the possible direction of government constitutional thinking, especially in the creation of a new portfolio of regional development.

He has also done some normal promoting and demoting. Environmental Affairs Mr Gert Kotze has been demoted, losing his main portfolio to new Cabinet appointee Mr Louis Pienaar.

Louw demoted

The Minister of National Education, Home Affairs and the SARB, Mr Gene Louw, has also been demoted. National education has been allocated to Mr Pienaar, leaving Mr Louw with two minor portfolios.

Apart from Mr Pienaar, the only other addition to the Cabinet is Mr Amie Venter, Minister of Budget and Local Government in the white Ministers' Council. He retains these portfolios but also gets the new general affairs portfolio of regional development.

Down-playing the obsolete own affairs system may have been the intention behind transferring Mr Sam de Beer's white health services portfolio to general affairs Health Minister Dr Rina Venter.

Mr De Beer instead acquires two major headaches: group areas and squatting, from Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hermus Kriel, who now has housing added to his portfolio.

Another promotion is Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelof Meyer, who now also becomes a deputy minister in the president's office, with responsibility for the Bureau of Information and the National Intelligence Service, largely to relieve the burden on Mr de Klerk.

The transfer of deputy minister Mr Tertius Delport from planning and provincial Affairs to constitutional development also has constitutional significance, sources point out. The move suggests that local government, Mr Delport's chief responsibility, will be playing an increasingly important role in constitutional negotiations.

But the appointment also eases the burden on the government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen.

The transfer of Development Aid from Dr Van der Merwe to Agriculture Minister Mr Jacob de Villiers, while allowing Dr Van der Merwe to devote more time to negotiations, also emphasizes the importance which the government attaches to black education.
Reshuffle points to real negotiations

By Peter Faberias
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has reshuffled his Cabinet largely to prepare his team for the real constitutional negotiations which are expected to begin next year, Government sources said last night.

The main effect of the reshuffle announced at the weekend is to lighten the burden on principal negotiators and others overloaded by the reform process.

One Cabinet Minister said last night: "Reform is a very labour-intensive business."

The Ministers of Constitutional Development, of Law and Order and of Finance have new deputies, and Minister of Education and Development Aid Stoffel van der Merwe, who is involved in negotiations, has been relieved of his other Development Aid portfolio.

Mr de Klerk's changes have hinted at the possible direction of Government constitutional thinking, especially in the creation of regional development.

He has also done some normal promoting and demoting. Environmental Affairs Minister Gert Kotze has been demoted, losing his main portfolio to new Cabinet appointee Louls Pienaar.

Another demotion is Minister of National Education, Home Affairs and the SABC, Gene Louw.

National education has been given to Mr Pienaar, leaving Mr Louw with two minor portfolios.

Apart from Mr Pienaar, the only other addition to the Cabinet is Arnie Venter, Minister of Budget and Local Government in the white Ministers' Council.

He retains those portfolios and has the new general affairs portfolio of regional development.

Kotze removal hailed

CAPE TOWN — Environmentalists have welcomed the removal of Minister Gert Kotze from the environmental portfolio.

Nan Rice, of the Dolphin Action and Protection Group, said there had been much dissatisfaction in certain quarters about his handling of the gill-net issue.

But DF spokesman on environmental issues, Rupert Lorimer, said it was regrettable that Mr Kotze had lost his portfolio just as he appeared "to be getting on top of it." - Sapa.

Thousands heed Cosatu call for work stayaway

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Tens of thousands of people failed to report for work in Pretoria today, heading a call for a one-day stayaway by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in protest against alleged repression in Bophuthatswana.

The Atteridgeville branch of the ANC-supported Cosatu, the Atteridgeville/Sandsville Residents' Organisation (Asro) and the local branch of the UDF began an indefinite boycott of white businesses today.

Putco and Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings (BTH) said bus services from Mamelodi and Soshangwe were "non-existent" though Putco was operating "almost normally" from KwaNdebele to Pretoria.

Neil Groenewald, a spokesman for Putco, told The Star today: "There has been a fair amount of intimidation. For instance, buses were filled at Soshangwe, but the people were ordered off by vigilantes and told to go home."

All drivers had reported for duty.

There were only a few black taxis operating in the city and none between Atteridgeville and Pretoria and from Mamelodi and Soshangwe.
Cabinet moves upgrade regional govt role

EDYTH BULRING

pointed to the Cabinet, bringing the number of members to 20.

De Klerk, who announced the Cabinet shuffle on Saturday night, said the changes were made in the interests of greater efficiency, to promote constitutional negotiations, restructure the economy and maintain law and order. (3 CL. A)

The portfolio changes emphasise the various issues government regards as matters for concern.

Pienaar was appointed National Education and Environment Affairs Minister, freeing Home Affairs (and National Education) Minister Gene Louw from his education responsibilities.

Environment and Water Affairs Minister Gert Kotze, whose handling of several issues has been criticised, relinquishes the environment portfolio to Pienaar.

De Klerk also named a new Deputy Minister. Vryburg MP Johan Scheepers becomes Deputy Law and Order Minister, a post left vacant since Leon Wessels's move to Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister last year.

Constitutional Development Minister

To Page 2

Cabinet

Roelf Meyer will assist De Klerk in two areas, by helping administer the National Intelligence Service and the Bureau for Information.

Yesterday Meyer said he could not describe what this assistance would involve as it would depend on what De Klerk delegated to him.

White own affairs Minister of Welfare, Housing and Works, Sam de Beer, will administer matters related to the Group Areas Act and squatter control. Management of population growth, urbanisation and urban squatting are now viewed as top government priorities.

In line with this concern, a new housing portfolio will be handled by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel.

The development aid portfolio, which fell under Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, will be transferred to Agriculture Minister Jacob de Villiers.

Deputy Water and Land Affairs Minister Janie van Wyk will have a dual position as Deputy Finance Minister with Org Marais, while Deputy Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Terrius Delport will also serve as Deputy Constitutional Development Minister alongside Meyer.
Hani's absence seen as ANC delaying bid

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani's failure to attend Friday's meeting of the armed action working group is being interpreted by government as part of an ANC bid to slow down the pace of negotiations and instead concentrate on transforming itself into a political party.

ANC international head Thabo Mbeki, who led the ANC delegation at Friday's meeting, was apparently unable to explain Hani's absence. Mbeki left early, and the meeting broke up shortly after.

A particular sticking point in the working group talks has been government's insistence that Umkhonto we Sizwe's continued recruitment is contrary to the Pretoria Minute. ANC sources said at the weekend they believed this issue could be dealt with only at a meeting between President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Government sources said they felt the working group was empowered to take decisions on this issue.

They said the government-ANC committee had agreed to meet again only once the armed action working group had finished its task. Any delay in finalising the armed action committee's work would delay exploratory talks on negotiations.

A senior government spokesman said that despite the lack of progress, he was confident the working group could complete its work before the month end.
Anglo boss: Black statesmen soon

LONDON: — Anglo American chairman Mr Julian Ogilvie Thomson hopes South Africa will have a new constitution, with blacks in the government, by next Christmas.

Interviewed on British television, he also indicated he would be prepared to see partial nationalisation of his corporation and predicted there would probably be a black director on the board in about three years.

Mr Ogilvie Thomson was speaking on Sunday evening on Channel Four's "Answering Back" programme in a series of interviews with leading international business and political figures.

Asked by presenter Mary Golding when he foresees blacks in government in South Africa and a new constitution in operation, he replied: "I personally would hope that it would be next Christmas. But it may well be 1992."

He went on to indicate that while he is prepared to see partial nationalisation of Anglo American, he believed the chances of full nationalisation by a future ANC-led government were receding as the ANC "are beginning to see that this is not a sensible route to go down".

Own Correspondent (70n4A)
Govt, ANC policies ‘on similar track’

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

There is no essential difference between the Government’s economic policy and the ANC’s latest economic policy of “growth through redistribution”, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has suggested.

Mr du Plessis told the Smith New Court/Frankel Kruger Vinderine conference in London yesterday that the Government accepted that it had to take “deliberate action” not only to promote growth but to “expedite the distributive process”.

He said the Government was pursuing a policy of redistribution through fiscal policy.

Mr du Plessis said that according to the law which measured income inequality, South Africa was at, or near, the worst case — even though South Africa’s blacks might be markedly better off than in most of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa.

Ideally the inequality should be overcome by economic growth. But over the last decade the economy had not grown enough to raise overall living standards, and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita had actually fallen.

But even if an acceptable rate of growth were achieved, the rate of trickle-down would be “fairly protracted”.

“Deliberate action by the authorities both to advance and expedite the generation of work and income and to channel some of the fruits of growth in specific directions is inescapable,” the Minister said.

“The Government is therefore faced with a twofold task: it must seek on the one hand to promote sustainable economic growth with all speed, and on the other to expedite the trickle-down process.”

Mr du Plessis said the national Budget was placing increasing emphasis on social spending.

Welfare spending now constituted close to 40 percent of the central Government Budget. Education spending represented 18.2 percent of the Budget and 4.9 percent of the GDP — “rather high by world standards”.

The Government had also earmarked R2 billion to an independent trust to overcome socio-economic backlogs, and another R1 billion in proceeds of privatisation which was earmarked to overcome backlogs in education and land for housing.

Pragmatic

Mr du Plessis said the ANC model of growth through distribution “differs from ours only in its word order”.

The difference was that the Government sought first to give people a stake in economic activity — “to teach them to fish” — while the other schools wanted to begin the process by “distributing fish”.

He was confident that “pragmatic accommodation on the issue” would be reached.

Although the Government believed staunchly in the efficiency of market forces, it was not “doctrinally fixated on unfettered free enterprise”.

He was quite ready to use the term “social market economy” as a valid description of the Government’s approach.
ANC leader, De Klerk to meet

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will hold a meeting with President F.W. de Klerk this month, ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan confirmed yesterday.

Dr Jordan said Mr Mandela, who returned from a visit to the Far East and Europe on Friday, would meet President de Klerk in a one-on-one encounter on November 27.

Dr Jordan also disclosed that the long-awaited meeting between KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Mandela was expected to take place in the near future.

The meeting — the first face-to-face encounter between the two men since Mr Mandela's release from prison on February 11 — would take place in the presence of members of their respective executive committees.

Also attending would be the IFP's central committee and the ANC's national executive committee, led by Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela respectively.

The date and venue of the meeting would be finalised with the IFP once Chief Buthelezi, who was at present out of the country, returned home on November 21.

Dr Jordan also scoffed at suggestions that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hanl's failure to attend the Government/ANC joint working group meeting in Pretoria on Friday was an ANC attempt to retard negotiations to buy time for itself to organise as a political party.

"That is quite ridiculous," said Dr Jordan. "What has the ANC got to gain from playing delaying tactics?"

He said Mr Hanl, leader of the ANC delegation to the working group, was out of town and therefore could not attend Friday's meeting.
Patriotism and positivity what SA needs now

Viewpoint
by MZALA

Our immediate and practical political concern should be the building of a new South African constitution, as the fundamental law of the country. Such a constitution should not, and will not, be the expression of any partisan political tendency. It will be neither an ANC nor an NP constitution. By definition the constitution should embody the aggregate aspirations of all citizens irrespective of their racial or ethnic affiliation. It is on the basis of such a constitution that true national unity and equality will be placed on a secure legal basis in South Africa.

Governments come and go. The ANC may win the first post-apartheid elections only to be outvoted from government by a new alliance of political forces in five or ten years (as was the case with the Sandinista government in Nicaragua), yet our new South African constitution, like our new flag and national anthem, will have to belong to that solemn category of the new nation's heritage which shall be the pride of all South Africans, black or white, and whatever their political affiliations. This, I believe, is the perspective that should bind us and evoke the genius within us, towards the realisation of this paramount matter: the building of a just national unity.

The problem with the habitual reference to South Africa's multi-ethnicity (including as articulated in Donald Horowitz's Ethnic Groups in Conflict) is that it often proceeds from a simplistic assumption that the existence of ethnic variety implies political ethnicity, and that, correspondingly, it means ethnic political polarisation and tension.

Toast to freedom
Gilliome's obsession with ethnicity (which he politicises) as well as his predictions about a possible split within the ANC over a proposal for a qualified vote, shows both an inadequate effort to transcend the past and also a failure to identify those things in the history of African resistance which tended to unite the members of the ANC. As a historian, it should not be difficult for Prof Gilliome to recall that when previous white governments in South Africa provided a qualified vote to the blacks in the Cape, it was consistent ANC policy for decades by an approach fell far short of the demands that the blacks of this country were making.

Future elections, therefore, will indeed be the carnival of the oppressed, a revolution, as our people shall not be able to ignore the excitement for their first participation in the administration of their country. I will be there for that historical celebration, and hope that Prof. Gilliose's hand shall be knocking mine off my champagne glasses for the beginning of a new era in our country.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen

-Dr Gerrit Viljoen

-DR Gerrit Viljoen

-Dr Gerrit Viljoen

-Prof. Gilliose

-Mzala

-Mzala a London-based ANC political analyst.

-Prof. Gilliose did not refer in his article to a qualified franchise, but to a qualified election, after which power is to be shared according to a pre-agreed formula. Editor, Cape Times.
Pik aiming to boost SA’s overseas links

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha left yesterday on a 10-day trip to several European countries, including Czechoslovakia.

The visit to Prague is understood to be aimed at establishing diplomatic links, following the Government’s success in doing so with two other former communist Eastern European countries - Hungary and Poland.

It is understood that Romania is also on the Government’s agenda for diplomatic ties.

Botha’s office, however, has only confirmed that he will visit Germany to address the Christian Social Union linked Hans Seidl Foundation in Munich “and will take the opportunity of visiting a number of other European countries”.

There has been unconfirmed speculation that Botha may attempt lobbying European Community countries to lift sanctions against SA.

The EC is currently in the process of reviewing its sanctions policy and a decision is expected in December.

* Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was to address a conference on investment in post-apartheid SA in London yesterday.

The conference was organised jointly by South African and British stockbrokers.

The ANC’s head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki will also address the conference.

* Deputy foreign minister Leon Wessels met Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle in Montevideo on Saturday and discussed normalising relations between the two countries.

Wessels expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of the talks, the Department of Foreign Affairs said last night.

Wessels officially opened the new SA embassy in Montevideo and then left for Brazil to meet South African envoys.
MK on Mandela,
De Klerk agenda

SOWETAN Correspondent

believes that recruiting and training MK cadres is an integral part of the "armed action and related activities" which the ANC agreed to suspend at the Piororia summit in August.

The ANC contends that it only agreed to give up actual MK operations and that it is not prohibited from continuing to train and recruit for MK which is not a forbidden organisation.

A spokesman for the State President said yesterday he was not aware of any impending meeting between De Klerk and Mandela.

Government sources yesterday downplayed speculation that MK chief of staff Chris Hani's failure to attend Friday's working group meeting was part of an ANC strategy to retard negotiations to give itself time to organise as a political party.
ANC is obstructive

LONDON — Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday criticised the ANC for creating "new stumbling blocks" on the road to negotiations by failing to deliver on undertakings it agreed to with government on August 6.

He was speaking at a news conference after a meeting at which he updated British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on the situation in SA and on SA's expanding relations with other countries in the region.

Botha said he told Hurd of his government's "concern about the new stumbling blocks which have arisen despite the agreement of 6 August, when the ANC and the government agreed that all stumbling blocks were removed, and that the way was open for negotiations on the future constitution of SA.

"We are of the opinion there is no room whatsoever for misinterpreting the agreement, in terms of which the ANC announced that all armed and related activities would cease."

Despite this undertaking, he said, "calls are being made by individual members of the ANC for a continuation of mass demonstrations which erupt into violence and very often the looting of shops."

Botha said the two sides had agreed to set up a liaison committee. "The government has produced the names of our representatives. We are still waiting for the ANC to produce theirs."

Government was "experiencing an inhibi-

Pik Botha

tion on their (the ANC's) part to assist in
the identification of arms caches, which
was a categoric assurance given to us on
August 6."

"He said it was intended to set up joint
committees and to arrange meetings with
the ANC — "but they don't turn up. They
postpone those meetings.

"So I really think that the time has come
that — despite my government's patience,
tolerance and understanding of the situa-
tion — the ANC leadership must realise
now that apartheid is gone and is going,
and they cannot hide behind it any more to
look for sympathy in Europe and else-
where."

Like the government, the ANC would
have to "stand in the focus of world opinion
and analysis.

"My government is ready and prepared
to stand in that focus, to have our proposals
for a new constitution tested against the
principles and objectives generally accept-
ed in all civilized countries."

Botha said he also told Hurd government
was experiencing "tremendous difficulties
in coming to an agreement with black
town councils in black urban areas as re-
gards the payment of services."

A British Foreign Office spokesman said
Hurd stressed the importance to both sides
of resolving their differences and keeping
the momentum of reform going.
Aussies refuse envoy cut

CANBERRA. — Australia yesterday refused to reduce its diplomatic presence in South Africa to keep step with Pretoria’s decision to bring home several of its own envoys.

Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans told parliament that the request to match the staff cuts was not covered by any principle of reciprocity in international relations.

His reaction has caused a stir and will be seen as a unilateral breach of diplomatic practice if carried through.

Governments usually agree to have the same number of diplomats in each other’s country. With South Africa already having announced its cut, the Canberra government is not likely to get much support.

Mr Evans claimed that South Africa’s decision to close its consulate in Sydney and reduce staff at its embassy in Canberra was an attempt to punish Australia for its refusal to lift sanctions.

However, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday that the cutback was part of a necessary reallocation of limited funds needed to set up promising new missions in Central Europe.

He was speaking in London en route to Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. He said he foresaw useful relations and trade links in raw materials and manufactured goods between Central Europe and South Africa, which would benefit Southern Africa as a whole.

Closing the Australian consulate would save R7 million a year while a diplomatic mission in a Central European country would cost R4m, Mr Botha said. — Political Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter.

‘We won’t desecrate Nelson’s prison cell’

By DANIEL SIMON

A CAPE TOWN businessman has promised not to “desecrate” Mr Nelson Mandela’s old Robben Island prison cell, if big business proposals to turn the historic island into a major tourist attraction are given the go-ahead.

Mr Nick Malherbe, co-ordinator of the Future of Robben Island Committee (Fric) was reacting to the angry response of the ANC’s regional co-ordinator for the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, to the commit-

Botha slams ANC on talks ‘stumbling blocks’

LONDON. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday slammed the ANC for erecting “new stumbling blocks” on the road to negotiations by failing to deliver on undertakings it agreed on with government on August 6.

Mr Botha was speaking at a press conference after a meeting yesterday morning with British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd.

Mr Botha also announced that he would visit Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia this week for meetings at foreign minister level or higher.

Mr Botha said he told Mr Hurd of Pretoria’s concerns about the new stumbling blocks” which have arisen.

“We are of the opinion there is no room whatsoever for misinterpreting the agreement, in terms of which the ANC announced that all armed and related activities would cease,” he said.

Despite this undertaking, he said, “calls are being made by individual members of the ANC for a continuation of mass demonstrations which very often erupt into violence”.

Pik’s vow ‘hilarious’

Political Correspondent

MR Pik Botha’s statement that he had considered quitting the National Party to form a United Democratic Party “really borders on the hilarious”, Mr Jannie Mombarg of the DP said yesterday.

Mr Mombarg left the NP after a row with President PW Botha.

He said: “This is the same Pik Botha who … made a vicious attack on Dr Denis Worrall, accusing him of all sorts of things that he now says he wanted to do if he resigned from the NP.”

He said “the perks of NP government” had kept Mr Botha in the NP.
President de Klerk has cleared Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok of any responsibility for hit squad activities.

He said last night that after studying the Harms Commission report, he could find "no reason to condemn the politicians in charge for the way in which they carried out their duties and responsibilities".

But Mr de Klerk added that special or covert operations were being reviewed "in total". He said that in deciding there was no reason to condemn the politicians, he had considered the circumstances.

"The events dealt with in the report took place in an era of serious conflict, now belonging to the past. "We should act with a view to our future and take the conciliatory steps which are necessary to again create a peaceful South Africa."

These steps included possible indemnity for those involved in the conflict.

Justice Minister Kobie pheto announced last night that the commission's recommendations had already been referred to the various attorneys-general.
Malan tells of ANC plan to seize power

It appeared ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was aware of a plan by the organisation to transfer power to itself through mass mobilisation. Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday.

He said the ANC was planning to use the "political underground", armed struggle and international isolation to achieve this aim.

Speaking in Bloemfontein, Malan said the ANC associated itself fully with the masses and saw a transfer of power to the masses as a transfer of power to itself.

He said according to a recently-released ANC publication, "ANC: The Road to Peace - Resource Material on Negotiations", power should be transferred to the people through "the combination of the four pillars of struggle: mass mobilisation, political underground, armed struggle and international isolation".

"On television Mr Mandela told South Africa that mass action, or mass mobilisation, was part of the democratic process."

"It emerges very clearly from this official ANC publication, which deals with the ANC's views on negotiations, that Mr Mandela's mass action is part of a broader plan."

"It also appears that Mr Mandela is aware of this broader plan, because he promoted it by asking during his most recent overseas visit for the international isolation of South Africa."

The ANC was not pursuing democratic goals but blatant authoritarian politics in which it saw itself as the centre of all political interests.

In terms of the ANC's "four pillars" strategy, South Africa would not end up with a democracy but an ANC government.

-Sapa.

Councillor to be buried

A FORMER Lekos Town...
Rent boycott talks called off

MEETING between the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) and the Atteridgeville ANC branch on the rent boycott in the Pretoria township was called off yesterday, said TPA assistant liaison director Lesego Kekana.

It was not known when the next meeting would take place.

Atteridgeville ANC chairman Abie Mokoena said he did not know about the decision and was awaiting the TPA delegation’s report.

The TPA had said the agenda would include recommendations of the Kriel Commission of Inquiry into irregularities in the town council. The commission earlier found there had been a number of irregularities.

Violence flared on Saturday, killing two youths and injuring more than 20 people in a confrontation between protesters and police over an electricity switchoff. Subsequent to the violence, a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in Atteridgeville on Sunday night.

Meanwhile, the Klerksdorp and Jouberton councils will hold a crucial meeting tomorrow to determine further action in the rent and service charges boycott in the township.

The Klerksdorp council reconnect ed electricity to the township on Friday last week, and said tomorrow was the deadline for residents to make satisfactory payments.

In Witbank, the town council cut power supplies to the township of Kwagama on Monday.

Town clerk Adam Engelbrecht announced last week that the R50 flat rate paid by residents was not enough and if the amount was not increased there would be no alternative but to effect the cuts.

A spokesman for the residents' organisation said they were surprised by the action.

Engelbrecht could not be reached for comment yesterday. — Sapa.

Women urged to help build new SA

DEPUTY Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday urged women to become involved in the peace process and to share the responsibility of creating a new dispensation in a growth-orientated SA.

Addressing women in Soweto, Meyer said as women made up more than half the country’s total population, it was clear they had to take an active part not only in the political sphere, but also in the wider social structure.

"In working to bring about the new SA, the government is not aiming only for a new political system. SA needs a whole new social structure where the ideals and aspirations of everyone can be realised," Meyer said, adding that without the involvement of women, it would not be possible to negotiate a new, acceptable and workable constitution.
Social contract a likely political route — academic

S A FACED two possible political scenarios in 1991 — a social contract or a destructive stalemate, Wits University Centre for Policy Studies director Prof Lawrence Schlemmer said yesterday.

Addressing an Andrew Levy and Associates seminar in Johannesburg, Schlemmer said the social contract course was more likely because his intelligent appraisal of the situation showed the only feasible alternative to be a "no-win stalemate."

He defined a social contract as an "elite cartel" in which leaders of political groups were able to convince their followers to moderate their demands in order to accept cuts in pay and benefits, thereby deferring to the interests of capital.

A social contract in SA would be a special governing arrangement for the transitional phase. He warned that the ANC would have to abandon its present radical policy and that there were elements of that party's leadership who abhorred the idea of negotiating a social contract.

Studies showed some 60% of the white electorate expected minority participation, and the CP was strong enough to limit government's options.

Significant sub-elements of the ANC, including the youth, civic associations and the SACP leadership, which were not fully under ANC control, could resist such developments.

The coherence in policy and control over the constituency needed was also probably lacking in government.

The ANC was aware of its disadvantages in the negotiating process. With the NP in power this meant the playing field was not level. It went against the ANC, and this lent impetus to mass mobilisation campaigns which could defeat a social contract.

The economic situation and ANC fears of losing support to more militant groups also militated against a social contract being achieved.

There were, however, sporadic signs of acceptance of the need for a cooperative approach from ANC leaders.

This, and the fact that the only other option was stalemate, tipped the scales slightly in favour of the social contract plus some form of interim government.
Australia counters Pik on its SA mission

CAPE TOWN — Australian Foreign Affairs Minister Garreth Evans told his parliament yesterday Australia would not comply with a request from SA to reduce its diplomatic representation here.

SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha announced on Monday that the SA consulate in Sydney would be closed early next year and embassy staffing in Canberra would be scaled down.

Governments normally agree to have the same number of diplomatic representatives in one another's country. Evans's reaction thus caused a stir, and could be seen as a unilateral breach of long-standing diplomatic practice if carried through.

Sapa reports that Botha confirmed in London yesterday that the diplomatic cutback in Australia was part of a reallocation of limited funds needed to set up promising new missions in central Europe.

He was speaking en route to Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, after a midday meeting with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in London.

As an example, he said closing the consulate in Australia would save about R7m annually, without adversely affecting SA's diplomatic presence there. Setting up and maintaining a full-scale diplomatic mission in one of the central European countries would cost only about R7m annually.
Union wants free and fair elections

THE 50 000-strong Johannesburg branch of South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union has called for free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

The call was made by about 500 Saceawu shop stewards at the branch's congress at Sharea world last weekend.

The Saceawu officials resolved that the elections be conducted to determine the mandate for the drawing up of a new constitution.

**Agreed**

No secret negotiations should occur between the Government and any organisation, they concurred.

Five other resolutions were adopted at the congress, mostly focusing on the independence of trade union movement; the tripartite alliance of Cosatu with the ANC and SACP and the destruction of the hostels.

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**By DON SEOKANE**

Delegates resolved that the trade union movement must be independent from political organisations, the State and employers.

"Furthermore, the trade union movement..." said one of the resolutions.

The delegates said they were not against alliances, and called on Cosatu structures to clarify the nature of the tripartite alliance between the federation, SACP and ANC.

Cosatu affiliates should also discuss why other progressive organisations were being excluded from the alliance.

**Unions**

To ensure true independence of trade unions, the congress resolved that unionists should not hold leadership positions in the trade union movement and in a political organisation simultaneously.
Mandela accuses FW in row over demos

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela last night accused President FW de Klerk and his government of trying to prepare public opinion for a "violation" of civil rights.

Speaking to the Foreign Correspondents' Association, Mr Mandela hit at government criticism of the ANC's strategy of mass demonstrations.

While the media's freedom of speech was recognised, the same could not be said of the people's right to assemble, hold meetings, processions and stage mass demonstrations.

"After close on three decades during which these rights were trampled underfoot by the SA state, there are signs that De Klerk and his colleagues are attempting to prepare public opinion for their violation."

Mr Mandela said it was accepted that extra-parliamentary and parliamentary activities constituted an interface that was essential for the unfolding of democratic politics.

As the rift between the government and the ANC widened, Dr Beyers Naude, former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, yesterday warned of serious consequences for South Africa if it was not resolved.

He referred to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee's statement that the ANC's Western Cape "mass mobilisation" campaign seemed to "be a ploy to derail negotiations".

He said the impasse showed an "alarming lack of communication or difference in understanding between the government and the ANC".

He was "especially concerned" about the mood among young unemployed blacks, many of whom believed meaningful change was "deliberately being blocked".

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the government should allow demonstrations. When police kept a low profile, they nearly always went off without problems.

"Then the onus is on the organisations to ensure that they enjoy their democratic right without encroaching on the rights of others," he said.

• ANC hits back — Page 2
Women urged to take part in shaping our future

WOMEN form the backbone of any society and considering that they make up more than half the total population of this country, they should take part in the shaping of the new South Africa.

This was said by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, addressing a group of women attending the Soweto City Council’s second annual Women’s Day celebration in Chiawelo this week.

Speaking on "the role of women in shaping a new South Africa", Meyer urged women to take the initiative and responsibility to participate in the process, to be strong and fight for peace.

"In highlighting the women’s role, we must constantly bear in mind that the impact of women in the new South Africa will to a large extent be determined by their level of personal involvement," he said.

Politics

"Active participation should not be restricted to politics only. South Africa also needs a whole new social structure where the ideals of everyone can be realised."

"In the new dispensation for example, mothers will need to participate in decisions about the education of their children. Another social responsibility women could take was to have a positive approach to family planning to prevent the unbridled population growth which would restrain education, housing, health services and job opportunities.

"In 1984, it was estimated that about 78 percent of black businesses were run by women.

"By stressing the need for self-employment and making the most of these opportunities, women in the new South Africa can benefit themselves and the economy in general," he continued.

"Participation in and through communities is important, but the greatest responsibility women have for the new South Africa lies in promoting relationships between different people and groups.

"Women can create positive perceptions with people whom politicians cannot reach.

"I also want to urge you to be involved in the peace process and to share responsibility in creating a future South Africa. Your contribution, as bearers of stability, is therefore vital to the success of the new South Africa that we want to build for the benefit of all South Africa’s citizens," he concluded."
Aggression unnecessary — FW

By Frank Jeans

Johannesburg. 

"I call on leaders in all spheres to put aside the tools of intimidation and violence and use the tools of democracy," he said. 

Emphasising his optimism about the future, substantiated by his reception abroad recently, Mr de Klerk said peaceful negotiation was the only viable route. 

Calling for support for South Africa from the international community, he said there was a realisation that the country was "now in step with the rest of the world". 

Looking at economic prospects, Mr de Klerk pledged his Government to a determined cutting down on State spending and thus, among other goals, to lower the tax burden as part of the economic restructuring programme. 

Seeing the new South Africa firmly on a dynamic growth path, he added: "One cannot build a successful constitution on a failed economy. "The Government and the private sector should work together in identifying industries with an export potential and, where necessary, investment partners abroad."

Don't use battering rams to open doors which are already opening, and play the game according to the rules of democracy, was the strong message sent to all South African leaders by President de Klerk yesterday. 

"There is no need for aggression to achieve equal opportunities, for there will be equal opportunity for all in the new South Africa," Mr de Klerk told 700 guests at the 25th annual lunch meeting of the South Africa Britain Trade Association (Sabrita) in

Concerned . . . Members of the Artists Market Association have been working hard. Roon, chairman of the organisation, and Leone Roon, its secretary, hand over the Seaside Fund at a function at the Rosebank Hotel recently. Eleven other R35 000 raised by the association.
Defiant Maggie vows to soldier

By CLIVE SAWYER, Tygeberg Bureau

HUNDREDS of Cape municipalities may go in a shake-up of provincial and local government, says the Administrator, Mr Robus Meiring.

At a Tygeberg Chamber of Commerce and Industry lunch in Kempton Park, Mr Meiring said the fragmented system of government at provincial level should be replaced by a federal structure with nine or 10 regions.

"There are few provinces, homelands, self-governing states. This has led, for instance, to 17 health departments," he said.

A future secondary-level government structure could be based on the "country-region services council" principle, giving representation to areas in proportion to their use of services.

There were hundreds of municipalities, particularly in the Cape, which could cease to exist. Widening the boundaries of a municipality would make it more effective and able to draw on a broader base of expertise, he said.

He had been pleased by the reception to his announcement at the Cape Provincial Municipal Council earlier that the UDP would not give money for discretionary projects:

"Now we say there must be some council for one. At this stage, we are airing nothing about composition of the UDP for the sake of the issue." Three months ago, Mr Meiring said.

Consensus crucial

Government by consensus was crucial at all three levels.

The government was discussing alternatives and would not miss the opportunity to impose a new provincial constitution without extensive consultation.

A lack of money and urbanisation-related problems such as parking were hampering the reform process, he said.

"The context part of getting rid of apartheid is shrinking of laws. The most difficult is promoting the right attitude," Mr Meiring said.

It was a tragedy that so many people did not believe in the "Third World" sector's new socialism as a solution.

It was necessary to lift their standard of living because "people with nothing to lose will throw stones and strike people because it makes no difference". Mr Meiring said.

The consensus was not strong enough to lift standards of the under-developed sector as high as those of the developed sector, and discussion was needed, said Mr Meiring.

WOMAN STANDS ON NUCLEAR BOMB

The Argus Foreign Service

LAS VEGAS — A danish British anti-nuclear weapons activist who over a week before was stopped in a demonstration seven minutes before it was due.

Miss Lorna Robertson, a veteran campaigner against nuclear weapons, was flung directly over the underdeveloped British device in the Nevada Desert last week after and three others demonstrators violated strict security.

As the minutes ticked away the environmental group Greenpeace warned the American authorities about the group's presence.

The Americans at first did not believe them after helicopters and surveillance cameras failed to spot the intruders. Only when Greenpeace ordered the group to reveal itself was the explosion postponed.

Khayelitsha firebombs — three more injured

By Staff Reporter

THREE people have been injured by petrol bomb attacks on two vehicles in Khayelitsha.

Thus far, 17 people have been injured by firebombers.

A US Forces West Town Command clerical staff and five others were injured near a car and a minibus collided on Wednesday after a petrol bomb was thrown through the minibus windows.

Two people have died and three injured in shooting incidents in the township this week.

Child snatched from car fire

By Staff Reporter

A YOUNG mother snatched her two-year-old son from a possible fiery death after he got alight the seats of the saloon.

Mrs Lilian Hashbrow, 26, of Van der Spuy Street, Eastwood West, left her son Tom in the car on Saturday afternoon while she went to buy bread.

"I parked the car opposite the shop in Durban Street and was gone for a minute or two."

"When I came out of the shop, I had to wait for a truck to pass before I could cross the road and I heard doors shoeing "Mummy."

"He was leaning through the window of the passenger door and when I saw the flames and fumes behind him, I ran to the car and pulled him out."
Don't feel guilty about the past, urges PW

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africans don't have to bow their heads in "sickly" feelings of guilt about their past leaders and their heritage, former president PW Botha said at the Excelsior Primary School's award ceremony in Bellville last night.

This follows a recent undertaking by Afrikaans Church leaders not to bow to political pressure after reports that Mr Botha had telephoned Ned Geref Kerk moderator Professor Pieter Potgieter to express his displeasure at a church confession to having wrongfully supported apartheid.

He appealed to South Africans not to deny their traditions and their leaders: "We must know from which rock we have been hewn."

Mr Botha addressed the ceremony on leadership, and, referring to America's George Washington, said: "A true leader strides ahead and does not turn on his own people — he does not chase popularity."

He called former President Botha "a statesman who fell before the tread of those he loved."

Mr Botha said every leader had to realise that attempts would be made to deprive him of his sense of responsibility.

The Afrikaner and other minority cultural groups in South Africa were experiencing difficult times: "We are in a winepress and to get through this will depend on our future leaders and on our willingness to serve," he said.

School principal San Plensar said Mr Botha and his wife had been invited as guests of honour in recognition of Mr Botha's relationship with the Defence Force and the school's guardianship over the navy submarine, SAS Maria van Riebeeck.

• Confession row escalates
  — Page 3.
Govt mounts attack on mass mobilisation

The Government has launched an attack on the ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation, a major point of disagreement currently being discussed in the joint Government/ANC working group. The Government claims that the mass mobilisation campaign is part of the armed struggle — which the ANC has agreed to suspend. The ANC insists that the campaign is a separate issue, justified as long as blacks lack the vote. The issue was expected to be high on the agenda of the working group's meeting in Pretoria today.

The group has also reached deadlock over whether the ANC may continue to recruit and train members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. These questions are expected to be discussed by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela when they meet on November 27.
Row over confession escalates

By Peter Fabreius and Esmard van der Merwe

Concern is mounting in Government circles about the potentially damaging political consequences of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk’s confession of guilt about apartheid.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has stepped into the row by agreeing to address a conference of dissident NGK ministers, some of whom have already started to resign, protesting against the confession at last week’s ecumenical conference in Rustenburg.

The meeting has been organised for December 1 by the Reverend Kobus Potgieter, a former moderator of the NGK, amid signs of a gathering revolt among plateau congregations against the confession.

Implications

On December 4, NGK academics and ministers will gather to discuss the implications of the current row, under the auspices of the Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Bond.

Moderator Pieter Potgieter yesterday appealed to church members not to resign.

He said that information would soon be distributed among NGK members to explain the general synod’s stance on apartheid.

Both Professor Pieter Potgieter and his predecessor, Professor Johan Heyns, predicted that the outflux of dissenting church members would be confined to the Transvaal plateau.

However, they conceded that dissatisfaction in the rest of the country was considerable.

Professor Heyns expressed “shock and disappointment” about the invitation to Dr Treurnicht to speak at the December 1 conference.

He said it was a move which he believed would unnecessarily politicise the NGK.

Government sources said yesterday that they could not disagree in principle with the apartheid confession, but they felt the way it had been handled had given Dr Treurnicht and his Conservative Party “a gap to get at us”.

They said the fact that the confession had been made by Stellenbosch theologian Professor Willie Jonker to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu—who was not the most popular figure with the general public—was part of the problem.

Respected right-wing academic Carel Boshoff, who is organising the Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Bond meeting, said there was countrywide dissatisfaction about developments in the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk.

He predicted that the December 4 meeting would adopt a decision that the synod no longer represented the sympathies of ordinary members, and that several regional synods might distance themselves from the synod’s stance on apartheid.

“Dissent has spread all over the country, even to the Cape. The way in which the synod currently functions leaves much to be desired,” Professor Boshoff said.

The Johannesburg daily newspaper, Beeld, said yesterday that Professor Jonker’s confession had been a mistake.

Professor Jonker was not a member of the NGK’s delegation, the newspaper said.

It criticised Dr Treurnicht for agreeing to address a meeting on a religious subject.

Dr Treurnicht was not available for comment yesterday.

His deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, confirmed, however, that Dr Treurnicht had been invited to speak as a churchman. He said he believed Dr Treurnicht had accepted the invitation.
Not all ready to confess, Sir!

Political Editor John Patton discusses the Red Cross' Kent Apology for apartheid.
LAND TITLES ADJUSTMENT ACT, 1979
NOTICE OF INTENTION TO DESIGNATE LAND.—DISTRICT OF WATERBERG

I, Jacob Albertus van Wyk, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, acting on behalf of the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs under and by virtue of the powers vested in him by section 2 (2) of the Land Titles Adjustment Act, 1979 (Act No. 68 of 1979), hereby give notice that I intend to designate the land specified in the Schedule hereto under section 2 (1) of the said Act.

Persons who wish to object to the intended designation are invited to lodge their objections in writing with the Director-General, Department of Public Works and Land Affairs, Private Bag X65, Pretoria, 0001, on or before 14 December 1990 (Reference 2/20/2/19).

J. A. VAN WYK,
Deputy Minister of Land Affairs.

SCHEDULE
1. Portion 2, in extent 2197,8283 hectares; and
2. Portion 3, in extent 8,0300 hectares;
both portions of the farm Doornkom 376, Registration Division KR, Transvaal.

J. A. VAN WYK,
Adjunct-minister van Grondskawe.

BYLAE
1. Gedeelte 2, groot 2197,8283 hektaar; en
2. Gedeelte 3, groot 8,0300 hektaar;
beide gedeeltes van die plaas Doornkom 376, Registriesafdeling KR, Transvaal.

KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT
No. 2651 16 November 1990

PRESIDENTSRAAD

The State President has requested the President’s Council in terms of section 78 (1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), to investigate and make recommendations on the desirability and, if necessary, the scope of an ethical code of conduct or statutory framework for the functioning of South African political parties in terms of commonly prevailing democratic norms and guidelines.

The request has been referred to the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President’s Council.

Interested parties are invited to submit relevant memoranda, not later than 31 January 1991, to the Secretary to the President’s Council, P.O. Box 3601, Cape Town, 8000. Further information can be obtained from Mr. J. F. Marx at telephone (021) 45-5541.

The Committee may decide to hear oral evidence should further information on memoranda be required. If so, the parties concerned will be notified of the dates on which and place where evidence will be heard.

J. WEILBACH,
Secretary: President’s Council.

PRESIDENTSRAAD

Die Staatspresident het ingevolge artikel 78 (1) van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), die Presidentsraad versoek om ondersoek in te stel na en aanbevelings te doen oor die wenslikheid en, indien nodig, die trefwydte van ’n ethiese gedragsskude of statutêre raamwerk vir die funksionering van Suid-Afrikaanse politieke partye in termie van algemene-geldende demokratishe normes en reeglyne.

Die versoek is na die Komitee vir Staatkundige Aangeleenthede van die Presidentsraad verwys.

Belanghebbendes word uitgenoom om tersaaklike memoranda nie later nie as 31 Januarie 1991 aan die Sekretaris van die Presidentsraad, Posbus 3601, Kaapstad, 8000, te stuur. Navrae kan gereg word aan mnr. J. F. Marx by telefoon (021) 45-5541.

Die Komitee kan besluit om mondelinge getuigenis aan te hoor indien verdere inligting oor memorandum verlang word. Indien wel, sal betrokkennes in kennis gestel word van die datum waarop en plek waar getuigenis aangehoor sal word.

J. WEILBACH,
Sekretaris: Presidentsraad.
PAC founder back to form ‘genuine’ party

A FOUNDER, member of the Pan African Congress, Mr A. B. Ngcoobo, has returned to South Africa from exile to try to re-launch the “genuine” PAC. Ngcoobo was, elected treasurer-general of the PAC at elections held in Johannesburg on April 12, 1959. This put him second in the hierarchy behind Mr. Robert Sobukwe and Mr. P. K. Lethabo. He said at a press conference in Durban on Tuesday that the PAC was banned in April 1960.

Ngcoobo said the aim of the PAC was to represent the opinions of the people who were not heard, and which were outside of the ideologies of the African National Congress. He urged the other PAC leaders to re-establish the PAC on a “genuine” basis, and not just as a group to promote the ideologies of the African National Congress.

Women’s council will seek Bill of Rights

The National Council of Women of South Africa will meet with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr. Gerrit Viljoen, in Pretoria next Tuesday, in response to the invitation by the State President, Mr. FW de Klerk, to interested bodies to take part in the constitutional negotiation process. NCWSA has welcomed this opportunity and will present its policy based on the inalienable principles that South Africa is one country and one people, that the new constitution should include a Bill of Rights which must be justifiable, and that all forms of discrimination based on sex, race or creed must be abolished.

The delegation will also suggest strategies on how NCWSA, together with other women’s organisations, could ensure the full participation of women at all levels of the negotiation process. In the absence of the national president, Mrs Heather Tracey, the delegation will be led by the immediate past president of NCWSA, Mrs Catherine Schroeder. It will include members of the national executive committee and the president of the Transvaal branch.
ANC’s mobilisation plan attacked

The Government has launched a concerted attack on the ANC’s campaign of mass mobilisation, a major point of disagreement currently being discussed in the joint South African Government/ANC working group on the ANC’s decision to suspend armed activities.

Sharp differences have emerged over the past few days, with the Government claiming that the ANC’s decision was made unilaterally and that it is not justified in the context of the negotiations. The ANC, on the other hand, has pointed out that the mass mobilisation campaign is part of the armed struggle, which it has already agreed to resume.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan has raised the issue on Tuesday night, and the ANC has been told that it is not justified in the current context. The ANC has maintained its mobilisation campaign and has reiterated its commitment to the negotiations.

The issue has been highlighted in the media, with reports indicating that the ANC has already agreed to resume its armed activities. This is seen as a stumbling block in the negotiations.

Boschi, the ANC’s chief negotiator, has also become locked in a war of words over the issue. He accused Boschi of breaching the terms of the Pretoria Agreement by advocating continued campaigns of mass mobilisation.

Boschi rejected the charges, saying that the ANC delegation to the Pretoria talks had specifically agreed to the terms of the Pretoria Agreement. He added that the ANC had a right to maintain a focus on political engagement while the talks continue.

The ANC has also reiterated its commitment to the negotiations, with its members expressing a desire to see the talks succeed. The ANC has also expressed concern over the attacks on its members and has called for a peaceful resolution of the issues.

