S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

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DP tense over dallying

w\Mail 1/11 - 7/11/91. 304A

By GAVIN EVANS

SIMMERING tensions within the Democratic Party are expected to come to the fore at the party's parliamentary caucus meeting on Wednesday when Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle will propose a motion of no-confidence in the party's Chief Whip, Dave Dalling.

Protagonists close to both sides of the conflict told *The Weekly Mail* the move was prompted by Dalling's close relation with the African National Congress, and particularly his attendance at an ANC fundraising dinner, attended by Nelson Mandela, in Stellenbosh recently.

The dinner was hosted by DP MP Jannie Momberg, who was joined by fellow MPs Dalling, Jan van Eck and Hennie Bester, and Western Cape regional executive member Robin Schmidt.

Carlisle said caucus matters were confidential and he was not prepared to confirm or deny the motion. However other party sources supporting the move said they objected to Dalling attending other organisation's fund raisers when he was holding high office within the DP. In addition to being Chief Whip Dalling is also the party's spokesman on legal affairs.

They said 10 to 12 MPs were backing the motion, including Houghton MP Tony Leon. The move comes two weeks before the party's national conference in Cape Town.

Dalling confirmed he had heard of the bid to unseat him.

Momberg said that if such a motion was tabled he would "fight it all the way".

"Why pick on Dave Dalling alone. There are many of us who are as involved with bridge-building as he is."

Van Eck said that if the motion was proposed he would treat it with the "contempt it deserves".

"The time South Africa is going through necessitates flexibility and not straight jacket politic. We must expect that MPs will have different nuances and this should not be used to try to drive them out of the party."



Tony Leon

Call for zebra as sports symbol

Sowetan 1/11/91 (304/1)

A ZEBRA, rather than the fleet springbok, should be the symbol of national sport in the new South Africa, says Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Political change, and unification in sport, meant a new symbol was necessary, he said.

Not everybody agrees.

Democratic Party sports spokesman Mr Jannie Momberg said it had to be acknowledged that the emblem issue was "very sensitive" and it should not be allowed to become divisive.

It should possibly be "put on ice for a year or two and only tackled once everybody is happy to do so", he said.

He added: "It is possible that if a unified body can agree on a symbol, they should be given the go-ahead."

Hendrickse said that retaining the springbok emblem would create the impression that sports men and women were now being allowed into "the old school" from which they had been exluded in the past because of their skin colour.

"This is unacceptable," he said.

"The springbok is not symbolic of that which is new, and while we are moving into a new situation, and thinking of creating a new flag and anthem, we cannot have a continuation of the old sports emblem."

Symbol

He added: "The zebra has always struck me as a good symbol. I have often spoken about this with friends and colleagues and we all believe it represents well the South African population of black and white."

Momberg, who was awarded a Springbok blazer in 1986 as manager of the national athletics team, said he regarded his Springbok colours with "tremendous pride", but recognised that to others, it was a symbol of apartheid.

However, he believed that the search for a substitute symbol should not be a divisive process.

More important by far, he said, was to decide on an anthem and a flag. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Govt, ANC talk on party congress

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Third-round talks between the government and the ANC were held yesterday to discuss final arrangements for a multi-party conference.

Minister of Constitution Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen and NP secretary-general Mr Stoffel van der Merwe were part of the government delegation. The ANC was led led by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki. (30417) CT 1/11/91

Enough shows of strength: it is time to talk

3614M CT 1/11/91



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

AS THE State President, Mr De Klerk, and the NP step aside into the wings, the ANC alliance will take centre stage next week to go through its own muscle-flexing demonstration of strength on the eve of negotiations.

In an era of waning enthusiasm for mass action, the two-day anti-VAT general strike planned for next week may or may not bring the country to a standstill.

The response seems likely to vary from place to place, enabling propagandists on both sides to draw the conclusions they wish. But most people who think at all seriously about politics will hope that whether it succeeds or not this will be the last exercise of its kind for the foreseeable future.

The pre-negotiation atmosphere is too brittle to risk situations developing which will play into the hands of extremists on the right and left who seek political salvation in violence and, now that serious negotiation is beginning, are out to stop it in its tracks.

The bitterly adversarial style of politics in recent weeks between the NP and the ANC has been adding emotional fuel to an already overheated political atmosphere. The rhetoric is threatening to get out of hand, in fact, with both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela seemingly more concerned to pander to their own constituencies than to consider the effect of their words and deeds on each other's followers — and on confidence in this country's future.

Tub-thumping

Mr Mandela's careless invocation of the nationalisation threat as a kind of all-purpose bogeyman was as ill-considered as Mr De Klerk's aggressive anti-ANC tub-thumping at a National Party rally.

This kind of indulgence of mob emotion (by Mr John Vorster) led to South Africa's banishment from the world cricket community for nearly three decades, a sojourn in the cricketing wilderness which is only now about to end with the announcement this week that a South African XI will be welcome in the World Cup competition next year.

In the late 1960s Mr John Vorster found it easier to play the traditional political game than to give a determined lead. If he had allowed the MCC to include Basil D'Oliviera in the team to tour South Africa, Mr Vorster might have had to broaden his political base to stay in power, diluting the NP's Afrikaner Nationalist character and hastening the movement away from dependence on purist ideology. This, in turn, could have hastened a return to democratic constitutional values. He declined to risk it.

Reassure faithful

Mr De Klerk's situation is rather different. He has already taken huge risks, opening up the prospect of a constitutional settlement. Now he seems to feel the need to reassure the faithful. Hence the bout of ANC-bashing.

If the ANC and the NP, working together in close co-operation, are to form the main elements in the transitional administration, the adversarial style of politics will need to be tempered somewhat. You cannot tell your followers at one moment that the ANC is a communist-dominated nest of vipers and in the next moment be seen to be working intimately with them in running the country.

Once the transitional phase is complete and a new constitution is in force, the co-operative style of government will need to be sustained as long as possible. There is agreement among the best analysts that the first government under the new constitution will need to be a government of national reconciliation in which all significant groupings will be represented.

In the interests of continuity, restoring confidence, stability and economic growth, the two major political forces in the country — the ANC and their allies and the NP and their allies — will need to govern in coalition for five years or more as the country settles down.

Delicate balance

Yet both sides will be out to emerge as the strongest party in the first democratic election, earning the right to be the dominant partner in the governing coalition. So the adversarial style of politics will continue. The trick will be keep the rhetoric within reasonable bounds, which seems a tall order, given the robust tradition at the South African hustings.

Can this delicate balance between political co-operation and political competition be sustained? At least a working degree of mutual trust will be essential. It is here that the National Peace Accord assumes a central importance. The priority is restoration of a climate of confidence in the equity and impartiality of the law enforcement system.

Confidence in the commitment and capacity of the security forces to contain the violence has been shaken. It will need to be built up again if the step-by-step transition from racial tyranny to non-racial democracy is not to dissolve in anarchy.

The National Peace Accord, given the support it needs, has been a great breakthrough. Its wholesome effects will be more evident each day as the multi-party conference convenes and the talking begins.

Patrick Laurence assesses the balance of forces after the birth of the Front

Will their fingers form a fist?

Star 1/11/91.

THE formation of the Patriotic/United Front raises questions about its impact on the balance of forces vying for dominance in our political arena.

Established largely on the initiative of the African National Congress and its old rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Front unites many organisations in the fight against apartheid and for national democracy.

It is the product of a stratagem designed to tilt the balance against President de Klerk's ruling National Party.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy, Tertius Delport, have no doubts about the motives which inspired its genesis. They see the Front as an attempt by the ANC-PAC axis to inspire a "ganging up" against the NP. Front spokesmen use different language to describe the same process. They speak of unifying forces representing the oppressed for a final assault against apartheid, depicting the Front as a bid to pre-empt plans by the NP to deploy a strategy of divide and rule at the negotiating table.

The Front has unquestionably seized the initiative and attempted to determine the pace and direction of the negotiating process. It has shifted the balance in its favour for the moment but whether it has done so decisively is another question.

The Front is a potentially formidable force, but it may not be as solid or as durable as its leaders have claimed publicly.

Extrapolating from the official list of participating organisations at the Front's three-day inaugural conference at Durban, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa has declared that it speaks for 92 organisations and at least 15 million people.

His statement exaggerates the Front's strength, however. The official list of organisations at the founding conference contains several duplications.

Some had observer rather than delegates status and thus cannot be assumed to have endorsed the final declaration.

Many organisations on the list have overlapping memberships with the ANC and the PAC. Some, like the National Soccer League, are apolitical organisations which cannot presume to speak politically for members.