As the negotiations continue, it remains to be seen how the ANC will respond to the Government’s attacks and whether the talks can proceed in a constructive manner. The ANC has already made it clear that it will not be deterred by the Government’s attacks and will continue to work towards a peaceful resolution of the issues.
Govt 'preparing for violation of civil rights'

There were signs that President F W de Klerk and his government were attempting to prepare public opinion for the violation of civil rights, ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela said last night.

Mandela, addressing the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Johannesburg, said it was universally accepted that various means of political expression, including public meetings, rallies and non-violent resistance, were aspects of freedom of speech.

While the media's freedom of speech was recognised, the same could not be said of the people's right to assemble, hold meetings and processions, and stage mass demonstrations.

He said a regime accustomed to authoritarian behaviour needed time to grow accustomed to democratic practice.

He said it had been accepted that the interface of extra-parliamentary and parliamentary activities was essential for the unfolding of democratic politics.

Mandela said it would be foolhardy for anyone to align themselves with government's attempts to curtail these rights.

Shopkeepers attempt to end boycott

KROONSTAD shopkeepers are taking the lead in attempting to resolve a consumer boycott.

Residents of the Moekeng township started the boycott after the Kroonstad Town Council cut electricity and water supplies.

Maokeng residents have been boycotting service charge payments.

Kroonstad store owner Greg Papapanous said yesterday that the week-and-a-half old boycott had hit shopkeepers hard.

He said 50 traders had signed a petition calling for the dispute to be settled.

Papapanous said he had met the boycott organisers, the Moekeng Democratic Crisis Committee, on Wednesday and they had agreed to try and find ways of ending the boycott.

A meeting between shopkeepers and the Kroonstad Town Council was due to be held last night.

Papapanous said he hoped that progress towards a compromise would be made.

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INTERIM REPORT 1990/91

An surplus, costs and profits are seasonal areas and dividends from investments are not received at regular intervals. The figures shown are hypothetical estimates. The comparative figures are half of the actual figures of last year.

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Net operating income before interest (Note 1): R2607

Income from investments (Note 2): R1725
Far East opens front door to SA

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is to visit a number of Far Eastern countries early next year in what may herald a major shift in South African foreign policy.

Japan, Thailand, Singapore and South Korea are all countries targeted for upgrading as major trading and diplomatic partners.

Top foreign affairs sources indicated this week that South Africa was on the brink of a major break with its isolationist past.

"We have come of age in our foreign relations," said one official this week. "There is no 'standing at the back door with cap in hand' approach any more".

Part of this realignment of forces could be a shift of traditional diplomatic ties from Western Europe, the US and Britain to new links with other regions — the Far East, Central Europe, South America and Africa.

The government is re-evaluating its ties with Western countries in an effort to establish whether to continue present diplomatic patterns.

This week's decision to downgrade diplomatic relations with Australia and the present visit of Foreign Minister Pik Botha to Central Europe are said to be the first tangible results of the new approach.

Targets

Yesterday, Mr Botha was in Belgrade for talks with his Yugoslavian counterpart, Budimir Loncar.

The reform moves initiated by Mr de Klerk have resulted in greater interest in resuming normal relations with SA than the Department of Foreign Affairs ever expected.

"It is almost embarrassing," a source said. "For years we tried everything possible to set up small, unobtrusive trade missions."

"Now we almost do not have enough trained personnel to staff the embassies and missions opening up to us."

To streamline the new era in SA's foreign relations, key countries in important regions have been targeted as "diplomatic beachheads".

*THE EAST*: Economic ties with East Asian countries are considered to be a major thrust of the diplomatic offensive.

Said to be under consideration is the upgrading of the South African mission in Japan to full embassy status and the entering into relations with emerging economic powers such as Singapore, Thailand and South Korea.

*CENTRAL EUROPE*: Mr Botha's visit to Czechoslovakia and Romania — following closely on a trip to Hungary and the resumption of relations with Poland — is indicative of the emphasis the government is now placing on ties with, former communist governments.

Again, trade will be used as the starting point of the relationship with the government of President Joaquim Chissano.

As the same time there are indications of a "coolling off" in relations with South Africa's traditional diplomatic partners.

On Monday Mr Botha announced the downgrading of its embassy in Canberra to an ambassador and two other diplomats and the closure of the mission in Sydney.

One top diplomatic source this week agreed that the decision was "a snub".

"For many years the Australian government treated South Africa like a pariah state. We were constantly subjected to a barrage of criticism and uncalled for advice."

"Now that we are in the process of change, Australia does not have the grace to support us, but prefers to continue with its moralistic approach," he said.

The source also pointed out that Australia's "obsession with sanctions" was the result of the country's attempts to make economic gains — especially in the export of steel and coal — in markets that were closed to South Africa.
Showdown on ceasefire

THE dispute about the interpretation of the ceasefire agreement between the government and ANC will top the agenda when President F.W. de Klerk meets Nelson Mandela on November 27.

The government's view is that the ANC's style of "mass mobilisation", which includes the recruitment and deployment of Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas, is included in the "related activities" the ANC undertook to suspend in terms of the Pretoria Minute of August 6.

The ANC holds that mass mobilisation is its democratic right while its followers do not have the vote.

The row has stalled the work of the ANC-government working group, whose task it is to pave the way to constitutional negotiations.

The senior government sources said this weekend.

A report by the working group — due on September 15 — has not yet been finalised.

A government source close to the negotiations said this week the government did not object to meetings and rallies.

Violence

But it ruled out boycotts, stayaways and strikes because of the violence and intimidation that invariably accompanied them.

The armed struggle and mass mobilisation could be seen as "two facets of the same thing", said the government source.

Amid other indications of a hardening government attitude, the source said:

"We are presently defining areas of no compromise."

Violence would be central to these.

"This is the watershed point," the source said.

This week several senior government ministers strongly criticised the ANC's mass mobilisation and the delaying of an agreement on negotiations.

They included President De Klerk, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

It is believed the government is planning a "think tank" early next month with its seven-member Ministers' Committee on Negotiations.

Its purpose will be to discuss initiatives the government can take to get negotiations started and to consolidate the international acclaim it has received for its reforms.

It will also assess the outcome of the ANC's consultative conference on December 16.
FW and Mandela to discuss widening rifts

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff
PRESIDENT De Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will meet Tuesday next week to try to defuse growing differences between the government and the ANC over the negotiation process.

The ANC’s campaign of mass mobilisation and the question of whether the ANC should be allowed to continue recruiting and training members of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, could be the main subjects for discussion at the meeting.

Several clashes between the police and protesters over the weekend have underscored the sharp differences between the government and the ANC over the ANC’s strategy of mass mobilisation.

Mr Mandela made it clear in a speech in Lenasia yesterday that the ANC intended to “intensify the struggle” by using all legitimate peaceful means of pressuring the government, including civil disobedience.

Mr Mandela strongly denied claims made by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other government spokesmen that the ANC had agreed at the Pretoria summit in August to stop or scale down mass protest and boycott actions.

The joint government/ANC working group is expected to meet twice in Pretoria this week in a concerted effort to clear away mainly this problem.

However, senior police sources have expressed grave doubts about the ANC’s real commitment to resolve this issue. They point to the fact that the head of the ANC’s delegation to the working group — Umkhonto we Sizwe number two Chris Hani — failed to attend the second-last meeting of the group.

And last week the ANC withdrew from the last scheduled meeting of the group at the last minute.

Mr Mandela said yesterday he believed a third summit was needed to decide how the real constitutional negotiations should be structured and whom should attend.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela have been elected 1990 Newsmakers of the Year by the Johannesburg Press Club.
Yugoslav ties ‘wrap up’ central Europe

SA WOULD soon set up consular and commercial relations with Yugoslavia, the leading nation in the strongly anti-apartheid Non-Aligned Movement, Foreign Affairs sources predicted yesterday.

The prediction was made yesterday during Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha’s first visit to Belgrade, following on his trip to Czechoslovakia and Romania.

The sources said the Yugoslavia initiative had virtually “wrapped up” formal links with central Europe.

Bulgaria, the only other central European country still without formal links with SA, would probably make the move soon.

A four-man Bulgarian government delegation left SA on Saturday after a two-week visit. The delegation met representatives from the Reserve Bank, SAA and the SA Chamber of Business.

Botha, who returns from his 10-day European trip on Wednesday, has signed accords with Czechoslovakia and Romania to create reciprocal consulates.

He leaves for Germany today.

This year SA has also set up a permanent mission in Hungary and agreed to set up reciprocal offices of interest with Poland.

The links with central Europe also spell opportunities for trade as central Europe is seeking new markets.

SA could act as a middleman for central Europe in the African market and could also expand its export operations in central Europe.

The sources said links with the Soviet Union were growing, but the establishment of diplomatic ties were not on the cards until the Soviet Union’s domestic problems were resolved.
Think-tank to decide next policy moves

Cabinet ‘bush indaba’

By Peter Fabreious
Political Correspondent

The Cabinet and other senior National Party officials are to hold a three-day ‘bush indaba’ at a secret venue near Pretoria next week to set the direction of government for next year.

The think-tank session is likely to be influenced strongly by what happens today in talks between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — a meeting set up to break a serious deadlock in clearing the way to formal constitutional negotiations.

Rapport
At today’s meeting in the Union Buildings, the special rapport which has developed between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela will be put to the test.

Obstacles barring the start of real negotiations are:
- The ANC’s view that the security forces are being used in a campaign of violence against black people.
- The ANC’s conclusion that there has been no progress in the negotiations.
- The status of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The Government insists that it is willing to negotiate and that it expects the ANC to do the same.

Apart from measures to maintain physical standards and prevent crime, the committee has also proposed measures to protect the community’s rights.

But senior Government sources say that they will stick to Mr de Klerk’s promise that the Group Areas Act will not be replaced with something that smacks of racial discrimination.

The 1991 budget and government for more than a decade.

Security forces are being in a campaign of violence against blacks.
DURBAN. — The South African government wanted to negotiate with ANC leadership and not with its membership, the secretary of the ANC's newly launched Southern Natal Regional Executive Committee, Mr Sibusiso Ndebele, said yesterday.

At a conference to introduce Mr Jacob Zuma, the new regional chairman, Mr Ndebele said the government wanted only people such as Mr Nelson Mandela at the negotiating table and wanted to talk to individuals rather than address the organisation as a whole.

In response to a question about the ineptitude of the ANC to make decisions, Mr Ndebele criticized the government.

"If you talk about ineptitude you talk about the South African government who have admitted they made a horrible mistake for the past 42 years in the creation of apartheid. They are inept in bringing about the return of exiles and inept in that they can't even send a fax from Pretoria to Robben Island to release political prisoners."
Mandela, FW to meet as rift widens

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will meet next Tuesday to try to defuse growing differences between the Government and the ANC over the negotiation process.

The ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation and the question of whether the ANC should be allowed to continue recruiting and training members of its military wing could be the main subjects for discussion at the meeting.

Several clashes between the police and protesters at the weekend have underscored the sharp differences between the Government and the ANC over the ANC's strategy of mass mobilisation.

Mr Mandela made it clear in a speech in Lenasia on Sunday that the ANC intended to "intensify the struggle" by using all legitimate peaceful means of pressuring the Government, including civil disobedience.

He strongly denied claims made by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other Government spokesmen that the ANC had agreed at the Pretoria summit in August to stop or scale down mass protest and boycott actions.

Intimidation

Yesterday senior Government sources said they believed the ANC's agreement in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes to terminate destabilising actions implied that certain mass actions would be called off.

They said it was important to distinguish between mass meetings and mass marches - which were acceptable as long as they were peaceful - and other mass actions designed to destabilise the situation, such as consumer boycotts and the intimidation of black local councillors.

The sources said an attempt would still be made to resolve this problem at the meetings of the Joint Government/ANC working group discussing the ANC's suspension of "armed actions and related activities".

The group is expected to meet twice in Pretoria this week in a concerted effort to clear away mainly this problem.

Mr Mandela reiterated yesterday that the ANC was entitled to continue putting pressure on the Government through mass actions as long as blacks lacked proper channels through which to express their grievances.

Government sources replied that under the Pretoria Minute, it was agreed to set up mechanisms for this purpose but that the ANC had not co-operated in establishing these mechanisms.
Top level crisis talks next week

PRESIDENT de Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will meet next Tuesday to try to defuse growing differences between the Government and the ANC over the negotiation process.

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Important issue

Yesterday senior Government sources said they believed the ANC's agreement in the Pretoria Minute and Groote Schuur Minute to terminate destabilising actions, implied that certain mass actions would be called off.

They said it was important to distinguish between mass meetings and mass marches - which were acceptable as long as they were peaceful - and other mass actions designed to destabilise the situation such as consumer boycotts and the intimidation of black local councillors.

They said it was clear from his remarks on Sunday that Mandela did not make this distinction.

The sources said an attempt would still be made to resolve this problem at the meetings of the joint Government/ANC working group discussing the ANC's suspension of "armed actions and related activities".

The group is expected to meet twice in Pretoria this week in a concerted effort to clear away mainly this problem.

However senior police sources have expressed grave doubts about the ANC's real commitment to resolve this issue.

They point to the fact that the head of the ANC's delegation to the working group - Umkhonto we Sizwe number two Chris Hani - failed to attend the second-last meeting of the group.

And last week the ANC withdrew from the last scheduled meeting of the group at the last minute. - Sowetan Correspondent.
South Africa: Decentralization and Political Changes

Buthelizi Warns Against One-Party Rule
Govt doubts ANC sincere over peace

By Peter Fabrices
Political Correspondent

Negotiations have reached a critical point as the Government expresses growing doubts about the African National Congress's real commitment to a peaceful political settlement.

The ANC's determination to continue and even intensify its strategy of mass mobilisation and its refusal to stop training and recruiting for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, are causing concern.

In two hard-hitting speeches yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Foreign Minister Pik Botha both cast severe doubts on the ANC's desire to seek a constitutional solution through peaceful means.

And it is understood that the concern in Government goes right up to President de Klerk, who is expected to take it up with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela when they meet on Tuesday.

The ANC and Government will also try to thrash out their differences over the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign in the joint working group on ANC armed actions which meets tomorrow and on Friday in Pretoria.

Dr Viljoen said last night the ANC's failure to distance itself from mass mobilisation, boycotts, intimidation and the building up of military power called into question its stated commitment to peace and had created a great obstacle to negotiations.

Mr Botha, addressing the Hans Seidel Foundation in Munich, said it was "a matter of serious concern" that the ANC could not say it was ready to implement its commitments.

He said that at the Pretoria Minute, agreement was reached on a plan for the release of ANC prisoners and the return of exiles while the ANC agreed to suspend all armed actions and related activities.

Mr Botha said that apart from internal dissent, the ANC was also "burdened" by its close alliance with the South African Communist Party.

Pik's plea — Page 11.

Forex fraud probe follows suspensions

By Michael Chester

Police confirmed today that investigations had been launched into a suspected multimillion-rand foreign exchange fraud following the suspension of three listed companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

A police spokesman said the probe was triggered by the Foreign Exchange Division of the South African Reserve Bank.

It was suspected that at least five private sector companies had broken foreign control regulations on the movement of overseas currencies in and out of commercial and financial rand business accounts.

Shock waves were caused when the JSE ordered the suspension of three listed companies — the shopfitting firm of Norvic, the Lanchern door manufacturing company and the Osprey gold mine. It is understood the Reserve Bank has also ordered investigations into the affairs of two more companies suspended by the JSE earlier in the year.

See Page 18.
SA leaders fear transition chaos

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Political and business leaders generally expect a loss of control during South Africa's transition phase, a new strategic planning survey has found.

And, says the report, published yesterday, incidents of arbitrary violence were heightening fears of a chaotic transition and economic decline.

The Political Environment Survey was conducted by Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Five Freedoms Forum president Mr Michael Olivier, Strategy Computer Holdings managing director Mr Michael Charnas and Five Freedoms Forum's press officer Mrs Gael Neke.

The views of 100 of the most influential leaders in the political, environmental, cultural and business arenas were canvassed.

The report concludes:

● The closer people are to involvement in the negotiation process, the more optimistic they are. The further away, the more pessimistic and apprehensive they are;

● There is a general expectation of a loss of control during the transition phase. Incidents of arbitrary violence heighten fears of a chaotic transition and a declining economy. In spite of this, the majority of people are optimistic about long-term prospects;

● There is a strong fear of nationalisation;

● There is a general acceptance that privilege will be non-racial but that poverty will remain, for the most part, a black state;

● For business people, a dichotomy exists between approval for President F W de Klerk's actions and their apathy towards political events. Ignorance of politics and political group dynamics increases apathy and distrust;

● Management fears loss of control of business and interference at executive level, while the ANC is aware of its own lack of managerial skills;

● Black business is apprehensive that the ANC has no economic base and no understanding of business and economics. They have taken extensive and positive steps to engage the ANC on economic issues.
Forget the past, Pik urges ANC

Star Foreign Service

MUNICH — In an impassioned plea at an international symposium in Munich, Foreign Minister Pik Botha called on the African National Congress to "let bygones be bygones" and to cooperate with his Government in building a new South Africa.

The Minister appealed to ANC representatives to help the Government arrange a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Such a meeting was essential for peace, Mr Botha said.

He also called on the ANC to drop its proposed economic programme, which would frighten European investors away. "The Germans won't invest, the British won't invest, the Americans won't invest."

Earlier, addressing the symposium organised by the Bavarian Hanns Seidel Foundation, Mr Botha complained that internal divisions within the ANC and the movement's links with the South African Communist Party were hindering progress towards a political settlement.

"We realise the ANC needs time to transform itself into a political party, but my Government cannot resolve their internal strife," Mr Botha said.

The main ANC speaker, Walter Sisulu, said the fact that the movement was talking to the Government was proof of its good intentions.

But the ANC would not back down from its demand for a "mixed-market economy" because that was the only system to correct the injustices of apartheid.

Germany's Minister for Economic Co-operation, Juergen Warnke, said the time had come for European governments to drop sanctions against Pretoria. "They are senseless," he said...
SA leaders fear economic decline

POLITICAL and business leaders generally expect a loss of control during SA's transition phase, a new strategic planning survey has found.

The survey, released yesterday, also found that incidents of arbitrary violence were heightening fears of a chaotic transition and economic decline.

The Political Environment Survey was conducted by Idasa director F Van Zyl Slabbert, Five Freedoms Forum president Michael Olivier, Strategy Computer Holdings MD Michael Charnas and Five Freedoms Forums Press officer Gaele Nekes.

Introducing the report yesterday, Slabbert said business leaders needed a thorough understanding of the trends and pressures driving development in SA to project future scenarios.

Conclusions

The authors combined their skills and contacts in politics, economics, business and technology to analyse the views of some 100 of the most influential leaders in the political, environmental, cultural and business arenas. Cabinet ministers, MPs, academics, diplomats, educationalists, businessmen, newspaper editors and churchmen were among those interviewed.

The research conclusions include:

- The closer people are to involvement in the actual negotiation process, the more optimistic they are. The further away they are from it, the more pessimistic and apprehensive they are.
- There is a general expectation of a loss of control during the transition phase. Incidents of arbitrary violence heighten fears of chaotic transition and a declining economy. In spite of this, the majority of people are optimistic about long-term prospects.
- There is a strong fear of nationalisation and confusion about whether nationalisation threats are real.
- There is a general acceptance that privatisation will be non-racial but that poverty will remain, for the most part, a black problem.
- For business people, a dichotomy exists between approval for President F W de Klerk's actions and their apathy towards political events. Ignorance of politics and political group dynamics increases apathy and distrust.
- Management fears loss of control of business and interference at executive level, while the ANC is aware of its own lack of managerial skills.
- Black business is apprehensive that the ANC has no economic base and no understanding of business and economics. They have taken extensive and positive steps to engage the ANC on economic issues.

"The business sector's uncertainty about the future of SA has a direct impact on business confidence and investment. New pressures evolve virtually daily as individual communities vie to reshape the political and economic future of our country," Slabbert said.

The survey provides input to strategic planning for business growth and survival in a changing SA. In addition to dealing with the implications of government negotiations with the ANC, PAC and right-wing parties on local and foreign trade, it also discusses other topics such as environment, AIDS, labour union and education.

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Political Jealousy Behind Leaks?
FW warns against double-handed politicians

By Esnière van der Merwe

Protracted violence, intimidation and other forms of resistance should be stopped, President de Klerk said last night.

Speaking at the annual banquet of the Johannesburgse Afrikanse Sakekamer, Mr de Klerk said all reasonable people would not allow the country to be dragged down by radicalism. A climate had been created for a peacefully negotiated solution to the country's remaining constitutional problems.

"Certain political actors should start to realise that the game cannot be played both ways. There cannot be a commitment to peaceful solutions on the one hand, and on the other a call for public disruption," he said.

Devoting most of his speech to the economy, he said the inability of the gross domestic product to exceed the population growth was being used in certain circles to criticise the free enterprise system. Ways should be found to overcome that which was hampering the economy, he said.

Although the Government remained convinced of the efficiency of market power, it was not married to unbridled free enterprise.

Funds which had been released for socio-economic development as a result of Government cutbacks had been unexpectedly swallowed up by the cost of maintaining law and order in unrest areas.

Mr de Klerk called on the business sector to become more involved in expanding housing, developing pension and medical aid schemes for workers, and devoting more attention to research on environmental degradation.

Even on the constitutional terrain, the business community could make important input without getting directly involved in party politics.

The extent to which this could be done could have a decisive influence on the nature of a new political dispensation.
Call smacks of racism

SIR: As a white South African, it horrifies me to read the black Press, calls for black unity and calls for “uniting against the enemy.”

There are as many differences among blacks as there are among whites and any call for unity smacks of a new racialism (this time black).

It is also an insult to black intelligence. Being able to think for oneself and express what you think is probably the greatest and most important of all liberties. And who is the enemy?

Some of my fellow whites are far greater enemies to my hopes and prayers for a just and peaceful South Africa than all the millions of blacks who stand for the same ideals as I do.

There are also blacks who are not yet politically mature enough to accept a fully democratic, peaceful society. Blacks who do not yet accept the fact that the majority of whites think like De Klerk. His sincerity is beyond doubt. He has taken massive political risks, resulting in an almost immediate change in hopes for blacks instead of perhaps, further decades of struggling and eventual bloody destructive revolution.

Perhaps it was too much to expect other leaders of the same calibre as De Klerk to emerge at the same time on the South African political scene.

It is essential for our future that black leaders come forward to call for unity, irrespective of race, of citizens who have similar ideals and who, in particular, will defend the democratic right of voters to differ democratically, to say so and to vote accordingly - the essential tolerance of differences.

Only when such rights are accepted by all and when education has given everyone, who works for it, equal opportunities can we call everyone truly free. And only then can we together build a truly great and prosperous future for all.

Please let us have no more comments or blame on “imperialism,” “colonialism,” “apartheid regime” etc. We are too far advanced to a new South Africa for that sort of silly rhetoric.

Let us rather have calls for unity, for work and productivity, for multi-racial, multi-party democracy in an economic system that helps create wealth for all.

Above all, let us have calls from all responsible leaders for an end to violence - for peace to promote growth and wealth through education, investment and tourism, the concomitants of success.

SOVONG
Cape Town
'Most coloureds will back NP ahead of the ANC'

By Kalize Nyanzumba
Political Staff

President F W de Klerk could count on the support of "the vast majority" of coloured and Indian voters to beat the ANC in a general election, according to an article in the latest issue of SA Dialogue.

The article, headlined "De Klerk's bold campaign to capture the black vote", said the overwhelming majority of coloureds and Indians would vote for the National Party against the high-profile ANC, thus perpetuating the Nats vice-like hold on power even in the "new South Africa".

Euphoria

SA Dialogue, which is edited by Gerry Pietersen, said the country's political emphasis had shifted now that "the euphoria of the Mandela myth", which swept across South Africa following Nelson Mandela's release, had abated. The journal said the ANC was still struggling to increase its "non-African membership" in the western Cape.

"The movement appears to be attracting little enthusiasm from coloureds beyond those who originally signed up when Mandela fever was at its peak."

"However, even these early converts are no longer flashing their ANC membership cards in polite company."

"Analysts observing the political mood among the coloured and Indian populations have concluded that certain factors have influenced this increasingly visible shift from 'amandla' politics to realpolitik," the journal said.

It quoted two Labour Party members of the President's Council, Peter Marais and Billy Ross, who said the NP stood a good chance of springing a surprise on the ANC in a general election by wooing into its ranks coloureds, Indians and "moderate Africans".

Mr Marais believed coloureds had "everything in common with the Afrikaner and very little with the tribal traditions of blacks".
Resuming soon, says Pik
MOSCOW TIES SET TO

The Star Thursday November 22 1990

Picture: Stephen Davies
Minister for Foreign Affairs Pik Botha.

Foreign Ties... Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha.

The predicted European boom

Newspaperium, but also short-term

It's not only a long-term

Rapid growth of Europe

The European boom

The stars' foreign service.

The Europe, Foreign Service

Minister Pik Botha.

Resuming soon, says Pik.
MOSCOW TIES SET TO

The Star Thursday November 22 1990

Picture: Stephen Davies
Minister for Foreign Affairs Pik Botha.
Negotiations at 'danger point'.

The ANC’s delegation has reached Pretoria to pursue their demands. Meanwhile, the South African government is preparing to respond to their latest demands. The ANC has expressed determination to continue negotiations, but the government has indicated that it will not yield to their demands.

North African countries are closely following the developments with concern. They have expressed support for the ANC’s stance and called for a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

Source: African News Agency

Note: The text is extracted from a news article and is subject to errors due to the quality of the image.
FOREIGN Affairs chief director Marc Burger was yesterday named as SA's new ambassador to Paris, taking up his post in February.

Burger, 43, joined the department in 1968 and became its chief director in 1997. He was granted credentials as ambassador on special assignment during the same year.

He said yesterday his challenge would be to build on SA's favourable situation and on the common interests SA had with France in Africa.

His new assignment would be primarily concerned with fostering economic ties between the two countries, he said.

Although the key to success in his new assignment would be "what we are doing in our own backyard," Burger said France was "probably the country that had the most influence in Africa."

He had worked in the SA embassy in Brussels and was head of the London embassy's political division from 1978 to 1979.

Earlier in his career, he was the SA consul in Reunion and subsequently worked in the department's Francophone Africa section.

He succeeds Hennie Geldenhuyz, who will return to SA to retire.

The department has declined to comment on speculation about other ambassadorial appointments, including a suggestion in the press that Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr could become the next ambassador to London.

Durr was reported to have been taken aback by the speculation.

Foreign Minister PW Botha said on returning from his Eastern European tour yesterday that Durr's name had not been forwarded to the Cabinet for approval.

However, informed sources said yesterday President F W de Klerk had allowed Foreign Affairs to choose all the postings, except the London posting, which he would decide himself.

Sapa reports political observers believe the Cabinet, at its regular Wednesday meeting, would approve a number of appointments and an announcement is expected soon.
Soviet ties possible in six months — Botha

SA EXPECTED to have official ties with the Soviet Union within six months, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on his return from Europe yesterday.

At a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport, Botha said he had been well received in central and eastern Europe.

Government ties had been forged with Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. Consulates in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia would follow soon.

"His trip to eastern Europe would pave the way for the southern African region to become a "junior partner" of a unified Europe," he said. The region had the resources and the infrastructure to become a successful regional economic grouping.

"On ties with the Soviet Union, Botha said there had been a lot of contact between individuals from the two countries, and an official firming of relations could be expected soon.

Acceptance of SA's reform initiatives by most governments was such that he did not believe political changes abroad would affect the general stance towards SA sanctions against SA were almost a thing of the past.

Violence

SA had to persuade Europe it had a viable plan for the region; that the money put into it by foreign states could be monitored and was not "going into a bottomless pit,

The ANC's socialist or Marxist policy and the high level of violence was scaring investors.

"I expect funds to come to SA in substantial figures once the violence has stopped," Botha said.

Of the ANC's credibility abroad, Botha said its links to the SA Communist Party placed the organisation in a situation similar to that of the NP before the resignation of Andries Treurnicht and other conservatives.

"We got rid of our albatross," Botha said, adding that the ANC would increase its credibility abroad "as long as it does not come out with a socialist... credo. — Sapa."
Keep up with SA changes

Who's who struggling to

THE WEEKLY MAIL. 26 November 1990

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NEITHER the African National Congress or the National Party had effective control over its own forces and both had failed South Africa by using violence as a political football, said Democratic Party MP for Wynberg Mr Robin Carlisle.

In a fierce attack he said both sides had forfeited their claim to high moral ground.

The country was "drifting towards chaos and the NP and ANC must take the blame," he told a report-back meeting in Kenilworth.

**No vision**

Highlighting problems associated with violence and the campaign to make South Africa ungoernable, the conditions in townships, poor education and controversial local government, Carlisle said of the NP and the ANC: "They have appointed themselves the sole custodians of our future, yet neither has a vision of that future, nor a plan of how to get there.

"Neither has effective control of its forces and when the heat is on they become impotent spectators of the ensuing carnage - and then blame each other."

**Hostile**

"In the end, both see specific advantages for themselves, regardless of the cost to South Africa and display hostile intolerance to those who stand in their way.

"Both are involved in covering-up evidence of the murderous thuggery of certain of their supporters and/or officials.

"The ANC and the NP have massively failed South Africa. From the heady days of February, the situation has steadily become worse" and continues to do so."

However, a more positive reflection of change was the decision of white parents to open schools to all. This was the most significant change in attitude in South Africa's history.

And it was at this
Mass action will be on the agenda.

Tos Wenzel sets the scene for next week's meeting between F W and Mandela.
Isolation of SA will end in 1991, says Relly

LONDON — Next year should see the demise of South Africa’s economic and political isolation, Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said yesterday.

In a speech at the Smith New Court Conference, he said bilateral and sometimes multilateral co-operation would prepare the way for greater southern African economic integration.

South Africa’s appropriately valued rand, proximity to African markets, regional knowledge, technical expertise in spheres such as agriculture and mining, the common legacy of British systems and practices, and its African identity were all important advantages for trade with Africa, he said.

Expertise

With the focus of the World Bank and other development agencies in Africa moving southwards, and aid to African countries amounting to R40 billion annually, Mr Relly felt that South African expertise could ensure the success of many new projects.

“Opportunities also exist for the foreign investor, either in partnership with South African companies or alone.

“It is the implementation of appropriate political and economic systems which will do most to release the dynamic of the subcontinent,” he said.

Mr Relly based his optimistic outlook on the resilience of the South African economy and the abundant entrepreneurial spirit of South Africans.

The major parties had committed themselves irreversibly to negotiating a new constitution, and the trend of thinking on economic matters within the extra-parliamentary movements was more sophisticated and realistic, he added. — Sapa.
Women must play greater role - Marike de Klerk looking to the future

BY SIZAKILE KOOMA

Women are a part of the economic powers that address the needs of the community. They are the core of the economy and play a crucial role in shaping the future. The empowerment of women is essential for sustainable development and social progress.

The empowerment of women is not just about economic participation but also about social and political empowerment. Women should be encouraged to take up leadership roles and participate in decision-making processes.

The role of women in the economy is critical, and they should be provided with opportunities to excel and contribute to the growth of the community. Women's education and skill development are key factors in their empowerment.

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MARCHING TO PRETORIA

Last weekend's running riot in central Johannesburg illustrates two truths about the state of SA politics.
Both the leading parties to talks on power-sharing have drifted far from their constituencies and both now recognise the need to play to the people who will give them legitimacy — or undermine their ambitions.

In suspending the armed struggle the ANC has had to face serious questions from its followers about the wisdom of that move, particularly as people in the townships have simply gone on to experience successive waves of violence. The SA Institute of Race Relations says 10 people a day are dying as a result of political violence; and there is also disquiet in the townships over the agreement reached between the official working groups into the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

The NP has to deal with the radical Right. It also has to face up to the fears of the relatively wealthy whites who are the core of national economic wellbeing. They applaud the steps taken by President FW de Klerk but worry whether he can control events sufficiently to avert disaster.

Both groups of whites are united on one point: mass action increases their fears and they are strongly in favour of police action to stop such demonstrations. A recent Idasa survey of white attitudes showed that stern action against such protests was favoured by 73.8% of CP students, 60.8% of NP students and 13.6% of DP students.

So while the ANC needs mass action as a mobilisation tool and unifying symbol, and an indicator that the organisation is not going soft on government before apartheid has been removed, the Nats need to show that they will be the arbiters of who marches, when and in what streets.

The problem with playing to constituencies is that tensions are worsened. SA Communist Party spokesman Esop Mabah says the right of peaceful protest is the right of all democratic systems and that mass action will be used even in a future SA. “Government must understand that mass action must continue and they must rely on the organisers to discipline marchers, as happened in Germiston.” On the day of the abortive Johannesburg march, a march around the same issues took place peacefully in Germiston.

Mabah questions why only a few weeks back an Inkatha march — where heavily armed members took part — was permitted and allowed to continue with a minimal police presence.

Cas Coovadin, of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), which organised last weekend's march to call for the dismissal of black councillors, says they held a meeting with senior police officials on Monday. It was agreed to set up links between Cast and the SAP to discuss marches before they take place.

While this appears to be the most positive development, from a fiasco that claimed two lives and terrified hundreds of innocent shoppers and tourists in downtown Johannesburg, the question has to be asked whether or not it will actually function.

In terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, 96 police officers around the country were seconded to liaise directly with a similar number of ANC officials in the various centres to promote police and community links and to defuse trouble. The system has been a serious failure and little has been done to improve its efficacy. The FM was not able to find one case where the system had been used by any of the 96 officials on either side to defuse any situation. Police claim it is almost impossible to contact ANC people because few have phones and those who do are rarely available.

In August, as violence in Soweto soared, Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok flew into Soweto among clouds of dust and the glare of media arclights to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. The result was an agreement to set up Peace Forums where members of the community would meet regularly with police to discuss community issues and grievances and to promote links and understanding between police and communities. The only way violence and anarchy in townships can be quelled is for such forums to be implemented and regularly used.

The Soweto Peace Forum has yet to have a meeting and no others have been established. The concept has disappeared into obscurity. There is a critical need for township residents and the police to get to know and respect each other; only then will violence and death tolls begin to subside and crime be effectively tackled. Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani tells the FM that the ANC recognises the need to reintegrate black policemen into their communities. However, the ANC is attempting to do this quietly through union structures. It needs to be done publicly.

The mass action programme is a major cause of friction between government and the ANC. Neither the Groote Schuur Minute nor the Pretoria Minute addresses the issue, though the Pretoria Minute clearly says: “No further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.” Government says this includes mass action.

Both sides have constituencies but, more important, both sides have a negotiated peace and a new constitution to work out. Reconciliation is hard work and neither bullets nor rhetoric will make the task easier.

CONFESSING TO APARTHEID

MEA CULPA MAXIMUS

Rightwing opposition leader Andries Treurnicht — who last week moved the Nederduits Gerifommerde Kerk some years ago to pursue a political career — has flung himself into the future which has followed the public confession of the “sin” of apartheid by a ‘NGK theologian. Next week, he will take part in a hastily convened church conference organised by known CP church members which is expected to denounce the NGK leadership.

However, Treurnicht has yet to condemn CP frontbencher Koos van der Merwe, who last week told a political meeting that “we will, if necessary, do the same with him (President FW de Klerk), as Romania did with Nicolae Ceausescu.” Is Treurnicht’s silence a sign that “we have to believe that he approves of the Romanian option?” Beeld asks pertinently in an editorial.

Treurnicht is not the only politician who has entered the church fray. Former President PW Botha has said that he phoned newly-elected NGK moderator Piter Potgieter to voice his dismay over the confession (see People). In fact, he telephoned Potgieter twice.

Another former NGK minister turned CP politician, Brits MP Andrew Gerber, also called Potgieter — at home — to complain. Since the NGK began to revise policy under its previous moderator, Pretoria theologian Johan Heyns, four years ago, some members and officials have abandoned the church to form a conservative version, the Afrikaans Protestantse Kerk.

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CONFESSION TO APARTHEID

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At its last general synod in Bloemfontein, the NGK resolved that apartheid had been sinful. It was this resolution which motivated Stellenbosch's Willie Jonker to personally confess his sins of apartheid at a interdenominational church meeting at Rustenburg. Both Potgieter, who has succeeded Heyns, and Heyns himself, who is still a member of the church executive, said afterwards that Jonker's confession was in agreement with the Bloemfontein decision.

However, this "was a personal confession by Willie Jonker — the church cannot confess its sins," Heyns told the FM this week. Potgieter agrees.

According to Potgieter: "Prof Jonker's confession has been welcomed by the various delegates from other churches in a spirit of brotherly love and reconciliation. It led, without doubt, to a remarkable change in conviction (gestandheidsverandering) among many delegates . . ."

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu was one of the first to gleefully accept Jonker's confession. Tutu, as well as UCT theologian Charles Villa Vicencio, told delegates that English mainstream churches should also confess their part in maintaining apartheid. In a TV interview, Tutu said the Anglican Church had been "racist and discriminatory" and guilty of sexism, as well. And blacks had to confess their "hatreds and animosities . . ." The NGK had a crucial role to play in reconciliation and bringing people together in the new SA, Tutu said.
No SA, Kiwi accord yet

AUCKLAND - A New Zealand-born Anglican priest who is a member of the African National Congress helped to scotch rumours that the Bolger government would seek to restore relations between South Africa and New Zealand.

The Prime Minister, Mr Jim Bolger, said yesterday that his meeting with Father Michael Lapsley had strengthened his view that sanctions against South Africa must stand until full democracy had been established.

His hope

"Ultimately, I would like to see South Africa rejoin the international community," he said. "I would then foresee the resumption of all trading, sporting, cultural and diplomatic relations with the country.

"However, it is unlikely that as small a country as ours could play much of a role. To start with, we have only one diplomat stationed in the whole continent of Africa." 

The real question which concerns me is how quickly white South Africa can accept and accommodate the changes which must be made as a prerequisite to South Africa's complete acceptance by the international community." - Sowetan Correspondent
SOUTH Africans had cause to express great appreciation to outgoing British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk said Thatcher had consistently shown faith in SA's ability to solve its problems in a democratic way. That faith was being vindicated.

Although Thatcher's resignation gave rise to a degree of uncertainty and concern in SA, he believed developments locally over the past year would be sufficient to ensure that relations with the British government under new leadership remained cordial.

By contrast, ANC information head Pallo Jordan welcomed Thatcher's resignation, saying whoever took her place as Britain's political leader could not be as bad as her. Although Michael Heseltine, tipped to replace Thatcher, had not shifted his stance on SA, there would probably be a shift away from present Tory policy.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Patricia de Lille said Thatcher had consistently acted as a racist in disregarding the oppressed people of SA.

The PAC hoped local racists would learn from her fall that the world was moving into a new era.

DP leader Zach de Beer said Thatcher had been an outstanding prime minister but it now appeared to be the right time for her to go. If Thatcher had resigned a year or two ago, it could have had serious consequences for SA. Now he believed whoever was elected would be sympathetic towards this country.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was in London recently "when the long knives were out. I was impressed by her attitude amid all this," he said. "All she said to me was that these things happen in politics and one must just not be dismayed."
**OPTIMISM ABOUNDS**

Veteran British politician Enoch Powell — a guest speaker at the recent FM Investment Conference — argues that if South Africans are correct in their optimism, Britain can claim to have contributed to making that a reality. Here are some of his thoughts.

I seized a recent opportunity to spend (for the second time in 15 years) a week in SA. I took with me in my baggage a prejudice and a resolution. By the time I returned, both had deserted me. The prejudice dictated that, as I do not want South Africans coming to Britain to tell us how we can be better governed, I ought not to express — and preferably not form — opinions about how SA should be governed.

The resolution was that, considering the brevity and superficiality of my visit, I would decline to put anything about SA into writing afterwards.

It was the atmosphere of optimism by which I found myself surrounded in SA that broke down my determination. Here were people, consciously faced with the most appalling uncertainties, who nevertheless, with sincerity, assured one another and me that it was going to be "all right on the night."

There is an expression which everybody was using as though it were simple and unambiguous: it was "in the new SA." There was going to be a "new SA," and in it everything would work out all right.

"What will be your electorate?" asks the puzzled inquirer. "How can there not be universal adult suffrage?" He does not understand: there is no majority, no majority party that is to say, which can form a government alone. That is why negotiations have to take place before elections can take place.

Such is the prevalent sense of relaxed optimism and faith in "the new SA" that the inquirer, though he does not fully understand nor share in it, finds himself more than half convinced.

Sanctions are a topic rather like the weather is in England. That they have caused real economic hardship — as opposed to inconveniences and distortions of trade — would scarcely be admitted. "Business as usual" has found adequate ways round the obstacles of sanctions; SA is sure it can carry on with the situation as it is.

That does not mean, however, that sanctions have not been harmful. They have introduced into politics and into thinking about SA the recurrent question: "How will this or that be seen from outside?" It has become a preoccupation.

Interference — and sanctions are such an attempted interference — in the internal affairs of another country is always immoral because in the last resort it is irresponsible.

Whatever happens as a result of their interference or coercion, they can shrug their shoulders and walk away, secure that they will not be held responsible nor share in the consequences: it will be, literally, not their affair.

If South Africans are right in that optimism with which they are viewing "the new SA," and which strikes a stranger so forcibly, Britain will have some claim to have contributed to make that possible and to have atoned for whatever it did amiss in the past.

It is fashionable to represent Mrs Thatcher as being isolated or out of step. But an Englishman who finds himself watching with benevolence to see what "the new SA" will be like is entitled to carry his head high, because Britain's prime minister had the instinct and the courage to hold the ring against irresponsible outside interference in that country's destiny.
Andrew appointed finance spokesman in DP shake-up

KEN: Andrew, the MP for Gardens, has been appointed the DP's senior spokesman on finance to replace Harry Schwarz.

Schwarz resigned the portfolio after being appointed ambassador to the US.

Announcing a number of portfolio changes yesterday, DP leader Zach de Beer described Andrew as "one of the strongest of the young democrats" who would in every sense be a worthy challenger to Finance Minister Barond du Plessis.

Andrew was given the post ahead of DP deputy finance spokesman Jasper Walsh, who was given the own affairs financial portfolio, also previously held by Schwarz.

Andrew was instrumental in the drafting of the DP's social market economic document approved at its congress in Johannesburg this year. He was also responsible for compiling the DP's draft budget which was aimed at proving to the ANC that backlogs could be eliminated without resorting to nationalisation.

In other changes announced yesterday, former co-leader Denis Worrall is to take over as the DP's constitutional affairs spokesman. Prior to his appointment as ambassador to London, Worrall was one of the authors of the tricameral constitution.

Tian van der Merwe, who was defeated by De Beer in the leadership election at the DP congress, replaces Worrall as Law and Order spokesman.

The MP for Wynberg, Robyn Carlisle, replaces Van der Merwe as Home Affairs spokesman while DP leader in Natal, Roger Burrows, will take over from Andrew as spokesman on black education.

De Beer said that in the past the education portfolio had been divided between Burrows (National Education) and Andrew (Education and Training) but the time had come "to eliminate the racial distinction involved".

De Beer said the DP now had four members dealing with economic portfolios. In addition to Andrew and Walsh, Roger Hulley was responsible for Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises while Brian Goodall was responsible for Trade and Industry.

The four, with De Beer, would form a co-ordination committee under the chairmanship of Andrew.
A MAJOR clash looms on Tuesday between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Amid signs that the honeymoon between them may be over, Mr Mandela told the summit of the Preferential Trade Areas Authority in Swaziland yesterday that the ANC had serious doubts about the government's willingness to continue with the negotiation process.

"I am going to urge him to heed the call for a constituent assembly to determine how a new constitution for South Africa should be drawn up," he said.

"I will also discuss the establishment of an interim government." He also accused the government of acting in "bad faith" and of attempting to weaken the ANC and reduce its strength to an "all-time low".

"Under these circumstances it is increasingly difficult to persuade my colleagues that Mr de Klerk is a man of integrity," said Mr Mandela.

"When I was in prison I had talks with him and other government ministers and persuaded my colleagues that they were men who could be trusted."

He also accused the National Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence of "orchestrating the slaughter of our people".

Mr Mandela's briefing to Dr Kenneth Kaunda, who was also in Mbabane, depressed the Zambian president and moved him to express doubts about Mr de Klerk's good faith.

Point of view

The government is strenuously opposed to the idea of an interim government and against the ANC's campaigns of "mass mobilisation".

Tuesday's meeting also comes against the cancellation by the ANC yesterday of a meeting of the Joint Committee dealing with issues surrounding its undertaking to suspend the armed struggle.

On his return from Swaziland last night, Mr Mandela seemed to take a softer line saying differences of opinion between Pretoria and the ANC could be expected and would be dealt with as problem arose.

Referring to his demand for an interim government, he said: "We will cross that bridge when we come to it. We will put our point of view and the government is entitled to put its point of view."

Responding to the reported claim by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that Italy, France and other European countries would not invest in a South Africa governed by ANC policies, Mr Mandela said: "Mr Botha must have been asleep when he said that."

Meanwhile, the Preferential Trade Agreement conference in Mbabane yesterday, several speakers said it was still too early to lift sanctions.

Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni, chairman of the Organisation for African Unity, said sanctions should remain until apartheid had been completely dismantled.

The outgoing chairman of the Trade Areas Authority, Kenyan president Mr Daniel Arap Moi, said he welcomed the positive steps taken by Mr de Klerk towards the elimination of apartheid.

He hoped the current negotiation process would save South Africa and set the stage for a successful transition to democracy. He also expressed confidence that the negotiations would be successful.
If present conditions continue into the new year, a dismal scene will be set for the start of South Africa's constitutional negotiations. Instead of deliberating in a climate of peace and security, the players at the negotiating table may have to begin their crucial talks on the country's future against a backdrop of violence, human despair, tension and a sinking economy. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at the prospects and the dangers.

Negotiations are in peril on two fronts

On all sides it has been agreed that a certain peaceful climate is needed for negotiations. The issues on the table will be complex enough in themselves to allow outside pressures and crises to bedevil decision-making.

Yet the signs are that all but a calm atmosphere will prevail. Crises on various fronts could either depress the talks or turn them into a desperate war of words, followed by desperate decisions. Unless all the key players step in effectively to cool the situation, we may be heading for one of the worst scenarios.

Economists and politicians warned this week that two of the biggest obstacles to peaceful negotiations are the declining economy and continuing township violence. These warnings were underlined by calls from President De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha that violence must stop as it is undermining confidence in the economy and could delay negotiations.

It is clear that a vicious circle is developing: continuing violence drains the economy down, a declining economy leads to more unemployment, poverty and more potential violence, and so it goes on.

Among red warning lights that flashed this week were predictions by economists that tougher times are ahead, a finding by the South African Institute of Race Relations that the black toll from political violence is already the grimmest ever — with an average of 18 people killed each weekday in the Cape Town area, in an international survey as the world city with the highest murder rate; and Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer warning that the average South African is now getting poorer by more than four percent a year.

While the scene for negotiations is being set in such grim conditions, economists and politicians expect economic issues will have a profound effect on the talks. Not only will such issues have a vital bearing on how and by whom the powers of peace are to be operated, but the whole economic system for the "new South Africa" is expected to loom large during the negotiations.

In essence, according to some economists, the country faces a choice between only two economic systems (or a compromise between them): a socialist system and a market-orientated system.

Professor Geert de Wet, head of the department of economics at the University of Pretoria, told Weekend Argus this week that economic issues would be very important and possibly decisive at negotiations for a new constitution.

He sees two key economic issues at the negotiating table — the eradication of poverty, emphasised by the blacks, and the maintenance of efficient production, emphasised by the whites. These will be crunch issues likely to dominate much of the process of constitutional negotiations. Most analysts agree that if the key economic issues are not resolved, there can be little hope of lasting solutions to the major political problems.

However, if negotiations are to progress, at least one serious misconception should be removed. This misconception, according to Professor De Wet, is the belief among blacks that the system to be blamed for their poverty and inequalities is the same capitalist system which benefited the whites and from which the blacks were largely excluded.

What many blacks do not seem to realise is that apartheid with its central government controls, especially over the lives of black people, was a product of a socialist system. The collapse of apartheid, says Professor De Wet, can be seen as another example of the collapse of socialism. Unfortunately, the image of capitalism and the free-enterprise system has been tainted through the misconception which equated it with apartheid.

He suggests the time has come for white business to get together to devise "a truly grand scheme" in which the "have-nots" increase their welfare over the short and the long terms.

"It needs still to be shown that redistribution (of wealth) is possible without government interference, and that the private sector can perform this job more efficiently than any government could hope to do."

"If this is done successfully, the distribution of poverty issue may dwindle away and the efficiency of the market mechanisms may be accepted at the negotiating table. If it is not done in one way or another, the poverty issue may prevail and socialism may win the day."

PROFESSOR DE WET warns that a further increase in violence, unrest and instability could be "disastrous" for the country's economy and would hamper negotiations.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said in an interview that he had a great urgency to proceed with negotiations and to complete them as soon as possible — preferably within two years. This was particularly urgent in view of the spectre of a declining economy, increasing unemployment, continuing violence and unrest, and the threat of serious instability.

"The only way out of our economic problems is rapid growth. But growth will not get under way unless there is investment. And investment will not take place unless there is stability. Without a political settlement there will be no stability."

It is clear, therefore, that political and economic issues are interlocked and Dr De Beer believes the economic problems will not be solved until a political settlement has been reached.

Dr De Beer says the present township unrest is political rather than economic, and is largely due to yet another crisis — that of illegitimacy of local government. In almost every black township throughout the country there has been a measure of revolt against local authorities.

The township crisis has become so acute that its resolution cannot wait for a general constitutional settlement as envisaged by President De Klerk and members of his government.

"I suggest it will not prove possible to keep the present black local government structures in position until a new constitution can be implemented."

Dr Ockie Stuart, director of Stellenbosch University's bureau for economic research, sees danger signals that do not augur well for a smooth negotiation process. The most worrying signals are those pointing to more inflation, more unemployment and related unrest in coming years.

In the period before a negotiated settlement is reached, the country will continue to experience difficulties in getting foreign capital. According to projections made by the Stellenbosch bureau, the average economic growth rate over the next five years will be only 2.3 percent a year. The population increase will remain about 2.5 percent a year. The average inflation rate will be 13.2 percent.

The message is that unemployment is likely to increase and so will the potential for unrest.
ANC, Govt draw battle lines

Mandela will demand interim govt Government

Ken Daitis

"The time has come, the ANC has come to power."
SA-Transkei clash of Allegations fly after failed coup

DURBAN — Relations between South Africa and Transkei are still tense today because Major-General Bantu Holomisa is refusing Pretoria's demands that he withdraw his call for foreign Minister Mr Piek Botha to resign, and his claims that South Africa knew of this week's coup in advance.

Mr Rusty Evan, the Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs, was in Transkei for tough talks with the military rulers yesterday. He wanted to address a joint meeting of President Chief Tudor Nkambe and the Military Council, however, Major-General Holomisa refused to allow this, and arranged for Mr. Evan to meet the President alone.

Mr Evan told Chief Nkambe that South Africa was not involved in any way in the coup that claimed it lives. He presented the President with a proposal that would allow for Major-General Holomisa to retract his allegations against South Africa's involvement in the attack on Mr Botha.

Pretoria was today waiting for Major-General Holomisa to respond. There could be no reconciliation unless he accepted Pretoria's bona fides and withdrew his call for Mr Botha to resign. The African Government sources said.

Allegations

Mr Botha has called Major-General Holomisa a liar because of the claims about South Africa's prior knowledge of the military leader called Mr Botha a frustrated old man who should resign. Mr Botha said it was not Major-General Holomisa's prerogative to demand his resignation.

Major-General Holomisa said last night that he was not at war with South Africa. He would not withdraw the allegations. Umntata would oppose Mr Evan's proposal, but there were too many references which pointed to South Africa having prior knowledge of the coup attempt.

Both sides have left the door open to reconciliation, though. Pretoria said the time of "wandering" between the two sides had passed and they were now talking. Major-General Holomisa said he was prepared to work towards reconciliation and would talk to anybody, including Mr Botha, to ensure stability, but he was not going to back down to unreasonable South African demands.

Support

An Umntata lawyer said it was clear from the thousands of people who blocked the stadium after the coup attempt that General Holomisa had the support of the average man in the street. Whether or not he had come from General Holomisa's associates with the ANC he could not say.

By yesterday afternoon, Umntata had returned to normal. Major-General Holomisa dismissed allegations that Colonel Dull had been murdered. "Colonel Dull was severely injured and lost both his arms in the violent exchange between his men and the Security Forces. The bodies of the rebels were thrown to the streets because we do not have anything to hide," said Major-General Holomisa.

Major-General Holomisa said that five young recruits were killed by the rebels while they slept in their bongo at an army base. They became innocent victims of a plot which was hatched outside the "Transkei," said Major-General Holomisa.

Factors which suggested South African involvement were:

1. The SABC's Dineo Nteke was in Umntata as early as 6 am on Thursday.
2. He (General Holomisa) was unaware of events until the early morning SABC news broadcast — despite his phone lines being free.
3. The coup was launched from Queenstown.
4. All the conspirators were South Africans.
5. The weapons used were mostly of South African origin.
6. Colonel Dull was released from Transkei by army personnel.
7. General Holomisa asked the ANC to look into four years' impositions for possession of arms and ammunition.
8. Colonel Dull was denied his release by General Holomisa last year after it became known that the general planned to sack Military Council members, including Colonel Dull. General Holomisa suspended Colonel Dull from the army and had him arrested.
SA - Transkei clash of wills

failed coup

Allegations

DURBAN - Relations between

after

FRANK KHALER

and WALTER CHIATOR

failed coup

Allegations
DP: use top judge as a ‘facilitator’

THE Democratic Party’s top policy-making body is considering a proposal to establish a “transitional commission” under the Chief Justice to deal with socio-economic problems.

Former party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has suggested the appointment of the Chief Justice as an “independent and neutral facilitator” to provide a focus away from the ANC’s demand for an interim government and the government’s insistence on an open negotiating forum.

The proposal, under consideration by the DP’s national council at a meeting in Cape Town this weekend, also calls for the facilitator to work with a panel of qualified persons — known as the transition commission — which will be appointed on the recommendation of all political parties.

Redressed

The commission’s primary task will be to tackle socio-economic disparities by building on the consensus already emerging between the government and the ANC in this respect.

This will allow economic inequalities to be redressed while mainstream negotiations over a constitution are under way.

The commission will also make policy recommendations that the government will be informally obliged to accept and implement.

The commission’s contacts with the various parties in negotiations will enable it to draw up a set of “constitutional guidelines” in terms of which the participants could make their specific constitutional proposals.

The envisaged effect is that the Chief Justice, who

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

has a tradition of non-partisanship, will inspire public confidence in negotiations, help ensure their success by tackling on-the-ground issues immediately and provide mechanisms to break any deadlock.

Dr Worrall is also expected to back a recent suggestion by the ANC’s Dr Pallo Jordan that parliament adopts a mini Bill of Rights to govern the transition period.

Other issues to be debated by the DP’s national council include an attempt to resolve the troublesome issue of dual party membership.

At present, DP members are allowed to be members of other parties, such as the ANC, only with special permission of the national council.

Fluidity

This weekend the national council must decide under what circumstances it will give that permission and how broadly it will be applied.

Council chairman Dave Gant said that, while dual membership was not normally acceptable, the “special fluidity” of South African politics made it in the interests of the party or specific members.

Some prominent DP members — such as Zelda Dalling, wife of Sandton MP Dave Dalling — have recently joined the ANC without leaving the DP.
Indians pay R500 to dine with FW

MORE than 15 Indian couples paid R500 each to attend President F W de Klerk's National Party fund-raising dinner at Durban's Elangeni Hotel this week.

The bash raised nearly R500 000 for the National Party.

Among the guests were millionaire barman and company director Soobrie Pillay and his wife and furniture manufacturer R M 'Bobby' Mahabeer, accompanied by Dr and Mrs M V Ganesh.

The Maritzburg cooking oil dynasty, the Moosas, were represented by four family members. The gathering was also attended by hotel tycoon L M Naidoo and his wife and clothing entrepreneur Sadek Vahed and his wife, Zuleka.

Other Indian personalities present were furniture removal company owner Bobby Reddy and his wife, Mr and Mrs N Alwar and M R and A S Essack.

Gopal Naidoo, a plant hire company owner, M Padayachee, D Rambeswar, Mr and Mrs G Singh, M M Essack and A S Essack were also there.

Mr Soobrie Pillay said he attended the function to show support for President De Klerk's reform process. "When this dinner came up I did not hesitate in paying R1 000 for my wife and myself to attend. I want to encourage the State President.

"He is a sincere man who can make blacks and whites in South Africa come together and make it a great nation," he said.
Plan for talks, keep up.
Diplomats target 5 key African states

Ultimate normalization of relations with the key countries would mean the establishment of full diplomatic ties.

Evans disclosed that Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak had told President F W de Klerk, when they met during the Namibian independence celebrations, that he wanted to completely normalize relations between SA and Egypt.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Butros Ghali told Evans this would take place the moment the Gulf crisis was over.

"Certain steps" had been taken already, said Evans.
All parties will have talks with Govt soon, says prof

By Kaizer Nyatsumba, Political Staff

All major political parties, including the Conservative Party and the PAC, will soon get involved in constitutional negotiations with the Government, according to conflict-resolution expert Professor WJ van der Merwe.

Professor van der Merwe, who has close contact with most of the organisations, said he believed real negotiations would get off the ground early next year, and he was optimistic that South Africa would have a new non-racial constitution by the end of 1991.

"I believe that the CP, the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha will soon join the negotiation process.

The ideal outcome of negotiations, he said, would be the attainment of a settlement which would be just to all South Africans. It was such an outcome which would lead to a stable new dispensation.

Professor van der Merwe expressed concern about the shortage of good negotiating skills among the country's political organisations. He said South Africans were "far behind" with political negotiating skills.

He said while the situation was a lot better than it was a decade ago, and while the National Party and the ANC had done well during their talks so far, there was still a great need for political leaders to receive training to hone their negotiating skills.

The UCT academic said mediators could make "a meaningful contribution" in the negotiation process. They would be able to bring different parties together when deadlocks occurred.
SA may reduce aid to Transkei

By Peter Fabriecius
Political Correspondent

The South African Government is expected to put pressure on Transkei's President Tuter Ndame this week to establish a civilian government in his country — or face a squeeze on the R1.8 billion a year aid which Transkei receives from South Africa.

President Ndame is due to meet President de Klerk early this week to review Transkei/South Africa relations, which plunged to their lowest level with Transkei military leader General Bantu Holomisa's persistent accusations that South Africa was behind last Thursday's abortive coup attempt.

South African Government sources said today that relations with General Holomisa had been effectively suspended and the Government was advising South African citizens not to travel through Transkei — although the borders were still open.

It was now up to President Ndame whether relations with Transkei itself continued and how much aid the country continued to receive.

The sources said it was no longer possible to deal with General Holomisa, as he was clearly not competent to run the country financially.

"President Ndame will be told to find another way of establishing an effective representative government."

One proposal would be that President Ndame recall the suspended Transkei parliament and re-establish it as the ultimate authority in the country.

If he was unable to offer an alternative to General Holomisa, South Africa would have to consider "rationing" the annual R1.8 billion in foreign aid.

This would mean paying money only for essentials. South Africa could not in good conscience cut off all aid, as this would mean, for instance, that nurses in hospitals would not be paid.

On the other hand, the South African Government had a responsibility to the taxpayer to ensure his money was spent responsibly.

The sources said General Holomisa was not financially competent and constantly flouted recommendations of the South Africa/Transkei joint financial adjustments committee.

Guidelines

This body set guidelines for spending of South African aid. One example was the 79 percent salary increase he gave to some civil servants.

They said Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Rusty Evans, who met General Holomisa and President Ndame on Friday as an emissary of President de Klerk, had not threatened to cut diplomatic relations or suspend aid.

He had requested a meeting between President Ndame and President de Klerk to review relations. However, the termination of relations and support were options that were being considered by the Government.
DP suggests 'commission of wise'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A transitional commission of "wise people" has been proposed by the Democratic Party to oversee the negotiation process.

The procedure has been suggested to the Government by the party's national council, which met in Cape Town at the weekend.

The council said in a statement after the meeting: "The procedure envisages an independent, neutral facilitator, possibly the Chief Justice, who with a panel of 'wise people' would form a transitional commission.

"The commission would propose an all-inclusive negotiating process and would on the basis of evidence submitted to it draw up constitutional parameters.

"All proposals would be made public and be subject to general public scrutiny."
STATE President FW de Klerk is to deliver the keynote address at the 26th annual congress of the Labour Party in Cape Town on December 28.

LP spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse confirmed De Klerk's acceptance of an invitation to speak. At the congress, the party was awaiting a reply from Mr Nelson Mandela, who had been sent a similar invitation.

Hendrickse said the congress would deal with a new constitution for a future South Africa and the role of the Labour Party. - Sapa
Letters

[Text content]

Alan Fine
Are still on track
but negotiations
It looks rough.

[Image with text]

[Contact Information]
Pik and Durr spearhead thrust into new-look Europe

PRETORIA — Government is in the midst of an intensive campaign to lay firm foundations for a greater diplomatic and economic penetration of central and eastern Europe, government sources said at the weekend.

Investment from and expanded trade with the industrialised and developed European countries, especially after Europe unites in 1992, are prime targets.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha returned last week after top-level talks in Czechoslovakia which will lead to an exchange of delegates at consular level. He is also confident of a diplomatic exchange with the Soviet Union in the next six months.

He had talks with senior government figures in Germany, Czechoslovakia, the UK, Romania and Yugoslavia.

Trade and Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr's current mission has taken him to Paris, London and Prague. Earlier he visited Poland, Hungary and Russia.

In Paris he spoke at a seminar organised by the influential Rothschild Bank. This was followed by discussions with top members of the French government and senior government officials.

In London he addressed the UK SA Trade Association, where he stressed the investment opportunities in SA.

He also stressed SA, with its sophisticated infrastructure and professional and skilled manpower, was a more likely channel for investment than the liberated East European countries.

In Prague, Durr said Czechoslovakia, as the most developed of the central European countries, offered tremendous opportunities for bilateral trade.

And on Friday, Durr spoke at the opening of a Sarour office in Vienna. Senior government tourism officials from Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia attended.

Economists said at the weekend the efforts being made to expand trade in Europe, and to prepare for a potential increase after unity in 1992, would stall unless continued and significant progress was made in removing the residue of apartheid legislation.

Violence

DP trade and industry spokesman Brian Goddall, who had just returned from the US, Canada and the UK as a member of an SA parliamentary delegation, said the DP supported Durr's efforts to the hilt.

But in his talks with businessmen, US Congressmen and Canadian MPs it was apparent that until violence decreased, much foreign investment that would have come into SA would be withheld.

"Not only will there have to be an end to serious unrest but we will have to show a structured viable and stable political system," Goddall said.

Until this happened SA would have to continue to operate internationally, in a sanctions environment.
Big 2 talks likely to be tough

Political Staff

PRETORIA — Tough talking is expected here today between President F.W. de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC.

But while they are expected to clash over the ANC’s mass mobilisation campaign, which the government feels is a violation of the Pretoria Minute, there are hopes here that last-minute moves behind the scenes can at least avert a full-scale confrontation.

Government sources agree, however, that the continuing violence and deaths which seem to accompany the ANC mass protests and the intimidation of black local authority councillors must end.

One encouraging indication that a complete breakdown in negotiations between the government and the ANC can be avoided came at the weekend from Mr Mandela himself. He said at an ANC rally that he was not aware that he and Mr De Klerk were about to be involved in a fight.

This could indicate there is some hope of a compromise between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela over the sensitive issues of mass mobilisation and the ANC’s call for an interim government and constituent assembly to work out a new constitution.

Other sources indicated yesterday that Mr De Klerk would try to persuade the ANC to choose finally to act as a conventional political party rather than a liberation movement.

Mr Mandela has argued that mass mobilisation is a democratic right, whereas the government contends this is in conflict with the Pretoria Minute.

There is still no clarity on the form the talks will take but the president’s office confirmed yesterday that they would take place at the Union Buildings, starting at 4pm. This seems to indicate there will not be full-scale delegations and that Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela could spend much of the time talking alone.
ANC, govt seek to break talks logjam

MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela today will seek to reach agreement on what constitutes a related activity of "armed action".

Their crucial one-on-one meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria is aimed at ending the logjam in the negotiating process.

Mandela will also raise the ANC's demand for the establishment of an interim government and the holding of elections for a constituent assembly.

Government's attempt to define mass mobilisation as a related activity of armed action and theANC's rejection of this has bogged down the work of the working group set up to resolve questions arising from the ANC's decision on August 6 to suspend armed action.

Talks between the ANC and government on how negotiations should be structured have been put on ice until the working group completes its report.

At a meeting on Saturday ANC and government members of the working group agreed that they were making no progress and cancelled all further meetings until the two leaders had met and agreed on an interpretation of clause 8 of the Pretoria Minute.

The sentences are: "As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by theANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) will take place"; and, "Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible".

Government believes that continued recruitment by MK falls under the definition of "related activities". The ANC argues that recruiting people to be trained overseas with a view to their incorporation into the military in a new SA in no way contradicts the Pretoria Minute.

Government has also argued that "mass mobilisation" which leads to violence and the intimidation of officials is a related activity of armed action. Officials also say the ANC's continued commitment to mass mobilisation does not tie in with its commitment in the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC, in turn, has argued that the holding of marches and rallies is part of the normal democratic process.

It has also vigorously criticised police conduct during mass marches and rallies and

To Page 2

Logjam

Mandela has said alleged security force involvement in violence against black people would be high on today's agenda.

ANC and government members of the armed action working group also anticipate the two leaders will seek to agree on some "code of conduct" for mass action and the security forces' response to it.

Although Mandela has said he wants to raise the establishment of an interim government and the holding of a constituent assembly election at today's talks, government, which rejects both ideas, has argued that such discussion is premature.

Spokesmen say these issues should form part of talks on how negotiations should proceed. Without the armed action working group having completed its work and removed the final obstacles to negotiations, such discussions cannot take place.

Government has steadfastly rejected the holding of a constituent assembly election and the establishment of an interim government, but with the PACE at the weekend having endorsed Mandela's call for a united front to demand a constituent assembly it is coming under increasing pressure to review its position.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen last week hinted at a possible compromise on some form of interim government when he told the American Chamber of Commerce the negotiating forum would have "authoritative status".

ANC national executive committee members and the Cabinet committee on negotiations met late into last night to prepare contributions to today's meeting.
Soviet diplomats due in SA today

The first official Russian trade delegation to visit South Africa in many years is expected to arrive today for meetings with officials and businessmen.

The visit will be headed by Russian Republic Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Yastrenko, informed sources said yesterday.

But they believe officials of the central Soviet government will also be in the delegation. It is scheduled to hold a conference with South African trade officials and businessmen tomorrow morning.

The delegation is being hosted by the Department of Trade and Industry and the visit follows Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr's recent visit to the Soviet Union.

— Political Correspondent.
Pik 'gave warning about Duli'

By Kaizer Nyatumbu

Foreign Minister Pik Botha had warned Transkei Military Council chairman Major-General Bantu Holomisa as early as 1987 that his friend and colleague, Colonel Craig Dull, was planning to oust him, the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) said in a statement yesterday.

In yet another denial of South Africa’s involvement in the failed coup attempt last Thursday, the DFA said Mr Botha had warned General Holomisa in December in Cape Town that Colonel Dull was planning to "get rid" of him.

Mr Botha had called General Holomisa aside to tell him this after a meeting in the Minister’s office, which Colonel Dull had also attended.

"(General Holomisa) took it amiss that the Minister could attach any weight to such rumours, saying that Colonel Dull was his most loyal friend and confidant," the DFA statement said.

This revelation comes amid widespread speculation that President de Klerk will put pressure on Transkeian President Tutu Ndamase when they meet on Thursday to establish a civilian government in his country or face a squeeze on the R1.6 billion annual aid Pretoria receives from Transkei.

The DFA said that just as South Africa had not been an accomplice in the overthrow of former prime minister Stella Sigcau by General Holomisa and Colonel Dull, it was also not involved in the latest coup attempt.

It said further comment on the matter would be withheld pending the outcome of the meeting between President de Klerk and President Ndamase.

General Holomisa could not be reached for comment.
Russians on visit to forge trade links

THE first official Russian trade delegation to visit South Africa in many years is expected to arrive today for meetings with trade officials and businessmen.

The visit, which is being regarded as a breakthrough between two former archenemies, will be headed by Russian Republic Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Yastrebenko, informed sources said yesterday.

But they believe officials of the central Soviet government will also be in the delegation.

The Russians are scheduled to hold talks with South African trade officials and businessmen tomorrow.

They are being hosted by the Department of Trade and Industry and the visit follows that of Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr's to Russia a few months ago.

The visit is being seen as another milestone in relations between the Soviet Union and South Africa which have been slowly thawing over the past 18 months.

A few months ago Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden visited Moscow to discuss establishing relations and last week Foreign Minister Pik Botha predicted that relations would be established in six months. - Sowetan Correspondent.

4 youths in court for allegedly killing an Inkatha supporter

FOUR youths appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday in connection with the killing last month of an alleged Inkatha supporter at Naledi railway station.

The youths, all from Naledi, were not asked to plead. Applications for bail will be heard when the case resumes.

The youths are Andrew Xaba (21), Thabiso Jacob Mofokeng (19) and two minors, who cannot be named.

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

The case was postponed to Thursday at the request of the defence team.
Mandela, De Klerk meet today

TODAY'S meeting between State President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to ease the strain in the relationship between the two leaders - but not before some hard and straight talk.

De Klerk is "upset" over the ANC's continued prodlediction for mass action, but, as the State President has said on countless occasions, he is committed to the negotiation process, according to Government sources.

It is largely believed that the delay in negotiations can be attributed to the ANC's intensifying of mass action in the form of protests, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts directed at black local government, the homelands and other institutions.

Government has also indicated that the status of the ANC's military wing is also a huge problem area.

Government wants MK to stop training and recruiting members while the ANC insists with equal force that it is a legal force and is entitled to continue its non-aggressive activities.

Mandela has also expressed explicit indignance over what he called police "intimidation" of ANC marshalls and officials. He did say, though, that he did not expect to "fight" with De Klerk when they meet later today.

The ANC will however not discourage mass action. In terms of the Pretoria Minute, it has agreed to suspend its armed struggle and not popular protest, an ANC spokesperson said.

"We will not, not even in the new South Africa under an ANC government, discourage mass (people based) action. It cannot be stopped," she said.

The only foreseeable obstacle between the two would be the ANC's continued call for a constituent assembly and an interim government.
Taking Issue with SaaS Problems

SIMON BARBER in Washington

6/30/2016

The fairy-tale ending
US-based constitution 'could be model for SA'

CAPE-TOWN — A new constitution based on the American model could be in place in SA by mid-1993, followed by an election in mid-1994, British businessman, politician and columnist Lord Chalfont said at the conference opening yesterday.

This, he speculated, was the scenario most likely to follow serious negotiations among all political groups at the end of this year and an interim solution in 1991 which would include some compromises.

At the same time, SA would begin the process of reintegration into the international community and by the end of 1992 — when the European single market was born — economic relations with the West would enable the development of the southern African region to take shape, he told delegates.

Chalfont said there was evidence that the American constitution, which assured the rights of minority groups, offered the most attractive political model.

Turning to economic matters, Lord Chalfont reiterated that economic growth and prosperity would decide the final outcome of the political transition.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the conference the fear of a future one-party state, in which there would be no democratic checks and balances, was singularly the most difficult political hurdle whites faced, Sapa reports.

Unless the country worked for reconciliation during the final phase of eradicating apartheid — and in the first phase of establishing a democracy — there would not be the national will necessary to maintain the kind of democracy in which the guarantee of individual rights was sufficient.

Buthelezi said he wanted negotiation by co-operation.
ANC-govt stalemate

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg. - President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mbhena Mandela yesterday identified the main problems creating a logjam in negotiations.

However, after their two-hour summit here, they remained in disagreement on whether mass mobilisation falls under the definition of "related activity" to armed action referred to in the Pretoria Minute.

They agreed to meet again to resolve this and other problems creating obstacles to negotiations.

It is understood that both are in possession of an initial report by the "armed action working group" appointed in terms of the Minute. The report still has to be approved by both sides.

The April 1 deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles is still on track.

Before the meeting, government spokesmen said the main issue President De Klerk would raise was the ANC's continuing commitment to "mass mobilisation", as the government believed coercive aspects of mass mobilisation qualified as a related activity of armed action.

Afterwards, the leaders declined to discuss the meeting.

Meanwhile, Mr Mandela arrives in Cape Town today to receive two honorary doctorates, attend a concert in his honour and participate in Archbishop Desmond Tutu's peace summit.

An honorary doctorate of laws will be conferred on him tonight at the University of the Western Cape by the chancellor, Archbishop Tutu, and on Friday, he will receive a second honorary doctorate, this time from the University of Cape Town.

The list of participants at tomorrow's peace summit has not yet been released. The Inkatha Freedom Party has already stated that it will not participate.
PAC denies it plans to join negotiations

The Pan Africanist Congress has quashed reports that it plans to join negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

In a statement yesterday the PAC said it would only join talks within the framework of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The PAC regards the current talks as a betrayal of the letter and spirit of the UN resolution of December 14 1989 which demands that F W de Klerk meet all preconditions unilaterally before a climate for talks can exist.

There was also no possibility of the PAC joining “monitoring committees” with the security police.

The PAC rejected recent reports that unity between the PAC and the ANC was more possible since the death of its president Zeph Mothopeng.

"Mr Mothopeng was seeking unity and repeatedly called for peace," the statement said. — Sapa.
No agreement on mass action, but got and ANC will meet again.
Trying to discredit the ANC is a short-sighted ploy

RONNIE BETHELHEM

I t is a victory which could assist strategists and racial ideologists against pragmatists on the government's side as well. If it did, it could push De Klerk further in the direction of believing, or hoping, that out of a discrediting of the ANC which, in effect, would be necessary necessarily involves with large numbers of whites and others and be able to achieve a coalition of anti-ANC support that would give him victory in an eventual national election.

That would be a dangerous decision. Whatever its shortcomings, the ANC remains the only organisation that could possibly deliver the support of a large majority of blacks on a negotiated settlement on a new constitution. Just as it is only the ANC that could do the same with whites. (That in no way detracts from the importance of others - Inkatha, PAC, CP, DP, Labour Party or Solidarity - to the negotiation process.)

There are four realities about the ANC with which De Klerk and, indeed, all whites need to come to terms before indulging in thoughts about its future dispensability. First, whether they like it or not, the ANC in big stuff does have a black support and this is unlikely to go away in the foreseeable future. Outside Natal, 89% of blacks identify with the ANC or ANC-oriented organisations. Even in Natal it is large and growing. Hence the conflict with Inkatha.

Second, when is a reality the ANC itself needs to come to terms with, it is nowhere near being ready to govern. It can even be argued that it is not yet properly ready for a partnership role in a government of national transition.

The continuing discrediting of its policy statements, the contradictions between the public appearances of the leading spokespeople, the inability of senior leadership to exercise control over junior officers, and their inability to exercise control over a highly radicalised, often violent, rank and file, confirms its unsteadiness.

In short, the ANC continues to flounder between the need to offer its large, deprived constituency something realistic and meaningful regarding poverty and inequality, and having to reject radicalism from below in order to maintain its authority or credibility.

Third, and for whites, this is very important because it is contrary to all the beliefs most of them have about the organisation. In its top leadership, and also in its middle strata, the ANC embraces the broad philosophical and personal values that whites also share.

In a sense, and this is not meant disparagingly, the ANC is very middle-class. Its non-racialism, its anti-racism, its openness with the wrongs of domination is all kinds of bishops (though some wonder if we must have its traditional captains to slip into a condition modelously not only inevitable and decent, they are values all should want for SA).

In short, in terms of what it stands for beyond its policy on the economy, its advocacy of intercommunalism etc, the ANC is really no more out of step with the NP and the DP than Neil Kinnock is with Michael Heseltine, Douglas Hurd or John Major, or George Bush is with Michael Dukakis. This should provide grounds for hope about the future.

However, the fourth reality about the ANC which De Klerk and whites generally need to come to terms with, the most important reality of all, is that they need the ANC and need it badly. One could almost say that it is the ANC which will change it must be necessary to invent it.

Finally, therefore, being bent on its discrediting or destruction, which is what the strategists and racial ideologists are doing, and the government side are still preoccupied with achieving, they should be doing as much as they can to prevent it from falling apart.

A falling apart of the ANC could have disastrous consequences for SA, for it would only happen if the worst of all possible circumstances and would, therefore, most likely precipitate a leaner and heightened violence and disorder.

After nearly 30 years of talk and internal bickering during which very little government did all it could to bring down the ANC, it would have been a lot to expect that the organisation remains itself in a short time with an unchallenged authority among followers. But it must be helped to achieve coherence and maturity.

Control over the black dimensions of society has been lost by government and the business community, and is now a process with whom they will be able to work. At least, this has been the inescapable condition that has become an essential precondition for a liberation of the economy.

If SA can be stabilised socially and politically in a government which will hold a candle to it in terms of real economic performance in coming decades, if a reasonable expansion of the global economy can be sustained, SA is rich in resources and it will be ensuring a new base. But it has to get its own terms in order first and the ANC will have to have a share, and a big share, in that.

So when next you watch TV and listen to the continuing portrayal of government as the only good guys, and the ANC in the most frequency bad, or the opposite, think yet again.
President Marcos' press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference. The President was under fire after his press conference.
CP MP justifies attack

LOUIS Trichardt residents had dismissed the Government's integration policy and anyone breachng the town's decision in good faith, should suffer the consequences, said Conservative Party MP for Steelpansberg, Mr Thomas Langley.

This follows a savage attack by knoblkie and sjambok-wielding rightwingers on a black Sunday school outing in a Louis Trichardt park on Saturday.

Police confirmed 30-40 men of the Blanke Bevrydingsbuso had attacked 200-300 children, aged between six and 14, from the Apostolic Faith Mission Church at Danzani in Venda. At least five children were taken to hospital with dozens injured in the attack.
ANC 'debating decentralisation'

CAPETOWN — The ANC, proponent of a strong central government, was debating the need for decentralisation of political power, its legal and constitutional department director Zola Skweyiya said yesterday.

"There is a general feeling that although central government must have some control over the issues that are vital to the conduct of national policy, regional and local authorities must be given some leverage on exercising a choice among competing priorities," delegates at a conference on regional and local government heard.

"The need for relating governmental powers and decision-making closer to the people is being recognised," he said. However, his assessment of government's constitutional proposals was less encouraging in an environment of negotiation.

He said proposals by president FW de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen were attempts to entrench white privileges while appearing to concede some power to black communities.

"This they hope to achieve by principally ensuring that the future of SA will be as a capitalist state in which class will balance race in a system of checks and balances."

He said the proposals embraced a weak parliament stripped of effective power by the devolution of authority, a constitution which institutionalised privatised apartheid and maintained inequalities, the entrenchment of powerful economic privileges and a judiciary to defend this arrangement.

Sovereignty

The ANC proposed a unitary SA based on popular participation at all levels. "In terms of this conception, there can be no original, only derived powers for regions and local authorities, on major issues such as political power, land, economy, health, education and housing policy," he said.

In its constitutional guidelines issued in 1988, the ANC emphasised the need to vest sovereignty in "the people as a whole" through one central legislature, executive and administration.

By disclosing that there was a "lively debate raging within the ANC on the need for decentralisation", conference delegates said Skweyiya indicated increasing flexibility in the ANC's stance on central control.

The conference, held against the conflicting backdrop of government's recently released Thornhill Report and the ANC's demand for immediate dissolution of black local authorities, served largely to define the massive divide between the parties involved in the debate.

Many delegates interpreted Skweyiya's disclosure as an indication that there could be consensus on two crucial issues: that regional and local government was necessary, and that negotiation for a new system of local government should start as soon as possible."
DP outlines plans for a major recruitment drive

PRETORIA — The DP, which has less than 50,000 members, aims to increase its membership to 150,000 by the end of 1993 and wants to win 12% of the vote in elections under a new constitution, a DP national council document states.

The document, accepted by about 65% of national council representatives in Cape Town at the weekend, stated the DP's long-term objective should be to create a powerful, liberal grouping in non-racial elections.

The DP would begin a major recruitment drive.

It had set its sights on 50,000 members by the end of 1991 and hoped to obtain a membership of 110,000 by the end of 1992.

Its national interaction programme would set up contacts between the DP leadership and other organisations to promote acceptance of its policy.

It accepted that mergers, alliances and other realignments were likely and desirable during the next two to four years.

However, the party was committed for the moment to being a separate political party as it was too early to assume that either the NP or the ANC was committed to the DP's values.

The NP's commitment to non-racialism and true democracy remained suspect, and the prospects for non-racial democracy would be harmed if whites were seen to be "ganging up", it said.

The NP did not have an ethos that respected the right to dissent, the rule of law and the inherent worth of each individual.

In rejecting the possibility of a merger with the ANC, the document said the ANC had unacceptable, vague economic policies and had not yet shown democracy within its own structures.

The ANC had at times displayed a coercive style of mobilisation and a rhetoric which did not promote peaceful change or contribute to stability and socio-economic development.

And at the same council meeting a proposed budget of R1.25m for the DP head office for the forthcoming year was presented.
Soviets back possibility of ties with SA

OFFICIAL ties between SA and the Soviet Union could be established in the next few months, Soviet Council of Ministers member Andrei Chernuchin told delegates at a Pretoria seminar yesterday.

It emerged during the seminar that SA could be involved in sending aid to the Soviet Union for the victims of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

At a press conference before the seminar, held to brief a top-ranking Soviet Union delegation on SA’s business environment, delegation leader Chernuchin said he agreed with Foreign Minister Pik Botha’s statement last week that official ties between SA and the Soviet Union could be established in the next six months.

However, there were certain limitations as the Soviet Union, along with other countries, had signed a convention against SA. Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr said the visit marked a step towards improved relations between the Soviet Union and SA, and that there was no reason for the two countries not to have a more productive relationship.

SA set a high premium on renewing relations with the Soviet Union, Botha was room for substantial growth in the countries’ relationship. Low-level trade was already taking place, and correspondent

Soviet ties

banking relations had been established.

Chernuchin said the delegation was in SA to discuss mutual co-operation in the economic arena, such as Chernobyl. It would meet representatives from the private sector and the ANC’s leadership.

The Soviets realised that in time, limitations to the work that could be done between it and SA would be removed.

A special programme had been formulated to develop mutual co-operation between the two countries.

This had been discussed with President F W de Klerk on Tuesday.

Of Chernobyl, Chernuchin said: “The situation is such that if by next year, we do not relocate 2-million people living in the area of the disaster, the world community will feel the guilt for years and years.” Relocation would require development and infrastructure, and the Soviet Union was looking for help in areas like medicine. Time was being spent on this problem as it was seen as a way of building up a relationship and contact with SA.

Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) director-general Stefan Naudé yesterday quashed rumours that the DTI had provided aid to the Soviet Union to help Chernobyl disaster victims. None was being considered either, he added.
Nigeria will welcome birth of new SA

LAGOS — Nigeria will welcome the birth of a new SA, Foreign Minister General Ike Nwachukwu said at a conference of the Nigerian Society of International Affairs.

The minister noted Nigeria's policy towards SA should be based on realities but at the same time be cautious. Sanctions would not be lifted until racism was eliminated.

"Nigeria should show its backing for the democratic forces, including the Democratic Party... and even President F.W. de Klerk with a view to encouraging a transition to a multi-party government," Nwachukwu said.

He insisted on recognising the Afrikaner- and English-speaking white South Africans as part and parcel of the ethnic mosaic of SA.

Nwachukwu said that Africa needed long-term regional economic cooperation and the consolidation of regional economic organisations, such as the East African Economic Community and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, to be joined in the future by SA.
Apartheid is the exact antithesis of capitalism.

Title: South Africa's War Against Capitalism.
Author: Walter Edward Williams.
Publisher: Juta and Company Ltd.
Price: R34.95.

THE author is a Black-American professor of economics at George Mason University in Fairfax.

He has lectured at various institutions and to academics in 1986 in South Africa. He wrote the book because "blacks have had their liberty and property violated by the state" and because "the anti-capitalist assault on blacks goes back centuries".

The book provides a brief history of South Africa focusing on its racial and ethnic diversity. It examines racially discriminatory legislation and some of the challenges faced by the Government since establishing those laws.

Focus

It also focuses on the historical forces behind the development of racially discriminatory labour legislation. It analyses apartheid in business and the labour market, bringing to light market challenges to apartheid and the Government's response - or lack thereof.

The primary purpose of the book is to address the all-too-popular theme that apartheid and capitalism are bedfellows - apartheid is the very antithesis of capitalism, the author argues.

The author contends: "For denying blacks the vote and institutionalizing racism, South Africa deserves condemnation. However, moral condemnation will not produce long-lasting solutions to the problems the country faces."

Too often the conflict is portrayed as a struggle between blacks and whites. The reality with its wide ethnic mix is quite different.

Like Americans, South Africans can benefit from this diversity by devising a system to accommodate their ethnic/racial difference in a non-issue manner.

Williams is author of "America; A Minority Viewpoint, The State Against Blacks and All It Takes to Get It. He has written over 60 monographs, articles, reviews and writes a syndicated column carried in over 90 newspapers.

Book Review

by JOSHUA RABOROKO
Rightwing thugs can derail peace process

SOUTH Africa has always been characterised by its unique racist laws. Now, as the country painfully edges away from its apartheid legacy, an alarming trend of rightwing violence has emerged.

In the most recent incident of racially-motivated violence, a group of black schoolchildren were attacked by sjambok-wielding white thugs in the Conservative Party stronghold of Louis Trichardt.

Understandably, mass democratic movement leaders in the area have said the attack has strengthened the black community's determination to continue a consumer boycott of white-owned shops.

Rightwingers also attacked members of the National Union of Mineworkers last weekend.

In Robertson, a young boy was killed by a white shopowner when police dispersed a crowd of 30 people heading towards the town.

The ANC has called for an independent judicial inquiry to investigate the causes of violence in Boland towns which has claimed the lives of about 10 people this year.

The roots of the conflict lay in white attitudes which has not kept pace with changes in the country. White people saw political change as a threat to their livelihood and had no respect for the dignity of black people.

The ANC has made repeated attempts to reassure whites fearful of their future under a black government.

The authorities need likewise to reassure black people that their safety will be guaranteed.

All South Africans need to know they can walk the streets without fear of assault.

Regrettably, the authorities have not been noted for taking swift action against rightwingers.

During the height of the recent Transvaal violence, the police had difficulty in arresting the white perpetrators of killings of township residents.

Yet, when four white people were killed in the Orange Free State a few weeks later, police made arrests within hours.

Understandably, this has raised questions about whether this is a deliberate strategy on the part of the police.

Random rightwing attacks, coupled with sinister reports of a third force operating in the towns, can only raise the already high temperature in the country.

These attacks can only be viewed as terrorism of the worst kind and, unless the authorities act swiftly, rightwing attacks are likely to evoke a strong response from the black community.

Over the past five years the federation has faced severe challenges both from within — where affiliates with different traditions clashed sharply over political differences — and from employers and the state.

The restriction of Cosatu from playing a political role and the introduction of the Labour Relations Amendment Act were perhaps the most serious obstacles the federation had to face.

That it did so is a sign of the determination of unionists and workers to prevent a return to the dark ages before the birth of industrial unions in the early 1970s.

As South Africa enters a new political era, the federation faces immense new challenges and some old ones as well.

A key question that remains is the formation of a single trade union federation in line with Cosatu’s policy of one union, one federation, one country.

Cosatu’s input on worker rights in a future constitution and on economic policy will be of critical importance to the shaping of a new South Africa.
DP aims for compromise on issue of interim govt

THE DP is expected to put forward compromise proposals aimed at overcoming NP objections to an interim government when it meets President F W de Klerk and members of his negotiating team today.