The Front is, moreover, weakened by a number of significant absentees from the list of member organisations, especially Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and Pandelani Nefolovhodwe's Azanian People's Organisation. (Azapo). Azapo sees the Front as an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable.

Lesser political organisations are not on the Front's membership list either.

They include political parties associated with three tribal homelands: Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana Democratic Party, Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei-based African Democratic Party and Hudson Ntsanwisi's Ximoko Progressive Party in Gazankulu.

Since one of the Front's objectives is to deprive Mr de Klerk of black allies at the all-party talks and in the projected non-racial election, these admissions, like the exclusion of the IFP and the Azapo, cannot be dismissed as insignificant.

A last but not unimportant point about the Front's list: It includes, one suspects, political organisations which attended for reasons of expediency rather than conviction. Their presence on the list of member organisations is explained by the desire to avoid castigation as "unpatriotic".

Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, which has suffered serious losses to Mr de Klerk's ruling National Party, appears to be a case in point. If Mr de Klerk offers the Labour Party a route to survival during the pending all party talks, they may well take it in preference to absorption by the "patriotic forces".

The failure of Qwaqwa's Chief Minister, Kenneth Mopeli, to head the Dikwankwetla Party delegation to the Front's conference suggests he may be keeping a discreet distance between himself and the Front. The Front is, above all, a coming-together of the ANC and the PAC after more than 30 years of rivalry. Their new found unity is the cornerstone on which the Front rests.

The tensions which led to the secession of the PAC from the ANC in 1959 have not been completely excised by the formation of the Front. They are reflected in small but accumulatively important ways. The language of the Front's inaugural declaration illustrates the point.

For every term favoured by the ANC there is a counter-term used by the PAC. The Front's ringing founding declaration talks, clumsily, of an all party congress/preconstituent assembly meeting and an interim government/transitional authority.

The two sides cannot even agree on the Front's label. ANC members refer to it as the Patriotic Front. PAC members talk of a United Front. Organisers in a belated attempt to avoid a quarrel speak of a Patriotic/United Front.

There are further outward differences: during the black nationalist anthem, Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika (God Bless Africa), ANC members respond with the clinched fist salute while their PAC counterparts give their own distinctive open palm salute.

These observable differences mask deeper ideological quarrels. The PAC, at gut level, regards itself as the custodian "of the African nationalist tradition"; it believes that the ANC, under the influence of white and Indian liberals and leftists, has betrayed its nationalist roots for effete "multiracialism".

The two organisations, however, have both gained from the emergence of the Front. The ANC by persuading the PAC to join it in tackling Mr de Klerk on the "terrain of negotiations" has protected its left flank from the PAC's cry of "sell out". The PAC by serving as a co-convener of the ANC has boosted its claim to be on a par with the ANC in the struggle against apartheid.

Maxwell Nemadzivhanane, of the PAC, sums up the position and hopes of the two organisations with a metaphor: "like fingers, they are separate but capable of forming a fist to strike the common enemy".

In the past, however, the "fingers" have wrestled with one another more often than closing to strike the enemy. The smell of power may rekindle their old rivalries. □

Turmoil 'threat to democracy'

Bldg 1/11/91

CONTINUING violence and the lack of strong economic growth threaten the establishment of democracy in SA, says Institute for Multiparty Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhlomo.

Democracy could not survive in an environment where there was civil turmoil, he told the conference yesterday. (86(1) (306A

He hoped that the national peace accord, signed by political leaders, would result in peace. "If we give up on peace, we might as well give up on democracy."

The masses harboured very high expectations — some of which might be unrealistic — and if a new democratic state failed to deliver the "economic and quality of life goods" it risked rejection.

A new democracy was expected to dramatically increase access to wealth creation and social services and to help future rulers address the plight of unemployed, alienated township youths.

A strong economy was needed. If benefits were not seen, democracy would not be welcomed.

A political culture should not only be preached but practised by all, since without clarity on its characteristics the killings and imprisonment would continue in the name of democracy. — Sapa.

Ethical investors face new moral dilemma over SA

LONDON — Investors trying to put together portfolios of "clean" investments are facing a moral dilemma as SA undergoes political reform.

There was a time when its apartheid policies put SA clearly out of bounds to investors with a conscience.

But the speed of political reform has prompted so-called ethical investors to consider rewriting the rules. Indeed, some argue, ignoring the improvements might be counter-productive.

A UK court case last week redrew the lines of debate with a landmark decision on SA investment. In the case, the Bishop of Oxford lost an attempt to gain a ruling that Christian morality should take priority over the pursuit of maximum profit in the investment of the Church of England's £2,6bn assets.

Among several proposals the bishop sought to implement was one which would stop the church from investing in the 37% of UK-listed companies viewed as having close SA ties. It would have meant divesting shares which make up an important part of the church's portfolio.

The current policy prevents the church from investing in the 13% of companies on the UK market which derive a major part of their income from SA.

UK ethical funds manage about £300m and account for just under 1% of UK unit trust investment. This does not include a few big investors such as the Church of England and charitable trusts.

Conscience and capitalism are awkward bedfellows at the best of times, some say. But individuals and charities who ascribe as much importance to social issues as to profit occupy a niche in the investment market.

Since ethical unit trusts began in the UK in 1984, the avoidance of SA investment over the apartheid issue has provided ethical investors with a rallying point.

Purists

A recent survey by the Ethical Investment Research Service (EIRIS) found 72% of respondents would only consider a change of stance if the ANC and the SA churches backed the lifting of sanctions.

However, Peter Sylvestor, investment director at Friends Provident, the biggest and longest established ethical unit trust in the UK, believes the EIRIS survey may only represent the views of "dedicated topline ethical purists".

He said: "When we started in 1984, SA was absolutely the major issue but attitudes have shifted ... they ebb and flow with the political situation and depend on what the media is focusing on.

"If destruction of the rain forest is a hot item in the media it becomes the issue of the day."

Friends Provident's committee of ethical advisers will review its policy in the near future, said Sylvester.

Jupiter Tyndall, which handles £40m in ethical funds, has just completed its own survey. "SA is still a very real issue ... but there are distinctions emerging," said Tessa Tennant, head of research at Jupiter Tyndall's "green" investment division.

"There's a recognition that investment requires long lead times, that if we want to support the South African economy we have to start investing now," said Tennant.

"But people feel it's important to see more than just platitudes in company reports. Investors are seeking evidence of genuine concern on social issues by companies operating in SA."

As SA rejoins the international business community, Tennant says the spotlight is shifting. The chief question for ethical investors will no longer be "who is out there?" but rather "what are they doing out there?" — Reuter.

More and more in common



Gary Taylor is director of human resources at Medscheme.

The seeds of an interim "government" have already germinated in a number of areas within the SA society, but in a form not necessarily envisaged by the various players.

The model might not involve the United Nations (as happened in Namibia), nor a committee of Wise Men comprising politically neutral but widely credible referees. If certain current trends develop we might well see a "second tier" of policy-makers emerging in all major areas, which in effect runs the country by democratically devising policy on key issues. They could well go further by having a say in budgetary reallocation during this interim phase.

These committees would exist in each of the major functional groupings of government — security, finance, manpower, health, housing and so on; and would involve the major stakeholders in that particular field, not just the politicians.

The groupings, though cumbersome at first because of their size and the need for effective mandating, will form more democratic and acceptable forms of interim structures than any externally imposed caretaker government could. Parliamentary power would diminish considerably, as the legislature would be effectively rubber-stamping budgets and policies emanating from committee level.

There are some areas where such multilateral efforts are successfully under way and such initiatives could serve as models for other interim structures.

The labour relations field is perhaps the most developed of these, where the latest amendments (and proposed future changes) to the Labour Relations Act have been dubbed "the first post-apartheid legislation."

To summarise the process, the major stakeholders in the labour arena got together to produce an accord which finally resulted in legislation being generated through the National Manpower Commission (NMC) for mere enactment by parliament. Despite the recent tactical withdrawal from the NMC by Cosatu in order to ensure that it becomes more democratic and powerfully reconstituted, the body is certain to continue to drive policy and not the Department of Manpower.

Leading labour lawyer Halton Cheadle articulated the vision recently by stating that "the thinking is that the NMC ought to have a special relationship to parliament as a policy body, that laws relating to labour and the labour market must proceed through, before they are tabled in parliament ... Though it will not usurp the sovereignty of parliament, it will play a policy formation role."

On the economic front, a number of moves have been made — again with organised labour and business deciding that this country's future economic survival, let alone growth, should not be left solely to politicians.

Recent press reports of behind-the-scenes working parties reflect high-level involvement through the Consultative Business Movement, Cosatu and others in creating an interim forum for economic policy. The prevailing thinking is that the economy cannot wait for a referendum, a new constitution or an all-party election.