DP communications director James Sepe said yesterday that a 10-member delegation would meet De Klerk at the Union Buildings.

The DP delegation will be led by party leader Zash de Beer. Among those with him will be DP constitutional affairs spokesman Denis Worrall, Law and Order spokesman Tian van der Merwe, finance spokesman Ken Andrew and foreign affairs spokesman Colin Eglinton.

De Klerk will be assisted by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and other members of the Cabinet committee on negotiations.

Sepe said the DP would present its view on factors bedevilling the negotiation process and put forward constructive suggestions to facilitate negotiations and the transition process.

He would not elaborate on what these proposals would entail but at the weekend the DP national council approved a document which calls for a "transition commission".

In essence the DP is proposing the appointment of a committee of "wise men" who would be authorised to investigate and make recommendations on various socio-economic issues as well as the management of key state functions like security.

Ultimate executive power would still be vested in Cabinet but it would be more or less obliged to implement committee recommendations.

**Functions**

The document approved at the weekend reiterates earlier DP calls for the appointment of the Chief Justice as an independent and neutral facilitator. It adds that a panel of about 12 specialists in the constitutional, social and economic fields should assist him. Apparently the specialists the DP has in mind are people like former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert and former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Didumo.

This transition commission would not only facilitate and supervise negotiations but would also focus on socio-economic issues such as housing, education and health as well as key state functions like security.

The DP argues that appointing such a commission would ensure neutral supervision of the negotiation process as well as neutral management of key state functions during the interim period.

The commission, the document says, should have the power to appoint working groups to investigate various socio-economic problems. Government, it adds, should be "more or less under an obligation to accept and implement policy recommendations" emanating from these groups.

Prior to making recommendations the committee should consult parties across the political spectrum.

The DP argues that such an arrangement would be an acceptable compromise between the ANC's demand for an interim government and the NP's rejection of such an idea.

On a constitutional negotiation level, the DP suggests that the commission — drawing on its contacts with various political parties — should draw up a set of parameters in terms of which proposals for a new constitution would be received.

Political parties would be invited to submit their proposals to the facilitator for processing and publication.

The document also calls for the facilitator to draw up a procedure for the writing, adoption and legitimisation of the new constitution for submission to government and all parties involved in negotiations.
Durr to be ambassador to London

President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday he would appoint Durr as a Cabinet Minister and would remain in the Cabinet until next year to provide him sufficient time to prepare for his new assignment.

Durr declined to comment last night, referring all enquiries to the State President's office.

The move will force a by-election in the Maitland constituency, which Durr won in 1977. He won the seat again in last year's general election by 1,465 votes, standing against a DP candidate. The CP did not contest the seat.

His seat is expected to be offered to former Namibian Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, who was recently appointed to the Cabinet.
DP worry over negotiations

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A top DP delegation yesterday told President F W de Klerk it was seriously concerned that the climate for negotiations had deteriorated in recent months.

In general, it said, this was because government’s conciliatory attitude towards the ANC was not shared by its officials at grassroots level.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer led the delegation, which included MPs Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Ken Andrew.

Government was represented by Mr De Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and deputy ministers Mr Tertius Delport and Mr Roelf Meyer.

"The townships are in crisis with regard to local government, as well as housing, services, finance and health matters. Black education is in chaos," a statement issued after the meeting said.

"The relationship between the people and the security forces is still thoroughly unsatisfactory. Yet trust and stability are the prerequisites of successful negotiation."

The DP delegation proposed a compromise between the ANC’s insistence on a constituent assembly and an interim government and government’s rejection of these demands.
The Democratic Party has told the Government its unconsolatory attitude towards the ANC at grassroots level is the reason for the deterioration of negotiations since earlier this year.

Dr. Zach de Beer announced yesterday after leading a 10-person delegation that met President de Klerk and advisers in Pretoria for talks about negotiations.

Confidence

He said the delegation had presented the Government with proposals for a facilitator and a transition mechanism to depoliticise the country and create confidence in the transition period.

The Chief Justice should be the facilitator, who, with a committee of non-political “wise persons”, should make proposals for the government of the country during the transition period.

The DP also proposed that a referendum or constitutional convention be held to legitimise a new constitution — not a constituent assembly, as proposed by the ANC. Townships were in crisis, over local government, housing, services, finance and health. Black education was in chaos and the relationship between the people and the security forces was “thoroughly unsatisfactory”.

While moving towards a new South Africa, the Government could not afford to maintain apartheid structures. These would have change.

Dr. de Beer said the Chief Justice as facilitator and his panel would identify urgent socio-economic tasks, call for proposals for a new constitution and recommend procedures for the drafting of the constitution.

This could include the creation of multiparty working groups to address a wide range of issues. These proposals were a compromise between the ANC and Government positions on a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Dr. de Beer said the present Government could not simply hand sovereign power to an appointed group accountable to no one.

On the other hand, all practical measures should be taken to ensure that during the transitional period, government was conducted according to the broad wishes of the people.

Vital

The DP agreed that the new constitution should be legitimised by the general populace but this should not be done by a constituent assembly which was seen as a government-in-waiting.

It was vital to distinguish the legitimising process from the governing process. Legitimation should take place through a referendum, a suitable constitutional convention or a combination of both.
MESSAGE FOR THE FUTURE . . . Sir Laurens van der Post during his address to a capacity audience at yesterday’s Cape Town Press Club function in the city.

PRINTER: DANIEL SIMON

VD. POST
milled at
Mandela’s
‘cliques’

MR. Nelson Mandela had brought no vision of the future to South Africa, only tired and worn-out cliches, Sir Laurens van der Post said yesterday.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, the world-renowned author said he had searched through the speech Mr. Mandela made in Cape Town on the day of his release, but nowhere had he found what he had expected to find - a vision, a dream.

“All I heard were slogans and cliches which I had heard already . . . the moth-eaten clothes of the spirit,” Sir Laurens said.

South Africa was on a “good road” to stability and all its people should help create a new constitution which would guarantee that the abuse of political power never occurred again.

“The road has been presented suddenly and unexpectedly. We must all help Mr. F.W. de Klerk to do a decent job. I do believe he needs help from everybody,” Sir Laurens said. — Staff Reporter, Sapa
DEPUTY MINISTERS

(g) Mr Roelof Petrus Meyer as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and for Information Services.

(h) Mr Jacob Albertus van Wyk as Deputy Minister of Finance, of Water Affairs and of Land Affairs.

(i) Dr Jacobus Tertius Delport as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and of Provinicial Affairs.

(j) Mr Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers as Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

Dr Christoffel Johannes van der Merwe retains the portfolio of Education and Training. Mr Eugene Louw retains the portfolio of Home Affairs and will continue to be responsible for the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The name of Mr Hermanus Jacobus Kriel’s portfolio changes to Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing.

ADJUNK-MINISTERS

(g) Mnr. Roelof Petrus Meyer as Adjunk-minister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en vir Inligtingsdienste.

(h) Mnr. Jacob Albertus van Wyk as Adjunk-minister van Finansies, van Waterwese en van Grondsake.

(i) Dr. Jacobus Tertius Delport as Adjunk-minister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en van Provinisiale Sake.

(j) Mnr. Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers as Adjunk-minister van Wet en Orde.

Dr. Christoffel Johannes van der Merwe behou die portefeuille van Onderwys en Opleiding. Mnr. Eugene Louw behou die portefeuille van Binnekandse Sake asook die verantwoordelikheid vir die Suid-Afrikaanse Uitsaakskorporasie. Mnr. Hermanus Jacobus Kriel se portefeuillebenaming verander na Beplanning, Provinisiale Sake en Nasionale Buitehuising.

No. 2792 30 November 1990

PRESIDENT’S COUNCIL

The State President has requested the President’s Council in terms of section 78 (1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), to investigate and make recommendations on possible adaptations to and updating of the Government’s Strategy on Urbanisation, following evaluation of the course and consequences of the process of urbanisation thus far and with a view to the future.

The request has been referred to the Committee for Economic Affairs of the President’s Council.

Interested parties are invited to submit relevant memoranda, not later than 15 March 1991, to the Secretary to the President’s Council, P.O. Box 3601, Cape Town, 8000. Further information can be obtained from Mr D. G. Truter at telephone (021) 45-5541.

The Committee may decide to hear oral evidence should further information on memoranda be required. If so, the parties concerned will be notified of the dates on which and place where evidence will be heard.

J. WEILBACH,
Secretary: President’s Council.

GENERAL NOTICES

NOTICE 978 OF 1990

DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

AMENDMENT OF THE TARIFF FOR TELECOMMUNICATION SERVICES

It is hereby made known, in terms of section 2B (3A) of the Post Office Act, 1958 (Act No. 44 of 1958), that the Postmaster General, acting under section 2B (1) (e) of the said Act, has determined that the fees, rates or charges set out in the Schedule below are to be demanded or received in respect of the services concerned.

ADJUNK-MINISTERS

(g) Mnr. Roelof Petrus Meyer as Adjunk-minister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en vir Inligtingsdienste.

(h) Mnr. Jacob Albertus van Wyk as Adjunk-minister van Finansies, van Waterwese en van Grondsake.

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No. 2792 30 November 1990

PRESIDENTSRAAD

Die Staatspresident het ingevolge artikel 78 (1) van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), die Presidentsraad versoek om ondersoek in te stel na en aanbevelings te doen oor moontlike aanpassings en bywerking van die Regering se Strategie vir Verstedeliking, na evaluering van die verloop en gevolge van die proses van verstedeliking tot op hierdie en met die oog op die toekoms.

Die versoek is na die Komitee vir Ekonomiese Aanleenthede van die Presidentsraad verwys.

Belanghebbendes word uitgenoem om tersaaklike memoranda nie later nie as 15 Maart 1991 aan die Sekretaris van die Presidentsraad, Posbus 3601, Kaapstad, 8000, te stuur. Navrae kan gereg word aan mnr. D. G. Truter by telefoon (021) 45-5541.

Die Komitee kan besluit om mondelinge getuigenis aan te hoor indien verdere inligting oor memoranda verlang word. Indien wel, sal betrokkenes in kennis gestel word van die datum waarop en plek waar getuigenis aangehoor sal word.

J. WEILBACH,
Sekretaris: Presidentsraad.

ALGEMENE KENNISGEWINGS

KENNISGEWING 978 VAN 1990

DEPARTEMENT VAN POS-EN TELEKOMMUNIKASIEWESE

WYSIGING VAN DIE TARIEFLYS VIR TELEKOMMUNIKASIEDIENSTE

Hiermee word ingevolge artikel 2B (3A) van die Poswet, 1958 (Wet No. 44 van 1958), bekendgemaak dat die Posmeester-generaal, handelende kragtens artikel 2B (1) (e) van genoemde Wet, bepaal het dat die geldie, tariewe of koste uiteengesit in die onderstaande Bylae ten opsigte van die betrokke dienste geëis of ontvang moet word.
**MAKE IT SAFE**

President F W de Klerk's sunny courage and Nelson Mandela's stature among blacks have often combined this year to offer the country some hope. Whenever the negotiation process — still at the "talks-about-talks" stage — falters, enormous significance is invested in meetings between the two men and their senior advisors.

The pattern was confirmed on Tuesday: as the *Fm* went to press, there were high hopes that the latest meeting between De Klerk and Mandela would resolve obstacles such as the definition of "mass action" and the role of the security forces. At the very least, it was hoped that talks would continue.

Whatever the outcome, it has been clear for some time that the gap between what is happening at the top and "out there" has been steadily widening — and this will not be remedied in a few days. Smiles and rhetoric are wearing thin.

On the government side, it is inexplicable that police still resort to ammunition, rubber bullets and birdshot when dealing with demonstrations, instead of teargas, water-cannon, rubber bullets and snare-machines. In addition, after months of tolerance, government appears to have become impatient with protest marches.

Then there have been several chilling incidents of rightwing terror and intimidation. The nastiest was in Louis Trichardt, where white thugs appear to have attacked 300 black children who were on a Sunday School outing in a park. The children's ages ranged from seven to 14; many were injured and some were treated in hospital.

The allegation by a clergyman that the police were present but did nothing, was widely reported. Whether this is entirely accurate is beside the point: the perception that elements of the SAP are not on the side of blacks has been reinforced. Now a consumer boycott of white shops has been called in Louis Trichardt.

The police say they are investigating and there is no reason to believe that they will not attempt to take action. But it is instructive to speculate on the reaction from government if organised black thugs had openly attacked white children on an outing.

Such allegations about police partisanship are too persistent to be ignored. They may be exaggerated or simply wrong in many cases — but they produce perceptions, and politics is more about perceptions than reality. Whatever else De Klerk has achieved, it could all be negated if he does not create the conditions under which people can feel safe.

On the ANC side, there has been an alarming amount of double talk. The approach to black local authorities is a neat example: protestations of non-violent protest in one breath and charges of "destruction" in the next. It is also difficult to take seriously the claim by Mandela that the "slaughter of our people" is simply the work of government agents.

Even sophisticated observers are becoming impatient with the nitpicking by both sides over just who is responsible for the lack of action on exiles and political prisoners.

President De Klerk has to keep moving. Having held the high ground for so long, he could be in danger of losing it. There are increasing signs of unity among black organisations. The ANC is now involved in formal talks with all homeland leaders and has the support of significant numbers of tribal chieftains. It is moving closer to working links with Azapo, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement. Hopes are high that productive talks will soon take place with Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It would be a sad indictment of the NP if it found itself facing a united black alliance simply because De Klerk could not get his police to do their job — and be perceived to be doing it. Above all, there needs to be repeated public acknowledgement from De Klerk, Mandela and their lieutenants that the problems — education, housing, poverty, unemployment, racism — which underlie the violence will be with us for a long time.

Confessions of past sins and handshakes are all very well. What we need is a Churchillian touch, an admission that it's going to be tough for a long time yet.

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**TRANSKEI**

**TENSION SIMMERS**

*While the most constructive outcome of last week's violent, bungled coup attempt in the Transkei might be the meeting between State President F W de Klerk and Transkei President Tutor Ndamase, it really is military leader Bantu Holomisa to whom they should be talking.*

Despite relations between Umtata and SA's Department of Foreign Affairs hitting an all-time low this week, as accusation followed counter- accusation with a lot of "off the record" propaganda coming from both sides just to raise the level of hostility, Ndamase does not have executive powers in the Transkei and will not stray far from any briefing he receives from Holomisa's Military Council.

Of more immediate concern is the apparent personal animosity between Holomisa and SA officials. Events surrounding last week's coup were only a further example of a hostile relationship which has been building up ever since Holomisa decided to go it alone — unbanning and forming a close relationship with the ANC; announcing a referendum on returning to SA; and spending SA taxpayers' money in the way he considered best, contrary to the Joint Financial Advisory Committee, which is meant to allocate the Transkei's R1,8bn aid.

The official reason for the bad blood between SA and the Transkei is the spending of this money, according to Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs Rusty Evans.

"Our concern is that countries receiving budget aid, from SA taxpayers' money, should administer those funds in a competent and responsible way. These issues have been raised through the proper channels, but we are still alarmed at the way money is spent in the Transkei and the competence of some people in key government departments."

Certainly Holomisa has been spending SA money as he sees fit — a recent example being the increase in civil servants' pay. He justified that on the grounds that it was an attempt to bring pay levels on a par with civil servants in other homelands and SA.

There is also little doubt that Transkei's Department of Finance is in serious trouble. A private report on the department says the current skills gap stands at about 90%, and as it presently stands the department cannot do its work.

Valid complaints, no doubt. Yet the former Transkei government, while toeing Pretoria's line and apparently spending at least some of its financial aid as it was told to, also wasted large amounts on bribery, corruption and a couple of outrageous projects. Foreign Affairs complaints did not seem as vocal then.

However, Evans denies there is any vindictiveness on the part of Foreign Affairs towards Transkei.

But another reason for the animosity is SA's desire to see the Transkei return to civilian rule — something which Holomisa claims he is working towards.

Certainly his reasons for hanging on to
WASHINGTON - When Mr Harry Schwarz takes up the position of South African ambassador to Washington early next year he will be joining an old friend and political ally, fellow Young Turk Mr Horace van Rensburg.

Van Rensburg has been a counsellor at the Washington embassy since August 1987. A few months before coming to America he shared a front bench in Parliament with Schwarz.

The two men have been together in various capacities for many years, and now fate has decreed that for at least a few months they will share the job of building relations between South Africa and the US.

Van Rensburg and Schwarz were two of four Young Turks which shook the old United Party in the 1970s.

**Guided**

Their movement, led by Schwarz, had attempted to reform the then Official Opposition from within but the Old Guard, as those in their ways were termed at the time, would have none of it.

Schwarz led a huge and debilitating break-away from the UP after he was personally expelled from the party and he went on to found the Reform Party.

Van Rensburg was one of his chief lieutenants.

Together they guided the Reform Party into a merger with the Progressive Party, and the resulting Progressive Reform Party went on to replace the UP as Official Opposition.

Today, so much of what Van Rensburg and Schwarz stood for over all their years in opposition politics has been taken over by the Government that they find themselves able and willing to represent the new South Africa abroad.

Schwarz becomes the first opposition Parliamentarian to be appointed an ambassador for South Africa (most important countries of the world have ambassadors of varying political backgrounds).

He has agreed to take up the position because of President F W de Klerk’s reforms and commitment to negotiate a new constitution with the legitimate leaders of all the country’s people.

Van Rensburg says he felt able to join the Foreign Service in 1987, in the PW Botha era, because he could already perceive fundamental changes ahead.

Van Rensburg has impressed his colleagues in Washington with his enthusiasm and enormous appetite for work.

While he largely defines his own role, he forms part of the Embassy’s team which lobbies Capitol Hill and he assists the communications section with numerous media interviews.

In an interview in his Embassy office, he said one of the busiest periods for him and the embassy was the three months after De Klerk released Mr Nelson Mandela and unbanned the African National Congress.

Interest in South Africa was so high that he was swept off his feet, working late into the night on a regular basis.

In those three months he addressed scores of groups, gave close on four dozen media interviews (many of them impromptu radio interviews from his home at all hours of the day and night).

One of Van Rensburg’s most successful activities in Washington was his programme of receptions for Americans at his official residence.

There, he and his family have entertained groups of up to 60 people at a time, using the relaxed setting to get in some intensive lobbying and PR for South Africa.

Van Rensburg’s wife, Pat, is a former Randburg deputy mayor and chairman of the management committee. She gives groups lectures on African arts and crafts and ethnic lifestyles.

**Tough**

The Van Rensburgs do all the catering themselves, with Horace cooking the meat, Pat making the desserts and their children, Michelle and Andre, helping out with drinks and other aspects of the dinner parties.

Van Rensburg is delighted that his long-time friend is coming to take up the leadership of the embassy.

“I know Harry as a tough, highly intelligent leader with the ability to work very hard. I worked with him when he was UP leader in the Transvaal Provincial Council.”

“It was the best party caucus I have ever been a member of. Harry’s leadership was dynamic and brilliant,” he said.


“Harry was a workaholic in Parliament. He had an incredible ability to analyse information and prepare amendments and questions,” Van Rensburg said.

Together they made a formidable team, Schwarz with incisive speeches that left Government MPs looking troubled, Van Rensburg with rapier-like interjections that left them squirming in embarrassment.

The two men parted ways briefly when Van Rensburg left Parliament, after resigning from the PFP.

Shortly afterwards Van Rensburg was offered the Washington job, unknowingly preceding Schwarz by a few years.

“My biggest regret is that I will be here for only a few months of Harry’s tenure. My four-year proving runs out towards the middle of next year.

“Still, I am delighted at the prospect of working with Harry again. I am convinced that he will be a very successful ambassador in America and that the US will find him a stimulating and valuable member of the diplomatic corps,” he said.

Van Rensburg (55) hopes to contribute to South Africa’s negotiations process when he returns home next year. He has not thought through all the details of this but says he will be available to assist in whichever capacity he can.

Sowetan Correspondent
All aboard the ark of Orandia

Most gardens in the Vaal Triangle town of Meyerton contain shrubs, gnomes and children’s toys. Yet in the backyard of one smallholding the steel superstructure of a three-storey high 30m-long ark looms above the eucalyptus trees like something out of a science fiction novel.

The owner and builder of the utterly wondrous construction, Orandia Chwokilekgopengeme (Orandia Development Corporation) president Ed Bernardo, is very secretive about his ark lookalike. “People steal your technology,” he says, leaning across the neat wooden desk in his office. “So, all I can say is that we are going to use it as a speedboat to transport people between harbours on the Cape west coast.”

His “we” are the people who believe in the Orandia Volk state idea. They are in the process of another great trek to the northern Cape to occupy a 700 000 square km area which will soon be South Africa’s newest neighbour, Bernardo claims.

Orandia — sprawling on two Koli pen-marked maps against Bernardo’s office wall, from the southern border of the Karoo to just south of Windhoek, from west of Kimberley to the Cape west coast — has an underdeveloped infrastructure, he says.

“Especially on the west coast we do not have a good railroad system,” he says. “That is why I have been building this boat for the past four years so we can use it to swiftly transport people in the coastal towns, say from Port Nolloth down to Saldanha Bay and back.”

Bernardo, a serious man, gets an intense light in his eyes when he says: “The OOK is one of the most realistic organisations you get. We are as level-headed as you can find. We are hoping to finish the boat before the end of this decade. Anyway, there are many people around the world building similar systems. I cannot understand the fuss about our experimental boat.”

Next to the map hangs a picture of the father of the Orandia idea, right-wing academic Professor Carel Buchoff. “Oom Carel is our spiritual leader and he will most probably be Orandia’s first president,” Bernardo says.

But how obtainable is Orandia? “We do not think we will establish Orandia, we know we will,” he says with the conviction of a recent convert.

“It will become one of the richest countries in Africa. It has the Orange River running right through the centre; it has rich diamond fields and it has the sea. But it will take a lot of hard work and sacrifices. We in the OOK are patient and prepared to work hard.”

Orandia is being established because “any person who studies the course of Africa will know that very soon South Africa will become Azania and there won’t be much place for white people there. Orandia is the only short-term solution whereby whites can retain their language, culture and religion. The white Afrikaner will get his freedom there. Not only that, the Orandians will also have a much higher living standard than in Azania.”

Like many right-wing movements the OOK vehemently denies being racist. Bernardo leans back in his chair, lifts his head slightly to the right and articulates: “The Orandians do not plan to chase the coloureds and blacks out of Orandia. He gestures with a finger in the direction of the thin black line down the left-hand side of the Orandia flag on another of his spacious office’s walls: “Do you see that line? That is to prove we accept blacks. God has created everybody and we respect the work of God. We are not fascists.”

“Look, the blacks in Orandia can live like their forefathers used to live. They were much happier that way, anyway.”

The OOK has good links with the separatist inclined Rehoboth Basters in Namibia, he says. “Walvis Bay should be incorporated into Rehoboth. They will fall within our protection area.”

Bernardo claims Namibian whites have started moving south so they can be incorporated into Orandia. About 200 families have already settled in places like Oflimmieshoek and Upington and hundreds more are going up in December to look at prospects, he says.

The OOK hopes that the Volkstaat will have self-governing status by the end of next year and will be fully independent in 1997.

Orandia will have its own identity documents and passports by next year. Most of the people, “about 99 percent”, who have shown interest in Orandia are professionals. “There is room for about 300 000 people in Orandia and there are lots of job opportunities.”

Our trek will populate the de-populated plateau again.”

In January the OOK plans to establish its own information office, bank and estate agency in Upington. “We will serve as the capital of our new country. We have 26 other places near-marked for similar facilities. Unfortunately, we cannot disclose which places.”

He also says vague about plans to dredge the Orange River for more irrigation schemes, dams and harbours. “In March next year we will have a congress where we will disclose our plans in more detail.”

Although they plan to be totally independent from “Azania” the Volkstaat will have an “outward-looking economic policy”.

Orandia will not accept any foreign investments, because it just makes you dependent on other countries, Bernardo says. “We have enough capital anyway,” he says, “like someone whose ship has come in already. We hope to see you there in 10, 20 years’ time.”
A TOP DP delegation yesterday told President F W de Klerk it was seriously concerned that the climate for negotiations had deteriorated in recent months.

Government's conciliatory attitude towards the ANC was not shared by its officials at grassroots level, the DP said.

DP leader Zach de Beer headed his delegation, which included MPs Denis Worrall, Tian van der Merwe, Colin Eglin and Ken Andrew. Government was represented by De Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and deputy ministers Tertius Delport and Roelf Meyer.

"The townships are in crisis in regard to local government, as well as housing, services, finance and health matters. "Black education is in chaos,"" a statement said.

"The relationship between the people and the security forces is still thoroughly unsatisfactory. Yet trust and stability are the prerequisites of successful negotiation."

The DP delegation proposed a compromise between the ANC's insistence on a constituent assembly and an interim government, and government's rejection of these demands.

The DP said that the Chief Justice, acting as a facilitator, assisted by a committee of "wise persons", should make proposals on governing the country during the transitional period.

Government could not be abolished, but it also could not afford to keep apartheid structures alive.

A new constitution should be legitimated either by a referendum or a constitutional convention, or a combination of both, the DP said.
Ami Venter tipped as likely to succeed Durr

NEWLY appointed Regional Development Minister Ami Venter was yesterday tipped as most likely to replace Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr, who takes up his appointment as ambassador to the UK next April.

Venter, who has experience as a deputy minister in the department, assumed responsibility for part of Durr’s portfolio in the Cabinet reshuffle.

Senior government sources yesterday confirmed a degree of tension had arisen between Foreign Minister Piki Botha and Durr over the latter’s visits to various Eastern and central European countries. However, they rejected suggestions by DP leader Zach de Beer that this had been the reason for Durr’s appointment as ambassador.

President F W de Klerk, they said, had decided to appoint more high-profile personalities to top ambassadorial posts. As such Harry Schwarz was going to Washington and, prior to falling ill, former Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh was the favourite for the London job.

At a Cabinet meeting at which various ambassadorial posts came up for discussion, De Klerk apparently gave Botha the go-ahead to decide on all posts except London, declaring he had a special appointment in mind.

Officials said Durr’s experience in the Trade and Industry department made him a suitable candidate to represent SA in London at a time when the creation of a single European market would have important ramifications for SA.

Durr was also an English speaker and the CP would have little chance of scoring an upset victory in his Maitland constituency when a by-election is held. National Education Minister Louis Plenaar will contest the seat for the NP.

Government officials are expecting that Durr’s departure for London could be accompanied by a major Cabinet reshuffle.

Senior ministers involved in negotiations have already shed part of their workloads and officials expect that key figures like Gerrit Viljoen and Steffel van der Merwe could withdraw from the Cabinet to concentrate exclusively on negotiations.

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Gert Kotze had been relieved of responsibility for the environment and the expectation is that he will retire from the Cabinet. Officials speculate that he could be accompanied by Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Manpower Minister Eli Louw.
Plan for mini-summits
THE fundamental problem of the various regions in South Africa is how to ensure they will have power and influence in central government without losing regional autonomy.

Each region must have a constitutionally guaranteed place in central government from which it can argue the merits of its needs. At local level what is needed is maximum autonomy.

The form of government that best provides for both of these is the federal one.

A unitary constitution may provide for devolution of power to local level, but that devolution is always subject to the whim of the ruling party.

Citizens of the regions (in Ciskei, the Border, Venda, or the Marico) would be ill-advised to feel secure with any such devolution within a unitary state. They would be no more secure than the provincial councils were under the Botha government.

A unitary arrangement in South Africa will guarantee that the regions get relegated to the bottom of any future government's list of priorities. For the truth is that unitary constitutions promote strong national parties.

Trouble

Such parties have to cater to their major constituencies, which are located in urban centres. In South Africa, this would be the PWV area (and to a lesser extent the other cities).

Unitary governments must also cater to the constituencies which, if neglected, could cause them the most trouble. These, too, will be in the cities.

It is obvious that any future South African government is going to be strapped for cash. The demands made on it will far outstrip its capacity to satisfy them.

What this all means, then, is that in a unitary state the government will concentrate its resources on the densely populated, high employment, trade unionised, easily mobilised urban constituencies. The regions will come last.

Both key actors in the present constitutional negotiations, the ANC and the National Party government, have in the past rejected federal options. Their reasons for doing so no longer apply.

The ANC rejected federal proposals because it feared the inherent conservatism of such constitutions, that they would involve a "divide and rule" strategy on the part of the whites, and would impede the power of central government to embark on redistributive programmes.

When what was on offer was a racial federation, these fears were well founded. But a racial federation is no longer a viable political option. It would be rejected by a majority of South Africans and by the international community.

A regional federation, though, is quite different. It would not dilute the power of the majority, rather that power would be indifferently constituted. The majority would have power, but that power would be regionally spread in a constitutionally guaranteed way.

The central government would still be far and away financially the most powerful branch of government, but the regions would be guaranteed their input at the centre and autonomy at home.

The central government would be able to redistribute revenue, but it would be blocked from doing this in ways which ignored the interests of the federated units.

National Party opposition to federal proposals sprang from a slightly different source. The NP feared, quite correctly, that a federal arrangement would dilute its political power. Unitary states have the effect of maximising party political power at the national level.

South African citizens in the regions need to discover their common regional interests now, before the constitutional negotiations get going in earnest.

In all areas, whites and blacks share a common interest in the prosperity of their region.

Overload

Poverty in a subsection (such as a homeland) would soon spill over into neighbouring areas, producing refugee and crime problems. Infrastructure breakdown in one part would overload the infrastructure next door.

If the regions do not mobilise now to secure a federal constitution within a year, they may find themselves worse off than the Bantustans.

"If the regions do not mobilise now to secure a federal constitution within a year, they may find themselves worse off than the Bantustans."
Mandela ignores Govt, vows to intensify ANC ‘mass action’

By Shehanaz Bubulia and Monica Nkosi

The ANC vowed yesterday to intensify its “mass action” campaign in spite of Government threats that it could hamper negotiations.

Deputy president Nelson Mandela was addressing more than 400 mourners at the funeral of Actstop official David “Gups” Tshoga (36), who died during a demonstration in Johannesburg on November 17.

Mr Tshoga made history as the first black to be buried at the West Park Cemetery, made possible by the city council.

“Not a single action has been taken against the police, nor have the Government instituted investigations of the alleged torture of detainees,” said Mac Maharaj.

Not a single action has been taken against the police, nor have the Government instituted investigations of the alleged torture of detainees.

A well-founded perception was that the Government and its security forces did not respect the life of a black person.

The freedom struggle is filled with massacres. Blacks have been slaughtered by Government agents, so much so that the masses believe the slaughter to be a part and parcel of their existence,” he said.

It was difficult discussing peace with the Government when it did not take steps to end police violence.

He had met Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok to discuss alleged torture of detainees and the treatment of recently released detainees such as SACP official Mac Maharaj.

“My wife has been true and loyal to me for 27 years. While I was in prison I could not protect her, but now I’m out,” Mr Mandela said.
Nats plan to revamp Transvaal branch

The National Party leader in the Transvaal, Barend du Plessis, has released details of a comprehensive plan to restructure the branch.

In a statement, Mr du Plessis said a comprehensive management plan had been approved by the head council of the Transvaal NP on Saturday. It will be implemented next year.

Chairman

The chairman of the new management council is Deputy Minister Rosel Meyer and the chief secretary is Gerhard Koorghof. Other members are Dr Org. Marais, Dr Piet Welge\mmed, Gerrit Bornman and Deon Swanepoel.

Other appointments are: Attie van Tonder (secretary; personnel and administration), Coetze Bester (assistant chief secretary; training, youth matters and liaison) and Chris Macpherson (assistant chief secretary; organisation).

"The NP is now, more than ever before, ready to take up the challenges and opportunities of a new decade.

"Several important successes have already been achieved, of which the Randburg parliamentary by-election and the Delareyville town council elections are but two telling examples," Mr du Plessis said. - Sapa.
SA's UN envoy hopeful about apartheid debate

Special Correspondent

NEW YORK — South Africa's chief UN delegate, Jeremy Sheear, has had discussions with a top US State Department official about strategy for this week's annual General Assembly debate on the apartheid question, the ambassador said on Friday.

The meeting with Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen took place at the US mission to the UN. Mr Cohen accompanied Secretary of State James Baker to New York for the Security Council meeting on the Gulf crisis.

Mr Sheear said they discussed US approach to resolutions likely to be submitted, which both men hoped might be "least strident" this year than in the past.

"The time has come to start taking note of realities and not to take down last year's resolutions, dust them off, change a few words and then pass them," the ambassador said in an interview.

Lavish

A number of member states, including some African countries, were looking for a shift in emphasis that would take account of the changes under way in South Africa. This was particularly evident from recent statements by European Community members, the Nordic nations and Japan, as well as the US.

"We have seen more calls for a greater realism and we hope this will come out in the Assembly," Mr Sheear said.

Demonstrating the new cordiality in relations between Washington and Pretoria, the chief US delegate, Thomas Pickering, and Mrs Pickering were among the guests who attended a lavish dinner given by the Sheearas and the South African mission in the UN restaurant on Thursday evening.

"They stayed late and obviously enjoyed themselves," one of the hosts remarked.

The guests drank South African wine which, because of the voluntary embargo, is not normally available at the UN.
ANC members could get posts

Campaign to recruit black diplomats

The Foreign Affairs Department has embarked on a rigorous campaign to recruit black South Africans into the service, and is not ruling out the possibility that members of the ANC and other organisations active abroad could be appointed to positions.

Foreign affairs negotiator Neil van Heerden said in an interview yesterday that the foreign service would have to become representative of the population and political realities of SA.

While the foreign service had to serve the government of the day, it would also have to open doors to other organisations which were active abroad.

Van Heerden said he did not foresee an amalgamation of the foreign service and ANC international representatives. Rather, he added: "We will be talking to all the parties — expanding contact with all parties in the extra-parliamentary arena."

In addition to this the department had embarked on an active recruiting campaign to draw black South Africans into the service. These appointments would not be at the beginning level only. There would also be "opportunities" into middle and senior positions.

In the past year, and especially since February, the number of countries with which SA had diplomatic ties had grown by a third. In order to staff these new missions the department had received additional funds from government's R1.2bn contingency fund. It had also rearranged priorities and some missions, like La Paz, Ramen and Sydney, had been closed.

Van Heerden described as "miraculous" the extent of the thaw in SA's relations with the international community.

The most remarkable breakthroughs had been achieved in Eastern Europe. SA already had a mission in Hungary and diplomatic missions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland and Bulgaria would be operational within six months.

Compatibility between the economies of SA and Eastern European countries would not be achieved overnight, he said. However, the political realignment of these countries would fundamentally affect the operation of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The non-aligned group, with these central European countries at the forefront, had hitherto formed an effective anti-SA bloc in dealings of bodies such as the UN and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

He said there were concrete signs that the Soviet Union wanted to have diplomatic ties with SA. However, given the remaining ideological framework within which the-Soviets worked, it was difficult for them to do so. Developing ties between SA and the Soviet Union would be a long, steady process, although there had already been a number of commercial deals.

Since February, SA had also achieved a number of significant breakthroughs into Africa and the department had been given funds to open new missions in Madagascar, Mauritius and the Ivory Coast.

Van Heerden said it was difficult to put a time frame on when SA would develop diplomatic ties with large African coun-

Diplomats

tried like Kenya and Nigeria. He added, however, that as with sanctions resistance in the OAU to developing links with SA was being eroded.

There would be important contact with Nigeria when SA visited the country to study its constitution. The Nigerians had invited the jurists as they believed SA could learn something from their federal constitution.

He was not able to provide figures but said there was an enormous escalation in trade with Africa. In many countries SA was replacing France as the main supplier.

While economies of countries like Angola were in a poor state, they had communities like oil, which SA needed, which would enable them to pay for imports from this country. The same applied to countries producing tea, coffee and hardwoods.

While President FW de Klerk's visit to Morocco had been an important breakthrough in contact with the Arab world, little other progress had been achieved. This was not because SA did not want greater access to the Arab world, but because of its close ties with Israel.

It was hoped De Klerk would make a visit to the Far East next year. The main focus of this trip would be Japan and Taiwan.

He said China had just announced that SA tourists would be welcome to visit.
WASHINGTON - It was the year that the United States was supposed to get really tough with South Africa, but in the event 1990 was a period that caused Americans to pause and think.

Seen from the US, 1990 was a truly momentous year for South Africa. It all began with President F W de Klerk’s bold decisions to unbend the African National Congress, release Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and start the process of negotiations towards a new constitutional future for the country.

The speed and depth of de Klerk’s initiatives took the wind right out of the sails of America’s anti-apartheid activists, and a series of proposed laws which sought to tighten sanctions against South Africa fell right off the Congressional agenda.

Speech

The changes in South Africa enthralled the US, coming as they did so close to the toppling of the wall that divided Berlin and to the collapse of East European dictatorships. What was happening in South Africa was seen as part of a new spirit of freedom and democracy sweeping the world.

When Mandela walked to freedom in early February much of America watched the proceedings live on the major television networks. The major newspapers published special supplements on the event. Many in the US media celebrated both de Klerk and Mandela as men of vision who had come together to save their nation.

President Bush added to the drama by telephoning Mandela and de Klerk to invite them separately to visit him in the White House.

Telt months after Mandela walked out of prison, the mood in America was one of hope, but much of the euphoria of earlier this year has gone. The rising violence in South Africa cast an increasingly darker shadow over the perceived prognosis for the country.

Still, 1990 can be said to have been one of the best years for South Africa’s image in America. Four high points during the year were the release of Mandela, Mandela’s grand tour of the US, de Klerk’s successful visit to Washington and the publicity given to the violence in South Africa.

For the Bush Administration, the events of 1990 vindicated its policy of constraint and encouragement. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Hank Cohen had last year warned that unless certain minimum results were achieved by mid-1990, the US Government might be prepared to reconsider its policy of opposing sanctions.

However, Cohen insisted he was confident that the South African government would move sufficiently in the right direction so that it would be possible not only to stave off further sanctions but also to make it possible to start lifting some punitive measures.

The unbanning of the ANC and all other organisations and the release of Mandela and others took even the Bush Administration by surprise, and the US Government started exploring ways to reward Pretoria.

The anti-apartheid activists in Congress, poised to increase sanctions against South Africa if Cohen’s optimism turned out to be groundless, suddenly found themselves fighting a rearguard action on the issue. The debate shifted overnight from whether sanctions should be increased to whether sanctions should be reduced.

Mandela during his United States visit.

Joint sitting of the Congress that sanctions must not be lifted until change in South Africa had become truly irreversible.

Mandela and his ANC delegation blazed across the US in late June like a brilliant comet. In New York City an estimated one million people lined the streets to get a glimpse of him. He was honoured with a ticker-tape parade, two or three hundred thousand people gathered to hear him in Harlem and in a capacity-filled Yankee Stadium.

Pressure

Throughout his 10-day, eight-city tour Mandela exhorted Americans to keep the pressure on South Africa by not lifting sanctions prematurely.

The impact of the Mandela tour on US grass-roots public opinion was profound, and the politicians in Washington were mindful of it.

In September, it was De Klerk’s turn. In contrast with the huge media hype of the Mandela tour, De Klerk chose to make a low-profile but very intensive working visit to the US political leadership.

His meeting with President Bush was hugely successful, and the US leader said afterwards that he was now convinced that change in South Africa was irreversible.

Bush said sanctions would not be lifted until the US legal requirements had been met, but he warned that those requirements were to be interpreted broadly, rather than narrowly. There would, he said, be no shifting of the goalposts.

On Capitol Hill, De Klerk made a good impression, convincing senators and congressmen of his sincerity. However, a hardcore of both houses of Congress remained unconvinced that change in South Africa was irreversible. De Klerk might say it was irreversible, but events could prove him wrong and the initiatives he had started could be overturned, they said.

De Klerk’s visit nonetheless gave new impetus to moves in Washington to lift sanctions. The debate began to focus on which requirements of the US 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) were being met.

The South African government had clearly met some of the requirements: the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and the lifting of the state of emergency. It had partly met others: the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and the repeal of apartheid legislation.

There was a difference of opinion as to whether the requirement of entering into good-faith negotiations with the representatives of the black majority had actually been met.

The worsting violence in South Africa began to colour the debate on South Africa, particularly a perception in some quarters that the South African government was somehow or other behind it and trying to exploit it for its own gain.

Former US ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel, said 1990 was a momentous year for South Africa. The initiatives of De Klerk in February were a turning point, but towards the end of the year there was some concern that the progress of negotiations was not as fast as expected.

Mandela during his United States visit.

Joint sitting of the Congress that sanctions must not be lifted until change in South Africa had become truly irreversible.
SA solutions seen as beacon to all

By James Tomlin
Star Foreign Service

PARIS — South Africa's solutions to its many problems might well serve as a beacon light for many other countries, it was suggested in Paris recently.

Glenn Babb, MP and former ambassador to Canada, noted that "South Africa is a microcosm of the entire world. Creative ideas in solving its problems could be useful for its 'mother countries'."

Mr Babb, guest speaker at the annual reunion of the France-SA Association, said President de Klerk had to avoid at all costs the "traps into which other African rulers had fallen".

These traps were "suppressing minorities, pro-government courts, arbitrary rule by life presidents, fraudulent elections and centralised, socialist economies".

Mr Babb, who spoke in French, warned that pessimists of the South African scene viewed it with what he called an "un-dimensional" regard.

These pessimists said that "all that Mr de Klerk is doing is to carefully prepare the way for Mr Mandela to take over, and then, just as elsewhere in Africa, the whole structure will collapse like a house of cards".

In fact, Mr de Klerk had managed to jerk old conceptions from behind their Maginot Line, and there was growing optimism in South Africa that the country was strong enough to tackle and solve its problems.

He quoted Victor Hugo's famous line "France, France what would Europe be without you", and concluded that perhaps one could ask "Pretoria, Pretoria, what would Africa be without you?"
Cabinet sitting daily in end-of-year push
Wooing the world

KENYA's President Daniel Arap Moi's words to industrialists in his country shortly before Foreign Minister Pik Botha arrived in Nairobi last week promises an end to the cold war between the South Africa and the rest of the world, specially Africa.

South Africa would soon become part of the African community and he would work with it, Moi is reported to have said.

As the thaw in international relations with Pretoria sets in, it is becoming increasingly urgent that concepts for a post-apartheid foreign policy be formulated.

Conradie

Professor Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, has raised various questions on the issue in a working paper published by the Centre.

Until now, Pretoria's foreign policy has been described as being concerned in the hands of a few senior officials and ministries with the rest of the country—specially blacks—having little or no say in its formulation.

"As an economic policy, a post-apartheid foreign policy will be contested ground," says Vale.

White World probably urg among links with Europe, the United States and Australia because of financial and family ties.

Prof Peter Vale

Aversion

"Unconsensed to Africa and committed by minority propagandas in its ways, they have an aversion to the continent."

"Quite the opposite set of reasons may influence blacks, in particular those who have been in exile." Many of them have strong family ties on the continent and have a different interpretation of its problems."

Vale believes the prospects for a

South Africa can look forward to having new international friends once it has rid itself of apartheid. As the country heads for a new era, it must begin to plan and structure its post-apartheid foreign policy.

NOEL BRUYN reports on some initial thoughts raised by University of the Western Cape academic, Prof Peter Vale:

"The paper on Africa policy seems inevitable, specially if South Africa will be both welcome and provide aid. But he does not foresee that foreign policy-making under the ANC—when he believes will govern the country ("not unconditionally")—would differ much from the present method."

"Almost by definition, the making of foreign policy is an elitist exercise, efforts to draw villagers into the process, for example, have elsewhere been largely unsuccessful."

"Debate""The public, nevertheless, should be engaged, and Vale suggests the South African Institute of International Affairs and the African Institute be transformed."

Both institutions have "wrong roots" which might be deployed in an effort to encourage a steady debate, even representative debate on foreign policy issues."

Vale points out that essential areas of foreign policy have not been available for public scrutiny and debate because it has been against the law to discuss them.

"The most damaging and interesting is the question of the country's nuclear capacity." "What would have to change for..."
South Africa and its neighbours after apartheid

SOUTH Africa’s neighbours fear her economic domination.

It would therefore be “disastrous” for a post-apartheid South Africa to try and end the life of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and reassert the “prevailing economic dependencies around South Africa”.