The shift by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, as hinted at the IMF conference, shows some evidence of government's readiness to consider a new approach. A new structure might by now have been established if the consultations with the VAT delegation had yielded a more widely acceptable compromise.

Even with VAT we saw a structure emerging, in which labour, consumer and even medical stakeholders formed a grouping to challenge old-style decision-making. Cosatu's Jay Naidoo has confirmed that the planned mass action is to support the "issue of process" rather than VAT per se. It has been proposed that the unions want these interim structures in place *before* a new government is elected to ensure their future survival and influence.

In health care, similar moves are under way. The unpopular amendments proposed to the outdated Medical Schemes Act are bound to be scuttled as the Minister gets buffeted by vested interests.

Recent calls by the Medical Association for the Bill to be referred to "a joint consensus forum which enjoys representation by all role-players in the health environment" will stand a better chance of achieving an acceptable redistribution of health.

Though security issues would originally have seemed to defy consensus, we have already seen some interim structures emerging in an attempt to combat violence.

Clearly, peace is the most elusive of goals at present, but the joint efforts of stakeholders, including church leaders, in the Peace Accord have given some direction. It is worth noting that acceptance was gained for the principle that the police owe allegiance to higher values than traditional line authority.

Peace initiatives at community level have enjoyed lower profile, but facilitating bodies have been achieving meaningful results in some areas.

The conclusions which could be drawn from the above examples — and there are several other working groups already in place, including on local government and telecommunications — is that we are already evolving an "interim government" within the present legislative framework. The National Party has already demonstrated a willingness to accommodate such initiatives and seems likely to be supportive of informal interim structures.

There are several major advantages to informal forums which harness the energies of vested interests, expert opinion, idealism and experience. They tap into democratic processes during the interim phase while the constitutional scene is still developing. This could relieve the politicians of some of the work and deter government from ruling by decree — both now and in the future. ■

FM 1/11/91

NEGOTIATIONS

Questions of power

Government's fairly positive response to the outcome of the Patriotic Front conference paves the way for multi-party talks. Is it as simple as that? No. The level of invective which the major protagonists are levelling at each other has not diminished — nor is there anything approaching workable agreement on what is actually to be done.

Faced with such essential contradictions, all who hope for a new SA revived by economic prosperity have a tendency to gloom. Yet contradictions are not all bad — not if they result in a constitution which will not fray in a very short period of time indeed.

Outsiders may be forgiven for assuming that when the Nationalists speak of "transitional arrangements" and the ANC-PAC of an "interim government" the difference is semantic. And, of course, once a process of negotiation has been genuinely engaged, the difference may diminish. In fact, at this stage, the opposing sides are talking different languages. Herein lie dangers both immediate and long-term.

At the NP federal congress in Bloemfontein in September, F W de Klerk stated his party's essential position: "Black domination is as unacceptable as white domination. The NP rejects both. Power domination spells catastrophe." A proposed constitution was floated to enshrine this principle. But less attention has been paid to it than it deserves, probably because it was immediately conceded as a negotiable document. Yet it represents NP thinking pretty comprehensively.

The Nationalists believe in power-sharing — that is to say, a controlled process of inaugurating black participation in government. Each step of the way is to be negotiated; it must not be precipitate. The dangers of white reaction are frequently underlined by commentators as making the process subject to control by political need. This week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen — a wily survivor entrusted with such matters — made one of those breezy comments which closer inspection reveals to be a restatement of the principle of continuing government control.

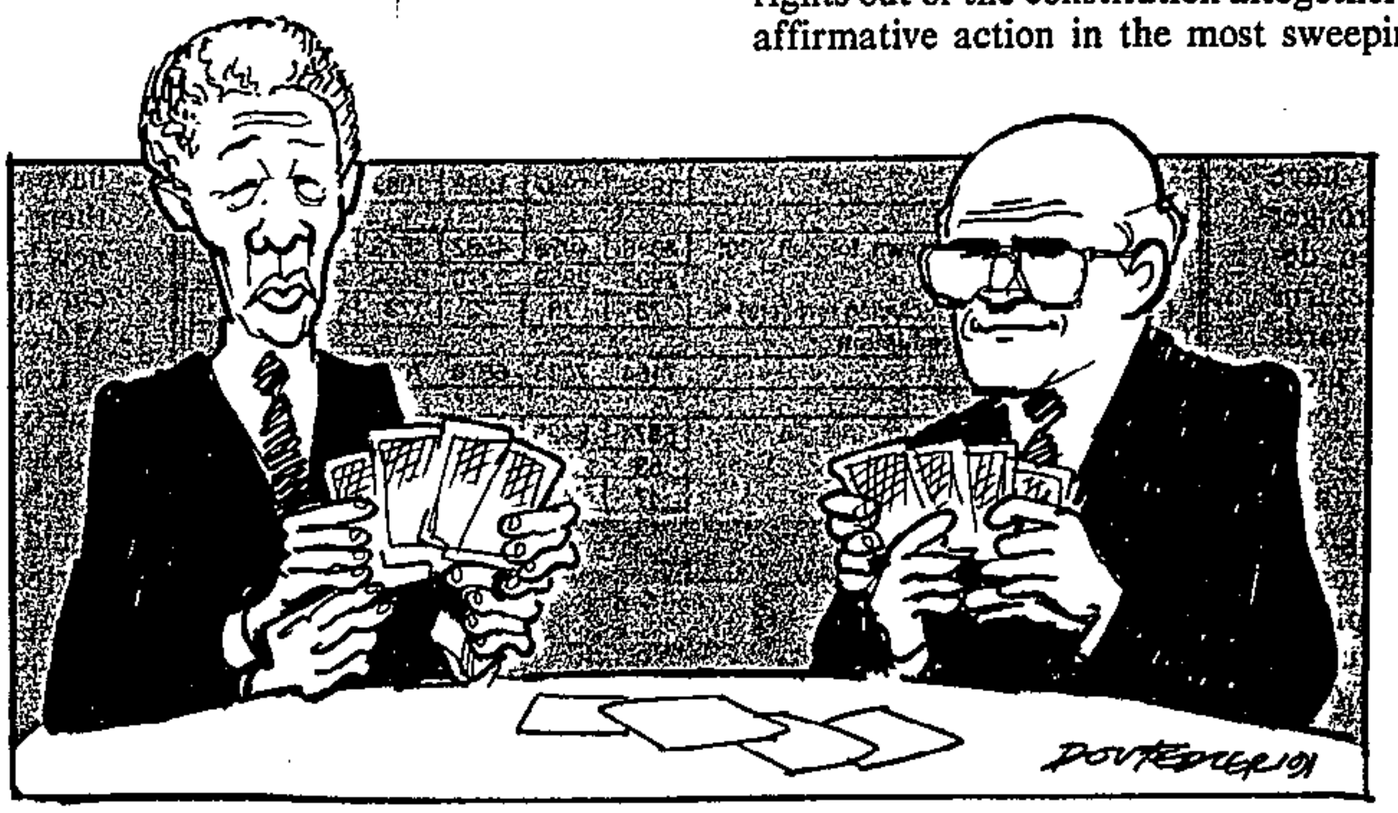
The constitution, he said, could well be amended to permit the Patriotic Front — and Inkatha — a growing say in elements of government. This might be needed to assure smooth transitional arrangements and the changes could be made through parliament if they were not fundamental, in which contrary case they would have to be put to the white electorate by means of the referendum promised by De Klerk as the precursor to a new constitution.

Of course, this will not meet the demands of the ANC-PAC alliance — which are for a constituent assembly before discussions on the final form of the constitution. Indeed, the ambition of next week's general strike has been shifted from its primary focus on the alleged inequities of VAT to the kind of power sharing which amounts to an interim government, though whether this should be put in place before or after an election for a constituent assembly is not clear.

Behind the statements of either side lie the elements of a huge power play. Both understand this, which is why the proposed strike has the aspect of a showdown. Either one side or the other will be strengthened by its success or failure. The Patriotic Front hopes, obviously, that the strike will be so successful that it will persuade government to narrow participation at the multi-party talks — if not compel it to accept the fabled "two-sided table" at which nothing could be debated except the parameters of the transfer of final power. Inkatha would then be formally aligned with the NP.

In the way of things, no such clear-cut outcome is likely. More probable would be a variety of competing viewpoints, some strong in terms of notional electoral support, some weak. Out of such competition a constitution could then laboriously be assembled clause by clause. This would require a focusing of minds on the practicalities of governing SA in terms of its resources and potential, not on a division of the spoils.

Any extension of confrontational tactics to the negotiating table is certain to lead to a botched piece of work. Compromise is going to have to be thoroughgoing when one considers that the Nationalists at this stage propose *three* presidents — tripartite political structures are notoriously unstable — while the ANC would appear to want to leave property rights out of the constitution altogether, while legislating for affirmative action in the most sweeping sense.



At this stage, government is conceding less than it appears to be saying; and the Patriotic Front, which is unlikely to outlast protracted negotiations, sees apparent benefit in confrontation and haste. In assessing the impact of next week's strike, these concealed agendas on both sides need to be borne in mind. ■

Where we came from

304A FM 1/11/91.

THE NEW ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF SA
edited by Trewhella Cameron and S B Spies (Southern Books, 216pp, R87,99).

If the average white South African were to put down on paper what he remembers from school history lessons, it would look something like this:

"Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in 1652 to set up a market garden. Before that there were only a few Hottentots and Bushmen and two Portuguese sailors called Vasco da Gama and Bartholomew Diaz had stopped off. Van Riebeeck was followed by Simon van der Stel, who established the Cape wine industry. Later the British took over the Cape, sent the 1820 Settlers and abolished slavery.

"On the Eastern Frontier there were lots of wars between the Xhosas and the whites. In Natal, Shaka built a Zulu empire. As a result of the British being soft on the blacks, Dutch farmers set off on the Great Trek to the Transvaal, Free State and northern Natal. Nothing much happened until diamonds and gold were discovered. This caused the British to move in again, which resulted in the Boer War.

"In 1910, the Union of SA was formed. For the next 38 years the country was run by General Botha, General Smuts or General Hertzog. In 1948, the National Party came to power, where it has been ever since. Apartheid was invented by Hendrik Verwoerd, who believed in 'separate but equal.' We became a republic in 1961. Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966. Because of apartheid, SA became isolated from the world."

It is difficult to imagine a matriculant ploughing through five years of mathematics, English literature or chemistry without retaining more than a few paragraphs of knowledge. Yet that is what has happened with history for decades. The syllabus, based on severe Christian National principles, ensured that even inspired teachers would battle to make the subject interesting. The gap between the excellent teaching in some university history departments and the weary struggle of the school classroom has surely been greater in history than in any other subject.

The first edition of this book appeared five years ago to general acclaim. The contributors were all experts in a particular area of historical study: Philip Tobias on "The Dawn of the Human Family in Africa"; Thomas Pakenham on the Anglo-Boer War; and Alf Stadler on the fascinating period from 1939 to 1948, to name but three. As the editors pointed out, "other histories emphasise other facets and highlight other scenes. Interpretations of the past do not remain static and perspectives change. This book represents the views of a number of honestly motivated historians in the mid-Eighties."

This raises a vital aspect of history as a discipline, which the school inspectors have, for ideological reasons, apparently done their best to obscure. For there is no such thing as "history" — only versions of it. Facts are crucial, of course — but there are so many of them and, on their own, they mean little. If a pupil gets a distinction for history, but remains under the impression that what he has learned is the definitive and only version, then his ignorance is as great as if he had never got further in mathematics than Pythagorus' theorem.

It is a pity, therefore, though perhaps not surprising, that this *Illustrated History* has still not been prescribed in the country's schools at any level. Let us hope that a new unified education department will be more adventurous and true to its calling.

For the second edition, the final two chapters have been rewritten and freshly illustrated to accommodate the events of the past few years. Some photographs depict events unthinkable when the book first appeared, such as presidents F W de Klerk and Sam Nujoma shaking hands at the Namibian independence ceremony.

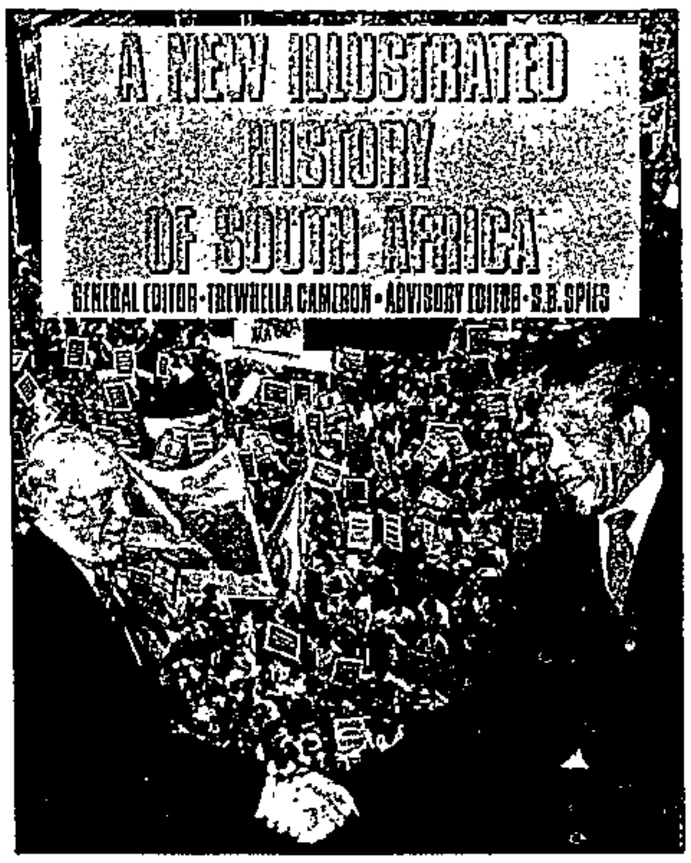
The analysis is generally acute, given that space is at a premium, and bearing in mind that professional historians are reluctant to commit themselves. On SA's withdrawal from Angola in 1988, for instance, Henning van Aswegen (head of history at RAU) writes: "The war in southern Angola had obviously become too expensive for SA. The SADF no longer enjoyed air superiority and on the home front the voices raised against the war became ever louder. This, together with increased political unrest throughout the country, forced Pretoria to reassess its position in Africa and particularly southern Africa." It is hard to think of a more accurate summary.

The analysis by Rodney Davenport (formerly head of history at Rhodes) of the apartheid society since 1961 should be prescribed reading for those whites who wish impatiently that blacks would simply forgive and forget. Verwoerd may have been the intellectual father of apartheid, but there were plenty of disciples prepared to carry out the dirty work, long after his assassination in 1966. There still are.

In 1968, writes Davenport, government's attempts to "ban blacks as shop assistants, receptionists, typists, clerks or doctors, even in urban locations serving their own people, showed just how far it would have liked to go ..."

The ruthless policy of forced removals caused "extreme distress" to millions of people; the economic folly of decentralisation helped ensure that only 8 000 new jobs were created each year in the boom between 1960 and 1972.

There is one astounding omission. No-



where in these two chapters is there any mention of Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert. He was the courageous Leader of the Opposition for seven turbulent years in the P W Botha era and leader of the old Progressive Federal Party in its days of growth.

When he resigned from these positions, white politics was shaken to its foundations — as it deserved to be. It can be argued that Slabbert did more than any other white politician to prepare his constituency for the great changes that now seem commonplace.

Slabbert was prepared to be unpopular with the public and his own party in proposing a "no" vote in the 1983 referendum and was vindicated by events. He blazed several trails by arranging contacts between the banned ANC and local leaders at a time when such an overture by anyone else would probably have resulted in arrest (or, in the case of a very senior banker, public humiliation). And he continues to play an imaginative political role — it is not as if the waters have closed over him.

This notable flaw aside, the book is both scholarly and readable — a rare achievement indeed. It deserves the widest possible readership.

As we try to extricate the country from its predicament, it helps to know how it got into the mess.

David Williams

BUYING BOOKS

Some books reviewed may not be readily available. Prices of imported books can vary because of fluctuations in exchange rates. If you have difficulty obtaining a title from a bookshop, we suggest you contact the publisher's representative.

The publisher of the book reviewed this week is Southern Books: (011) 315-3633.

De Klerk receives human rights report

BIDay 1/11/91

PRETORIA — Chairman of the Law Commission Mr Justice H J O van Heerden handed over the interim reports on group and human rights to President F W de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday.

The completed final report on constitutional models was also presented to De Klerk.

Mr Justice van Heerden said the reports resulted from research and consultations and did not serve the interests of any party or group.

"We have endeavoured to represent as objectively as possible divergent views and to set out options and solutions which we thought would be reasonable and workable."

The judge hoped the reports would be of assistance to the public and those involved in future negotiation for the drawing up of a new constitution.

De Klerk said they dealt with key subjects and would have far-reaching consequences regarding a new dispensation.

The reports would be studied carefully by the government and all political parties and movements, he said.