This is the opinion of Prof Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

An economic community of Southern African states — with weaker economies wed to the muscle of a stronger South African economy — would also perpetuate the uneven spread of economic development in the region.

“Long-term economic growth in Southern Africa lies in developing the region as a whole and not focusing attention on one centre of economic power alone,” says Vale.

“A helpful course of action may be to ensure that SADCC’s independence is sustained by special provisions within a regional trade agreement between South Africa and its neighbours.

“This might ensure that infant industries in these countries are protected and that their agricultural sector is not swamped by South African products.”

Vale admits this would not be easy.

But the region would develop “in a more rounded fashion rather than simply reinforcing the colonial patterns of dependency” only by allowing for significant redistribution of resources from South Africa to its neighbours.

Communique

“There are strong indications that this path is favoured by the ANC,” Vale points out, quoting a communiqué following a recent ANC economic workshop.

Cahora Bassa remained the most effective and efficient electricity network in sub-Saharan Africa. The war in Mozambique had made access to the scheme almost impossible.

However, in a nonracial and democratic South Africa, it was possible that lines would open from Tete Province.

“Drawing on this dependency, South Africa will have to recognise that, in ways which have not been thought possible, it is dependent on its neighbours,” Vale says.

A similar set of arguments could be made with regard to the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme.

“Contrary to popular understanding, dependency in Southern Africa is a two-way street. Its recognition can smooth the recharting of regional relations.”

Vale suggests that economics is only one dimension of South Africa’s interaction with its neighbours. Security and constitutional dimensions also need to be considered.

“South Africa’s armed aggression has devastated large parts of the sub-continent and has caused huge social hardship.

“A deep-seated fear among its neighbours is that a nonracial and democratic South Africa will still harbour forces which are capable of devastating the sub-continent.

“They argue, for example, that rightwing elements can strike out in the region in revenge for unacceptable conditions at home.”

Spiked

Vale quotes Mozambican intellectual and journalist Carlos Cardosa, who argues that “South Africa’s guns should be spiked through multilateral control.

“Let he suggests, for example, that Armsgor — which spearheaded the South African weapons drive — might be placed under joint regional control.

“Further, he argues that a suitable mechanism might create a regional defence force.”

Vale believes some creative thinking needs to be done along the lines of establishing a conference for both security and economic development in Southern Africa.

A post-apartheid South Africa would lead to one of the most important African migrations of modern time in which perhaps millions of people would be drawn to South Africa in an effort to advance life chances.

AIDS

Incentives should be set in surrounding countries to keep migration to acceptable limits in the interest of the economy and development.

“Linked to the migration issue is, of course, AIDS,” Vale points out.

“The ending of the struggle against apartheid could enable a truly international effort to be mounted against the disease in which South Africa’s comparatively well-endowed medical system would play a pivotal role,” says Vale.
Govt 'bush summit' today

GOVERNMENT acknowledged the democratic right of peaceful protest by way of marches, but could not allow mass action to deteriorate into violence and intimidation, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

Government had acknowledged the right to hold peaceful marches last year and rejected accusations it was against any form of peaceful and democratic protest, he said after Cabinet completed a marathon three-day meeting.

Ministers, deputies and other senior government members will gather at a "bush summit" outside Pretoria today to arrange priorities for the approaching parliamentary session.

The Ministerial Committee on Negotiations has met regularly over the past month to finalise the NP’s constitutional proposals and to figure out ways in which to break the logjam in negotiations. Government was concerned that the ANC’s commitment to mass mobilisation was contributing to instability and violence and was expected to receive high priority.

Government was concerned about the disruption and conflict that appeared to go hand-in-hand with programmes of large-scale and repetitive political protest.

It was also concerned about certain political leaders’ inability to get their followers to behave in a disciplined manner.

Bush summit

"An atmosphere of dangerous political intolerance has set in towards persons and organisations expressing and promoting divergent political views," Viljoen said.

"If wanton destruction, physical intimidation and violence are indeed not part of the political agenda of organisations launching mass action, and if these organisations in fact reject such conduct, then they should display much greater care and responsibility in ensuring orderly and lawful action.

"The government has repeatedly emphasised that genuine negotiations for a new constitution can only take place if they are accompanied by a parallel pro-
Pik labels UN’s SA debate ‘inappropriate’

Star 6/12/90

Foreign Minister Pik Botha has criticised severely this year’s United Nations “Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid” in New York for reflecting outdated prejudices of past decades.

In a letter addressed to UN president Guido de Marco, Mr Botha maintained the UN General Assembly “has no jurisdiction in terms of the UN Charter to discuss this subject”.

The debate has been marked by criticism of mainly Western countries for reportedly not adhering strictly to existing UN resolutions on sanctions.

During the debate President de Klerk’s reforms received acknowledgement, but delegates said he still had not done enough to justify the lifting of sanctions.

Indian Foreign Minister Vidyasagar Rao said talks between the South African Government and the ANC had produced “some good results”, but he endorsed the assessment of Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar that the process of change was at an early stage and there was a long way to go.

Professor Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, said: “There is no doubt that the South African authorities have indeed taken a number of positive steps.

“Nonetheless, they fall far short of the minimum measures necessary to create a climate for negotiation.”

Unreasonable

It was premature and unreasonable to rush to relax the existing measures against the Republic or establish relations with it, he said.

Mr Botha said in his letter: “I say in all earnestness that this debate is inappropriate, uncalled for and counter-productive. Things have changed in South Africa.

“Is the Assembly incapable of adjusting to change as we in South Africa have done in recent months?” Mr Botha asked in his letter, which he requested be circulated as an official document of the Assembly.

He claimed this year’s debate, which is still continuing, “echoes the ANO”. The letter carries a detailed review of the course of developments in South Africa since September last year when Mr de Klerk assumed the presidency.

This is followed by an outline of what “President de Klerk has made abundantly clear” and what the Government is striving for in a new South Africa.
'Govt out to crush ANC'

Key elements in the Government had set out to foster a crusade to halt mass action and to paralyse the ANC, Nelson Mandela said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at an alliance rally being held at Natal University yesterday, between the National Union of South African Students and the SA National Students Congress, Mr. Mandela said the country was entering a time of hope.

However, elements in the Government were trying to crush the ANC, and it was to be remembered that the positive actions which the Government had made were not something it had done without pressure.

The ANC had spearheaded the struggle to produce that pressure, he said.

The Government had to be further pressured into removing the obstacles still in the way of negotiations.

Mr. Mandela confirmed that nationwide mass protests were being organised today. He said the ANC's position was clear.

"We are excluded from democratic participation; mass action is our only alternative." However, in a statement yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said that if continued, the mass protests over political demands was no longer necessary as the Government was committed to solving a number of problems.

The Government was not against peaceful and democratic protest, including marches and public meetings, but it was concerned about "disruption and conflict" that appeared to be in hand with programmes of large-scale and repetitive political protest.

The inability of certain political leaders to ensure responsible conduct by their followers was also an area of major concern to the Government, Dr. Viljoen said.

If destruction, violence and intimidation were not part of the political agenda of organisations launching mass action, they should take greater care to ensure order and lawful action.

There was "clear proof of intimidation" where the public had been forced to take part in mass action.

Dr. Viljoen said no responsible government would allow mass action to deteriorate into acts of violence, destruction and intimidation.

Slovo and Winnie to lead march

Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent

Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Joe Slovo, leader of the SA Communist Party, are among those due to lead the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" march being held in Pretoria today.

Pretoria Chief Magistrate P.A.J. Burger has given permission for the march.

The organisers said no stayaway had been called. However, people had been urged to take leave for an hour or two.

The march, which is scheduled to start at noon from Cosatu House in Brown Street to the Union Buildings, is to be preceded by a mini-rally outside Cosatu House from 10 am.

In Johannesburg, marchers will begin gathering at the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10 am. They will proceed along Plein Street at 11 am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed in at the City Hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square, where a memorandum will be handed to police.

In Bloemfontein, the Chief Magistrate has granted permission for a march today.
Mandela, not De Klerk, may need goading
Right-wingers' bail application opposed

TENS of thousands of right-wing supporters of Orde Boerwolvik (OB) members Piet Rudolph and Henk Bredehann were waiting for their release to resume the OB's armed struggle for independence under their leadership.

This opinion was stated by Maj Johannes Lodewikus Pretorius of the SAP security branch in Sandton during the bail application of the two OB men in the Johannesburg Magistrate's court yesterday.

The bail application hearing for Rudolph and Bredehann, who are to appear on several charges of terrorism in the Johannesburg Supreme Court early next year, continues today.

Pretorius, in charge of the branch's continuing investigation into white right-wing terrorism in SA, opposed the bail application because, among other major reasons, two thirds of the SA Air Force weapons allegedly stolen by the OB in April had not yet been returned by Rudolph's supporters — in spite of the latter's public call to do so.

Bredehann had told the court earlier that the stolen weapons under his control had all been returned to the State prior to the general indemnity date of October 31.

Pretorius said there had been a very marked increase in right-wing terror incidents since June 1989, with scores of bomb attacks and arrests of right-wingers under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Rudolph and Bredehann still "stubbornly cling to their political convictions", refused to provide him with details of the OB's organisational structures or of its membership, and would provide no details of operational plans codenamed "Mandela", "Sjambok" and "Slingervel".

The mysterious plans were mentioned in OB documents police had recovered during Bredehann's arrest. Pretorius feared that, once released on bail, the two men might carry out these plans.

He believed that once they were out on bail, their supporters would hide and protect them and help them take up the armed struggle once more. They would not appear for their terrorism trial.

This time, Rudolph would be impossible to catch because of his massive country-wide support base and greater knowledge of police search methods.

Pretorius said that during the five-month police search for Rudolph this year more than 200 people had actively and knowingly helped him to escape justice. — Sapa.
LEAVING LOTS TO DO

In the end, Kent Durr's meteoric, 15-month career as minister of trade & industry may have been his undoing; politicians — and especially fellow ministers — do not take kindly to being shown up by a relative newcomer.

While the London ambassadorship he's headed for is uniformly seen as an important posting, there is a measure of disquiet over Durr's sudden departure from his portfolio as minister. Industry leaders are upset that Durr is leaving the department just when he had established a high profile in business.

"I am very sorry that Durr is moving out of his important position," says Barlow Rand CE Warren Clewlow, who chairs the State President's Economic Advisory Council. "He has created a very strong and positive relationship with the private sector. And during our recent visit to the USSR, I witnessed the strong impact, high credibility and good working relationships he established with our Soviet hosts."

Raymond Parsons, the SA Chamber of Business director-general, says: "Durr has been a very approachable minister who understands business language and relates very well to business issues. We have developed an excellent working relationship with him. His leaving the ministry is a sad loss to the business community."

Parsons hopes Durr's departure will not result in the department being downgraded.

Politics may be the best explanation for Durr packing his bags for the Court of St James. His success in opening new markets for SA in previously closed countries such as the USSR, Poland and Hungary may have tread on some sensitive toes in Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's department. And his easy contacts with top bankers, industrialists and political leaders in France, the UK, Italy and elsewhere may have caused unease among Cabinet colleagues.

But Durr discounts these rumours, saying that he and Botha are "good friends and work on the same team; all my visits abroad were done in close association with him and I benefited from his visits abroad."

Durr did clash directly with the powerful protectionist lobby at the Board of Trade & Industry (BTI), where chairman Lawrence McCrystal's influence over industrial policy was undermined by Durr and his officials. The demise of the board's cherished structural adjustment programmes may also have upset some powerful industry lobbies.

Durr leaves a briefcase full of issues and tasks that will not be easy for his successor to pick up in mid-stream. Some of these are:

- The formulation of government's new tariff policy, which was submitted to the Cabinet after a study by the Industrial Development Corp;
- Defining the new role of the BTI, which may become focused solely on tariff and import policy;
- Complicated negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT);
- Durr's department has submitted a list of 4700 proposed tariff changes to GATT officials as part of the current Uruguay round of talks which is scheduled to end this week;
- The formation of government's new tariff policy, which was submitted to the Cabinet after a study by the Industrial Development Corp;
- Removing entrance barriers to the Estate Agents' Board;
- Proposed reforms to the Board of Trade & Industry;
- Simplified national building rules;
- Helped to improve relations with Poland, the USSR, Hungary, Italy, France, Romania and Czechoslovakia; and
- Proposed numerous tariff reductions.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

RESCUE DELAYED

Two months ago it seemed a done deal. The Mail and Caxton group had said an agreement was signed that would save the Mail and allow Caxton to recover most of the money the Mail owes it (Business September 14). But the deal was not signed. Mail co-editor Anton Harper says the deal is "virtually impossible". "For instance, we have only just finalised the deal with the Daily Mail (now defunct). We have to wait until that is signed before we can sign the deal with Caxton."

Says Caxton finance director Edwin Janse van Rensburg: "Any plan to rescue a publication that is in trouble needs to be based on a firm position."

Under the deal, Caxton — which printed the Daily Mail and Sunday Mail, and continues to print The Mail, would have a share in the Mail's debts. In return, Caxton would supply business and marketing advice to the Mail in an effort to make the five-year-old alternative paper viable. Neither party will disclose how much Caxton is owed.

One reason for the delay may be tax implications of the deal. "It would be possible to structure the deal tax-effectively from Caxton's point of view, and allow The Mail to keep its independence," says Chris Frame, Price Waterhouse's national tax con-
POLITICS OF DIPLOMACY

WILL THE ECONOMY SUFFER?

The point business must keep in mind about Trade & Industry Minister Kent Durr's sudden exile as ambassador to London (even if it be voluntary), is whether it means that the strong Cabinet economics team, assembled only last year, is being broken up — and whether that, in turn, means a downgrading of economic policy.

After all, privatisation has clearly been abandoned. Wim de Villiers is trying to buck market trends by controlling the electricity price and this week saw the first crack in Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals's resolve over interest rates. Maybe it puts a new complexion, too, on Harry Schwarz's appointment to the Washington embassy.

In economic terms, Durr is in a key ministry. He is a man to whom businessmen can relate and he patently understands what makes markets work. His department requires a minister of firm commitment and energy, for it has been responsible for a great deal of the bureaucratic regulation of the past. And the fear must be that without a minister committed to deregulation now, it could lapse back too easily into its past interventionist mould.

It is too easy to argue that with Stefaan Naudé as director, that won't happen. The fact is that he is a public servant and can without much fuss be moved elsewhere.

If President F.W. de Klerk's recent ministerial appointments are any guide, businessmen are not going to be confident that Durr's replacement will be a man of similar ability. For even counting Louis Pienaar, De Klerk is choosing grey men of limited if any political significance or manifest ministerial ability. Maybe, in the approaching order of things, he does not expect them to be around long.

The best ministerial talent in parliament today is without any doubt in the Democratic Party, where there is weighty political experience. Indeed, if Schwarz's appointment to Washington is not also a form of banishment (it cannot be comfortable for the Nats to have in opposition someone who knows more about the national accounts than they do themselves), then it is clear from where the new Trade & Industry minister should come.

Another question that remains unanswered is why Durr agreed to go to London. It was an appointment that appears to have been sprung on him. Having been SA's ambassador to the Court of St James, important though the position may be, is not necessarily an automatic springboard to rapid advancement back home in the National Party. That, at any rate, is the experience of previous incumbents. Dawie de Villiers is an also-ran in the Cabinet and the magnificently eloquent Denis Worrall a country solicitor.

Of course, Durr may have wanted to go. He is known to be upwardly socially mobile and a bit of a Flash Harry (if the titter in the Sunday Times is anything to go by). In the approaching order of things, he may feel that an English-speaking Nat's life will be limited. Or he may have felt that the petty Cabinet jealousies over his trade missions abroad and more radical market-orientated policies that have upset some powerful lobbies at home, are no longer worth the candle — or at least not when the alternative is to hobnob with the haut monde at St James's.

Having said all that, it is also true that the diplomatic corps is sadly in need of resuscitation. The appointment of the late Tertius Myburgh from the editorship of an opposition liberal newspaper to become a Nat envoy in Washington suggests that De Klerk realises that some drastic action needs to be taken. According to retired diplomats, the root of our ambassadorial malaise is the egocentricity of Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha. The result is that he runs the best diplomatic kindergarten in the West. But he can field few, if any, heavy hitters from within his own department.

There are those who will interpret Schwarz's appointment to Washington as being merely a substitution. But Myburgh and Schwarz were men of such profoundly differing dispositions that the banishment theory to which we have already referred will find some credence, too.

So spare a thought for Pik. With the ambitious and energetic Durr in London and the combustible Schwarz in Washington, what anxiety may he have clutched to his bosom?

The plain fact is that Durr's exile (voluntary or otherwise) does not augur well for the formation of market-oriented trade and tariff policies in this country. For he brought to his post at Trade & Industry an intellectual appreciation of the totality of the policies under his stewardship and had a sure eye for what needed to be done. It is difficult to identify similar characteristics in any other junior minister.
SA will learn from Africa's mistakes

WASHINGTON - South Africa had the dubious honour of being the last country in Africa to be liberated, but this enabled it to learn from the rest of the continent's mistakes, former kwaZulu/Natal Indaba chairman Dr Oscar Dhomo has said in the United States.

He was addressing a conference of the Joint Centre for Political and Economic Studies in Washington on Wednesday.

He said the US could help South Africa develop a successful post-apartheid society by providing the training and encouragement necessary to inculcate the spirit of democracy in the people of the country.

The history of Africa since decolonisation had shown the survival of democracy on the continent could not be taken for granted, he said.
Peace may be shortlived

By MONK NKOMO

SOUTH Africa is moving towards a settlement that will only buy peace for two years and then collapse, according to Mr Eugene Nyathi, a political analyst.

Referring to negotiations between the Government and the African National Congress, Nyathi said the ANC should not have rushed to the negotiation table because they were not ready to negotiate.

"They should have asked the Government to give them at least 10 months to prepare themselves."

Nyathi was speaking at the first anniversary of the Pretoria Media Club on Tuesday night.

"We are headed for a settlement that will buy peace for two years and then collapse."

He said ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, needed dispassionate competent advisors and not "viva brigades".
Warning to Mandela

AWB sends chilling
edgE

SA is on a knife's edge.
TALKS IN DANGER, SAYS SLOVO

 Violence, govt delays the main obstacles

"TALKS between the ANC and the government were in danger with negotiations proper unlikely to kick off early next year," is the view of leading ANC member and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, who explained that the talks have not yet been "serious".

"But I think there are some serious danger signals," he said in one of the most forthright comments yet from an ANC leader on what he calls "talks about talks".

Gently rebuked by Pretoria's demands that the ANC stop the use of armed attacks, the SACP chief said: "I think we have got to make clear to them that we are not a defeated enemy. We are very much alive like a tiger who returns to the mountains - if not by a more direct path then by another way."

He said: "PW Botha, Pieter Botha and his team of apologists were using the talks process "as a term of struggle - a phrase which we have always used to characterize what we should be doing".

But lately, he said, Pretoria had been more effective than the ANC. He pointed out the government had an edge on the ANC in terms of resources and established structures.

Slovo said it was not possible to "begin serious negotiations on the constitutional future with most of our exiles overseas, with most of our prisoners still locked up, and with intensification unrestrained tied to a commitment to cease the political struggle".

There is a growing impatience within ANC ranks over what they see as the government's failure to meet its side of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. And this is likely to be intensively debated at the ANC's three-day consultative conference this week.

Slovo also reckoned negotiations would founder in the long term if the bloody township violence could not be resolved.

He said Pretoria needed to understand the ANC would not continue the talks if it became "clear the regime is not prepared to do anything about the carnage being perpetrated against our people".

"But, Slovo said the ANC still believed Pretoria was interested in talking. The government knew, he said, "without the kind of resolution we are trying to work for, there is no way they will emerge from their crisis."

She's a winner! Saya petite Julie Masigabe, who walked off with the Miss Black South Africa 1980 crown, "I will do everything to contribute to my community." See Page 5. "Hale FLAMINGOHUA
Sources said that the new models, along the lines of joint councils, could be in operation early in 1992, and to make this possible the Electoral Act would have to be reformulated.

The framework government was using for its models was the so-called Thornhill report which the council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, chaired by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hermans Kriel, had accepted in October this year.

It is believed a possible Cabinet reshuffle — expected early next year — came up for discussion at weekend.

It is likely that the changes will happen in April to coincide with Trade and Indus-

try Minister Kent Durr’s departure to take up an ambassadorship in London.

Senior Cabinet members such as Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe could be freed from their posts to enable them to represent the NP at future negotiations.

Matthew Curtin reports Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman Piet Wilken said yesterday that the TPA intended launching a campaign to extend administrative cooperation between black and white town councils.

Such a scheme was already operating between the Klerksdorp and Jouberton town councils, Wilken said.
Violence:
Mandela,

FW meet

President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on Saturday held an urgent meeting to discuss the continuing violence plaguing black townships.

In a joint statement, the leaders said the meeting focused on the continuing violence with its attendant deaths, suffering and destruction of property as well as the destabilisation of communities.

"Significant progress was made. We have yet again agreed on our commitment to the peaceful negotiation process and on our rejection of violence as futile and destructive. On this basis, we identified the need for urgent follow-up steps," the statement said.

It said that of primary importance was the need to focus on the resolution of outstanding problems regarding paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute.

Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute states: "In the interests of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed action with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

"It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by September 15 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."

Mr F Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed that no further public statements would be made on the issue. — Sapa.
HARARE — Zimbabwe’s President Robert Mugabe has sent a blunt message to President de Klerk. He admires his courage and reforms, but will not meet him until he is satisfied the abolition of apartheid is irreversible.

In an interview at State House in Harare, Mr Mugabe said he had deliberately avoided meeting Mr de Klerk because he did not want to be seen bestowing acceptance on him until the main issue of removing apartheid had been resolved in South Africa.

He described his attitude towards Mr de Klerk as ‘‘warding him off and not giving him the comfort that he is already completely acceptable to us — he’s not, and he will not be until he has resolved the issue’’.

Mr Mugabe’s refusal to meet Mr de Klerk is being maintained in spite of the growing move among black African states to deal openly with South Africa and that several African leaders have met him.

However, his decision to grant an interview to a South African journalist, believed to be the first of this kind he has given in 10 years, is seen in diplomatic quarters in Harare as a significant indication of a desire to communicate his views across the Limpopo.

Asked whether he was prepared to follow the example of other African leaders and meet Mr de Klerk, he said: ‘‘Deliberately we have avoided him, not because we don’t admire what he is doing — we do very much.

‘‘We hope, however, that he will step up his efforts in getting the various parties in South Africa to meet at a round table so they can finally resolve the whole political issue.

‘‘And we encourage him, but we do not want to be used now, opportunistically, for purposes of attaining other goals which are divorced from the main theme (which is) internal: the resolution of this whole apartheid issue and the creation of a democratic state.”

On Mr de Klerk’s reforms, he said: ‘‘We admire Mr de Klerk. He really has done the unexpected. All of a sudden, there emerged in South Africa a man who was very courageous, who had the courage to denounce a philosophy that for quite a long time had been criticised and denounced by the international community, the philosophy of apartheid, and to try to redirect the thinking of his party and his people.

‘‘We are happy that this event has occurred. It’s a revolution.”

Asked what further actions were expected from Pretoria before Harare would abandon its refusal to deal with it at Ministerial level, Mr Mugabe said that the fundamental issue was whether political power had been given to the people.

He said he could see no reason why a dispensation recognising the oneness of a community should not be a good one for South Africans.

“If anything, our experience has placed on record that whites and blacks can live in harmony with each other, and that past differences will not really persist and be allowed to affect the new philosophy of oneness, and I would want to believe that what we have experienced, and still are experiencing in Zimbabwe, could very well be the experience of South Africa.”

Mr Mugabe conceded that in the beginning whites in South Africa might feel anxious about their position under black majority rule. But he did not believe the ANC or the PAC would want to see an all-black parliament or an all-black government.

The ANC's problem lies in its inability to understand why it cannot achieve its political goals. The organization has been accused of being too focused on its own internal affairs, rather than addressing the broader needs of the people. This has led to a lack of cohesion within the party, with different factions vying for power and influence. As a result, the ANC has been unable to effectively address the challenges facing South Africa, such as poverty, inequality, and corruption.

The ANC has also been criticized for its close relationship with the state, which has resulted in it becoming a tool of the government rather than a force for change. This has led to a lack of accountability and transparency, which has further eroded public trust in the party.

In conclusion, the ANC's current situation is a result of its own failings and mistakes. It must now work to address these issues and rebuild its credibility if it is to continue to lead South Africa into the future.
Nats indaba bolsters hopes for changes

SPECULATION was rife in political circles yesterday that major changes could be in the pipeline following the Cabinet’s three-day meeting last week followed by a two-day “bosberaad” which ended at the weekend at an undisclosed venue.

The bush indaba, attended by the entire National Party caucus outside Pretoria, is believed to have disclosed a number of thorny issues, notably the Government’s approach to negotiations which are expected to get off the ground next year.
CP vows to fight interim govt plan

THE Conservative Party has vowed to fight an interim government which includes the involvement of the ANC in governing structures. CP deputy leader, Dr Fordy Hartzenberg, said in a statement yesterday.

Hartzenberg said the CP was shocked at reports government had decided to set up an alternative negotiating team which would negotiate on behalf of the National Party while the government would operate as "a sort of arbiter".

"It is clear that this is an attempt to reach consensus with the ANC's demand of an interim government," Dr Hartzenberg said.

"The result would be that the ANC would in certain aspects be absorbed into a government structure with elements of an interim government."

"The CP would fight such an interim government with determination," the statement concluded.
Mugabe’s hopes for South Africa

QUESTION: As South Africa moves closer to throwing off apartheid, members of the ruling white minority are giving serious thought to what political system should replace it. Some, fearing being swamped by the black majority, favour a division of political power in some form of federal system.

Your government, which instituted a policy of racial reconciliation on gaining power, favours a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state in South Africa, which means black majority rule, as in Zimbabwe. What reasons for accepting majority rule in a unitary state would you give to South Africans looking for guidance?

ANSWER: Let me begin by clarifying our position on South Africa vis-a-vis the political system that South Africa should have in the event of a negotiated settlement being reached.

We have no right to dictate to the South Africans what system they desire. It is up to South Africans to determine that system. We can only advise them if that advice is sought.

But certainly the issue of the nature of the political system is one that the South Africans themselves must seek to negotiate.

I would want to believe that there are ideas that have already been given or thrown about by both sides. The blacks as represented by the ANC and PAC and others and then the white side as represented by President de Klerk.

But our distant view, if it means anything, is that South Africa must work to preserve its oneness.

It’s a oneness that is historical and if it has been found workable and better to have a South Africa that is integrated in a unitary system all along, why should it be allowed to disintegrate merely because the blacks are now recognised as having a role to play in the future of South Africa?

It would be a pity if it was allowed to disintegrate. If the South Africans prefer now a federal system to a unitary one it’s up to them but our belief is that a unitary system is better.

Our own view regarding Zimbabwe is that Zimbabwe is on. We are a small country and perhaps our example may not be one South Africa would want to follow in regard to a political system, that is, in regard to its being unitary or federal.

QUESTION: Could you give white South Africans any reassurance, from Zimbabwe’s own experience and from its influential position in Africa, that they would benefit from accepting a dispensation similar to that in Zimbabwe?

ANSWER: Sure, I don’t see any reason why a dispensation like ours, namely one which recognises the oneness of the community, the oneness of the people, should not be a good one for the South Africans.

If anything, our experience has placed on record that white and blacks can live in harmony with each other and that past differences will not really persist and be allowed to affect the newer philosophy of oneness.

I would want to believe that what we have experienced and still are experiencing in Zimbabwe could very well be the experience of South Africa.

QUESTION: Many white South Africans are looking at Zimbabwe as an example of what South Africa might be like under a simple majority rule system. Some argue that whites in Zimbabwe have ended up without political influence and therefore dependent on people of a different cultural background to look after their interests. Could you comment on this view?

ANSWER: I don’t think that the whites have ended up without influence. The whites still have a tremendous amount of influence in the country. We have three (white) Ministers in government who are playing a very vital role in helping to shape the destiny of the country and they are highly regarded and respected by the white community.

But, of course, we regard them not just as representatives of the whites but as representatives of the entire Zimbabwean nation.

This is the concept which I think in the long run will help us consolidate this nonracial oneness which we have created and would also, in circumstances in which South Africa would follow our experience, help it also to consolidate that oneness.

If the view is maintained that whites, because they are white or because they have a different cultural background, should be treated as whites, then you will have to do that in respect of the other groups and you might have to sub-divide the whites.

How should the whites be considered as of one culture merely because of the colour of their skin? You have Germans, you have British and Afrikaners, you have Jews, you have Portuguese and should all those now be subdivided into little categories each deserving its own treatment? Otherwise we end up with a society that is really torn up rather than united.

And if it is unity that people are signing at then there should be a move towards integration, integration, mind you, that will not be compelled but which will have its parameters well spelled out by way of enunciated policies.

There are certain things that can be compelled, of course. We should never tolerate discrimination, for instance.

I personally believe, and I think this is also the philosophy of many progressive forces in South Africa including, of course, the ANC and PAC and the progressive white groups, that a man should be recognised just as a man, a human being and that’s it.

But if we are going to recognise that other members of the human race have better qualities than others merely because they are of that race then we continue to maintain a backward philosophy and it will be apartheid in another form.

I do concede that at the beginning the whites might feel a bit nervous and anxious about their own position given the political history that South Africa has had and even here they had that fear. Now you have whites being returned (to Zimbabwe’s parliament) on the same basis as everybody else.

I have three whites in the Cabinet. And I think that is welcomed by all members of our society and I would want to believe that the ANC, PAC, the black community, would not want to see an all-black parliament.

It would be a disgrace if that happened. Nor would they want to see an all-black government in the country in which you have such a substantial number of whites and so the whites should not be afraid.
It's a sell-out, claims CP

The Conservative Party yesterday expressed shock at the revelation that the Government was planning to appoint a special negotiating team of senior Ministers, saying the Government was now giving in to the ANC's demand for an interim government.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg denounced the revelation — which has been dismissed as "mere speculation" by a spokesman in President de Klerk's office — claiming it was another example of the Government selling whites out.

Dr Hartzenberg said it was with shock that the CP had learnt that at the weekend the Government had, in principle, accepted to appoint a team of senior Ministers to negotiate on behalf of the National Party while it operated as "some kind of an arbiter."

"It is obvious that this idea is an attempt to meet the ANC's demand for an interim government," said Dr Hartzenberg. "The result will be that the ANC will, to a certain degree, be brought in to Government structures with elements of an interim government."

He also said the joint statement by Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela condemning violence after their meeting in Pretoria on Saturday contrasted sharply with the statement by Umkhozi to we Siwe chief of staff Chris Hani on Sunday that the armed struggle had to be intensified.

Dr Hartzenberg said the two leaders' joint statement also contrasted with police intelligence information provided to the media in the past about the ANC's plans to engage in a "big-scale revolution".
Working group talks on armed action still stalled

Billy Paddock

The government/ANC working group on armed action has not met for three weeks because President F.W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela have not been able to agree on what constitutes activities related to "armed action".

Sources said yesterday the target date for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles agreed to by both sides was now in doubt unless a breakthrough was reached soon.

This was because of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee’s decision that the return of exiles should be linked to progress made in resolving matters relating to the ANC’s suspension of its armed struggle.

The ANC accuses government of tardiness in implementing other sections of the Pretoria Minute, such as the release of political prisoners, and is unwilling to compromise further than it has to on "related activities" until it sees progress in the release of prisoners and the return of exiles.

The working group’s task bogged down over government’s insistence that mass mobilisation and recruiting for the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe were related activities to armed action and contrary to the spirit of the Pretoria Minute, and the ANC’s rejection of this.

Both parties decided three weeks ago to suspend their work until the two principals had reached agreement on the definition of a related activity.

The sentences of paragraph three of the minute, which are in dispute are: "As a result of this, no armed actions or related activities by the ANC and its military wing MK will take place"; and "Both sides one more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."
SA WAS RIGHT TO HAVE HIS SAY

Pik Botha

The Nationalist
POLITICAL pressure is expected to mount on government negotiators in the new year over demands for a constituent assembly as the ANC and PAC prepare for talks to create a united political front.

Another key movement, Azapo, which has long campaigned for "black unity," would also be expected to be drawn into the process.

Demands for a constituent assembly would form the basis of unity, according to a senior ANC source.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo insist that the only way to create a new constitution is to give all people an equal vote on a single non-racial voters' roll to elect a constituent assembly. On this basis, these organisations argue, a new constitution drawn up by the assembly would reflect the democratic choice of the country.

But disagreement could arise over matters such as economic policy.

The ANC source also cautioned that unless there was a clear basis for accountability within such a front, it would not be effective.

PAC foreign affairs (external) spokesman Mr Ahmed Motolani of the ANC said at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that a decision in principle to form a united front was taken at a meeting in Kampala in Uganda in September this year between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, newly elected PAC deputy president (former national chair), Fikile Mambu and Organisation of African Unity president Yoweri Museveni. A date for the meeting had not yet been set.

This had been endorsed at the PAC's second national congress at the weekend.

It had resolved that all organisations of the oppressed should find areas of common interest as well as common strategies; and that the PAC would influence other political tendencies among the oppressed to achieve the united front.

While rejecting participation in the present round of negotiations, the PAC was prepared to discuss "the logistics of establishing a constituent assembly."
Vermawerdian dreams

Bringing Whits of
Right wing will recall Blood River

South Africa's many white right-wing organisations this weekend will commemorate the Battle of Blood River, which ended in defeat for the Zulus after a pitched battle with the Voortrekkers on December 16, 1838.

The Day of the Vow, named after the religious vow taken by Voortrekker leaders shortly before the battle, is seen by much of Afrikanerdom as their holiest day, although the more liberal section usually celebrates without any religious connotations.

The Boere Raad and Boere Weerstands beweging commemorate the event this Sunday with a braai, religious ceremony and day-long boere-sport and boeremusiek at the farm Sandspruit, 12 km north of Randburg.

March 20/4

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche will address a meeting at Berg-en-Dal at Belfast on Saturday morning.

Shortly after this, his commandos will hold a mass demonstration and march through the streets of Middelburg.

The Afrikaner Volkswag, whose leaders are Professor and Mrs Carel Boshoff — she is Dr Verwoerd's daughter — will form a laager at Donkerhoek, about 50 km east of Pretoria.

Celebrants, wearing Voortrekker dress, will camp in caravans and tents.

There will also be gatherings at Pictersburg, Vereeniging, Bellville, Burgersfort and Natal's Blood River monument.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party, formed in 1969 by Afrikaners disaffected with the National Party, will commemorate the Day of the Vow at Rooihuiskraal, Pretoria.

Sapa.
Trying to do two things at once.

Graham Lynam discusses South Africa with a Kenyan academic.
‘Establish a basis for talks’ — FW

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

The biggest challenge for 1991 would be to establish methods and criteria for negotiations and get them working, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

“This, in my opinion, should include representation for all political parties with proven support, the establishment of the basis on which decisions during the process will take place, and agreement on the relationship between the negotiation process and the process of government.”

He also said the necessity for ending the fragmentation of local government on racial lines was accepted and was being urgently investigated.

“There has already been much progress in the planning of a new system which will recognise the concept of ‘one city, one rate base,’” Mr De Klerk said at the University of Stellenbosch where he received an honorary doctorate.

His speech indicated government confidence that the negotiations will in fact get off the ground next year.

“The political process has been irrevocably placed on a new road. We have broken out of old grooves and we are busy creating new horizons.

“South Africa will never be the same again.”

This year had delivered a maelstrom of political ideas, positioning, conflict and tension, but it had also brought positive progress.

“We come to the end of 1990 with the profound expectation that multi-party talks with the goal of constitutional talks will get off the ground in 1991.

“The focus has now started shifting from stumbling blocks to solutions. The phase for all political parties to participate constructively in the constitutional negotiation process is before us.”

Remaining discriminatory legislation would be repealed and both the Group Areas Act and the Land Act would receive attention during next year’s session of Parliament.

Security legislation was being revised to ensure the free political participation of everyone and as a result, the Internal Security Act would be amended in 1991.

The government would also meet its commitments with regard to security prisoners and exiles with the understanding that other parties would also meet their commitments.

Mr De Klerk said a clear and purposeful vision of the new, just South Africa was necessary and the system of values in line with the democratic and prosperous countries of the world would be the compass on this difficult road.

He also called for a halt to “futile and senseless” disruption of community councils, which was causing much pain and misery in black communities.

“Stop fighting and threatening something which, in any case, is going to disappear.”

The strategy of radicals to destroy existing structures at local government level had to stop, Mr De Klerk said.
New deal for local govt is near — FW

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk said yesterday government had accepted the need to abolish separate, racially defined local authorities and said considerable progress had been made towards creating a system of local government based on “one city, one tax base”.

De Klerk appealed to opponents of black local authorities “to stop fighting and making threats about something which is going to disappear anyway”.

Much work had been done in this direction and further announcements would be made in due course, De Klerk said after receiving an honorary doctorate in philosophy from the University of Stellenbosch.

De Klerk added the plans for a new system of joint local government were at an advanced stage and that full-scale constitutional negotiations were imminent.

The negotiation of a new system of local and regional government has emerged as a priority as campaigns to dismantle existing black local authorities have escalated and, in the case of Khayelitsha, been a cause of township violence.

LESLEY LAMBERT

De Klerk appealed to those opposing black local authorities to stop fighting and “get ready to enter inclusive discussions and negotiations on a new local government system — soon”.

Government recently released broad proposals for a new system of local government in the Thornhill report and many local authorities have been pressing for local negotiations to start ahead of national constitutional negotiations. ANC constitutional spokesmen have recently indicated an increasing acceptance of decentralised government.

De Klerk also used the opportunity to declare the way open for a multiparty constitutional summit next year.

He said the focus of negotiations had started to shift from obstacles to solutions and the time had come for all political parties with proven support to enter the constitutional negotiation process.

Government would continue to honour its agreements on security prisoners and exiles on the understanding that other parties honoured their obligations, he said.

De Klerk said the major challenge of 1991 would be to determine and implement methods and criteria for negotiation. These would include:

- Inclusion, or representation, for all parties with proven support;
- Determination of the basis for decision-taking during the process;
- Agreement on the relation between the processes of negotiation and government.
SA will never be the same says De Klerk

President FW de Klerk yesterday declared the way open for the next exploratory phase on the way to negotiations on constitutional reform.

He said multiparty talks with a view to a constitutional conference would start next year.

De Klerk also indicated that the present local government system would soon make way for joint, nonracial structures.

Speaking at a graduation ceremony of the University of Stellenbosch where he received an honorary doctorate degree, De Klerk said moves towards negotiations were imminent.

He also confirmed that discriminatory legislation would be repealed in the coming session of Parliament and that security legislation was being reviewed.

De Klerk said the political process in South Africa had irrevocably been placed on a new road.

“We have broken out of the old grooves and are busy creating new horizons. South Africa will never be the same again.”

Hope

“If a new South Africa must provide hope and lasting peace for all its people then it must be characterised by the best and finest we believe in; it must be cleansed of what is unjust, racist and oppressive.

It must open the doors to representation, freedom, prosperity and progress for all South Africans; it must avoid what has failed here and elsewhere,” said De Klerk.

Sowetan Correspondent.
Edging towards a Federation?

Political Correspondent Peter Fabius looks at the new Regional Development Portfolio

Opinion

President of Kirk...
It'll never be the same again

Tos Wentzel, political staffers, recall the 1975 F.W. de Klerk affair, which was very loud and clear

The government was a constant...
TerreBlanche threatens cleric on Day of Vow

BELFAST — AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche was in a politically belligerent mood yesterday when he recalled how Afrikaner historian Professor Floors van Jaarsveld was tarred and feathered and went on to warn he would "get to" the "coloured" NG church minister, the Rev. Russel Bothman, for suggesting the Day of the Vow be removed from the calendar.

Mr TerreBlanche levelled the threat during a Blood River memorial service at a Boer monument near Belfast. He was referring to an incident on March 29, 1979, when a group of AWB members, led by Mr TerreBlanche, had tarred, and feathered Professor van Jaarsveld, who was delivering a speech questioning the religious nature of the Day of the Vow.

Pleading

Mr TerreBlanche was fined R300, and nine other men were fined R300 over the incident.

This is the kind of treatment Mr TerreBlanche now wants to mete out to Mr Bothman, who had pleaded during a TV debate last week for the abolition of the Day of the Vow.

"I am just warning this coloured (church) minister to keep his mouth away from the Boers' holiday," Mr TerreBlanche said.

About 400 armed and uniformed AWB commando members and their families attended the day's proceedings.

Mr TerreBlanche also called on Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to abolish Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He said this law had been introduced by the late Prime Minister, B.J. Vorster, for the purpose of destroying communism.

"However, since the Government has now made friends with the communists ... the Act has not yet been abolished, even though Vlok should have done so. Instead, it is now being used in the most cruel fashion to lock up, without any access to law, Boer freedom fighters."

He warned once again that "the day the NP hands over power to the ANC, we Boers will take over the Government by force and implement our own Boer State."

With the Vierkleur flying, about 70 Boerestaat Party supporters gathered yesterday near Randburg on the farm of their leader, Robert van Tonder, to commemorate the Day of the Vow.

The "Transvaal Volkslied" was sung as a lament at the loss of the nation's freedom.

Asked why so few people had supported the event, Mr van Tonder smiled and said his only regret was that Andries Pretorius had defeated the Zulus during the school holidays. Had it been any other time of the year he was sure that more people would have been present. — Sapa-Staff Reporter.
FW set to hit back

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to respond in a televised state-of-the-nation address tonight to the ANC’s threat to break off talks.

A spokesman for Mr de Klerk said yesterday the president would speak on the ANC’s threat to suspend negotiations unless obstacles to negotiations were removed by April 30.

The obstacles to negotiations the ANC wants removed are the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Moving his Christmas message forward by nearly a week and using the national television channel to respond to the ANC showed the seriousness with which Mr de Klerk viewed the threat, government sources said last night.

In his address after the 9pm news Mr de Klerk may refer to other hardline resolutions adopted at the ANC’s consultative conference, including the decision to form self-defence units in the townships.

Government sources said yesterday the April 30 deadline had already been agreed to by both parties.

Dr Prestes Mphite and it was expected that Mr de Klerk would indicate that the process of removing obstacles was still on schedule.

A spokesman for the president also said last night that no request had been received from ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo to meet Mr de Klerk.

Mr Tambo returned to South Africa last week after being out of the country for 30 years. The two men have never met.

Group Areas

The United States State Department yesterday criticised the ANC’s threat to suspend negotiations with the government if its conditions are not met as “regrettable” and said it may confuse South Africans about the organisation’s intentions.

But the ANC’s decision to endorse and continue its negotiations with the government was significant.

Referring to sanctions, a US spokesman pointed out that the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1988 still governed US policy.

The act laid down five conditions which South Africa had to satisfy before sanctions could be lifted:

Three of the conditions had already been met:

Those not yet satisfied were the release of political prisoners and the repeat of the Group Areas and Population Registration acts.

There is widespread fear among police, churches and political parties that the recent violence in the precedent to an all-out battle over the Christmas period.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kote, responding to the ANC weekend conference decision, informed the government was aware of the police function.

Even the largest group in the world cannot stop groups intent on killing each other,” Captain Kote said.

From page 1

“With the ANC rank-and-file showed over the weekend is that they don’t accept that whites are committed to an apartheid-free and non-racial South Africa — hence the confusion and suspicion.

And the only way whites are going to break this down will be from a democratic vantage point or by throwing their lot with black organisations like the ANC or Inkatha, and so influencing them from within,” Dr Worrall said.

Mr Nelson Mandela was correct in saying that the National Party could not be the referee and the party to the negotiating process, Dr Worrall said.

An independent facilitator was needed. Key state functions like security and SATV had to be put under neutral supervision and multi-party commissions had to get cracking on major issues like housing, education and land reform.

At Ulundi, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticized the ANC’s weekend “war” and said the escalation of black-on-black violence “presents probably the gravest threat to peace negotiations that exists”. “Violence must be de-escalated and the language of the ANC needs to be moderated for this to happen.”