"We stand on the verge of a multiparty conference. In that sense the fact that the reports were completed now is timeous and appropriate."

He hoped the reports would have a calming influence and encourage realistic thinking and result in a new dispensation which would take into consideration the complexity of SA society.

De Klerk said he would react to the reports "in due course".

He nostalgically recalled that the subject of his maiden speech in parliament had been the SA Law Commission.

De Klerk said he had expressed his strong conviction and belief in SA's legal system but had said it still required reform.

The handing over ceremony was also attended by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Justice P J Olivier and other senior members of the SA Law Commission. — Sapa.

City workers angry at seniors' pay rise

BIDay 1/11/91

CAPE TOWN — Dozens of shop stewards converged on Cape Town's civic centre yesterday in support of of union demands that the city council scrap an extra 8,3% pay raise for senior staff.

Cape Town mayor Frank van der Velde, accompanied by senior officials, and 60 representatives of the SA Municipal Workers Union met for about one and a half hours, city council spokesman Ted Doman said.

Samwu Cape Town secretary Roger Ronnie said workers demanded the council rescind a decision to pay senior staff an 8,3% increase over and above a 12,5% rise awarded to all staff earlier this year.

Samwu also demanded the city council restore services pending talks with the union and affected communities, he said.

Doman declined to disclose the topic of the talks between shop stewards and officials. — Sapa.



Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku, left, President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha after their meetings at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Anyaoku's visit will be of benefit to SA, says FW

THE visit of Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku would benefit all South Africans as it would lead to a greater understanding of the complexities of the country, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk said at a press conference after a brief meeting with Anyaoku in Pretoria that such visits resulted in good policies being devised.

Anyaoku said he regarded the meeting as productive, cordial and useful.

"We focused on the positive role the Commonwealth could play in SA," said De Klerk.

He had put forward government's point of view on the violence and the steps being taken to counter it.

They had agreed that the role of the Commonwealth must not affect the sovereignty of SA or constitute interference in the country's internal affairs, he said.

Anyaoku will meet representatives of political, trade union and church groups to establish how the Commonwealth can lend momentum to negotiations.

He also met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday morning. Botha said Anyaoku had expressed concern at the violence. (3049)

Anyaoku said he was scheduled to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela today, PAC representatives tomorrow and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi on Monday. — Sapa.



Commonwealth Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku, President de Klerk and F[illegible]gn Minister Botha at the Union Buildings yesterday. Picture: AFP

Anyaoku, FW meet 'cordially'

Star 17/11/91.

Political Staff (304)

President de Klerk and Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku have agreed that the organisation will do nothing to affect South Africa's sovereignty.

This was disclosed by Mr de Klerk at the Union Buildings yesterday after a meeting with Chief Anyaoku, the first Commonwealth Secretary-General to visit South Africa.

Mr de Klerk said they had focused on the constructive role the Commonwealth could play in furthering the negotiations process.

He said he had put the Government's point of view on the ongoing violence and what was being done to combat it.

Chief Anyaoku described the meeting as "very useful, extremely productive and extremely cordial".

He is to see ANC president Nelson Mandela today and PAC leaders tomorrow and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Monday.

Government spokesmen have admitted apartheid was a mistake and they have said they are sorry. Now, a growing debate is who must pay for the mistake, and how much? Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE examines some of the issues.

Who will pay for apartheid's legacy?

CLAIMS for reparation for past wrongs have come from two sides of South Africa's political spectrum.

On one side, the African National Congress has called for reparation for apartheid injustices, mainly in regard to the distribution of land and wealth. On the other, the far rightwing Boerestaat Party has submitted a huge R250-billion (£50-billion) claim to the British government for damage and loss of life during the 1899-1902 South African War.

Law experts noted this week that claims for injustices and damage by governments and other state authorities were not new and some have, in fact, been lodged successfully in various parts of the world in recent times.

However, some experts dismissed the Boerestaat Party's claim as a mere political, point-scoring exercise which has little hope of getting anywhere.

The ANC's claim, on the other hand, especially in respect of the land issue, is said to warrant more serious attention. It may have a larger measure of validity than many South Africans expect when it is viewed against the background of comparable claims that succeeded in other countries.

Professor Lourens du Plessis, professor of public law at Stellenbosch University, says there are historic precedents for such claims, among them cases relating to events in Germany during World War 2.

He suggests the ANC's claims should be investigated. Although the damage done under the apartheid system could never be completely undone, some measure of reparation would have a symbolic value.

Attempts should, therefore, be made during the negotiation process to seek an optimum reparation of apartheid damage, he says.

PREFERABLY a new government formed under a new constitution should not be burdened with this task, he says.

Professor Du Plessis suggests that a forum be created for people who were harmed by apartheid to submit their claims for reparation.

On the Boerestaat Party's claim, he thinks it is hardly likely to be taken seriously. Even if such claims were not settled at the time of the peace agreement, it seems unlikely that they would be considered now, nearly a century later.

Professor Kader Asmal, recently-appointed first professor of human rights law at the University of the Western Cape, says it has been established clearly since World War 2 that there must be reparation for gross violations of human rights, especially crimes against humanity.

One form of reparation is the payment of compensation for damages or injustices.

"In South Africa we cannot build a culture of human rights unless there is acknowledgement of grievances and wrongs of the last 50 years," he says.

Professor Asmal, an international authority on human rights standards and an executive member of the ANC, told Weekend Argus that many whites in South Africa had no idea of the magnitude and seriousness of human rights violations under the apartheid system, and the extent of grievances over apartheid injustices.

He says human rights violations for which there are grounds for reparation claims include:

- The internal "deportation" of 3½ illion people since 1952 under the apartheid programme for the removal of "black spots";
- The forced removal of more than 100 000 people from their homes under the Group Areas Act; and
- The premature deaths of at least 2 million children who died because of apartheid practices.

Professor Asmal says the apartheid violations are comparable with some human rights violations elsewhere in the world — notably in Europe and Latin America — for which reparations, including compensation, was made.

In Europe, for example, complex arrangements have been made for the return of property taken by communist regimes in Eastern Europe.

And, between 1949 and 1989, the German government paid R82-billion in compensation for violations of property rights during the nazi era. As recently as September this year, Germany reached an agreement with Poland on compensation to be paid for lost earnings of Poles who were subjected to forced labour by the nazis during World War 2.

"Nazi war criminals were tried in 1946. However, we in the ANC are not proposing war crimes; we say there must be acknowledgement of the extraordinary criminal acts and violations of property rights as a result of which whole communities were destroyed."

Professor Asmal says the ANC is not seeking revenge or reprisals, but it wants a repudiation of the "unbridled racism" of the apartheid regime since 1948.

"What is needed is an orderly change and reconstruction, together with an understanding of the enormous pain, deprivation and cruelty suffered by people."

On the land issue, Professor Asmal says there should be reparation for forced removals which amounted to "legalised theft". Land taken away from people should be returned, and those historically deprived of the right to own land must be given access to land.

PROFESSOR Asmal dismisses the Boerestaat Party's claim as "an eccentric example of people making a political point".

The ANC's approach to the issue of reparation has so far been remarkably mild and tolerant when viewed against the background of grievances in black communities.

Questioned by Weekend Argus about the organisation's viewpoint, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma says: "No compensation is possible for denial of civil liberties. The ANC does not approach the issue of redress in the Nuremberg Trials sense. It is, in other words, not a retributive approach.

"Our concern is that those who gained advantage through apartheid should not be allowed to maintain or even expand that advantage in the new South Africa.

"Therefore, we are concerned with levelling the playing field so that there can be genuine equality of opportunity."

This implies that the redress of imbalances and inequities could not be measured in monetary terms. However, some areas like equalisation of pensions, health care and education expenses are "reasonably quantifiable", and so is land distribution.

"However, our emphasis is on redistribution of land already in government hands and the return to the land of people removed in the past 50 years or so. Beyond that, we propose a land claims court which would adjudicate other claims."

WHO will pay for any compensation for or reparation of apartheid injustices? If the taxpayer is to be held responsible, will it be all taxpayers or only certain categories of taxpayers?

Mr Macozoma replies: "We would not use the word 'compensation', but would prefer the word 'redress'. The entire society will have to bear the cost of repairing and reconstructing our country and our people.

"Obviously those who have accumulated wealth (in various forms) will be in a position to contribute more to the national purse. Therefore, the tax system will have to take this into account, along the same ways as under the present government."

Bid to draw CP into negotiations

30yn
ARG 2/11/91

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

MOVES are being made behind the scenes to persuade elements of the rightwing movement — or at least a significant part of the Conservative Party — to join constitutional negotiations.

The bid is aimed partly at getting rightwing participation in the all-party conference to be launched before the end of this year — and thereby to defuse any serious rightwing backlash.

Political analysts see the rightwing movement as an important factor that can influence the climate of constitutional negotiations for better or worse, or even become a disruptive element if pushed outside the peace process.

In coming weeks, the run-up to the all-party talks is expected to become a hectic race against time by various players to round off their tactical preparations.

Confidential meetings are reported to have been held between senior National Party members and leading figures in the CP. There also has been speculation about secret meetings between the African National Congress and prominent CP members to explore possibilities of negotiation.

And moves are reported to have been made by the ANC and the PAC to get Azapo back into the ranks of the newly-formed Patriotic Front.

Stellenbosch political scientist Professor Pierre du Toit told Weekend Argus this week the government had much to gain if its strategy were to take into account the concept that "power is based on giving".

He suggested the government could make a concession to ANC demands for a constituent assembly. If the government were to agree to a constituent assembly, the government (or the NP) would make itself indispensable to the ANC alliance, which could not proceed on its own in such a body.

This would put the government in a better bargaining position because it could set its own conditions in working out a brief for the constituent assembly.

Something similar had been done in Namibia where a brief to a constituent assembly, including a bill of rights, had been outlined as long ago as 1982 by the five Western powers involved in negotations.

By the time a constituent assembly came into being, all the principles for a constitution had already been agreed and only technicalities remained. The result was that only 16 of the 85 members of the assembly needed to voice opinions.

So, too, the NP in South Africa could use the multiparty conference to negotiate the principles of a constitution and to defuse political differences. The finer details then could be left to a constituent assembly.

However, Professor Du Toit warned that the rightwing movement was an important factor, not because of its numbers, but because of political strategy. He saw a big task ahead for the NP to try to get the rightwing to join the constitutional process.

"It may be that the Conservative Party is merely playing hard to get and is waiting to be begged on hands and knees to come in. Whatever the case, it is important they should be at the negotiating table."

Professor Du Toit said he believed there was a role for Western powers and the British Commonwealth, for example, to give moral support to the negotiation process and to help towards giving it legitimacy. There seemed to be no need at present for foreign observers or mediators, but a need could arise in the event of a deadlock.

● The Conservative Party warned this week that the government should expect the biggest resistance in the history of "the Afrikaner nation" if it involved black organisations in the running of the country during the transitional process.

Pik bound for Soviet Union

Star 2/11/91. 3064



POLITICAL STAFF

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha is set to fly soon to the Baltic states and the Soviet Union amid warming relations between South Africa and those countries.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman yesterday confirmed Mr Botha's travel plans, but refused to divulge any details, or the exact purpose of the tour.

It is believed the delicacy of the talks has brought on the official silence. But reports emanating from Moscow, quoting officials sources, yesterday confirmed Mr Botha's visit.

It is not known whether Mr Botha will be back in time for President F W de Klerk's departure for Israel, the Republic of China and Mauritius. If not, he will join the President in Tel Aviv at the outset of the eight-day tour.

Nat bid for coalition

Call for 'interim' national unity pact for up to 10 years

S|Times 3/11/91. (3049)

THE National Party is to push for an "interim" constitution that will ensure a government of national unity lasting for up to 10 years when all-party talks get under way on November 29.

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

NP members have hinted strongly that if other parties are prepared to accept this proposal the path could be cleared for the holding of constituent assembly elections to finalise details of a new constitution.

Political parties are still involved in intensive discussions on the convening of the first meeting of the all-party talks, but November 29 and 30 have been mooted as the most likely dates.

Considerable progress has already been made in deciding which parties should be invited.

There is broad agreement that the Parliamentary parties which should be asked along are: the NP, the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, the Democratic Party, the National People's Party and Solidarity.

Observers

Parties in control of homeland governments which will be invited are: Inkatha, the Dikwankwetla Party (Qwaqwa), United People's Front (Lebowa), Inyandza National Movement (Kangwane), Ximoko Progressive Party (Gazankulu) and the Intando Yesizwe Party (Kwandebele).

In addition there is agreement that the ANC, PAC, Azapo, the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the SA Communist Party should also receive invitations.

Representatives of the independent homelands — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — will also be asked to attend, but initially as observers.

But the most crucial work will be done in the constituional principles committee. The NP wants it to reach agreement on detailed aspects of a new constituion, while the ANC and PAC believe it should only define broad principles.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said the committee would first have to define points on which there was general agreement, such as the need for a multi-party democracy, a bill of rights and independent judiciary before reporting back to a plenary session of the all-party conference.

Later it would have to explore ways of resolving differences on issues on which there were disagreement, such as whether SA should be a unitary state or have a federal model.

However, the ANC and PAC have a narrower view of what the committee's work should be.

The Patriotic Front conference last week was adamant that the drawing up of a constitution should only be conducted by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote with all eligible voters on a common voters' roll.

It should therefore only negotiate broad principles, which included: a united, non-racial democratic state; equal citizenship; universal suffrage in a non-fragmented SA; the right to join political parties of one's choice; a bill of rights; equality before the law; and an independent judiciary.

Negotiating a compromise between these two vastly differing viewpoints will be crucial.

Senior NP members this week indicated that they would view the holding of constituent assembly elections — which until now they have rejected — in a more favourable light if the constitutional principles committee was able to agree on a voting system that made provision for proportional representation on a federal or regional basis.

Another key principle which NP members insist on is that of non-domination and, as such, their constitutional proposals controversially provide for an enforced coalition government.

However, senior members of the NP have recently opened the way to a possible compromise on this issue by indicating that they do not necessarily see it as a permanent feature of a constitution. Rather it could last for up to 10 years, during which period SA would have a government of national unity.

Elections

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport hinted at this when he told a recent meeting in Queenstown that what the NP was offering was "a constitution for our time".

The Inkatha Freedom Party wants the major parties to oversee interim arrangements leading to elections.

It would like to see elections under a new constitution take place towards the end of 1994.

Crucial

The ANC has insisted the Bophuthatswana opposition party, the National Seoposengwe Party, be invited. However, its participation, along with that of the National Forum and the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, is still to be decided.

The NP is also understood to have shifted from its position that the government should convene the talks and has agreed to an independent convener.

The first all-party meeting will elect a chairman or group of chairmen and appoint working committees to negotiate constitutional principles, transitional arrangements and a mechanism to negotiate a new constitution.

Additional issues which the PAC and ANC will want on the agenda are the reincorporation of the TBVC states and the role of the international community during the period of transition.

CP opts for Beyers

(304A)

CP CHIEF secretary Andries Beyers will be the party's candidate in the forthcoming parliamentary by-election in Potchefstroom. ST Times 3/11/91

The seat became vacant after the death of sitting MP and Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange.

Mr Beyers recently spent two weeks in jail for refusing to reveal his source after published allegations that the National Intelligence Service had kidnapped a key witness in Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial for kidnapping and assault.

FW praises the new and old leaders

IN A message of congratulation from President FW de Klerk to Frederick Chiluba, Mr De Klerk said it was a tribute to the Zambian people and their leaders that the election could take place in a calm atmosphere and without violence.

South Africa fully supported the democratic process in Zambia, he added.

Mr Chiluba's assumption of office came at a time when crippling economic problems weighed heavily on the continent, including Zambia, Mr De Klerk said.

He wished Mr Chiluba strength and wisdom in dealing with Zambia's immense challenges.

In a message to outgoing President Kenneth Kaunda, Mr De klerk said it was fitting that tribute be paid to him for having taken the first steps towards multi-party democracy in Zambia.

"In laying down the reigns of government through a democratic process, you have set a truly praiseworthy example for our continent for wnich you deserve recognition."

Mr Kaunda also deserved acknowledgment for his constructive contribution to the ending of conflict in the region and his support for closer economic co-operation in Southern Africa, Mr De Klerk said.

"I also wish to thank you for the positive role you played in encouraging peaceful change in SA."

FW MEETS NELSON

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met for more than two hours at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday. Mr De Klerk's office said the two had discussed a wide range of issues.

Observers believe they probably tried to resolve their differences following a recent verbal exchange.

ANC has to rethink its fear of federalism

ZOLA SKWEYIYA's letter in defence of the ANC's centralised unitary policy and against federalism (October 13) invites strong criticism.

Notwithstanding the favourable comments by members of the ANC's committee on their return from Germany where they apparently learned for the first time that federalism is not devoid of merit, or perhaps in response to this threatening notion, Mr Skweyiya tries to debunk federalism in SA.

First, he claims that federations "normally work where they evolve historically", that "they result from independent states coming together and surrendering part of their sovereignty while retaining a part for themselves". But while this is often true, it is not necessarily so — witness Australia.