He said the ANC had given the impression it was being opportunistic about its involvement in the negotiation process.

“South Africa wants to know that the ANC will enter negotiations and abide by the consequences of agreements reached which are endorsed by the population, either in a referendum or in an election.”

To present either ultimatums to the South African government about the release of political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the ending of repressive legislation is just not called for in any objective political terms,” Chief Buthelezi said.
Minister breaks the ice with Cameroon

TIM COHEN and EDYTH BULSING

MINERAL and Energy Affairs' Minister Dawie de Villiers returned at the weekend from a four-day visit to four West African countries, during which he became the first SA cabinet minister to meet members of the Cameroon government in an official capacity.

The visit to Cameroon, at the invitation of that country's government, has been hailed in government circles as a diplomatic coup for SA, in the light of Cameroon's past anti-SA stance.

Foreign Affairs' deputy director-general Rusty Evans said he and De Villiers also visited Ivory Coast, Sao Tome e Principe and Congo.

He said De Villiers met heads of state and government ministers in all the countries and identified areas of future economic and technical co-operation.

Co-operation in the field of mining featured prominently in discussions and oil production was also discussed.

Meanwhile, the Lusaka meeting today between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was expected to deal with peace in the southern African region. On the agenda would be ending the Angolan war and areas for co-operation between SA and Zambia.

The meeting will be the second to take place between Kaunda and Botha in recent months. Botha last visited Lusaka in November when he accepted an invitation from Kaunda to attend a prayer meeting along with representatives from the Frontline states.
Local government system gets thumbs down

WHITE RIVER — The local government system in SA was rejected in a joint statement yesterday by the ANC, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer and chambers of commerce in the Lowveld towns of Nelspruit, White River and Hazyview.

Their statement backed nonracial local government with wider powers.

The statement, faxed to Sapa, said a joint forum had been formed during yesterday's meeting between the eastern Transvaal regional committee of the ANC and representatives from the Nelspruit Business Chamber, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer in Nelspruit and White River, and the Hazyview Chamber of Commerce.

In a joint statement after the meeting, they said:

☐ The forum took note that government and the ANC as well as the majority of other parties rejected the present system of local government in SA;

☐ The forum rejected this system and insisted that this rejection form part of the negotiation process on a new constitution;

☐ It insisted that local government be nonracial, as should all levels of government;

☐ Moreover, local government should have much wider powers than at present so it could be truly democratic and represent the will of the people;

☐ It condemned any violence, harassment or intimidation of any kind such as was happening in certain areas in SA; and

☐ All forum participants agreed that the forum had a positive effect and urged other communities to follow their example by forming similar forums, thus avoiding conflict.

The Lowveld ANC/businessmen's forum also noted that the consumer boycott in White River, Nelspruit and Hazyview was "not on" — pending the outcome of the talks.

The combined forum is to meet again on January 17 at Nelspruit. — Sapa.
NO word is repeated more often today in South African politics than "transition". What is this transition that we are meant to be going through? If it is not revolution from below or reform from above, then what is it? A transition becomes possible when a old order cannot survive and the revolutionary forces opposed to it are not strong enough to replace it by force.

P.W. de Klerk’s choice was whether to put a new sugar coating on P.W. Botha’s old bitter pill, or to throw that pill out altogether.

In essence, the deal for the NP was simple: agree to a fundamental transition to a non-racial democracy on condition that maintained control of the terms of this transition.

The liberation movements were caught off guard. With the adoption of the Harare Declaration by the OAU and the passing of the UN resolution on sanctions that followed, the ANC held the moral high ground until February.

Since then, it has been scrambling to catch up to the NP.

“The greatest historical mistake they can make now is to fail to achieve what is possible today because their efforts are directed at goals that cannot be achieved tomorrow.”

The basic choice that faced the liberation movements was whether to accept P.W. de Klerk’s commitment to a transition, or to accept it and enter the contest to control the terms of this transition.

There is little doubt that the regime currently holds the strategic initiative. It can do this because it has a huge well-oiled administrative machinery, an effective policy-making capacity and an intelligence system and control of most of the media.

Furthermore, the NP is not a democratically organised structure and so leaders can make decisions without tampering.

The major liberation movements cannot match the NP in these fields and are additionally burdened by the democratic processes that are their strength.

Internationally, the ANC has never been weaker. P.W. Botha must have jumped for joy when the ANC Consultative Conference passed a resolution in favour of the maintenance of sanctions on the same day that the European Community decided to lift a key aspect of international sanctions.

What can the ANC do to secure back the strategic initiative and to regain control of the transition?

Firstly, in organisational structures will have to become more coherent.

No party in South Africa could have managed what the ANC has achieved since February. To establish a country-wide branch structure capable of providing mandated representatives to a consultative conference inside the country just eight months after it was established is a feat of truly impressive proportions. But huge problems remain.

Secondly, the relationship between the leadership and the base has to be re-organised. Communications, however, is the key.

Thirdly, the ANC still does not have a coherent policy-making capacity. Policies for the post-apartheid South Africa are formulated on an ad hoc basis by dispersed groups with little or no training in how the policy formulation process works.

Fourthly, mass action will have to be escalated but with specific objectives in mind.

Fifthly, the ANC’s negotiating capacity will have to be upgraded. Mistakes at the national negotiating table could be avoided if the national negotiators drew in the highly skilled negotiators from the union and civic movements.

Finally, a clear conception of the link between local-level negotiations and the national negotiation process will have to be found.

As far as the future is concerned, the Constituent Assembly is clearly going to be the centre-piece of our politics. It will be the unifying focus for all the liberation movements and will mark out where the new goal posts are going to be.

The NP, for obvious reasons, has rejected it. If, however, the ANC plays this card skillfully, it could be the strategy that turns the game in its favour. This includes making the Constituent Assembly attractive to the NP.

By passing an act to legitimise a constituent assembly, and the tri-cameral parliament simultaneously dissolves itself and declares the Constituent Assembly as the new legislature.

This can be followed by the first general elections for this legislature on the basis of procedures that the (probably re-elected) Constituent Assembly will determine.

The NP, however, is not intact and probably cannot survive the collapse of the negotiation process. The NP, in short, needs a deal. This must be exploited.

The ANC, however, has the opposite problem. It may survive a breakdown of the transition, but the power of the opposition may not. This means the ANC cannot push things too far because it stands the risk of destroying the only organised force in white politics capable of delivering the ramp of white support into the new South Africa.

In addition, it could overestimate its own power and risk a critical battle it could lose.

This weakness is already being exploited by the NP and business.

“P.W. de Klerk’s choice was whether to put a new sugar coating on P.W. Botha’s old bitter pill, or to throw that pill out altogether.”

So, in short, the balance of power is very complex. Tremendous skill is required from the liberation movements over the next six months to swing things around in favour of the oppressed.

The greatest historical mistake they can make now is to fail to achieve what is possible today because their efforts are directed at goals that cannot be achieved tomorrow.

As the NP knows well, a pragmatist approach to the realities of power is the only way of gaining control of the terms of the transition.

The alternative is an idealistic policy that leaves behind lost opportunities and doused expectations.
HE was the darling of the world’s press, the sweetheart of international leaders and the legend who became a man for millions throughout South Africa and the world.

Nelson Mandela was the symbol of the anti-apartheid struggle and the fighting spirit of the ANC.

The man, who no one except his jailers and a few recent visitors had seen for 27 years, became the hottest news story of the decade on his release and before anyone even knew what he looked like.

**NELSON MANDELA**

The expectations of millions of people were high: Mandela was going to force the government to negotiate; Mandela was going to end unemployment in South Africa; Mandela was going to stop the violence in Natal.

But soon after Mandela’s release, reality hit him. He was not a god or a miracle maker, but a dedicated member of the ANC who followed instructions from his organization.

Later, he learned that in 1990 he was hired by the ANC to travel to the United States and he was to speak on a human rights theme.

The security forces were repeatedly linked to the violence which racked the townships, increasing doubts about the government’s sincerity.

**GATSHA BUTHELEZI**

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Inkatha leader and chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland, featured prominently in media coverage of township wars.

When ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela called for Natal ANC members to “throw your weapons into the sea”, many expected a similar call from Buthelezi to his followers.

**WINNIE MANDELA**

The South Africans who received the unkindest media attention this year was undoubtedly Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Her “total media” regarding the circumstances surrounding the death of activist Stompie Moeketsi Sepel had her tried and convicted before she had been charged.

The “Mother of the Nation”, who had long been admired for her heroic and dignified suffering during years of repression, was vilified and scorned in the media.

Besides, in the first few months after his release, Mandela had little time to work miracles. An exhibition of arms from Europe and the United States began — a fitting tribute to the world’s foremost freedom fighter.

From ticker tape parades in New York, addresses to the United Nations and concerts to music concerts, the world celebrated the release of Mandela in a way few other leaders have received adulation from foreign countries.

Although it is the message not the man and the organizational structures and membership on the ground which forms the ANC, Mandela is still regarded both inside South Africa and abroad as the synecdoche of the ANC.

**and the others who made the news**

**FW DE KLERK**

He was the man who took South Africa across the Rubicon and back into the world’s centre stage.

In a momentous speech in February, State President FW de Klerk unleashed long-silenced political organisations and announced his government’s intention to free political prisoners, allow exiles to return, lift the state of emergency and media curbs and suspend the death sentence.

Later the same month, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela walked free and the scene was set for talks about talks.

De Klerk vied with Mandela for international attention and jetted off to foreign climates to win the support of world leaders for his reforms. South Africa began developing links with Eastern Europe, the USSR and the rest of Africa.

By the end of 1990 — despite the vast difference in vision of a future South Africa between the ANC and the Nationalists, the growing violence in the country and the continued existence of apartheid — De Klerk had managed to convince most of the world that South Africa was on an irreversible path to democracy.

At home, however, his opponents are still waiting for him to deliver most of his February 2 promises. Critics charged him with deliberately stalling on political prisoners and exiles and tinkering with apartheid laws.

The security forces were repeatedly linked to the violence which racked the townships, increasing doubts about the government’s sincerity.

**CHRIS HANI**

WHEN the Piororis government finally opened its doors to the leaders of the ANC and other liberation movements earlier this year, the same doors were shut in certain individuals’ faces.

These included Mr Chris Hani, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto weSizwe, Mr Bonnie Kasi, senior ANC NEC member, Mr Mac Maharaj, South African Communist Party strategist — which immediately placed them a cut above the rest of the ANC’s leadership.

Hani was dubbed the “ANC’s most militant man” when he said the ANC might have to seize power if talks broke down.

In anticipation of this, he said Umkhonto weSizwe cadres would have to “remain in their trenches, awaiting orders from the ANC”.

The government cited these utterances as an act of “militant against the spirit and word of the Groote Schuur Minute”.

The withdrawal of his temporary indemnity was followed by him vowing never to leave South Africa.

**ALLAN BOESAK**

WHEN Dr Allan Boesak announced his resignation from church leadership from the pulpit of his church on July 8 it marked the end of an era for one of South Africa’s most charismatic church leaders.

Within a few shattering weeks, Boesak moved from president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and moderator of the NG Sandveldkerk to lay member of his church.

The circumstances surrounding the exposure of Boesak’s friendship with TV producer Mr Elias Botha are still mysterious, but its effect was devastating.

Yet, despite the absence this time round of “We Stand by our Leaders” rallies and T-shirts, Boesak still maintained the support he had gained in the years that he was the most outspoken critic of apartheid and repression. Despite the upstart arrival of Boesak’s personal life, invitations for him to address rallies and meetings continued streaming in.

Boesak has yet to join a political party, but all indications are that he will close to enjoy recognition as a leader of the democratic movement.
De Klerk to address the nation tonight

President F W de Klerk will respond to the ANC's threat to break off talks in a televised state-of-the-nation address tonight.

A spokesman for De Klerk said yesterday the President would speak on matters facing the country, including the weekend threat by the ANC to withdraw from talks unless obstacles to negotiations were removed by April 30.

The ANC wants the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles speeded up.

Moving his Christmas message forward by nearly a week and using the national television channel to respond to the ANC showed the seriousness with which De Klerk viewed the threat, government sources said last night.

In his address after the 8pm news, De Klerk will respond to other hardline resolutions adopted at the ANC's consultative conference, including the decision to form self-defence units in the townships.

Government sources said yesterday the April 30 deadline had already been agreed to by both sides in the Pretoria Minute and it was expected that De Klerk would indicate that the process of removing obstacles was still on schedule.

De Klerk is also expected to say what government plans to do during the next parliamentary session to speed up the reform process.

With township fighting flaring again in recent weeks, he will call on feuding parties to make an extra effort to stop violence.

There is widespread fear among police, church and political parties that recent violence is the precursor to an all-out battle over the Christmas period.

Meanwhile, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze, responding to the ANC decision to form defence units, said government would not tolerate the formation of defence units that tried to carry out the functions of the police.

"The SAP as an impartial and apolitical force strongly disapproves of the formation of private political armies," he said.

He said this was a recipe for heightened conflict in the communities that would result inevitably in opposing armies being formed and lead to further confrontation and ultimately to civil war.

Private armies were totally unnecessary and police would take action against any political groups that tried to form vigilante groups such as those advocated by the ANC.

He said police could not solve the problem of violence by themselves and called for a dramatic change in attitude by feuding parties.

"Even the largest police force in the world cannot stop groups intent on killing each other," he said.

"We can only deal with the symptoms of violence and try and keep the parties away from each other. The underlying causes must be negotiated by the feuding parties," he said.

Our Durban correspondent reports that Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has described decisions taken at the ANC conference as "killing talks".

He said any threat to resume the armed struggle "is war talk and is killing talk among sectors of the population in which violence and killings have been used for political purposes. Violence must be desescalated and the language of the ANC needs to be moderated."

The DP said yesterday it was discouraged by decisions taken at the conference because they would postpone the start of the constitution-making process.

The party's constitutional affairs spokesman Denis Worrall said the decisions showed the ANC had not made the transition from liberation movement to political party "operating in a domestic environment".
Zimbabwe discreetly edging closer to SA, say diplomats

HARARE — Zimbabwe has ignored SA’s diplomatic drive to make friends with long-hostile black African states, but diplomats say Harare is discreetly moving closer to its powerful neighbour.

“Certainly Zimbabwe is more reluctant than the other frontline states to have a high-profile relationship with SA. But there has been a distinct, if gradual, improvement,” a senior Western diplomat said.

Zimbabwe is the only southern African country still giving SA a wide berth, although it has maintained a trade mission in SA for the past 10 years.

Diplomats cite a lingering bitterness over the way SA backed Ian Smith’s white minority Rhodesian government. They also point to fears that SA will swamp relatively prosperous Zimbabwe’s recent attempts to open up its economy to foreign competition.

But one Western diplomat said there were signs of an easing in tensions between the two countries. He said Zimbabwe was being steered in its policy towards SA by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Another diplomat noted that Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe “doesn’t attack De Klerk any more, and he no longer minimises the changes taking place.”

Diplomats cited a number of developments to back their argument:

- A South African radio station, Radio Truth, used to beam propaganda into Zimbabwe denouncing the Harare government, but it stopped transmitting earlier this year.
- The SA trade mission in Harare was given permission recently to build new premises. The two countries have kept trade missions in each other’s capitals since 1988, but Harare does not want full diplomatic relations.
- SA and Zimbabwe are working on improving trade links.
- Five SA parliamentarians who visited Harare in October on a private fact-finding mission stayed at a government guest house and met Zimbabwean legislators.

SA spy Odile Harrington was freed from a Zimbabwean jail last month, after serving three years of a 15-year sentence for spying on the ANC.

Zimbabwe hosted a meeting of African Olympic representatives in November at which SA sports officials invited for the first time agreed to work towards abolishing apartheid.

Analysts say Zimbabweans worry that lifting of trade sanctions against SA would damage their own economy may be exaggerated.

Zimbabwe, a country that spends more on the military than on schools, made it clear in its own history, diplomats say.

“Ministers accept the good faith of De Klerk and Pik Botha because they have been told by Nelson Mandela that he accepts their good faith,” said one. “But they may think back to (former Rhodesian prime ministers) Edgar Whitehead and Garfield Todd, progressive liberals who were unhorsed by their own colleagues when they tried to reform the system.”

“People here don’t want to be made fools of if reform goes wrong in SA. — Sapa-Reuter.”
Zimbabwe and SA on a better footing

Zimbabwe has ignored South Africa's diplomatic drive to make friends with long-hostile black African states, but diplomats say Harare is discreetly moving closer to its powerful southern neighbour.

"Certainly Zimbabwe is more reluctant than the other frontline states to have a high-profile relationship with South Africa. But there has been a distinct, if gradual, improvement," a senior Western diplomat said.

South Africa's reformist President F.W. de Klerk launched a massive diplomatic offensive this year to sell reforms which he says will bring about a non-racial democracy to replace the internationally abhorred apartheid system.

De Klerk and his Foreign Minister Pik Botha have put great efforts into wooing black Africa, which has campaigned strongly for many years for tough economic sanctions to force Pretoria to end apartheid.

Impressive

They have natched up an impressive list of meetings with the leaders of Kenya, Angola, Namibia, Zambia, Mozambique, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Cape Verde and Morocco.

Zimbabwe is the only southern African country still giving the Pretoria leadership a wide berth, although it has maintained a trade mission in South Africa for the past 10 years.

Diplomats cite a lingering bitterness over the way South Africa backed Ian Smith's white minority Rhodesian government in its losing battle against the guerrilla groups which now rule Zimbabwe.

They also point to fears that South Africa will swamp relatively prosperous Zimbabwe's recent attempts to open up its economy to foreign competition.

But the Western diplomat said there were signs of an easing in tensions between the two countries.

He said Zimbabwe was being steered in its policy towards South Africa by African National Congress (ANC) deputy president Nelson Mandela, who is negotiating with De Klerk.

Another diplomat noted that Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe "doesn't attack De Klerk any more and he no longer minimizes the changes taking place".

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* South Africa and Zimbabwe are working on improving trade links.

* Five South African parliamentarians who visited Harare in October on a private fact-finding mission stayed in a government guest house and met Zimbabwean legislators.

* South African spy Odlle Harrison was freed from a Zimbabwean jail last month, after serving three years of a 12-year sentence for spying on the ANC here.

* Zimbabwe hosted a meeting of African Olympic representatives in November at which South African sports officials invited for the first time agreed to work towards abolishing apartheid.

Analysts say Zimbabwe worries that a lifting of trade sanctions against Pretoria would damage their own economy may be exaggerated.

"Large chunks of the economy - tobacco farming, other agriculture, and mining - would either be unaffected or would benefit," said a Harare-based economist.

"There would be both gains and losses in industry. Some components would become cheaper if Zimbabwe dropped its present policy of not sourcing imports from South Africa unless it's inevitable," one diplomat said.

* Some industries are already exporting to South Africa: the cheaper end of the footwear market, textiles and clothing. Others would be put under extreme pressure.

* "There are both opportunities and risks, and it's hard to say exactly how it would work out, but the idea that the Zimbabwean economy would be squashed flat is overplayed," Zimbabwe's reluctance to raise its profile with Pretoria stems partly from its own history, diplomats say.

"Ministers accept the good faith of De Klerk and Pik Botha because they have been told by Mandela that he accepts their good faith," one diplomat said.

"But they may think back to (former Rhodesian prime minister) Edgar Whitehead and Garfield Todd, progressive liberals who were unseated by their own colleagues when they tried to reform the system here.

"People here don't want to be made fools of if reform goes wrong in South Africa," - Sapa-Reuters.
Hope continues to raise its head
The Star's readers would elect ANC

By Helen Grange

If a general election was held in the near future among readers of The Star, the ANC would come to power.

This is the finding of a survey conducted by Marketing and Media Research into the likes and dislikes, political and otherwise, of a broad cross-section of The Star's readers.

According to the survey findings, the majority (over 38 percent) of readers would vote for the ANC over other political groupings.

The National Party would be close on its heels, but would outstrip the ANC only in the event of a coalition between the NP and the Democratic Party.

Inkatha

About 4 percent of The Star's readers are Conservative Party supporters and the remainder of the political parties or organisations (GA Communist Party, Inkatha, Pan Africanist Party, Black Consciousness, AWB, Azapo and others) would not receive votes of any significance.

The survey shows that there are more white supporters of Inkatha than black supporters — although total support stood only at 1 percent.

There are also more black supporters of the NP than white supporters of the ANC.

The AWB enjoys only 0.3 percent of readers' support.

In gauging how hopeful The Star's readers are for South Africa's future, the survey found that 32 percent feel very hopeful while 39 percent are not very hopeful.

A similar survey conducted with readers of The Sowetan shows that 59 percent of readers are very hopeful, while 29 percent are not very hopeful.

It is almost certain that since February 2, the day of President de Klerk's landmark reform speech, blacks have become more hopeful about their future, the survey maintains.

Asked how confident they felt about a happy future for all races, readers differed substantially.

White readers were more confident in 1977 about this issue than they are now. However, they are far more optimistic now than in 1986, the climax of their pessimism.

Conversely, the confidence of black readers for a racially harmonious future is higher now than it has been for more than a decade. Black readers showed they were most pessimistic in 1977 and 1995, the height of the PW Botha era.

The most important issue to be dealt with, according to readers of The Star and The Sowetan, is apartheid and the equality of blacks and whites.

Eleven percent of both readership groups believe violence and intimidation are the most crucial issues in securing a hopeful future.

The topic most readers feel they would like to see more of in The Star is education.

There is also a demand for more life skills information, according to the survey findings.

White readers still ask for more humour, although this is not a priority for black readers, many of whom see the newspaper as a more serious medium.
President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela may have good reasons for saying little about their talks in Pretoria this week, but there is one thing they cannot hide — a looming showdown on demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government to take over power. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.

What they can’t hide

ONE hurdle to constitutional negotiations stands out like a sore thumb in spite of the almost total silence by President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela on the outcome of their talks of nearly two hours in the Union Buildings this week.

Besides the urgent problem of continuing township violence, a huge bone of contention between the government and the ANC is the question of how to set up the negotiating table and what to do with power during transition to a "new South Africa".

These are issues that can make or break negotiations. They can determine whether there will be peace or conflict. They have much to do with the perceived legitimacy of a new constitution. The key question, in the language of negotiation politics, arises from ANC demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government, and the government's adamantly rejection of these demands. Here the gulf between the two sides appears to be irreconcilable. Each side has publicly expressed a total commitment to its viewpoint.

However, some leading analysts believe that this problem can be overcome with a little more realism on all sides and a little less of present hardline attitudes.

One view is that the government will have to learn to live with the idea of a constituent assembly or something similar, while the ANC and its allies will have to accept that this is not for now but for much later in the constitution-making process.

Professor Hennie Kotze, head of the department of political science at the University of Stellenbosch, foresees a serious power struggle if an interim government and a constituent assembly were to be established before a new constitution is drawn up.

"What it amounts to, if we look at the Harare Declaration, is that power is to be transferred before agreement is reached on the rules of the game."

Professor Kotze warned in an interview this week that the power struggle likely to take place in such circumstances could derail the whole negotiation process.

At this stage, however, it is not clear what the ANC and others are asking for. If they want the kind of structures proposed in the Harare Declaration, an interim government will be formed to supervise the drawing up and adoption of the new constitution. To govern and administer the country during the transition period, and to effect the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections.

In terms of the Harare Declaration, the interim government need not necessarily be elected — it can be formed by agreement between negotiating parties.

Professor Kotze suggests such a government will lack legitimacy and could even be used by the ANC and its allies as a method for taking over power before a new constitution has been negotiated. He believes there is no easy road to democracy and notes that most of the international authorities on transition to democracy do not rate constituent assemblies as necessary.

However, if there has to be a constituent assembly there is another way to go about it. That is the Namibia-type procedure with its Resolution 435 setting out broad guidelines for a new constitution and for setting up of a constituent assembly to write the constitution according to the agreed guidelines.

Constitutional law specialist Professor Marius Wiechers, of the University of South Africa, says he cannot see how the demands for a constituent assembly and interim government to take over power could be accepted at this stage.

This would not make sense now, but there were indications of "greater realism" entering the debate.

At some stage of the negotiation process, however, an authoritative body would be needed to bring constitution-making to a conclusion and to ensure acceptance of the legitimacy of the new constitution.

Professor Wiechers says he sees a possibility of setting up a constitutional conference or a national convention — if not a constituent assembly — to put the final stamp of legitimacy on a negotiated constitution. But this would have to come at the end of negotiations and not now. So too, a referendum would have to come at the end.

The Namibian experience had shown it was not an easy process. It took nearly 12 years to bring that country's transition and constitution-making to a successful conclusion.

One of the grounds on which government spokesmen rejected such demands was that a constituent assembly at this stage would make constitutional negotiations meaningless.

The idea has also been rejected by Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer.

Yet, on another side of the spectrum, various organisations are getting together in a united stand for demanding a constituent assembly. The organisations include the PAC, Azapo, Nacta, the New Unity Movement (NUM) and Saco.

More recently there have been moves for the ANC, the PAC and associated groupings to join forces over demands to the government for a constituent assembly. ANC and PAC leaders agreed to form a united front against the government, following calls for unity by heads of several African states at last week's summit meeting in Mogadishu.

Mr Mandela's argument, as outlined at the summit, is that the establishment of an interim government and a constituent assembly is a democratic process recognised throughout the world. He says elections should be held as soon as possible to choose a constituent assembly.

However, Mr Mandela's view is not shared by American constitutional expert Professor Albert B Blaustein who believes a constituent assembly in South Africa's circumstances will be a wrong move.

He writes that it will produce "a hodgepodge mish-mash of contradictory provisions in the vain attempt to be all things to all men."

Instead, Professor Blaustein, a constitutional adviser on more than 20 constitutional commissions, recommends a national constitutional commission composed of representatives of all recognised political parties.

ROW LOOMS ON CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
Violence is

This is the full text of President De Klerk's address to the nation on television last night.

My message tonight is addressed to all South Africans - to you who are following this broadcast on Witblitz or Tiso, in KwaZulu or Queens Town, at the seaside or in your homes; to farmers in Pietersburg; to factory workers in the Western Cape; to housewives in Constantia; to all the people who make up the rich fabric of our society, to all South Africans.

We are approaching the end of one of the most significant years in our history. The developments since February 2, 1990 will continue to affect all our lives and the lives of all our children. This has been a year filled with achievement and promise, but also with disappointment.

Above all, it was the year in which we managed to break out of most of the constrictions of the past - a year during which we as South Africans started talking to each other across historical barriers.

In only one year:

- The political process has been normalised. All political parties can operate freely.
- All political leaders can participate in the developing national debate.
- All ideas and ideologies are openly examined and discussed in the full light of free discussion.
- Leaders, who previously stood back, are now important or prospective participants in the search for constitutional solutions.
- These and other developments have helped to change international perceptions of our country. We have taken major strides in our efforts to break out of international isolation, as was illustrated by the latest decision by the European Community on financial sanctions.
- In short, we have made remarkable progress across a broad front since the beginning of the year. I want to thank all those who have worked so hard, risked and given so much during this year, to help our country on its way into the future.
- At the same time, the opening up of our society has aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears among some, and dangerous and unrealistic expectations among others. The high level of social unrest has all too often erupted in violence. It has unleashed emotions threatening the progress we have made. Our successes have driven some elements, not interested in peaceful change, to step up their efforts to disrupt society.
- A state of fear has descended on many of our black townships.
- Since the beginning of the year, more than 3,000 people have died through violence.
- Millions of Rand damage in damage caused by the vandalising of schools, universities, homes and vehicles.
- By hundreds of thousands of young people, a whole year's education has been lost.
- In some areas, local government has ground to a halt. Election councillors have been intimidated. Funds have run out because of services boycotts.
- Basic services have been disrupted, causing hardship to many thousands and disrupting the lives of whole communities.
- Intimidation is rampant. Too often people make decisions, not through conviction, but because they are terrified.
- Political leaders at the radical fringes provoke confrontation and threaten violence.
- Crime has reached unacceptable levels.
- There can no longer be any excuse whatsoever for such behaviour. Genuine grievances can now be democratically aired and the road to negotiation is open.
- The government has no intention of allowing these destructive developments to continue unchallenged.
- The maintenance of law and order is not negotiable.
- The first duty of any responsible government is to protect the lives and property of all its citizens. This is the most basic of all human rights. Upon it rests all the other rights.

The government is accordingly determined to take whatever further action (which) may be necessary to maintain law and order throughout our society.

At the same time, we dare not allow these negative tendencies to force us from our course. Problems are there to be solved - and that is precisely what must happen in 1991.

When I say this, I am not underestimating the seriousness of these problems. There is, indeed, reason for serious concern over these matters. However, concern and distress alone will not bring us anywhere. We must grasp the nettle and take action to correct those things which are wrong: to make sure that the new, just South Africa, towards which all reasonable South Africans are striving, is not sabotaged by radicalism and chaos.

With this in mind, the government has already taken far-reaching steps, including:

- The strengthening of the police force.
- The utilisation, where necessary, of the South African Defence Force.
- The declaration of unrest areas and
- The establishment of a R3-billion fund to tackle socio-economic problems.

More progress was made with negotiations that would have been thought possible a year ago.

It is, however, clear that, with regard to both security action and positive initiatives, even more must be done.

In this regard certain additional steps and initiatives
acceptability

President FW de Klerk makes his address to the nation on television last night.

will shortly be taken.

This will include the intensification and extension of impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in affected areas. Even more effective prevention of crime, disorder, unrest and intimidation is the goal.

We also intend to stabilise local government to enable us to resume basic services to all black communities.

It is, however, clear that we will not be able to achieve our objectives solely by stepping up the activities of the police. If we are to succeed in this endeavour, we will need the support of all South Africans of goodwill and particularly of all major political and other organisations.

It is not only the government that is concerned about the factors which I have mentioned. Nearly all major parties have called for an end to the intimidation and violence; for a return of schoolchildren to their classrooms and for the promotion of genuine democracy.

The time has now come for the organisations involved to put these worthy objectives into effect. It is essential that we could reach agreement on what is acceptable in our society and what is not. I say:

Violence is unacceptable. There can no longer be any excuse, whatsoever, for violence. No one has the right to use violence against others to advance their political objectives. Those who have political differences should resolve them through negotiations.

Intimidation is also unacceptable. No one has the right to intimidate others or to force them to act against their will. Intimidation is completely irreconcilable with the principles of democracy.

The incitement of racial hatred is unacceptable. Slogans such as "one settler, one bullet" and slogans urging violence against black South Africans are absolutely unacceptable. South Africans should not tolerate those who fan the fires of racial hatred.

The non-payment for services is unacceptable. In no society in the world the organised non-payment for services will be tolerated. Without revenue some communities will soon be confronted with the total collapse of essential services.

Mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which may result in violence is unacceptable. Such mass action breeds confrontation and conflict. Some of those involved imagine that they can dictate the future of South Africa by inflammatory mass mobilisation.

that is the road to disaster.

The increasing incidence of crime is unacceptable. Citizens have a right to feel safe in their homes, on the streets and in their vehicles.

The current role of the radicalised youth is unacceptable. Many of the problems which I have mentioned have been caused by, or greatly inflamed by, radicalised young people. These young people belong in their classrooms, not in the streets. Young people must be involved in programmes that will get them back to school and which will enable them to play a constructive role in society.

None of these unacceptable trends has anything to do with genuine democracy. They have no place in preparing the way for the new South Africa. They will not be tolerated by any South African of goodwill. All South Africans who want a peaceful and prosperous future should become involved in combating them.

It is for this reason disappointing that some political movements are still caught up in these undemocratic and unacceptable strategies and methods. It is also disappointing that at its recent conference the ANC appeared to have reverted to outdated rhetoric and policies that form the flames of confrontation.

They continued to talk of the transfer of power, while they know that the purpose of the proposed negotiations is to determine how, in the interest of all South Africans, power should be shared and domination avoided.

They continued to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government — thus trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiation and constitutional process.

They continued to advocate outdated revolutionary doctrines and radical methods, knowing full well that these militate against a true commitment to peaceful solutions.

They refused to acknowledge that any fundamental changes had taken place in South Africa — this despite the fact that for the first time in 30 years they and their leadership could hold a conference, legally and with orderly, within the Republic.

The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitment to the promotion of peace and the negotiated solution, or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?

I want to reassure all peace-loving South Africans who are reaching out to a new era of peace and prosperity.

The government shall not allow a state of anarchy in our country.

We will not capitulate to radical pressure.

We will not shrink back from using all available resources to ensure stability.

In 1991 we will steer a firm and steady course of fundamental reform and orderly, constructive negotiation. There can be no compromise on the protection of basic democratic and civilised values.

We will continue to build a new South Africa in step with the free world and just South Africa which will assure peace, prosperity, progress and political participation for all our citizens.

During this season of goodwill I should like to appeal to all South Africans and to all political parties and movements to rededicate themselves to the peace solution of our country's problems. I call on them to reject all forms of violence and intimidation and to join us in the New Year in constructive and peaceful negotiations. That is the demand and the prayer of the silent majority of all our people.

May you all experience in this festive season the peace and reconciliation which is the true message of Christmas.

And may God guide us in 1991 towards progress and stability for our country and all our people.

Let us move forward with determination. There is much to be done.
FW vows to crack down on violence

Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night slammed the African National Congress for fanning the flames of confrontation and said the maintenance of law and order was not negotiable.

In a state of the nation address on television Mr de Klerk said he would:

- Intensify "impartial policing activities" in troubled areas.
- Stabilise local government - the main target of the ANC's "mass action" campaign - so that basic services could be restored to all black communities.
- Mr De Klerk's widely awaited address basically repeated the government's commitment to fundamental reform as well as to law and order.

Anarchy

The speech was apparently brought forward in response to the ANC's militant weekend conference and took place at the usual 8pm newsbreak, which was delayed by 15 minutes.

Vowing to crack down on violence, intimidation and anarchy in 1991, Mr de Klerk warned that he would not hesitate to use armed forces to guarantee stability.

He said that at the ANC's consultative conference at the weekend the organisation "appeared to have reverted to outdated rhetoric and policies that fan the flames of confrontation."

He continued to talk about a "transitional" period of power when it was aware that the objective of pre-empts the negotiations process by continuing to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The ANC was guilty of "viscous and vindictive" attacks on the ANC and its leaders, he said.

Mr de Klerk said he would not allow the tactics of political opponents to divert the government from its course.

"In 1991 we will avert a firm and steady course of fundamental reform and orderly, constructive negotiation."

He said virtually all major political parties had called for:

- An end to intimidation and violence.
- A return of schoolchildren to their classrooms.
- The promotion of "genuine democracy."

Intimidation was unacceptable, as was the incitement of racial hatred and slogans such as "one settler, one bullet" used by the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Young people

The non-payment for services, mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which might result in violence, the increasing incidence of crime, and the current role of radicalised youth were also unacceptable.

Mr de Klerk said: "Many of the problems which I have mentioned have been caused by, or greatly intensified by, radicalised young people."

Young people living in their classrooms, not in the streets.

Mr de Klerk said 1990 had been one of the most significant years in South Africa's history and had been filled with achievement and promise, but also with disappointment.

To page 3
In only one year, the political process had been normalised and all political parties could operate freely, all political leaders could participate in national debate and all ideas and ideologies were openly examined and dissected. This had helped to change international perceptions and major strides had been made away from international isolation.

The opening up of society had aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears as well as dangerous and unrealistic expectations. A state of fear had descended on many black townships, more than 5600 people had died in violence, millions of rands’ damage had been caused, hundreds of thousands of young people had lost a whole year’s education and in some areas local government had ground to a halt.

"Intimidation is rampant. Too often people make decisions, not through conviction, but because they are terrified."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer last night described Mr De Klerk’s speech as “motherhood and apple pie”.

“He says a great many entirely supportable things, and when he wishes us a merry Christmas, I am sure we all respond positively.”

The DP leader said the recurring theme of the president’s message was that the incidence of crime was unacceptable.

“Of course it is — every politician can confirm that the people are crying out for crime to be brought under control. But it is not the task of the DP to stop the crime. It is not the task of the ANC or of the Conservative Party.

“As long as Mr De Klerk runs the country it is his responsibility and that of his government.”

It was all very well for the president to say that claims for an interim government or a constituent assembly must not be substituted for the negotiating process.

“We largely agree with him, but it is his responsibility to get the negotiations off the ground and running.”
Mass action is unacceptable, says De Klerk

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk last night challenged the ANC to choose between supporting the commitment of its leaders to peaceful negotiations and reverting to the old order of confrontation and conflict.

In a hard-hitting televised address to the nation, De Klerk rejected the ANC's programme of mass action as one of a number of undemocratic and unacceptable strategies employed by the organisation.

The ANC had refused to acknowledge that any fundamental changes had taken place in SA. However, "For the first time in 30 years they and their leadership could hold a conference, legally and without hindrance, within the Republic," De Klerk said.

He said the ANC continued to talk about the transfer of power while it knew the purpose of the proposed negotiations was to determine how power should be shared and domination avoided.

The organisation was trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiations and constitutional process by its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

De Klerk said the ANC continued to advocate outdated revolutionary doctrines and radical methods "knowing full well that these militate against a true commitment to peaceful solutions".

He said it was disappointing that some political movements were still caught up in undemocratic and unacceptable strategies and methods.

"It is also disappointing that at its recent conference the ANC appeared to have reverted to outdated rhetoric and policies that fan the flames of confrontation."

The government would not allow a state of anarchy in the country, would not capitulate to radical pressure and would not shrink back from using all available resources to ensure stability, De Klerk said.

He said government would steer a firm and steady course of fundamental reform and orderly, constructive negotiation next year, but there could be no compromise on the protection of basic democratic and civilised values.

"We will continue to build a new SA in step with the free world ... which will assure peace, prosperity, progress and political participation for all our citizens," De Klerk said.

TIM COHEN reports that an ANC spokesman said last night that the organisation stood by the decisions of its constituent conference, but that it would provide "clarification" of those decisions.

The spokesman said the ANC had taken note of the points raised in De Klerk's address.

If government required clarification or more information about conference decisions, it would be provided. The spokesman "would not comment further.

De Klerk said strategies that were undemocratic and unacceptable were:

- Violence to advance political objectives;
- Indemnation to terrorise others or to force them to act against their will;
- The incitement of racial hatred and sto-

De Klerk composed of such "one settler, one bullet" and slogans urging violence against black South Africans;
- Non-payment for services;
- Mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which may result in violence.

"Such mass action breeds confrontation and conflict. Some of those involved imagine that they can dictate the future of SA by inflammatory mass mobilisation. That is the road to disaster," he said.

Also unacceptable were the increasing incidence of crime and the role of radicalised youth who had caused or greatly inflamed many of the problems.

De Klerk spent a large part of his message addressing violence. He said while great strides had been made, the opening up of SA society had aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears among some, and dangerous and unrealistic expectations among others.

The high level of social unrest had too
$10m 'democracy' plan on hold

WASHINGTON — The US administration's plan for allocating the $10m voted by Congress in April to promote democracy in SA has run into a storm of criticism on Capitol Hill, indefinitely delaying the dispersal of funds.

The criticism comes from Republicans and Democrats who argue the administration has taken inadequate steps to ensure the money will be spent properly.

Entitled the Transition to Democracy Project, the plan provides $3.7m for the ANC, $1m for Inkatha's Action for Democracy, and $225 000 for the Wits Centre for Policy Studies, with the rest going to US organisations' projects in SA.

The major complaints are contained in a letter from senior Republican member of the House of Foreign Affairs Committee Congressman William Broomfield to the State Department's Agency for International Development (AID).

Broomfield, with an effective veto over such programmes, blasted AID and the US embassy in Pretoria for failing to make a "preliminary examination" of the ANC's and Inkatha's "administrative capability" and capacity to use the funds efficiently.

In briefing committee staff, AID and State Department officials admitted that such an examination was necessary but could not identify what organisation would do such an assessment.

*See Page 3*
Kaunda breaks new ground by praising FW

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday publicly praised President F W de Klerk for his political courage, during a meeting with Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the State House in Lusaka.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman hailed the meeting with one of SA's most outspoken critics as a breakthrough and said the department was "very pleased" with the way the trip had gone.

Botha has now visited Lusaka twice in two months. His first visit was to attend a prayer meeting along with representatives of the Frontline states last month.

Botha, accompanied by senior officials of his department, visited Lusaka for a day and was received by Zambian Foreign Minister Benjamin Mibenge, according to an SA government statement.

Kaunda acknowledged and thanked De Klerk for bringing about a new era in SA and assured Botha of his support during the period of transition, the statement said.

Kaunda said he appreciated the difficulties which would be encountered, but urged De Klerk to continue with his reform initiatives.

Botha thanked Kaunda for his statesmanship in recognising it was in the interest of the region that SA take its rightful place at the table of southern African states.

In private discussions with Kaunda, matters of concern, particularly regarding the peace process in Angola and elsewhere in southern Africa, were addressed.

A fruitful exchange of views took place on how peace could be further promoted, the statement said. A department spokesman said, however, that specific trade projects were not discussed.

Botha told Kaunda the SA Cabinet had taken a final and irreversible decision to repeal the Group Areas and Land Acts.

Racial discrimination was no longer a consideration as the NP had formally decided to open its ranks to all South Africans.
WASHINGTON — The US State Department and the US Agency for International Development have provided a breakdown of who will receive grants in a proposal to spend the $18m set aside by Congress to promote democracy and negotiation in SA.

Nine grant requests were selected from 44 submissions for a total of $148m. The US embassy in Pretoria was chiefly responsible for making the choices.

The ANC receives $3.73m to enable its department of legal and constitutional affairs "to establish itself in SA". The funds are to be spent on a year's rent for the ANC's national headquarters, professional and administrative salaries, equipment purchases, conference costs and travel expenses.

Inkatha's Action Group for Democracy gets $1m for a research and information department dealing with economic and constitutional policy, training in "management, political communications and election organisations", and office rent.

The National Republican Institute for International Affairs, a branch of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), receives $1.2m to conduct public opinion surveys, draft rules for the functioning of parties under a new constitution, and provide "political party training and infrastructure assistance".

Its sister group, the National Democratic Institute, gets $1.2m "to enhance public awareness and understanding of the negotiating process".

The US Information Agency gets $500,000 for projects providing "expertise" and "practical information", while the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is allotted $300,000 to administer a conference in SA on policy alternatives.

The Washington-based Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law gets $400,000 to help set up a legal and constitutional advisory committee in collaboration with the ANC, and to establish a constitutional law library at "a selected SA institution".

The Wits Centre for Policy is granted $225,000 to "identify the social and political processes required for a negotiated transition".

The NED's Free Trade Union Institute receives $45,000. It will assist the Co-operative for Research and Education to develop a workers' charter based on internationally accepted standards.

In addition, $700,000 is set aside for a reserve fund "primarily to support the infrastructure requirements" of parties not yet eligible for funding because they "have not... chosen to participate in negotiations" and have not renounced violence. If this money is not applied for by February 28, most of it will be reallocated to the ANC and Inkatha.

The NED, which is to oversee the transfer of funds, gets $500,000 for administrative costs.
'Great challenge' for new envoy

A HAPPY director of liaison for Foreign Affairs Pieter Swanepoel confirmed yesterday he had been appointed SA's next ambassador to Portugal.

"I am really looking forward to the post — an important one, especially as Portugal is held in such high regard by SA and there are an estimated 500 000 Portuguese immigrants living in SA," Swanepoel said.

President F W de Klerk has visited Portugal twice this year, demonstrating the importance to SA of that country.

Swanepoel said it was a great challenge being in Europe at such an exciting time, with major developments taking place in the EC, with its latest position on sanctions, and with Portugal's role as a mediator in the Angolan peace plan.

Swanepoel, 42, who succeeds Carl Wessels, will leave for Lisbon in mid-January.

Wessels is returning to SA to head the Canada/South America desk.

Swanepoel, who was born in Johannesburg, graduated from Pretoria University with an honours degree in administration.

He joined the Information Department in 1978 and was on the African and Eastern desk. Later he went to the foreign guest section.

In 1972 he was posted to Australia as information attaché. In 1977 he went to the SA embassy in London.

He returned to SA to head the North American desk in Foreign Affairs in 1975, before being posted to Washington as counsellor (information).