But let's be generous in accepting Mr Skweyiya's assertion for now, and ask: How does South Africa stand? In the last century what is now SA comprised a number of subject, quasi-autonomous and totally independent political entities including a centralised Zulu kingdom, a British colony, a British protectorate, and two independent Boer republics. Their coming together to form SA amply fulfilled Mr Skweyiya's conditions for the formation of a federal as opposed to a unitary state.



ZOLA SKWEYIYA
Off the mark

Second, he asks: "Why federalism at this time in our history?", as though it is something new. But what is new about it? Federalism was the major topic on the agenda at the 1910 Union conference.

The point is that federalism subsequently became a dirty word precisely because it was expediently, though illogically, associated with apartheid by those whose politial instincts were then (and perhaps still are) supportive of the command systems of the socialist bloc.

And, lest we forget the NP, their rejection was because the implementation of the social engineering associated with their command state equally required a unitary state.

Argument

Third, Mr Skweyiya's warning that federalism encourages ethnicity takes us back to the ANC's hoary old argument of suggesting ethnicity must be stopped by all means — witness the ANC's 1988 Constitutional Guidelines outlawing the promotion of ethnicity and regionalism.

To the ANC, because apartheid promotes ethnicity, and federalism does likewise, then federalism is *ipso facto* evil!

But what credence can we really give the ANC's position? Yes, Mr Skweyiya talks of ethnicity in multi-national Yugoslavia, and Nigeria, etc as problematic, which it is. But Nigeria is also beset by religious and regional sectionalism, and Yugoslavia should never have come into being as a state in any event.

He talks of the negative results of federalism in India and the Soviet Union as though a unitary approach would have resolved their ethnic problems. If federalism is the problem, would the ANC explain what the ethnic problem is in multi-national federal Switzerland?

Or perhaps how the unitary Turkish, Iraqi and Iranian states have managed to resolve the Kurdish problem? Indeed, how can Mr Skweyiya even use the term "multi-national" unless he accepts precisely that ethnicity is a fact of life that cannot be wished away.

Fictitious

Fourth, Mr Skweyiya's linking the ANC's opposiiton to colonialism and apartheid with its scepticism over federation encouraging ethnicity takes us back to the ANC's fundamental position of equating ethnicity and apartheid.

Yes, apartheid was premised upon promoting black ethnicity (and white racialism rather than white ethnicity), but no, the reverse hardly holds true.

Ethnicity is an important international problem precisely because the idealised basis of the modern nation-state has been more fictitious than concrete.

And in the face of a negative minority and ethnic perceptions of the ANC, the organisation's leadership is having to try to admit that its rigidity is counter-productive. Thus Mr Mandela's admission that coloureds wanting to be represented by coloureds is not unnatural.

Whatever Zola Skweyiya and the ANC's constitutional committee believe then, there is nothing intrinsically anti-democratic or pro-apartheid about federalism. — **PETER SMITH, Inkatha Institute, Durban.**

Afrikaans? Ag moenie worry nie

S Times 3/11/91

THE ATKV is campaigning to "relaunch" Afrikaans. CHARLES LEONARD tells why he has no fears for the taal's survival

I FOUND my hope for the survival of Afrikaans in the Orandia "boerestan" in the northern Cape. Let me hasten to add, it had nothing to do with these *"my hart verlang na apartheid"* fanatics in their never-never land.

This hope came with three people from that barren part of South Africa. One cannot ask for three more disparate sources than Ouma Paulina Agterdam, Pinkie Khumalo and Oom Lammie Brand.

But why this concern about Afrikaans? Recently, the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurvereniging entered the debate on whether the language will survive with an innovative campaign to "re-launch" the taal.

They say in this campaign there are 13,3-million reasons to speak Afrikaans — the number of South Africans who understand and speak the language. Being one of them, I agree it will survive, but not necessarily for the same reasons.

To get back to my three: Why them?

It is because of the way they speak the taal. Here I agree with many non-Afrikaans-speakers who, often in a patronising yet well-meaning way, say "you know, Afrikaans is such an expressive language". At least that is better than people, often white and English-speaking, simply hating the language.

Anyway. Let me introduce you. "I am not sure when I was born, *Meneer*," says Ouma Paulina, 80 years old, more or less. "I pray every night to the Lord to come and take me. My heart is so weak."

She is sitting outside her shelter. The oumatjie was born here in Schietfontein, where the Karroo town of Carnarvon really started. Her legs gave in about 30 years ago and the suffering shows in the raisin-like face.

EVERY week her husband, Oom Klaas, pushes her five kilometres into town in her dilapidated wheelchair to visit her beloved dominee with her thank-offering.

Her Afrikaans is as strong as her faith, as earthy brown as her skin. She has never known another language.

Although the *Liewenheer* might take her away soon, her tongue will live on in her children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Pinkie Khumalo's booming, rhythmic Afrikaans fills the *voorkamer* of his matchbox house in Paballelo, the black township outside Upington.

Khumalo, one of the Upington 14, spent two years on Death Row before being released a few months ago. He and his co-accused were found guilty of murdering a municipal policeman.

"The fear of death is the overriding emotion. You live with death every day," he says, recalling the dark days in the shadow of the gallows. "Then there is the longing for your wife and children — will you ever see them again?"

His articulate Afrikaans is the language you hear in townships like Paballelo, where many of the people have it as their mother tongue — and Xhosa as a second language. It is a vibrant language of dusty streets, of resistance and survival.

The mood in the Ilanga Hall in Durban's Elangeni Hotel was gloomy as farmers were discussing their desperate plight. *"Meneer die voorsitter,"* says an accent that smells of fresh sheep dung mixed with kameeldoring blossoms. "The most important 'ou' at the funeral is the dead ou. It is a pity he has to die for people to notice him."

THE man behind the microphone at the South African Agricultural Congress was Oom Lammie Brand of the Karoo.

With his humour and lazy westwind drawl, Oom Lammie can get away with anything — some prissy types might think it borders on blasphemy, but it is certainly not intended that way.

To me, these three people epitomise the vibrancy that is spoken Afrikaans.

It does not need to be protected by laws. It does not even have to be one of the official languages any more. That, I think, is what gave Afrikaans its 76 Soweto image, its Jimmy Kruger *"dit laat my koud"* image and its finger-wagging image. It will survive very well on its own, dankie.

People who still think it is the language of the oppressor should think again.

Hein Willemse, well-known poet and Afrikaans lecturer at the University of the Western Cape, has the following to say in New Era magazine: "... black Afrikaans-speaking people have striven for their liberation — also in that language.

"Many of us will recall the songs of battle produced in the Western Cape: *'Die mammas, die pappas/ die boeties, die sussies/ die uncles, die anties/ die hondjies, die katjies/ is almal saam in die struggle'."*

Not the stuff of Broederbond documents, but also Afrikaans and as fresh as it comes.

Law Commission charts individual rights in new SA

BLUEPRINT FOR LIBERTY

S/Times 3/11/91. (304A)

By BRIAN POTTINGER and MIKE ROBERTSON

THE SA Law Commission yesterday released a draft bill of rights which aims to make paramount the rights of the individual in a future South Africa.

While the main emphasis falls on individual liberty, the draft also genuflects in the direction of the social, economic and environmental rights demanded by the ANC and Cosatu.

The commission also recommended that a limited bill protecting basic rights, agreed to by all parties, should be introduced while negotiations are still underway. This would create confidence in the negotiation process.

Because political parties already agree on a wide range of classical rights, such a bill could be introduced as early as next year.

The draft bill released yesterday would grant South Africans the right to free primary education and to claim state medical care if they were poor.

The government would also be barred from supporting schools or private organisations which discriminated on the grounds of race — something which would have an important effect on present National Party policy.

THE

integrity, personal liberty and security, a fair trial, humane treatment, privacy, reputation and freedom of speech.

Other fundamental "first generation" rights include the right to movement and association, own property, form and join a political party, an equal vote, assemble, demonstrate peacefully and the right to freely engage in economic enterprise.

The state may not take a person's property without compensation and, in the event of a dispute, the courts will decide.

The commission, an influential body with the task of advising the government on law reform, went beyond strengthening classical individual rights. It also dealt with the sort of social and economic rights which feature prominently in ANC and Cosatu documents.

Labour

It dismissed as "Utopian" and "unenforceable" some second and third generation rights demanded by these organisations. The inclusion of rights to shelter, freedom from hunger and health in a bill of rights would be "juridically futile" and could undermine the credibility of the bill of rights as a whole, said the report.