He returned to Pretoria in 1987 as communications planning director. During 1988 he was at the UN General Assembly before taking up the post of liaison director.
Botha stuns Comores

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha has stunned the Comores by saying that the South African government never wanted to give refuge to mercenary leader Bob Denard and called on France to "take him off our hands".

Botha's bombshell came during his visit to the island last Thursday, in a speech at the Comorian Presidential palace broadcast by state radio and reported by the BBC.

He told Comorian president Abdul Djohar and others at a banquet that South Africa had only accepted Denard in order to "avoid a bloodbath" after Denard and his mercenary band failed to take absolute control of the country following the assassination of president Ahmed Abdullah Aderemane last November. - Sowetan Africa News Service.
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night warned that the Government would not "capitulate to radical pressure".

He said this in a message to the nation on TV.

From his address it was clear that as far as he was concerned the time for the mailed fist had come, and he would not hesitate to use it.

In a tough and uncompromising stance, he said: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. "Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to a peaceful and negotiated solution; or do they want to revert to the con-

By THAMI MAZWAI
frontion and conflict of the past?"

He said his Government would not hesitate to use "all available resources to ensure stability".

He said in addition to measures the Government had taken this year - such as declaring unrest areas, strengthening the police force, using the SADF "where necessary" and the establishment of the R3 billion fund to tackle socio-economic issues - it would shortly announce more measures in regard to both security action and positive initiatives.

In a blunt warning to the PAC, he said slogans such as "one settler, one bullet" were unacceptable.

This is the first official reaction by De Klerk to decisions taken at the recent ANC and PAC congresses, and to a renewed campaign of mass-mobilisation by the ANC.

He singled out seven areas which he said were unacceptable. These were:

* The countrywide violence;
* Intimidation, which he said was irreconcilable with democracy;
* The incitement of racial hatred through such slogans as "one settler, one bullet". He said South Africans should not tolerate those who fanned the fires of racial hatred;
* Non-payment of services and rents. He said some communities may be faced with the collapse of services;
Gov't Warns

[Article continues on next page]
South Africans face a razor edge

Between 200 and 300 were reported killed by white-led security forces acting to quell unrest.

From the start of the year, the country has been gripped by a wave of violence. No deadline was set for this, however.

"The situation is very much on a knife edge," said ANC spokesman Gill Marcus. "It is becoming irrelevant. You can't tell people a peace process is under way when they are being killed."

ANC followers spilt hatred of Inkatha and demand that their leader refuse to meet Buthelezi.

Leaders

Militant ANC youth say their venerated leaders have given up their armed struggle against apartheid with nothing from the government in return.

Veteran political analyst Willem Kleynhanz blamed the results of apartheid - black poverty, appalling housing, bad education, huge unemployment - for the township rage and says he fears no South African can control it.

"The situation is irreparable," he said. "There is no stopping black people giving vent to their frustrations. Whites don't realise the damage done by apartheid."

Rich white communities are reeling from a violent crime wave of unprecedented proportions as hundreds of thousands of blacks, no longer restricted by pass laws, flock to cities which have few jobs or prospects to offer.

De Klerk also knows he must watch his right. The year has seen a rise in white extremism with blacks shot and beaten up by white marauders and public places bombarded.

National Government moves to desegregate are often thwarted by conservative municipalities. One filled a swimming pool with dirt rather than allow blacks to use it.

Some critics of the Government say they suspect the white establishment seeks to preserve its power more subtly than in the past by moving far enough to win international approval and the lifting of economic sanctions and attract much-needed investment.

After the ruling National Party, creator of apartheid, opened its doors to non-whites this year, Government figures began talking confidently of building a ruling coalition of whites, Zulus, Indians and people of mixed race.

This would leave the ANC and more militant black groups to fight over the remainder of the population.

De Klerk is resisting ANC demands for an interim multi-racial government and constituent assembly to oversee a transition to black rule. The white government says it will not step aside before an agreement on a new constitution.

The ANC and other black groups seek a transfer of power while the Government plans only to share power. Analysts say the main question is whether apartheid and its legacy of bitterness has left room for compromise. - Supa-Reuter.
ANC direction a path to disaster, warns FW

By Elske van der Merwe
Political Reporter

State President F W de Klerk last night accused the ANC of continuing to advocate "outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods", and warned that the organisation's plans for intensified mass action campaigns next year would lead the country to disaster.

In his end-of-the-year address to the nation, broadcast on TV, Mr de Klerk expressed disappointment at the course taken by the ANC at its first consultative conference in South Africa in 10 years.

The weekend's decisions appeared to be a step back towards "outdated rhetoric" and would fuel the flames of confrontation.

However, he indicated that the Government was aware that the ANC's top leaders, in adopting a hard-line attitude, had bowed to the pressure from militants.

Mr de Klerk said: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they really prepared to follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions, or do they want to revert to confrontation and conflict of the past?"

He sternly warned that intimidation, violence and the disruption of national services would not be tolerated.

Mr de Klerk further criticised the ANC for:
- Continuing to talk of the transfer of power, while the organisation knew that the purpose of proposed negotiations was to determine how power should be shared and the divisions avoided.
- Continuing its demand for a republic and an interim government, thus trying to prevent the necessary negotiation process.
- Refusing to accept a settlement that fundamental changes had taken place.
- Denying that the maintenance of law and order was not suspended, and that the ANC said the Government was determined to take "whatever further action may be necessary to ensure peace".

He announced that import duties, requirements for basic services to all black communities.

Responding to the speech last night, the ANC said it should guarantee that the Government and any clarification on decisions reached at the conference would end the weekend's, which the ANC said in its statement should not be allowed to own land.

The proposed legislation follows parliament's approval of a new law and the government's powers to confiscate by allowing it to choose its own price for compensation - and steps affected landowners from contesting the payment in court.

A Harare lawyer, Bobbi Harvey, said land values could be fixed at something substantially less than the market values and could cause banks to lose huge amounts owing to them which were not announced and not payable.

A financial source said the main threat would be to the farming community as lower land values would greatly reduce bank loans to farmers. - Jnpa.

Zimbabwe planning to 'confiscate land''

HARARE - Multinational companies with farmland holdings in Zimbabwe would have them confiscated by the government in terms of the controversial new land programme, senior sources in the ruling ZANU-PF (PF) party said yesterday.

They quoted Witness Mawendo, the Minister of Agriculture, as telling the ZANU-PF central committee as a weekendibelog that legislation being drafted aimed expressly at taking the multinational land.

The source, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the decision was part of the government's new land policy which held that foreign investors should not be allowed to own land.

The proposed legislation follows parliament's approval last week of an amendment to the constitution which adds to the government's powers of confiscation by allowing it to choose its own price for compensation - and steps affected landowners from contesting the payment in court.

A Harare lawyer, Bobbi Harvey, said land values could be fixed at something substantially less than the market values and could cause banks to lose huge amounts owing to them which were not announced and not payable.

A financial source said the main threat would be to the farming community as lower land values would greatly reduce bank loans to farmers. - Jnpa.

The Trevor Education Department (TED) matric results will be posted at schools from 9 am tomorrow.

The Star will publish a special matric supplement with all the results in all editions on Friday.

A special telephone service will also be available at The Star from midnight on Thursday. For TED results, phone 650-2503 or 650-2303...

‘Shotgun’ aims to be a big hit

By Graeme Joffe

The cheerful strollway they call "Shotgun" is on target to become one of the big hits of the Permister Junior Cricket Week in Johannesburg.

Louisa Gezengane (13) is determined to make it to the top.

Three years ago, the Eastern Province selectors left Shotgun out of the OK West under-13 side. Selection could not believe his eyes on arrival in Port Elizabeth when he climbed out from under a bus seat. They played him in some of the games and since then he has made his mark as a batsman and bowler.

This is his second year at the week and with a handful of wickets already to his credit, Shotgun, through the SACPA's township bursary, has the opportunity to develop up into a top all-rounder.

Eric Gezengane, chairman of the Toadie Cricket Union and Shotgun's coach for the last three years, along with SAPCA's Adrian Forrester and Donald Mills, said that cricket had replaced soccer as Shotgun's first love.
We must all decide on future

Hermine Lotter wants the merits of a multi-party conference against a constitutional convention.
PRETORIA. — The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, says the government is determined there will not be another general election without black participation.

Mr Meyer made this comment in an interview to be published in January next year in the publication RSA Policy Review. His remarks were released in advance yesterday by the government's Bureau for Information.

"The government is determined that there will not be another general election in South Africa in which blacks cannot participate.

"In view of this it has, in terms of the existing constitution, a term of five years at its disposal, as from September 6, 1989, during which constitutional changes can be negotiated, enabling the blacks of South Africa to participate in the next election to constitute a legislative authority."

A new constitution, he added, would involve power-sharing. — Sapa
FW and Tambo hint at future meeting

A MEETING between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo seems on the cards — although no arrangements for talks have yet been made.

Both leaders hinted this week that a meeting between them is likely.

Mr Tambo, who returned to South Africa last week, told Agence France Press he might be willing to hold talks with Mr De Klerk.

And the president’s office, after being asked about a meeting, told the Cape Times: “The president has not had a request to meet Mr Tambo.

“If such a request does come forth, it will obviously be considered.”

As Mr De Klerk went on leave yesterday, a meeting is unlikely to take place in the near future.

Although President De Klerk has had a number of meetings with the ANC’s deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, he has never met Mr Tambo.
The right reacts: Bombs or songs?

BY CHARLES LEONARD

The rightwing did plant bombs. Their targets ranged widely: the British embassy, Melrose House, the offices of the South African Council of Churches, the offices of two Afrikaner newspapers, Beeld and Vrye Weekblad. They attacked National Party offices in the constituencies of two of the government's team of negotiators with the African National Congress, that of Roelf Meyer in Helderkrui and Stoffel van der Merwe in Helderkrui and Roelf Meyer in Auckland Park. Piet "Skiet" Rudolph became the "Boere pimpom" and the most wanted right-winger in the country after his role in several of these attacks and for his role in the killing of an arms dealer on Air Force headquarters in Pretoria.

WILE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeuging leader Eugene TerreBlanche inspected a guard of honour, about 500 supporters in the Louis Trichardt showground hall sang a "perverted version of Vanaand gaan die volkies koring sny. The "Boere boere" and "die Boere boere" sang as the Boers were going to plant bombs.

The meeting took place two days after 13 rightwingers appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court in connection with an alleged assault with jambos, knuckledusters, sticks and a group of black Sunday school children in a park in Louis Trichardt.

The song and the incident raise questions about the actions the rightwing is going to take now. Will they plant more bombs, or will they resort to localised inter-racial violence to try to reverse the trend to a new South Africa?

The unbanning of the liberation movements on February 2 by State President FW de Klerk triggered an alarming and unprecedented increase in right-wing terror attacks. It reached a climax in July when 15 incidents of right-wing violence were recorded, 33 percent of all violent incidents that took place in the country during that month.

And the rightwing did plant bombs. Their targets ranged widely: the British embassy, Melrose House, the homes of Johannesburg city councillors, the offices of the Food and Allied Workers Union in Rustenburg, the offices of two Afrikaner newspapers, Beeld and Vrye Weekblad. They attacked National Party offices in the constituencies of two of the government's team of negotiators with the African National Congress, that of Roelf Meyer in Helderkrui and Stoffel van der Merwe in Helderkrui and Roelf Meyer in Auckland Park. Piet "Skiet" Rudolph became the "Boere pimpom" and the most wanted right-winger in the country after his role in several of these attacks and for his role in the killing of an arms dealer on Air Force headquarters in Pretoria.

Rudolph's Orde Boerewolk and a similar right-wing group, the Order of Death, were the most active of these groups — until police started arresting several right-wing activists.

The detention of Leonard Veennendal, Darryl Stopforth (wanted in Namibia for the murders of a policeman and an anti-apartheid activist), David Roosenberg, Piet Bester and several others under section 29 of the Internal Security Act left them surprised.

On September 18 Rudolph was arrested in Pretoria and detained under section 29. After two days on hunger strike he decided to talk. He called upon his men to hand back weapons stolen from the Air Force. During a bail application a conciliatory Rudolph hinted at negotiations and announced his intention to apply for indemnity. The police were successful this year in solving right-wing terror incidents. Of the 52 incidents attributed to the right, only eight are still unsolved.

But when the Separate Amenities Act was scrapped, another form of right-wing thuggery reared its ugly head: attacks on black people, mostly in small platteland towns.

Although this type of action happened throughout the year before the Act was abolished, it was intensified after September.

There are strong indications that De Klerk intends making another significant announcement when parliament opens next year. That might prompt the right-wing to take action again.

If the state president announces some form of transitional government, South Africa might see what TerreBlanche has threatened to do at so many of his meetings: "That night, when they hand power over to the ANC, we will take it back by force."

But if one looks at the lack of unity among rightwingers and Rudolph's quick retreat to the white flag after a few days in detention, one cannot help but believe that the only bombs the rightwing will plant in future will be symbolic ones — in song.
LAGOS — Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida has urged black leaders in SA to end factional fighting which he called "the shame of Africa." (Lagos)

He said he was disappointed by the fact that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and head of the Inkatha Freedom Party Mangosuthu Buthelezi had yet to meet to stop the "fratricidal carnage that has been the shame of Africa," he said in a speech made available yesterday.

He called on the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, as well as other anti-apartheid groups, to "bury their pride and sink their differences." (Lagos)

Babangida made the comments in a speech last weekend to the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs in Abuja, which is to become the federal capital of Nigeria.

More than 3,000 people have been reported killed this year in SA's factional fighting.

The ANC has accused Inkatha, and government, of stirring the unrest to undermine its strength in the urban areas. — Sapa-Reuter.
In the game of politics, the NP is streets ahead

**Year in Review/Politics**

Since 2012, the NP has been a major player in South African politics, dominating the landscape with its conservative core. This year has seen the party continue to assert its influence, with key strategies and policies gaining traction across the country. Let's delve into the key moments of this political year, focusing on the NP's strategies and impact.

### The ANC

**Nelson Mandela's Release**

The release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, 27 years after his capture, was a significant moment in South African history. The ANC's decision to focus on the liberation of political prisoners and the National Party's reaction to this pivotal event are crucial to understanding the political landscape.

**ANC's Response**

The ANC's response has been both strategic and transformative. Mandela's release has allowed the party to re-focus on its core values and principles, with a renewed emphasis on unity and reconciliation.

### The ANC's Position

1. **Focus on Unity and Reconciliation**
   - The ANC has emphasized the importance of unity and dialogue in the post-apartheid era.
   - This has involved reaching out to various political groups and civil society organizations.

2. **Economic Reforms**
   - The ANC has implemented economic policies aimed at reducing poverty and inequality.
   - These include social grants, job creation programs, and investments in infrastructure.

3. **International Relations**
   - The ANC has strengthened its relationships with other countries, particularly in the African continent and the BRICS nations.

### The National Party

**NP's Struggle**

The National Party has had a long history of political struggle, dating back to its founding in 1912. This year has seen the party continue to assert its principles, with key strategies and policies gaining traction across the country.

**NP's Strategies**

1. **Focus on Traditional Values**
   - The NP has emphasized traditional values and cultural heritage, appealing to a wide range of voters.

2. **Economic Policies**
   - The NP has implemented economic policies aimed at reducing poverty and inequality.
   - These include social grants, job creation programs, and investments in infrastructure.

3. **International Relations**
   - The NP has strengthened its relationships with other countries, particularly in the African continent and the BRICS nations.

### Conclusion

This year has been marked by significant political changes and developments. While the ANC continues to dominate the political landscape, the NP has been a major player, with key strategies and policies gaining traction across the country. As we look towards the future, it will be interesting to see how these political dynamics evolve and shape the political landscape.

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*Image Illustration*  
A composite image of key political figures, highlighting the contrast between the ANC and the NP. The image includes a modern setting, symbolizing the contemporary nature of South African politics.
Nats streets ahead in the game of SA politics

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Several opinion polls have shown that support in the white community for the CP has fallen recently. A Markinor poll, for example, found the approval rating for CP leader Andries Treurnicht dropped from 14 percent in May to eight percent in November. In contrast white perceptions of De Klerk's performance grew from 70 percent who, in May, thought he was doing very well or fairly well, to 80 percent in November (with the "very well" view growing from 27 to 54 percent).

In by-elections the CP came close in Umlazi but fared badly in Randburg. Where it did show some success was in attracting greater numbers of English speakers.

Veiled threats of violence were sometimes given expression by CP individuals, but the party as a whole preferred the constitutional route.

A campaign of mass action culminating in the Volkskongres in May met with only limited success and has had little follow-up.

Divisions, however, continue to exist between pragmatists like Koos van der Merwe and the Mulder brothers, and hardliners like Ferdi Hartzenberg — and to a lesser extent Treurnicht himself. These extend to attitudes to negotiations (with the hardliners rejecting any talks involving the ANC) and to the prospects for a white homeland within what is now South Africa.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1990 was a tough year for the DP which found itself squeezed by an increasingly verlig NP on the one side, and to a lesser extent by a less radical ANC on the other.

In the course of the year it suffered several setbacks: It fared badly in the Umlazi election and had no option but to withdraw from Randburg co-leader Wynn Malan resigned from parliament; Harry Schwarz was appointed ambassador to the United States and party funds began to run dry.

Despite predictions of splits, the party held together. Zach de Beer was elected leader and immediately embarked on a national tour which helped reassure the party faithful, top up the coffers and consolidate direction.

The party has also gone a few steps ahead of the NP in attracting black members.
Inkatha must be party to talks — Nafcoc

The future of social stability was at risk if the wishes of Inkatha and other parties to be included in the negotiation process were ignored, a top official of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) said yesterday.

Deputy president of the ANC-inclined organisation Archie Nkonyeni said the non-involvement of other key players in the political scene, such as the PAC, could detract from the credibility of a process of negotiation limited to only two players.

"The wishes of the parties that are demanding to be included in the process, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, and others, can be ignored only at the risk of future social instability," he said.

Nkonyeni was delivering a Christmas message in which he appealed to the business community to play a part in "toning down the expectations of the masses" to avoid disappointment and all that went with it.

Nkonyeni said: "History abounds with evidence of social revolutions that have been hailed as quantum leaps, but have ended in gruesome bloodshed as formerly oppressed people turn against one another in the realities of the aftermath of the revolution."

There was a need for a sense of balance and expectations should be tempered with reason.
The yo-yo year: Its hopes and failures

less: it was no longer aimed directly at the state or the perpetrators of apartheid, but took the form of an ugly internecine conflict between sectors of the black community.

That view of the conflict that saw it simply as tribal atavism was simplistic, but this did not detract from the sense that it was a purposeless battle from which no one, least of all the forces of liberation, could gain.

This was just one aspect of the turnaround. It combined with a swift plunge into economic recession with its concomitant rising unemployment and crime rates. Mix in a growing disappointment at the lack of progress in government/ANC talks and the suddenness in which goodwill between the two parties was replaced by bitter recriminations and a mutual swopping of insults. Add the fact that Pretoria-struck gave way to a renewed quota of bombings, arrests, detentions, curfews and police shootings and the apparent resistance to change among the security forces and other freelance rightwingers. Stir in a realisation that Mandela was only human and the mythical ANC a large, unwieldy organisation struggling to adjust to change. What emerges is a drastic turnaround in the country's political fortunes.

It was that sort of yo-yo year. In the first half, the country reached heights of optimism it hadn't known for decades; however, when the mood plunged into pessimism, things seemed worse than ever before.

It was as if one era had ended with the release of Mandela, but nobody was quite ready for the next. We had thought that the new South Africa - that golden era of non-racial democracy, renewed prosperity and regional peace - would begin with Mandela's release. It soon became clear that we had taken no more than the first tentative steps down a long and hard path towards a normal society.

There was progress, but each step forward seemed to be marred: there was joy at the return of Oliver Tambo and his colleagues, but frustration at the lack of progress in bringing other home and freeing political prisoners; celebration at the lifting of the Separate Amenities Act, but anger at the lack of legislation to enforce desegregation and the ability of right-wingers to sabotage it; joy at the admission that white minority rule had to end, but little real change in the daily lives of the vast majority of victims of apartheid.

This reflected an international phenomenon. For years, the world had sought an end to the Cold War, destruction of the Iron Curtain and the reunification of Germany. When it came so suddenly this year, everything seemed so new, so uncertain and so unpredictable that it was frightening.

The year ends with South Africans facing two key issues: how will negotiations proceed? and how will this century end? And will the new South Africa look like?

Last year, the country was still deadlocked on questions such as when and how would Mandela be released, or should the ANC and SACP be unbanned.

Contrasts of the 1990s ... defiance and delight. Top: Violence erupts on the Reef Below: Tambo supporters joyously await his return to South Africa

Photos: KEVIN CARTER

addressed without fundamental political change, are now able to take up these issues: how to address massive education, housing and land problems; how to deal with the massive inequalities in wealth distribution; how to construct a government that is fully representative of all its people; how to make peace with our neighbours.

It is true that nobody has easy answers to these questions and the country is likely to be unstable until we have.

But at least they can now be addressed.
Genial FW sets the tone for a clash with ANC

The state president's festive season message was gift-wrapped — but it contained a strong warning. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports

Despite the Christmas wrapping, President FW de Klerk's festive season message was one of no compromise and pointed to a head-on clash with the African National Congress in the not-too-distant future.

In genial tones, the National Party leader made it clear to his large television audience this week that the "purpose of proposed negotiations is to determine how, in the interests of all South Africans, power should be shared and domination avoided."

De Klerk firmly put the ANC's recent reaffirmation that it was striving to secure the transfer of power to the majority beyond the rules of the NP's negotiating game.

The president's speech reinforced the impression created by the ANC's recent consultative conference that 1990 — despite being a year of incredible change — had not fulfilled its early promise. And at a fundamental level, "the more things change, the more they remain the same."

From his bag of observations, De Klerk produced two promises for 1991:

- Intensified police activities to prevent "crime, disorder, unrest and intimidation."
- The stabilization of local government so that basic services can again be supplied to those areas.

The latter raises speculation whether some form of interim local government — attempting to involve popular organizations and bridge the divide between township and white town — is in the pipeline.

Devoting perhaps a quarter of his speech to a critique of the ANC gathering — which made the continuation of talks conditional upon the government's removal of obstacles to negotiations by April 30 and the continued suspension of the armed struggle conditional upon the state's putting an end to political bloodshed — De Klerk expressed the view that the ANC "continued to advocate outdated revolutionary doctrines."

Playing on the fact that the ANC's renewed militancy emanated from the rank and file rather than the national leadership, the president asserted: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitments at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions, or do they want to revert to confrontation and conflict of the past?"

The prospects of heightened friction over mass action were confirmed by the president's attitude. In the face of the ANC's assertion at the weekend that 1991 would be a year of mass action for the transfer of power, De Klerk made it clear that the "normalization" of political activity notwithstanding, he saw mass action as essentially linked to the disruption of society and the breeding of conflict.

"The maintenance of law and order is not negotiable," he warned.

In a bid to position himself in the "reasonable" middle-ground, De Klerk took a swipe at the political violence which has crippled the Reef in the latter part of the year, emphasizing with those touched by the "state of fear and terror (which) has descended on many of our black townships."

Assiduously avoiding identifying the initiators of this bloodshed, De Klerk nevertheless promised an "intensification and extension of impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in the affected areas" in the new year.

Inkatha escaped the president's critical eye despite its well-documented role in escalating violence, and the main velvet-toned tongue-lashing was reserved for the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ultra rightwing were rapped over the knuckles.

Said De Klerk: "The incitement of racial hatred is unacceptable. Slogans such as 'one settler, one bullet' and slogans urging violence against black South Africans are absolutely unacceptable."
PRETORIA — February 1 has been set as D-Day for the announcement of the removal of all but one of the last remaining pillars of apartheid.

Preliminary drafts of a single Bill scrapping the Group Areas, Free Settlement Areas and Land Acts have been completed and President F W de Klerk is expected to announce the demise of the old laws at the opening of Parliament.

The final nail in the coffin of apartheid will be the repeal of the Population Registration Act which will be axed only once a new constitution has been formulated.

According to government sources, preliminary drafts of the Bill will be presented to Cabinet in mid-January.

The draft of the new Bill were drawn up by a technical committee handling the Group Areas and Free Settlement legislation and a technical committee dealing with the repeal of the Land Acts.

These committees combined several weeks ago to formulate draft legislation repealing all the Acts.

The Committee were asked to consider the implications of repealing the Acts on other existing legislation. Officials said yesterday hundreds of provincial and local government ordinances which were based on these apartheid Acts would have to be scrapped or amended in the coming year.

A number of central government Acts would also be affected by the repeal of the Group Areas and Land Acts.

Officials said the repeal package would provide for the scrapping of the Acts, amendments to existing central government legislation and interim provisions to accommodate a smooth transition to a new dispensation.

However, the repeal of the Free Settlement Areas Act and its "twin" the Local Government in Free Settlement Areas Act, presented no problems and would be scrapped without any adjustments to other existing legislation, they said.

Scrapping the Group Areas Act would present certain problems for own affairs administrations and bridging provisions would have to be introduced.

Group areas boundaries would remain in place for the purposes of local government and community development services would remain an own affair for administrative purposes.

The own affairs concept was one of the areas to be negotiated in a new constitution and certain own affairs structures would therefore have to remain in place until a constitutional Settlement.

However, the repeal of the Group Areas Act would reduce own affairs functions in some areas like Hillbrow where the racial composition had changed, while other areas would remain largely unaffected.

Officials said opposition to the repeal package could therefore be expected from the own affairs departments.

The repeal package could contain legislation that would ensure the maintenance of living standards.

However, it was under debate whether this legislation should be introduced as a separate bill to avoid any contamination.

Apartheid

New legislation on slums and urban renewal would enable local and provincial authorities to enforce effective standards and would replace the existing Slums Act and the Community Development Act which were seen as inadequate.

The Black Communities Act, which facilitates the development of residential areas for blacks, would also have to be amended to rid it of its racial references but the bulk of its provisions would remain in place in order to facilitate development.

The third part of the repeal package, dealing with the Land Acts, would provide for more conventional land ownership rights, but would also retain recognition of tribal lands "for the time-being".

Officials said the dissolution of the SA Development Trust, to be developed with regional structures, could also be considered and Land Bank finance would be made accessible to all race groups.
UN cautiously accepts reforms

UNITED NATIONS - The UN General Assembly, shedding years of strident rhetoric, yesterday cautiously welcomed political reform in South Africa but insisted that current economic sanctions be maintained.

After the annual anti-apartheid resolution was introduced with speeches, adoption abruptly was postponed until tomorrow when more speakers could be heard.

The omnibus political resolution against apartheid will be the first-ever sweeping anti-apartheid document in the annual session to be adopted by consensus and without a divisive vote in the 159-nation body. Narrow resolutions have been adopted by consensus in the past.

The measure was the result of arduous negotiations and compromise between Western countries and African states. The annual package of other anti-apartheid resolutions, ranging from military collaboration to an oil and sports embargo, were expected to be adopted tomorrow by overwhelming votes.

Statement

The South African Foreign Ministry issued a statement saying that the United Nations has no jurisdiction over internal affairs, but saying it was "nevertheless encouraged by the strong stand of a positive nature taken by a number of member states.

"It is clear that the U.N. General Assembly accepts that a new South Africa is on the way."
UN takes less hostile line on SA

UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations General Assembly yesterday adopted a consensus resolution against apartheid in South Africa that showed an unprecedented degree of unity on a subject bitterly debated for decades.

The omnibus resolution, the result of long negotiations between Western nations and African states, insists that current economic measures be maintained against Pretoria but does not call for new sanctions.

Contrary to many past measures, the resolution avoids words like "regime" and instead talks about the South African authorities.

Dropped

Phrases such as "condemn" and "demand" are also dropped in recognition of President de Klerk's efforts to scrap apartheid.

The resolution is not the first consensus document on apartheid, but UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said it incorporated a number of items that had eluded full support for decades.

South Africa was expelled from the General Assembly in 1974. It said at the time that the Assembly had no jurisdiction to interfere in its affairs.

General Assembly resolutions are not binding although they reflect international opinion. However, an arms embargo imposed by the Security Council against South Africa is considered mandatory while economic and financial sanctions adopted by the Assembly are voluntary.

Last weekend the European Community voted to drop its ban on new investments in South Africa in recognition of President de Klerk's reforms for social change.

On economic sanctions, the omnibus resolution, supported by all Assembly members, called on governments to use "concerned and effective measures, particularly in the areas of economic and financial relations", aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid.

The resolution calls Mr de Klerk's reforms "significant measures in the right direction" but says that efforts are needed to "facilitate free political activity and foster a climate fully conducive to negotiations."

The document also calls on South Africa to repeal all repressive legislation, end detentions without trial, permit the return of political exiles without restrictions and fully implement all agreements reached with the ANC.

On the continuing violence in the country, the resolution urges South Africa to ensure action is taken against all those responsible, "including vigilante groups" and calls on all parties to contribute to an atmosphere "free of violence."

The resolution also notes the continuing effects of "acts of aggression and destabilisation" committed by South Africa against neighbouring states, particularly Mozambique.

In addition to the main resolution, the Assembly adopted five other substantive resolutions on South Africa, with the United States casting the only negative vote against all.

Abstained

The Soviet Union voted in support and most European nations abstained or voted against some of them.

Britain, which has lifted most sanctions against SA, joined the United States in casting the second negative vote against the oil embargo and military collaboration with Pretoria.

Australia was singled out by Nigerian ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, head of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, for supporting three resolutions and abstaining on a fourth. — Sapa-Reuters.
Buthelezi calls on whites to back FW

INKATHA Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday urged white South Africans to support President F W de Klerk to ensure the success of the negotiation process.

In a year-end message to whites, Buthelezi said it was the strength of the whites' commitment to negotiations that would prescribe "the speed with which we can begin maturing up successes in practical applications of that which is negotiated at local, regional and national levels." And the more powerfully they back De Klerk, the more powerfully blacks will seek alliances with them to establish SA in which we are glad to be with each other as blacks and whites.

He added that he and "many other black leaders" would be working next year to eliminate political violence. They would be working towards a stabilised and normalised SA in which whites could make their mark as a "party to the salvation" of the country.

PAC message: it is time for education

TIM COHEN

This misguided slogan "liberation before education" should be a slogan of the past, PAC president Clarence Makwezi said in his New Year message yesterday.

Education was in state of crisis, he said. "We should not only be thinking of doing away with Bantu education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open." He said 1990 was marked by talks about talks, the release of a few political prisoners, and the return of a tiny group of exiles. Violence had been escalating in alarming proportions. While the PAC could not specify a solution, if liberation movements worked together, he was confident an answer would be found.

The PAC had called for a united front. "We urge all those who have a contradiction with white domination, irrespective of political persuasion, to come together to devise means whereby racism in our country can be brought to an end."

The PAC was appealing for an intensification of sanctions, he said.
was he “surprised” when Beeld speculated about the appointment? Durr is overseas on a private visit and unavailable for comment. So we still don’t know if he jumped before he was pushed.

While Durr may be cut out to represent SA in the UK with distinction now that the EC countries are having second thoughts about sanctions, his departure will pose a problem at home unless President F W de Klerk can find a suitable (preferably English-speaking) replacement.

Suggestions (again from Beeld) that “own affairs” minister Amie Venter has been earmarked to take over from Durr are disturbing.

Venter may be competent, and it is known that he is a close associate of De Klerk, but Durr’s successor should be someone with whom businessmen will be comfortable. Most businessmen have not even heard of Venter.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SMOKE AND FIRE

The fog surrounding Trade & Industry Minister Kent Durr’s sudden and surprise appointment as ambassador to the Court of St James has been partly cleared.

Durr asked for the job, according to a Foreign Affairs spokesman, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha backed his colleague’s request, though suggestions have been made of tension (and maybe professional envy) between their departments.

Beeld’s political satirist Lood puts the blame for any rumours of bad blood between Botha and Durr squarely on English-language newspapers by claiming they said he was pushed out of the Cabinet.

What Lood did not mention, however, and may not have known is that senior political colleagues at Beeld had gleefully been spreading privately what they claimed was Nat inside information from a deputy minister. They said that only the English press could write the story.

In essence they suggested that Durr gave to the Russians undertakings— as a private businessman and not as a minister— that SA was unlikely to be able to fulfill and that this had been the cause of friction between the departments.

A Trade & Industry spokesman this week denied these allegations. Durr’s trip was cleared with Foreign Affairs; he had only offered technical mining assistance; and had not promised millions for low-cost housing in the devastated town of Chernobyl. During his stay Durr was the guest of the Moscow municipality and he also stayed in the dacha, now an official guest house, once used by Josef Stalin.

An Aeroflot aircraft was also put at Durr’s disposal.

One question is still unanswered. If Durr indeed asked for the London posting why
Most bills are bogged down in arcanic legislative debates, as the US Congress struggles to pass laws through the arcane processes of committee hearings and floor debates. Bills are often held up by filibusters, amendments, and procedural maneuvers, delaying important legislation and gridlocking the legislative branch. The Congress must be one of the most intricate institutions in the world, responsible for the formulation of laws that impact the lives of millions. The legislative process is complex and convoluted, requiring a deep understanding of policy and politics. The most pressing issues of our time often find themselves mired in the arcane procedures of Congress, unable to find their way to the president's desk for signing into law.
Mandela and Buthelezi could have stemmed township violence

Suzman berates black leaders

Helen Suzman, former MP for Houghton, is now

News

Her for race relations

THEO COGAN interviewed

criticise them if she sees fit.

she does not hesitate to

Booth for their rights. Now

banned or exiled, she

they were impressed,

on the political stage. When

worlds. This also holds true

She has never

Afrikaner institute of Race

prezident of the South
Mandela, FW in secret talks

ANC ban defiance of
Meeting in

on sport
Aussie call

to lift bans
DURBAN — THE whole world was poised to rally behind every decent, democratic act of the Afrikaners, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, said yesterday.

In a Christmas message extending a particular hand of friendship to Afrikaners, Dr Buthelezi said blacks were becoming proud of a State President who had risen out of the Afrikaner volk to lead South Africa into a democratic future.

“We are proud of the support that whites are giving him. We are at last witnessing the emergence of white decency in politics, which so many of us always knew was there.

“Let us enter 1991 with a new spirit of adventure for democracy. Let us have a new 20th-century-style trek into the moral high ground of politics,” Dr Buthelezi said.

Afrikaners “live under searching international spotlights which will shine upon every decent deed”.

“Let them move with certainty and let them dispel the doubts that exist among some blacks.

“Above all, let the Afrikaners show the world that they can assist in putting a democracy together, in which democratic victories can be turned into victories from which Afrikaners and whites generally can go forth with blacks to do battle against what really is the common enemy: poverty, ignorance and disease.”

In a message to black South Africans, Dr Buthelezi said they should enter 1991 with a proud awareness that they had taken control of the destiny of their country.

Apartheid was doomed and the great and hollowed values of the black struggle for liberation could now be implanted in South Africa’s constitution.

The only thing black people needed to fear was their own inability to create a new South Africa by being unable to normalise political relationships between the various black groupings.

The Inkatha Action Group for Democracy and the Sobukwe Forum of the Pan Africanist Congress have held talks in Ulundi on national unity and violence.

They agreed it was time to end traditional division between African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism.
IN HIS HANDS

THE FUTURE

The picture which sums up the Christmas hopes of all South Africans
Americans inspired by progress in SA

QUESTION: How do Americans interpret what is happening here?

ANSWER: We are encouraged by developments and believe they have kind of formed a crucible for the future in the sense that political life has now begun to normalise so that people can pronounce their political views and organise others of like mind to engage in politics. Progress has been made on some of the obstacles to full-dress negotiations.

The main thing is people have begun to talk to one another across the various spectra of race and ideology...and that is all encouraging.

Clearly we are disappointed right now that somehow or other the two parties that have been conducting these pre-conditions talks have not seemed to be able to move to a conclusion before the end of the year on bringing the prisoners out and exiles home.

But we are satisfied that situation will be overcome...

Our policy, as the American government will be to be certain that everything we do and everything we utter in public will support that process.

Q: In terms of the 1986 Anti-apartheid Bill, what point do you lift sanctions?

A: I think we are the only government which imposed sanctions by putting them into law. We actually passed the law which you just referred to.

Under our system of government, the executive branch, namely the president, cannot lift the sanctions until the conditions of that law have been met and they are contained in a section of law - there are five of them - and they are roughly analogous to the pre-conditions which are currently being discussed between the ANC and the Government.

I have just mentioned a couple - the release of Mr Mandela and all other political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the abolition of the rest of the apartheid legislations, sometimes called the pillars of apartheid, including of course the Group Areas Act, the two Land Acts of 1913 and 1926, the Population Registration Act, and so forth - and then to satisfy ourselves that a credible process of negotiations has been engaged and that the parties to that are negotiating in good faith.

Without being facetious, I often say to people: We have a road map - we know the road from Upton to Pofadder. What we can't tell you is how long it will take us because it's not in our hands. Sanctions lifting will be driven almost exclusively and entirely by events on the ground.

Q: I am under the impression that the (US) President has said that the only condition that has not been met is the release of political prisoners and as soon as that is complete he will lift them?

A: I do not want to be too complex about it. As a matter of fact it could be the prisoners or it could be the abolishment of the rest of the apartheid legislation, whichever came first.

Any four of the five conditions have to be met.

The law does not say the president has to lift the sanctions. It says he may and it involves a certification to Congress and a consideration by the Congress.

Q: The abolition of all apartheid legislations would mean the scrapping of the present constitution here. That is the bottom line of apartheid. The constitution has to go before we say all apartheid legislation is gone.

A: That is interesting. It almost becomes a legal question and because Section Three, 11, where the conditions are contained does not mention the 1983 tri-cameral constitution.

Q: Do you foresee that credit, if we contributed in a modest way we are glad.

What we used to do over the years with whatever degree of success has been to try to bring people together, to use our diplomacy to break down barriers.

For example, since the early '60s when I was first here, we tried to use our homes as foyers of dialogue, bringing people into our homes for lunch, dinner, a reception or a discussion so that people who would not normally meet under the apartheid system might meet on kind of neutral turf and talk.

We tried to set up dialogue and build bridges. And we have not been alone, other governments have done the same thing.

I do think I need to say a word about what we have done physically and concretely because that is what people in the townships would want to know about.

We have had since 1986 an official US Aid programme for South Africa. It has two purposes: one is to assist the victims of apartheid and in that of course we are talking about the black majority population; secondly, it is to help prepare a post-apartheid leadership and that again is essentially in the black community. It is a drop in the bucket in terms of the enormous needs of your country. But we hope it is a significant drop.

US AMBASSADOR BILL SWING

Deputy editor of Sowetan, Joe Thololo, had this exclusive interview with US ambassador Bill Swing in Pretoria last week. Swing has been ambassador to South Africa since August 1989.

FOCUS
Most fruitful and exciting era still to come

Professor Andre Brink, writing in Rhodes Review 1990, is optimistic about Afrikaners
De Klerk 'behind' violence

**Evidence**

That evidence includes the appointment of General Andries "Kor" Liebenberg as chief of the Defence Force, and the "whitewashing of the death squads" by De Klerk.

Sparks warned: "If the intention has been to destabilise the ANC, it has backfired. Only the ANC's moderate leadership has been destabilised, while its constituency has been united, angered and radicalised.

"The ANC leadership must now respond to the militant mood or be voted out of office at its congress next June."

**3rd July Election**

Sparks says initially it seemed clear that De Klerk wanted to strike a deal with Mandela that would lead to a coalition government of the ANC and the National Party. But as the year advanced and the ANC gave the impression of inefficiency, "the idea began to take hold in National Party circles that the ANC might be defeatable; that by forming other alliances, the National Party might be able to win an election and stay in power."

A reason for De Klerk's "double strategy" would be, suggested Sparks, "so he can get the constitution he wants and, with his allies, win the elections."

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**Soutoan Foreign Staff**

Leonard: There is "damning evidence" that President FW de Klerk is allowing his security forces to destabilise the African National Congress, according to a report here yesterday.

Allister Sparks, the former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, wrote in The Observer that De Klerk was either unwilling to risk contradicting the security establishment or is following a "double agenda".

"One is hesitant to attribute such malicious activities to a president who needs all decent compared with his predecessors, but there is damning evidence against him."
Spelling out the Lessons South Africa must learn

Thinking about South Africa's foreign policy and military experiences of the past and present

Book of the Week

May 21, 1974


Spelling out the Lessons South Africa must learn

Thinking about South Africa's foreign policy and military experiences of the past and present

Book of the Week

May 21, 1974

The road to a new South Africa will be long and hard

The lack of real progress in negotiations in 1990 showed that the road to a new South Africa would be much longer, harder and bloodier than the government originally forecast.

By Peter FABRICIUS of the Political Staff.

In the flush of euphoria after the government and ANC's successful first talks in May at Groote Schuur, chief government negotiator Dr C. G. du Plessis, referred to the "road to a new South Africa" as "a step forward in history," and could be completed within two years.

By year's end both targets seem extremely optimistic. Even the preliminary talks about removing the obstacles to negotiations have bogged down in a seemingly-intractable double-bind.

The ANC has refused to let the bulk of prisoners go or most exiles return unless the ANC demobilises Inkatha and abandons its strategy of mass action.

The ANC has defiantly vowed to intensify mass action, set up MK-led "self-defence committees" in the townships, keep MK in "peak" training and pull out of negotiations if prisoners are not freed and exiles returned by April 1991, the target date set in the Pretoria Minute.

Minor offenders

Only a few minor offenders have been released and agreement has been reached for the return only of those exiles who have committed the most minor transgressions such as leaving the country without a passport. The fragile trust on which the success of the negotiations depended has been stretched close to breaking.

And when, or if, the remaining obstacles to negotiation are removed, another whole phase of the negotiations, the "talks about talks" or discussions about how the real negotiation forum should be structured - awaits before the "real McCoy" indaba could begin.

Talks were in such a mess that some observers feared President de Klerk was contemplating starting negotiations without the ANC. Why had the government of the first half of the year turned so sour in the second?

Several reasons contributed;
- The Pretoria Minute was in a scrap vase, superficial and perhaps even vain.

It was only when officials of both sides sat down to discuss the practicalities that they fully realized the real problems.
- The ANC's township lieutenants believed their leaders had proceeded too much in suspending armed actions at Pretoria and urged their people to come back.
- Suspicions that the government or security forces were taking Inkatha's side in the political/tribal township violence undermined ANC trust in the government's integrity.
- Suspicions that the ANC was behind the killing and intimidation of black MK councillors and policemen undermined the government's trust in the ANC's integrity.
- The ANC's attempts to establish itself as a political party were not highly successful - particularly when it had 200,000 members - which tended to throw it back on its old tactics.

Most of the wrangling in committees during the second half of the year revolved around the meaning of the indeterminate phrase "related activities" in the ANC's undertaking to suspend "armed actions and related activities" in the Pretoria Minute.

Mr Mandela explained at the press conference after the Pretoria Minutu that "related activities" would include the infiltration of arms and cadres across the frontiers.

'Demobilise MK'

But in the so-called "para-graph three" working group set up at the Pretoria meeting to work out the practical effects of the ANC's decision to suspend armed action, the government went further.

It insisted that if it really believed in negotiations, the ANC should in effect demobilise MK by ending the training and recruiting of MK members and handing in its weapons.

It lasted (as it had in the past) that by talking to the ANC with MK in the wings, fully manned and battle-ready, it would in effect be negotiating at the barrel of a gun.

It also insisted that the ANC's strategy of mass action should be suspended too, instead of it allegedly including efforts to make the townships ungovernable through violence and intimidation against black councillors and "destabilising" tactics such as rent and service-charge boycotts.

The ANC argued back that MK was not a legal organisation, that there was thus no reason why the government should suspend that and that mass action was no more than the exercise of its democratic right to protest.

Two levers

It no doubt feared that by disbanding and abandoning mass action it would lose two crucial levers in negotiations, and become helpless to resist any deal the government thrust on it.

It felt that it was entitled to MK as a weapon in negotiating at the barrel of a gun - that of the police and the army, its one neutrality it did not trust.

Everything else hinged on this disagreement in the working group, including, eventually, the release of the bulk of prisoners and return of most exiles.

In private the government made it clear that if it were to release political prisoners and allow exiles to return who had committed acts of violence or received military training before the ANC fully abandoned the armed struggle - was not on.

This would be like freeing prisoners of war before the war was over and letting a Trojan horse into the camp. The ANC countered in vain that nearly all ANC members, including Mr Mandela, had received some form of military training as a matter of course (it was national service for whites) but few were still able to put it into practice.

There was one hopeful moment when the ANC showed signs of readiness to call off MK training and recruitment inside MK and hand in MK arms for safekeeping in magazines guarded by both ANC and Government.

But ANC hardliners abort the proposal.

When no progress was evident, the government decided unilaterally to release the more serious political offenders or indemnify exiles who had committed serious offences until the whole question of the armed struggle had been resolved in the working group.

The ANC cried "fool" and said the government was holding its prisoners hostage. For either side to back down required trust and this was clearly lacking.

Mistrust was fuelled by the township violence which was to claim about 1,800 lives by the end of the year.

No absolute proof could be found of Inkatha's collusion or ANC involvement in killing councillors or, but the circumstantial evidence for both was strong.

The SA Institute of Race Relations clearly implicated the ANC in a campaign of violence which caused the deaths of six councillors and 22 police personnel between January and July.

Meanwhile scores of township councillors and some journalists produced evidence of police partiality.

These led both sides to suspect the other of being behind a hidden agenda behind the facade of negotiations.

Frustration

In November the para-graph three working group suspended its activities in frustration and passed the buck to Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to try to resolve matters in several secret one-to-one meetings.

Though the reported progress, this was not evident when ANC hardliners also shied away from a consultative conference on December 16 and set a tough course of putting the maximum pressure on negotiations.

The conference seemed to set the stage for collision between the government and the ANC in 1991.

One possible way out of the morass was Mr de Klerk's hint that the government might move early in 1991 to replace the black local government councils with one integrating black and white councils.

Overall, the negotiations of 1990 taught the lesson that the road to the new South Africa was going to be a lot longer, harder and bloodier than many had expected on Petten Online back in 1989.

And that the government would have to do something bold and imaginative if it hoped to meet its own outside deadline of a new constitution by 1994 - to avoid facing its white electorate again.
ANC president Oliver Tambo met President F W de Klerk at the Union Buildings on Monday morning in what was described as a courtesy call.

Tambo, joined by his wife Adelaide and NEC members Joe Nhlanhla and Jacob Zuma, held mid-morning discussions with De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Afterwards, Tambo told journalists the meeting had been "most pleasant and in the spirit of understanding."

A statement issued by the President's office said the discussions had been of a general nature and had not focused on specific issues.

The statement said De Klerk wished Tambo continued recovery. He also expressed appreciation for Tambo's call to the youth to return to school in 1991.

Both parties expressed the hope that 1991 would bring about more real progress towards peaceful solutions.

Sapa reports that Tambo and his family were welcomed by Transkei government officials led by Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa when they arrived in Umtata yesterday.
US fight for human rights in South Africa

The United States ambassador to Pretoria, William Swing, continues talking to Joe Thilole, Sowetan deputy editor, on America's role in bringing about change in the country. He starts by completing his answer on US aid to the victims of apartheid.

The lions share of the $35 million a year, which is about R80 to R90 million, which I think is the largest foreign government aid programme here is still very modest in terms of the needs. The bulk of that, about $21 to $23 million a year, goes to bursaries at the undergraduate and graduate university level.

At present we have about 1,500 black students at American and South African universities on our scholarships. We add about 200 more a year which 200 would be in South Africa and 100 in the United States. These grants are topped up by the universities because that is only part of the money needed - our universities provide tuition grants among other things so that our money goes further.

The other significant area in terms of the process you asked about has been that of human rights. We have as discreetly as possible paid for legal fees for black South Africans who we believed needed help.

We sometimes have been able to help the family where the breadwinner has been arrested. Sometimes we paid funeral costs or whatever would be helpful in terms of assisting these victims of apartheid.

We have worked in another area called community leadership development, working primarily with the civics and other groups who need support in terms of just organising themselves, learning negotiating techniques and so forth.

The two other areas very quickly: to support black labour unions and support black private enterprise development. That is kind of thing we tried to do, using good offices on the one hand, talking to all sides, using our homes and our official facilities to bring people together and in trying to help victims of the system.

Q: Going back to sanctions: It is interesting that you mentioned sanctions as contributing to the change that is currently taking place when the National Party has gone out of its way to say that sanctions have in fact delayed the process. They say they would have reached this point much earlier. What truth do you see in that?

A: I think it's an area in which there is room for a lot of opinions that vary greatly and we really are now at the point where I think everyone including the government and the black groups would like to begin putting the past behind us and quite analysing what led us to this point and say: How do we move beyond here to build a new future?

I am not knocking the question but I think it's one on which I don't think we or the government or the black leadership really want to spend a lot of time talking.

We've got a much bigger job which is, What do we do about this economy. This should give us a good chance in the short and medium term to begin to address the crying needs in the townships - education, housing, health, Aids, jobs, the helplessness of a lot of people.

And so we are beginning to say sanctions are really not the issue of today. Today's issue is the economy and jobs.

Q: But isn't this question very important at this point when we are going to enter into negotiations where some sort of leverage is needed by the black community and they see sanctions as one tool that they can use in the negotiating process?

A: You are right. Sanction has been one of the major weapons. I think the whole policy of international isolation has contributed to the black struggle.

I think increasingly though it will be the force of one's argument about the future, the force of one's views regarding the constitution, about the economy, about the living social-economic needs, a Bill of Rights, which are really going to become the determining element at the negotiating table.

We believe the process will move forward to a conclusion in the next few years. So we think that sanctions will have to be looked at from that angle.

Q: De Klerk's strategy at this point has been to completely disarm the liberation movements, eroding the sanctions campaign and at the same time trying to get them to abandon the armed struggle.

All this before he actually sits down to negotiate with them. Why would he go through this process if he was going to negotiate in good faith. The process could have been much faster, much more friendlier if he was not going through the painful process of disarming the blacks.

A: I guess I look at that in terms of two phases: the phase of normalisation of political life and the phase of democratisation. Increasingly one is trying to deal with one another in a political way to say we do not need arms, we do not need force, we need to talk. It is in that context that I see that.

We are moving towards some sort of pre-conditions on both sides, if you will, and I think that is what we have seen up to now.

The government has given something, the ANC has given something and they both tried to do it in a way that they could then go back to their constituencies and say: This really does make sense.

One of the powerful examples we have that talks work is what happened in the Southern African context, the Lancaster House Accords that brought an independent Zimbabwe. Sure there was an armed struggle there but the issue was ultimately decided at the conference table.

To continue tomorrow
Tambo and FW have great hopes

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo have expressed the hope that next year would bring about more real progress towards peaceful solutions.

In a joint statement issued after they met at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Monday, the two leaders said: "There was agreement that violence and intimidation should come to an end in order to enable proper negotiations to start."

Tambo was accompanied by his wife Adelaide and national executive committee members Mr Joe Nhlanhla and Mr Jacob Zuma.

De Klerk was accompanied by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Viljoen.

The statement said discussions were of a general nature and did not focus on specific issues.

De Klerk wished Tambo continued recovery and indicated he was encouraged by Tambo's call to the youth to return to school next year.

Tambo, who briefly posed for photographers and answered questions, described the meeting as "most pleasant" and De Klerk was "pleasant and understanding". The ANC president added he had "a useful time" with De Klerk and the Government delegation.

Asked what he would like to receive as a Christmas gift, Tambo said: "Everything, everything. I came here for the first time in my own life. This is the day before Christmas. In a way I had the greatest Christmas present this year."

Asked whether his health would allow him to stand for re-election next year, Tambo said: "We all thought that the year 1991 would prove to be a great year for South Africa and it is with that expectation that we enter January 1, 1991."

Tambo is due to leave South Africa in the middle of January.

Sowetan Correspondent.
US urges all to negotiate

US AMBASSADOR William Swing has urged all SA political parties to join the negotiation process to encourage the culture of dialogue. In an interview in the January edition of Tribune magazine, Swing says the culture of dialogue and tolerance has to be maintained above all else in SA.

"One way of encouraging the culture of dialogue is by supporting broadly inclusive negotiations which incorporate all elements of the country's political spectrum into the process of peaceful change."

"We, Americans, thus urge all those still outside the negotiating process to join the effort."

Swing also points out that as peaceful negotiations require stability, SA cannot afford to allow political violence to overwhelm the culture of dialogue.

WILSON ZWANE

He adds that although changes in the country over the last year have been remarkable SA's challenge is how to encourage equity and growth in the economy.

Apart from the importance of constitutional negotiations, there are two other areas which will determine whether democracy can be built in SA.

These are the issue of the shape of a new social contract, he says, and the challenge is how to encourage equity and growth in the economy.

"It is becoming obvious that the primary economic resources for the new SA will have to come from within," he says.

"There will be costs, some say as high as $15bn, in new investment in social needs each year for the foreseeable future. Inflation is likely to rise during a post-apartheid period, foreign debt will be built up and standards of living for some will decline."
SAIRR keeps a watchful eye on SA

WHEN the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) drew up its list "What to watch for in 1990", it could hardly have imagined this year's succession of headline-making events.

High on its list of what to watch out for this year was whether ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet. The list was compiled before Mandela was released from prison and before violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters spread from Natal to the Reef.

Unable to anticipate that hundreds of people would die in violence on the Reef in the latter half of the year, the institute wondered whether "black on black violence" and Natal's violence would end.

The violence did not end. More than 1 000 people were killed this year in Natal.

And the two leaders have yet to meet.

Top of the SAIRR's list was to watch whether government extended its talks with the ANC beyond Mandela. By the year end, two historic ANC-government summits had produced the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes.

In terms of the minutes the ANC agreed to suspend its armed struggle, government agreed to review security legislation and a joint working group was set up to facilitate the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Most exiles still require indemnity and the majority of political prisoners are still behind bars.

Instructed by the SAIRR, SA watched for and witnessed the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the scrapping of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. However, Pietermaritzburg found a loophole in new municipal by-laws to exclude in "residents" from amenities.

The SAIRR was right when it pointed to a possible agreement between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Soweto. In September the signing of the Grotere Soweto Accord ended Soweto's five-year-old boycott.

Even before his watered-down speech of February 2, SA was told to watch whether President F W de Klerk was invited to the White House — and whether he accepted.

He was... and he did, but postponed his trip to allow Mandela to go first. In the meantime, De Klerk visited Britain, nine European countries and some in Africa.

As British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher accepted an invitation to visit SA but did not make it before her 11-year reign ended.

Events that the SAIRR predicted but that did not materialise included the appointment of a black Cabinet Minister and the reversal of government's decision to transfer J G Strijdom Hospital in Johannesburg to black ownership. In April hospitals were declared open to all races, although the own affairs health services remained intact.

White schools were given the option of opening to all races provided such a move was approved by a majority of parents. Teacher training colleges have not yet been given this option.

Other SAIRR pointers for 1990 which should bear watching in the new year are whether stability returns to black schools, whether De Klerk loses or retains the political initiative, whether violence stops and, of course, whether Buthelezi and Mandela will meet.
US pledges more support for Unita

Q: We have never been able to understand why Savimbi in Angola is getting different treatment from what we were able to get out of the Americans. We were fighting a similar battle to try and democratise this country and the maximum we could get was the Anti-apartheid Bill and again this after pressure from the American public on Congress.

But the American people pumped arms into Angola. Why this difference in treatment between the two countries?

A: We have never seen those situations as analogous and secondly the kinds of pressure that the US brought on South Africa were among the firmest of any government.

Point

Again I will go back to my earlier point that I really do not think it advances the process in South Africa now for me to go back into the past...

Q: You seem to be suggesting that this has to be done on good faith. We are looking at a situation where the Government has got the army on its side, has got the police and can at the drop of a hat detain a member of the opposition even if he is participating in the negotiations.

They still wield all the power that they need and the black side has been weakened. To what point do we trust De Klerk, that is our basic problem.

A: I am encouraged by what is happening here to date. The two sides have shown enough progress since Mr Mandela's release in February and the first talks at Groote Schuur in May.

We have confidence in the process. They have now a number of working groups that are going, including a working group that allows consultation on a regular basis at many points with regard to police action.

I know it's difficult to accept against the backdrop of mistrust, suspicion and repression, which so many have experienced over the years, that one needs to have good faith talks but I think the record to date indicates that both sides can trust one another and I believe they can go forward.

It is our policy to try to convince all political groups in South Africa that the best and probably the only reasonable option at this point in South Africa's history is to talk.

We are in regular contact with virtually all the groups on the normal political spectrum. Our message is the same for each one: We urge you to talk to the other parties and to negotiate and to help shape the future. And it is our view that the process is really the only game in town.

Future

Even though you go to the table without a clear picture of the future, that is not so bad because what you want to do when you sit down and talk is to let the process become the substance in the sense that in talking together you form the vision of the future together.

If you do not come out with the vision and principles that you can support you might have a document that people agree to.

We do talk to all parties. That is true in both black politics as well as white politics.

Q: You have noticed tremendous changes from the time that you were here earlier and now. How do you see South Africa in 10 years time?

A: I can tell you my hopes and my dreams for South Africa. I do not want to be too trite or to use hackneyed phrases. I will try and put it in fresh clothing.

First of all I hope that South Africa will be a fully functioning, non-racial, multiparty democracy and thereby join a small, elite group of nations in the world that can lay claim to that kind of a system in which others' views are respected and in which race does not play a role.

Hoping

We are hoping secondly that it will be among those healthy countries economically which can feed and clothe and educate and motivate its people to feed their neighbours in the African and world context.

We are hoping thirdly that South Africa will realise its potential, both economically and politically, and play the role of a major and responsible nation both in its natural habitat of Southern Africa on the southern border of Zaire and Tanzania on the Indian Ocean and indeed in all of Africa.

Part of my encouragement about South Africa is it's great potential, which is human potential. And I really believe there is no other country in this vast continent of fifty nations, in which the United States fits about three times, that has greater latent potential than South Africa.
De Klerk unveils 'super local option' 

Political Correspondent

President FW de Klerk yesterday further lifted the veil on government plans for a completely revamped system of 'super local option' in a new dispensation. 

Addressing the Labour Party's 25th congress in Goodwood, Mr De Klerk said that local authorities of the future would enjoy much greater power, autonomy and financial responsibility. 

He emphasised that the current system of ethnically fragmented third-tier government would have to go and that new structures would be based on the principle of one city, one tax base. 

In view of the government's commitment to this principle, the current campaign aimed at destabilising local government structures was unnecessary, illegitimate and a serious obstacle to real constitutional negotiations. 

He said negotiations about local government should begin soon. 

Principles

Mr De Klerk said various principles that could serve as a basis for negotiation had already been accepted by government. These included:

- Local government serving as an independent form and tier of government, with fully fledged legislative and executive powers.
- Local authorities should be endowed with "maximal powers and functions" with increased sources of income.
- Existing and new sources of revenue for local government had to be shared and used in a non-discriminatory manner to promote the financial independence of towns or cities and to eliminate historical disadvantages.
- Citizens would have an important role to play at local level in determining the future of their towns and cities.
- Any new system would have to provide for democratic political participation and the elimination and prevention of domination.
FW warns: No room for radicals

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday warned that the disruption of local government and essential community services was presenting "a serious obstacle" to real constitutional negotiations.

Addressing the Labour Party's annual congress in Goodwood, Mr De Klerk slammed such "destabilizing actions" as totally unnecessary and illegitimate.

In an apparent reference to the ANC's boycott actions and campaign to crush black local authorities, Mr De Klerk said that such actions cast serious doubt on the real intentions of those who "inflit unnecessary suffering on innocent people and communities".

He said negotiations about the future of local government should begin as soon as possible.

The government had already declared its commitment to replace the present system of third-tier government with a new and democratic system in which ethnic fragmentation would be avoided.

After receiving a rousing reception by more than 1,000 delegates and 3,000 LP observers, Mr De Klerk said that the government and the National Party were ready to negotiate the speedy establishment of a new South Africa.

He noted that he and the NP planned to become "part of the majority" in a new negotiated dispensation. He added that he was certain the LP would form part of this grouping, too.

However, the process of negotiation required an environment of orderliness and discipline.

Mr De Klerk said to applause that the government was committed to replacing the present racially based local authorities with new structures, but warned those who persisted in using violence to bring about such changes, that "South Africa will reject them and history will pass them by".

Mr De Klerk announced that in the coming months the police and defence force would intensify existing measures and implement new measures aimed at ending the violence and restoring peace.

He said the time had arrived for leaders not merely to condemn violence but to lead and discipline their followers away from violent and intimidatory practices.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa was emerging from the crossroads of its history whereby the building of a strong consensus moderates, in which there was no room for radicals.

"South Africa cannot wait forever, want and we need all leaders on board," he said. "It will be a grave pity if some of them were to miss the boat.

Mr De Klerk said the first challenge facing the country was to build a broad national consensus for the new South Africa.

The first foundation of such an consensus should be freedom - from poverty, suspicion, frustration, violence, intimidation and protest.

The second involved justice, and in regard to the government it involved the removal of all forms of discrimination.

"In the new South Africa there can be no place for racism - all citizens will enjoy the same rights," he said.

The scrapping of the Group Areas and the Land Acts would be a priority when Parliament reconvened next year and was also important to improve the lot of those who had limited opportunities in the economic arena, he said.

A democratic new South Africa would be achieved only if violence, disorder and discrimination were eliminated, Mr De Klerk said.
### Media & Marketing

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**Political Change**: This is how South Africans answered the question "Do you think FW de Klerk is doing a good job as president of the country?" during various research studies conducted during 1990.

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**Researchers kept busy by rapid change**

The rapidly changing political situation in South Africa during 1990 kept market researchers on the hop as they attempted to keep pace with the varying attitudes of the ordinary South African.

These are some of the results of Research Survey's ongoing Omnichem studies conducted since February 2.

**Increase**

A comparison of the positive responses to the question: "Do you think FW de Klerk is doing a good job as president of the country?" showed that among white males and females there has been an increase in support for Mr. de Klerk since February.

Although there was a dip in support for Mr. de Klerk among black males and females in the middle of the year, an upward trend towards the end of the year was evident.

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**Chris Moerdyk**

Respondents were then asked whom they would like to have as leader of South Africa. These results reflected a significant decrease in support for Nelson Mandela as a leader among white females in August 1990 as well as a significant decrease among women favouring Dr. Andries Treurnicht as leader. Among black males and females in the August study there was a significant decrease in those favouring Mandela as a leader.

These studies also reflected that support for Dr. Buthelezi was minimal, but remained stable.

In October 1990, respondents of all race groups were asked who their choice would be as leader if they could vote for any political figure. Respondents were able to answer this question spontaneously and the question was then followed by a similar question but a list of political leaders was handed to them to choose from. A comparison of the results to these two questions showed that both at a spontaneous and an aided level, FW de Klerk was the first choice as leader among whites, coloureds and Asians.

**First choice**

There was an increase in support for Mr. de Klerk at an aided level among all race groups other than coloured males. Nelson Mandela was the first choice among blacks at a spontaneous and aided level. However, at an aided level there was only slightly more support for Mandela in comparison with the spontaneous level.

Support for Dr. Andries Treurnicht increased slightly among white males at an aided level, but remained stable among white females and rural whites. Support for Buthelezi also remained stable.
With eyes now on the country’s youth and how it has fared in the matric exams, Weekend Argus takes a lighthearted look at how Cabinet Ministers rated in their first-year "New South Africa" exams, based on a political curriculum that changed drastically in 1990. A Weekend Argus panel, using press files on each minister, gave “symbols” and an “examiner’s” report on each...

The Cabinet report card

F W DE KLERK
State President
(A) Excelling in debating class and achieved straight As in international diplomacy. Tended to lose concentration during Future Constitution classes and couldn't answer all the questions in the How to Handle the Left Wing exam. Frederik has the potential to go a long way, however.

PIK BOTHA
Foreign Affairs
(A) Has improved tremendously in the Public Relations class and now projects himself as a harbinger of hope rather than the prophet of doom of past years. Passed the International Relations exam with distinction. Still needs to work hard at department.

GERRIT VILJOEN
Constitutional Development
(B) Has worked hard at improving class morale but tends to daydream during Constitution Development classes. Needs to work harder at public speaking and try to give the impression that he knows what he is talking about, even if his audience doesn't.

MAGNUS MALAN
Defence
(D) With Wana and Cross Border Raiding dropped from the new curriculum, Magnus was required to study Diplomacy and Socioeconomics. Although he tried hard he was still inclined to pick fights during break. He will have to put more effort into teamwork classes.

DAWIE DE VILLIERS
Mineral and Energy Affairs
(C) Tended to hang back while his peers progressed. Had difficulty making decisions, particularly in the Petrol Price exam where he gave an answer, crossed it out and eventually left the examiners with multiple-choice answers.

KOBIE COETSEE
Justice
(B) Scored a notable distinction in the Family Law exam and did well in the New Deal for Women classes. Needs to pay a lot more attention during Basic Justice lessons. Was a strong guiding light for his classmates.
SOUTH Africa needed urgent solutions to its problems and there was no longer reason for inciting talk of the creation of new obstacles, State President FW de Klerk said in Cape Town on Friday.

Addressing the 25th congress of the Labour Party, he said the challenges facing the country could only be solved in unity.

A new constitution had to be based on universally-accepted mechanisms which could be applied to protect minorities against possible abuse of power, he said.

The most important challenge lay in establishing a national consensus based on freedom.

A second condition was justice.

"I want to assure you that the government is completely committed to the removal of all discrimination. In the new South Africa there will be no room for racism."  

The scrapping of the Group Areas and Land Acts would enjoy priority interest, De Klerk said.

A further requirement was stability. The new South Africa could not come about in conditions of violence.

The government believed all political parties with a proven support base and a commitment to peace could take part in negotiations.

The present disruption of local government was a serious obstacle to real constitutional negotiations.

Negotiations on the future of local government should, however, start as soon as possible.

"The government accepts the principle of one city, one tax base." — Sapa
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W W Warns on disruption

FOR JULY 1975
De Klerk

He added that a democratic South Africa was only possible if violent methods were abandoned.

In the coming months the forces of law and order would intensify existing measures and implement new ones to bring violence to an end and restore peace and safety.

Mr de Klerk asked for support for these forces. "Our policemen and soldiers are putting their lives at risk and are working longer hours than we have a right to ask of them."

Above all it was the responsibility of political, religious and social leaders to condemn violence and to lead their followers away from it.

Hatred "Blaming others for the violence will bring us nowhere. Political leaders merely accusing their opponents fan the flames of hatred. Leaders should take responsibility for the violence of their own people. It is a responsibility they cannot escape."

Referring to minority interests, Mr de Klerk said he was not thinking of race groups but of cultural and political minorities on the basis of freedom of association. Such minority interests should also not be seen as an attempt to bring apartheid in through the back door.

Mr de Klerk again referred to government plans to bring about strong and democratic local government.

He referred to principles laid down in a manifesto on local government produced by the Council for the Coordination of Local Government Affairs.

The Government had accepted these principles as a basis for negotiations about local government.

One of these principles was the acceptance of local government as an independent form and tier of government and as a basic democratic institution in any new constitution.

Local authorities should have maximal powers and functions and sufficient sources of income to be used and shared in a non-discriminatory manner.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela could have had the decency to explain why he declined an invitation to the LP's congress, party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said.

"We need not share the same viewpoints, but for decency's sake (Mr Mandela) could have said he did not want to, or could not, accept the invitation."

The ANC and Pan Africanist Congress were invited to the congress.

Mr Mandela had not given his response, despite repeated inquiries, said Mr Hendrickse.

PAC general secretary Mr Bennie Alexander had written to the LP, explaining why they would not attend.

—Sapa.
NEGOTIATIONS on the new South Africa will be off to a running start in 1991, as both major actors — the government and the ANC — prepare to seize the initiative early in the new year.

The government will try to retain the political high ground it has occupied since President FW de Klerk's historic February 2 speech by:
- Scrapping two of the three remaining "pillars of apartheid" — the Group Areas Act and the Land Act — before mid-March, thus removing more of the so-called "obstacles to negotiations". Also in line for a complete overhaul will be the Internal Security Act.
- This will leave the Population Registration Act as the only major contentious piece of legislation on the statute books — but it is also destined for the scrapheap as the negotiating process proceeds.
- Convening a "mini-national convention" as soon as possible, where representatives of all major political groupings will meet to discuss the agenda for the real constitutional talks.
- The aim is to get a broad "statement of intent" adopted, where all possible participants in the negotiating process pledge themselves to fundamentals such as a multi-party democracy, an independent judiciary and basic human rights.
- Moving swiftly to establish the National Party as a countrywide political force in its own right, with the ultimate goal of defeating the ANC in an open election.

Mr De Klerk hinted at this when he opened the annual congress of the Labour Party in Cape Town on Friday, and said a new dispensation should not only safeguard the interests of minorities, but also satisfy the aspirations of the majority.

"There are problems, but we are discussing them. The talks so far have been very successful and I am confident we can sort out all the remaining problems in the new year," he said.

A major element in ANC strategy will be to forge a united front of black political organisations to take part in the negotiations.

There are already indications that most leaders of both the "independent" and non-independent homelands would prefer to be included in the ANC delegation, while talks on this subject have also been initiated with its main political rival, the PAC.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has made it clear in several statements since the movement's consultative conference on December 16 that he will not be swayed from his negotiating line by hardline elements in his own ranks.

In a London newspaper interview, Mr Mandela said he was still very optimistic about the process in spite of certain actions which raised doubts about...
Who's Drinking the New Beer Brand?

1990 blew hot and cold.
Hero's homecoming... ANC president Oliver Tambo, who arrived in SA to a tumultuous welcome this month after 30 years' exile.

Coup d'état... and jubilation after Ciskei's President Lennex Sebe was deposed by Oupa Gqoza while Sebe was on an overseas trip.
Vicious circles into vicious circles...
A chance to turn vicious circles into virtuous circles

namely, a single home where everybody is equal, everybody is welcome and everybody is comfortable.

Let us hope the other sporting bodies can do the same and that we do not have to replace the springbok with the ostrich.

If we can shout our lungs out in support of our cricketers, our football players and our athletes we will start seeing human beings, sportsmen and women, and not blacks or whites or people from this region or that language group.

Success

We will get used to sharing a common patriotism rather than trying to knock each other out. We will learn how to administer things together, see issues from different perspectives and try to find appropriate solutions for the benefit of all. Our confidence will grow.

The democratic principle of giving everybody an equal opportunity and an equal voice will be reinforced. Success in one area will encourage success in another. We will enter a virtuous circle.

Then there is the area of culture. Our concert halls, ballet and opera are still overwhelmingly white. In the communities there is a musicality and expressiveness through dance such as I have never encountered anywhere in the world (one of the advantages of exile is that you get the chance to travel).

If only we could link up the concert halls and the communities, what music we could produce, what dance, what singing. Beginnings are being made all over the country. Jazzart, David Poomo, and CAPS in Cape Town are just some of the first stirrings.

Upsurge

If we can establish a continuum rather than a separation between the rigorous, facilities, subsidisation and projection of the big concert halls on the hand and the energy, creativity and the experienced rather than watched musicality of the communities on the other, a truly South African cultural expression of world class can emerge.

Perhaps we should start thinking through Barbara Maselka’s proposal to establish an arts council funded by general revenue. This is not the solution to the state or private concern for its programme of encouraging artistic creativity.

Millions of people will be able to participate in this cultural upsurge, expressing themselves as individuals and in combination, articulating the variety of languages and the many dances, choral and instrumental forms of our country. A new South African identity would evolve.

Next, religious leaders and communities are beginning to open up the full possibilities of coming together. When Christians of all denominations can meet and freely confess sins and acknowledge forgiveness, when Moslems, Jews, Christians and Hindus can start working on shared ideas for religious rights and freedoms in a new South Africa, a profound spiritual and cultural foundation for the new society begins to emerge.

We do not have to be religious believers to see the importance of searching our way towards unity in the context of affirming the multi-faith and multi-belief character of our society.

Most South Africans are religious. We in the ANC, believers and non-believers alike, sing N Koloi Sikelele Afrika (God bless Africa). Religion in itself neither unites nor divides.

Confidence

But when believers of different faiths start working together for the benefit of all, confidence in our ability to find solutions to other problems begins to emerge. It is not simply that religious communities dispose of vast spiritual, human and material resources. It is the ability to bring the passionate particular into the richly textured general, to acknowledge a democratic and sensitive pluralism, that contributes towards all of us learning to live together.

The fourth area of potentially virtuous breakthrough is in relation to a bill of rights. Many - some have taken a tumble in the recent period. Thatcherism possibly being the last. But there is one ism that is on the up and up — namely, constitutionalism.

There has been quiet but substantial progress towards constructing a bill of rights for South Africa that comes out of our own experience and longings. The draft document on a bill of rights produced by the ANC constitutional committee received a warm, generous and non-compromising welcome from Judge Pierre Olivier, who is chairing the government appointed law commission about to make proposals of its own.

By the time you read this, we in the ANC could well be studying his proposals, as well as those of other groups. There is a large area of common ground where universally accepted principles in relation to human rights are manifestly applicable to South Africa.

The ending of apartheid means not simply the absence of laws and practices designed to keep us fragmented and to suppress liberty, but the presence of secure guarantees that we can all live in conditions of freedom and equality.

We have never had a real constitution in South Africa, that is, a document that cannot be easily amended, that establishes secure institutions and firm principles to enable us to be comfortable together in all our diversity on a basis of true equality. We are slowly developing a culture of rights to replace our culture of repression.

Perhaps if we speak more about rights and less about power we can make even greater breakthroughs. All of us have moved on the question of rights. Many who believed that too much emphasis on individual rights could leave whole communities in poverty and inequality have come to recognise that personal freedom is a value in itself that has to be guarded in all societies.

Others who have focused purely on individual rights have come to acknowledge that these become empty if not associated with fundamental rights to education, health, shelter, employment and basic social welfare.

The question of a proper relationship with our environment has become urgent for us all.

Shared

South Africans are great talkers, but poor listeners. We are starting to learn to listen to and not simply address one another. This is surely the basis for finding the common values which will underlie our new constitution.

Our leaders have enormous responsibilities, but their tasks will be eased if we — all of us — start doing things together on a basis of equality and mutual respect. Our common South African ness will not come from a constitution: the constitution will recognize the shared sense of belonging which we will have struggled to achieve.

Each one of us in our workplaces, in our homes and in our communities can do something. In the past, one had to be coura
LP congress prepares for future alliance with NP

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party's 25th annual congress at the weekend went out of its way to lay the foundations for an alliance with the ruling National Party.

LP leader Mr Allan Hendricke said at the end of the congress that there was "no doubt" that the LP and NP were now closer to each other than ever before.

Asked about the timing and possibility of a formal alliance, Mr Hendricke said the LP still had a lot of discussion with other parties.

There was a strong feeling among delegates that the party should retain its identity for the foreseeable future.

Mr Hendricke was speaking after the LP congress in Goodwood instructed the party leadership to engage in exploratory talks for a new political alliance.

But the over 1 000 delegates decided that it would be premature to settle on specific alliance partners at this stage.

The congress heaped praise on Mr De Klerk and his initiatives and many of the gestures were reciprocated when Mr De Klerk became the first leader of the ruling party to address a LP congress.

The tone and content of many of the 11 resolutions adopted was virtually indistinguishable from current NP policy.

The resolution on alliances noted that the LP believed that the future of South Africa would be determined by political alliances between organisations or parties with common goals and objectives.

A resolution condemning the national sports organisations to re-admit South African sports bodies to the international arena.

There was also an appeal for an end to the cultural boycott. Congress decided that calls for sanctions amounted to "a crime".

Proposals for a constituent assembly were rejected on the grounds that all parties should be given an opportunity to make inputs to a new constitution.

In other resolutions the congress:
- Called on President P W de Klerk to abolish separate sitting and voting in Parliament, as well as the Own Affairs Ministers' Councils.
- Endorsed proposals for a non-racial geographic federation with two Houses of Parliament.
- Resolved that there should be a unitary education system with one minister in the cabinet.
- Urgently appealed to all LP MPs to strive to get the Group Areas Act repealed in the first three months of the coming parliamentary sitting.
- Welcomed the unbanning of political parties but restated the party's opposition to all forms of communism and totalitarianism.
- Reaffirmed the LP belief that a social market economy would serve as the best vehicle to remove inequalities and empower disadvantaged groups.
- The Labour Party will donate R2 000 to the Red Cross to assist squatters who lost their shelters during a Christmas night fire. Mr Hendricke announced at the weekend.

Political Correspondent

BANKRUPTCY and imminent "financial ruin" are staring the Labour Party in the face, according to the confidential treasurer's report presented to the party's national executive committee at its 25th annual congress.

LP national treasurer and MP for Elsie's River Mr Paul Kleinsmidt warns in his annual report that the party will be broke by April if the current state of affairs is allowed to continue unchecked.

Mr Kleinsmidt noted that since he took over as party treasurer last year various financial records and documents are still not available — a situation which bordered on "gross negligence".

However, LP leader Mr Allan Hendricke told the Cape Times at the end of the LP 25th annual congress in Goodwood that the treasurer's report had shown that "the party is financially sound".

He said: "The finances of the party are sound and are being soundly administered by our finance committee and are under the watchful control of our treasurer."
Labour Party courts NP alliance

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party's 25th annual congress has gone out of its way to lay the foundations for an alliance between the Labour Party and the NP.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrikse said in an interview after the weekend congress that there was "no doubt" that the Labour Party and NP were closer to each other than before.

There had been a growing togetherness between the two parties since February 2, particularly because of President F W de Klerk's attitude and response, he said.

Hendrikse said the Labour Party had to have further discussions with other parties, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, about the possibility and timing of a formal alliance.

He believed a common dedication towards negotiation and non-violence would be "very important binding factors" in future political alliances.

The congress instructed its leadership to engage in exploratory talks in a search for new political allies. However, delegates decided that it would be premature to select alliance partners.

The congress heaped praise on De Klerk and his initiatives.

Many gestures were reciprocated when De Klerk became the first NP leader to address a Labour Party congress.

The tone and content of many of the 11 resolutions unanimously adopted by the congress took a line virtually indistinguishable from NP policy.

The congress also decided that component members of possible alliances should retain their autonomy.

A resolution condemning violence called on Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to rise above their political differences and meet in the interests of the country.

Proposals for a constituent assembly were rejected on the grounds that all parties should be given an opportunity to make inputs to a new constitution.

In other resolutions the congress called on De Klerk to abolish separate sittings and voting in Parliament, as well as the own affairs Ministers Councils, and endorsed proposals for a nonracial geographic federation with two Houses of Parliament, under which all states would enjoy equal representation in a senate.
MBABANE — Swaziland police have seized another batch of arms and ammunition en route the kingdom from Lomabasha in Mozambique.

A police spokesman said a Swart man was arrested after 10 AK-47s, three Makarov pistols, a Scorpion pistol and 10,000 rounds of ammunition were found under the petrol tank of the vehicle he was driving on Friday. The driver was taken to Simunye Magistrate’s Court and remanded. The haul brought the number of illegal guns confiscated after being smuggled from Mozambique during the past four weeks — mostly AK-47s — to 30. Fourteen people, including Mozambicans, South Africans and Swazis, have been arrested. — Sapa.

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President de Klerk has painted himself into a corner.
1991 - A Year of Clouded Hope

Herman Cohen has mixed feelings about SA, writes David Brann
Gems in Foreign Vaults

PAC Says FW Has SA

A committed group of people from all over the world have been working to resolve the issue of the gems that were stolen from the Foreign Vaults. The PAC has been leading the efforts to recover these valuable assets. The group is made up of experts in various fields, including law enforcement, and has been working tirelessly to bring the gems back to their rightful owners.

The Foreign Vaults are a significant part of the international community and are home to many valuable artifacts and treasures. The loss of these gems has been a source of great concern for many people.

The PAC has been in close communication with law enforcement agencies around the world, sharing information and coordinating efforts to locate and recover the gems. They have also been working with museums and other organizations to ensure that the gems are returned to their proper places.

The PAC's efforts have been met with support from many individuals and organizations, who recognize the importance of returning these gems to their rightful owners. The group remains committed to the task, and continues to work towards a resolution.

Meeting

The PAC has arranged a meeting with representatives from the affected countries and organizations to discuss the situation and plan the next steps. The meeting is scheduled to take place in the coming weeks, and is expected to be a significant milestone in the effort to recover these valuable assets.

The PAC is grateful for the support of the community and looks forward to continuing its efforts to bring the gems back to their rightful owners. They remain committed to this important work and are confident that a solution will be found.
CHANCES are that if you blinked this year, you might have missed something. It could have been something really important, something, which not even in your wildest dreams you could have conjured.

It all started with a brave leap of faith by new State President Frederik Wilhelm de Klerk on February 2 - the date which became synonymous with South Africa's glasnost. This was also the day on which the country jumped from the fire back into the frying pan. But by the end of the year someone had turned up the heat and the country was again stewing in its own juices.

De Klerk's epoch-making speech radically changed the ground rules of politics in this country and introduced a new lexicon (and zeitgeist) in the struggle against apartheid.

**Concepts**

Ideas like negotiations, a negotiated settlement, talks about talks, working groups, compromise and lengthy consultative assemblies, interim government and coalition politics, replaced the tired revolutionary slogans of liberation, transfer of power, no compromise, insurrection, people's power and no capitulation.

However, the unbanning of all the left-wing extra-parliamentary opposition - among others - was the most significant event this year that set the country on a collision course with ideas.

Concepts like democracy, nationalisation, privatisation and free market economy which were foreign - if not alien - to the indigenous people (and its progeny with the European settlers and immigrants), peppered the lingua franca.

Suddenly, with the release of Nelson Mandela - everybody's favourite martyr - on February 2, a light shimmered obliquely at the end of a tunnel which was subsequently discovered to be laden with landmines.

President FW de Klerk's move has changed South African politics, ISMAIL LAGARDIEN reports.

A policeman looks on as a building goes up in flames in South Africa's year of major changes.

Then, on May 2, the Government met with a high-powered African National Congress delegation which included while South Africa's bête noir, Mr Joe Slovo, the secretary general of the South African Communist Party and the light grew brighter. Really, if Government was prepared to sit down and talk to Slovo, something, somewhere must be going right.

It was not until June 6 this year when De Klerk lifted the State of Emergency in the Transvaal, Cape and the Free State that the light started piercing the thick fog.

And with this, De Klerk again drew the international limelight. It also made his passage to the United States, and subsequent meeting with President George Bush, a success.

But not before Mandela set the streets of New York ablaze and gave African Americans and his other sympathisers a warm feeling in their hearts and a burning vacuum in their bank balances.

Meanwhile back in the townships of South Africa, the Natal violence that had left the country bleeding from a gaping wound after four years of recurrent violence had spread to the Free State, Welkom caught alight. And by August, the flames had spread to the East Rand, thereafter, Soweto.

It was not too long before the trouble hit Cape Town and then there it returned to the squatter communities of the East Rand.

It was then that the country wished it was back in the fire, the heat in the pan became unbearable.

The official figure of people killed in the country since August this year makes the five-year-old Natal violence look like a suburban picnic.

This violence was to continue until around the middle of December and, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations, left about 3,000 dead.

All together, South Africa this year experienced changes and developments that will forever change the fabric of this delicate society.

And, while it has been said that apartheid is dead, it has been argued that how could it be if the constitution which entrenches it still stood.

**Argued**

While it has been said that reform was irreversible, it has been argued that all that has happened in the political shift has effectively been changes to conditions prior to 1960.

The question of the return of exiles is an anathema to reform, reconstruction and all the talk of how irreversible the process is.

In an interview with the general secretary of the PAC (internal), Mr Benny Alexander, he said: "It would be foolish for these (exiles) to return now. They are returning to townships, "bantu education" and other conditions similar to those which existed before they left.

"Many of them will leave privileged conditions at universities and schools to come back to all of this."

So, as the glasses are raised for the new year, the old must be remembered as the beginning of a troublesome pregnancy of a new nation.

And that light at the end of the tunnel is being killed by the people who wanted to see it most - for who is to blame for the 3,000 who had died so unnecessarily since August.
Blacks view future with more hope than whites — poll

WILSON ZWANE

FOR the first time in eight years, urban blacks in SA are more positive about the new year than their white counterparts, according to figures released by the Markinor research group.

Forty-seven percent of urban blacks are confident the coming year will be better than this year, while only 34% of whites share the same view. The present level of optimism among blacks is the highest in eight years, says Markinor.

The poll, a part of an international year-end study conducted in 36 countries by Gallup International, was conducted last month among 2 000 urban adults — 1 000 whites and 1 000 blacks.

Markinor says among blacks optimism about the future is highest in Port Elizabeth (52%), East London (52%) and Cape Town (54%).

Among whites, those living in Durban (44%) and Cape Town (41%) are most optimistic about the future, says the research group, adding that English-speaking people (43%) are more optimistic about the coming year than Afrikaans-speakers (34%).

"Only 33% of English-speaking people feel that 1991 will be worse than 1990 while 50% of Afrikaans-speaking people share this belief," says Markinor.

People in the upper income brackets are also more optimistic about the future that those in the lower income brackets.

The Gallup poll was first conducted in 1982. During the years 1982 to 1985 optimism about the future plummeted, largely because of the introduction of the state of emergency.

That trend changed in 1986, with the election in 1994 having a positive effect on South Africans’ view of their future.

Overall optimism took a dip again in 1988 and 1989 when township violence increased.

It was towards the end of 1989 that optimism among blacks started rising for the first time. Since then levels of optimism among blacks have continued to rise, particularly since President F W de Klerk began implementing his reform programme.

However, over the same period optimism among whites dropped dramatically, says the research group.
LP congress rejects constituent assembly

Political Staff (20/4/79)

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party at the weekend rejected the idea of a constituent assembly to decide on a new constitutional system. [Star 31/12/79]

Instead its 25th annual congress at the Goodwood showgrounds decided that all the political groups should be allowed to make contributions to discussions on constitutional reform.

The congress also decided that the party's leadership should investigate the possibility of alliances with other groups. A resolution passed said the future of the country would be decided by such alliances.

The congress reaffirmed the party's policy for a geographic federation.

It condemned the recent waves of violence and called on all political leaders and parties to address the issue.

There was an appeal particularly to Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to rise above their differences and to work in the interests of the country.

Delegates to the congress on Saturday donated R3 000 for the Hout Bay squatters who lost homes and possessions in a Christmas night fire.
President de Klerk has painted himself into a political corner with the PAC and the ANC by trying to find solutions in a unitary South Africa with a one man, one vote constitution, according to Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party.

Mr van Tonder was reacting yesterday to the PAC's latest rejection of President de Klerk's plans for a post-apartheid South Africa.

The PAC's general secretary, Benny Alexander, had earlier said in Harare that Mr de Klerk would be confronted in 1991 with causes such as the transfer of power, the ownership of South Africa's economy, and the return of the land to the blacks. Mr Alexander said the land had been "stolen from our forefathers".

Mr van Tonder said that demands by the PAC and ANC for land could never be avoided if all of South Africa belonged to everyone.

"The National Party cannot announce that all South Africans must have equal rights in one unitary, democratic South Africa and then think up all kinds of clever plans to circumvent this basic principle."

"The only solution would be to normalise the RSA. The peoples (volke) in southern Africa must be politically and culturally freed as was done in the European Community," Mr van Tonder said.

"The Boer people must be given back their free states because these were never stolen from anyone."

"The Boers occupied the empty Transvaal and Free State, and the black people who lived next to the Boer states during the Great Trek still have their territories today. In fact their land has meanwhile been enlarged considerably," he said.

— Sapa.
Optimism and Fear as 91 Draw Near

1969 was a year filled with major changes and challenges. The Vietnam War continued to dominate international news, causing a deep divide among the population. Civil rights movements gained momentum, fighting for equality and justice. The counterculture movement flourished, espousing peace, love, and freedom from societal norms. The space race with the Soviet Union was a significant aspect of global competition. Technology advanced at a rapid pace, with the first personal computers being introduced. This period saw the rise of the environmental movement as issues like pollution and conservation became more pressing.