Now for Spain, says elated Elana



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The draft bill released yesterday would grant South Africans the right to free primary education and to claim state medical care if they were poor.

The government would also be barred from supporting schools or private organisations which discriminated on the grounds of race — something which would have an important effect on present National Party policy.

A constitutional court would be able to declare invalid any legislation or action which violated the bill of rights. A human rights commission would serve as an advisory and investigative body on human rights issues while an ombudsman would help citizens understand and exercise their rights.

The bill, released yesterday in Pretoria by the Law Commission's project leader, Mr Justice Pierre Olivier, has several important advances on the original Law Commission recommendations published in October 1989.

Among the changes:

- A children's charter, spelling out their rights;
- The extension of limited social, economic and environmental rights — the so-called second and third generation rights;
- Public referendums to approve any decision by Parliament to amend the bill of rights.

Judge Olivier said he expected the government, which is now studying the report, or any of its negotiating partners, could ask for a redrafting of aspects of the bill. For this reason it was an interim report.

He said the bill of rights regulated relationships between citizens and the state, but did not deal directly with relations between citizens.

"It is not intended to deal with citizens' rights against each other. That will come. In the course of time we will have civil rights laws as they now have in America," he said.

Education

The commission again emphasised its belief that group rights could be protected only through individual rights. It rejected the idea of partition as a way of protecting groups.

The bill did, however, protect group rights by allowing freedom of language, religion and culture. The introduction of the notion of class action enabled a person to go to court on behalf of a whole group to ensure the group's rights. It also recognised mother-tongue education as a fundamental right.

Individual rights protected by the bill include a right to life, equality before the law, mental and physical

THE RIGHT TO LIFE LOVE AND LIBERTY

Page 35
See also Page 2

government on law reform, went beyond strengthening classical individual rights. It also dealt with the sort of social and economic rights which feature prominently in ANC and Cosatu documents.

Labour

It dismissed as "Utopian" and "unenforceable" some second and third generation rights demanded by these organisations. The inclusion of rights to shelter, freedom from hunger and health in a bill of rights would be "juridically futile" and could undermine the credibility of the bill of rights as a whole, said the report.

The commission instead identified certain rights of employees, employers and general rights, which it said could be protected in the same way as classical human rights. Many of these rights are, in fact, already contained in labour legislation.

The bill binds the state to actively promote the rights contained in the document.

The commission said its proposals in regard to second generation rights went further than other bills of rights, for example, in India which recognised socio-economic rights only as "directive principles".

The commission protects all rights, first in the "negative" sense that the state shall not infringe on them and, second, in the "positive" manner in that all rights shall be used as guidelines in the legislative and executive programmes of the state."

The principle of affirmative action was supported, but the commission rejected redistribution of wealth, retribution or reverse discrimination.

Referendum

The commission has also, for the first time, dealt with so-called "green rights". It extends to everybody the right not to be exposed to an environment which is dangerous to human health.

The bill does have a clause which says some of the second generation and green rights may be limited by other laws, but only if this is in the interests of good government, state security and the public good.

Another provision permits the bill of rights to be suspended in exceptional circumstances. States of emergency, however, can only be proclaimed for six months and must be ratified within three weeks by a two-thirds majority in Parliament.

Amendments to the bill of rights must also enjoy a two-thirds majority in Parliament and in a referendum.

A special constitutional court is proposed which will be a chamber of the Appellate Division. Lower courts can adjudicate on issues arising from the bill, but appeals must be heard by the special court.

French senators oppose sanctions in 'fragile' period

Star 4/11/91

By James Tomlins
Star Foreign Service

PARIS — A four-man Senate delegation, which made a 10-day visit to South Africa, has come out strongly against the continuation of sanctions.

In its report, the delegation recommended that France should help South Africa to find a lasting solution.

The Senators considered that the continuation of sanctions was "seriously weakening South Africa just at the very moment when it should be strengthened in order to move ahead with reforms".

"This weakness undermines all political solutions from the outset. There can be no redistribution of wealth, as envisaged, without a boost in production.'

"This great country is undergoing a fragile transition period, and it faces a still uncertain future."

Its report, tabled in the Senate, explained: "In the first place, so far as we could see, the South Africans have undoubtedly waited much too long to end a system (apartheid) which, for some time, had lost all viability.

"In addition, South Africa appears at present to have its back against the wall more or less and seems to dispose of only one political solution. It delayed too long in preparing some kind of transition period. This solution is an accord between the National Party, the ANC and Inkatha."

The report went on: "At the same time, this solution seems in many respects to be particularly fragile."

It noted that in the first place there was resistance from many Afrikaners, representing 20 percent of white voters, who are clearly opposed to any form of progress towards black power.

"This opposition is mainly illustrated by the growing success registered by Conservative Party candidates at by-elections.

"There is also similar reserve towards black power shown by Indians and coloureds, for they fear that their present influence in the country will be lessened."

The report concluded: "If this report leads to a certain pessimism, there are nevertheless many reasons for hope. South African leaders are fired with the will to succeed, well aware that any failure would lead to chaos. Man's courage, when faced with a difficult situation, is also a favourable factor."

The delegation represented the Senate Constitutional Law Commission. The four senators were the Commission chairman Jacques Larche (Centrist), deputy chairman Germain Authie (Socialist) and members Charles Jolibois (Centrist) and Luc Dejoie (RPR).

The delegation visited South Africa in September to study "the evolution of State institutions there". The visit was fully financed by the French Senate.

At a press lunch to present the report, Senator Larche pointed out that his delegation was concerned at the violence in South Africa.

He said: "While we were there, the police recorded 200 violence deaths in the 10-day period."

The delegation met Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other ministers and deputy ministers. They also met M E Moosa, Nelson Mandela's lawyer, who explained the ANC's constitutional ideas.

Proposal for interim bill of rights

(2nd) (304A) B/Day 4/11/91

THE SA Law Commission has proposed an interim bill of rights aimed at serving SA during constitutional negotiations.

The commission's proposal — which could become law as early as the next sitting of Parliament next year — is contained in the interim report on group and human rights released at the weekend.

The NP yesterday welcomed the report as a timeous contribution to constitutional negotiations.

NP chief director of information Piet Coetzer said a declaration of fundamental rights should play a central role in a future constitutional dispensation.

The ANC was not available for comment.

PATRICK BULGER

The commission proposes that an interim bill of rights reflecting a broad consensus be introduced to "secure credibility, to foster a human rights culture and to spread knowledge of the application of such a bill".

"The proposal means that the interim bill could embody all the rights on which there is general agreement and that contentious aspects which also relate to the structures to be created under the new constitution — for instance the franchise — would stand over until the new constitution had been finalised, whereupon they

☐ To Page 2

Rights

B/Day 4/11/91 (2nd) (304A)

☐ From Page 1

could be incorporated into the bill of rights."

The commission says an interim bill could be introduced in two ways: either by consensus backed by the force of law, or by unilateral government action. The commission says the former is preferable and suggests that the actual constitutional negotiations should begin with the bill of rights and the establishment of a constitutional chamber of the Appellate Division.

The commission also recommends a five-point plan of action, namely: acceptance in principle by Parliament of the need for a bill of rights, the repeal of legislation conflicting with the fundamental rights contained in the bill, a national education programme to inform the public about the existence and utility of the bill, reaching consensus on content and final wording and finally legitimisation by referendum of a constitution which includes the bill of rights.

The commission's report downplays group rights by emphasising minority rights and freedom of association.

At the same time it forbids any constitutional action that seeks to benefit one group at the expense of another.

It also makes detention without trial illegal.

It is widely felt that while the SA Law Commission is an independent, non-political statutory body, its ideas resemble what the NP has been saying it would like to see as a future SA.

● See Page 5
● Comment: Page 8

Stoffel denies '10-year plan'

30/4 **Political Staff**

DURBAN. — National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has flatly dismissed a report that the NP wanted an "interim" constitution for 10 years.

He said the NP planned "interim measures" while constitutional talks were taking place but there had been no suggestion that these would last 10 years.

• Dr Van der Merwe also denied the NP wanted to change its name, possibly to the Christian Democrats, as reported at the weekend. CTS 1194

Law report a break with the NP's past

BDay 4/11/91

PATRICK BULGER

THE SA Law Commission — the statutory guardian of SA's body of law — this weekend unveiled a report on group and human rights with recommendations that explicitly contradict much of what the NP has stood for over the past 40 years.

Ruled out are detention without trial, property confiscation, persecution for a political belief and state preference for any one group over another.

In fact, the idea of entrenched rights for a group, so often the Achilles' heel of NP constitutional thought, has given way to individual rights based squarely on freedom of association.

The report, released by Law Commission chairman Mr Justice Pierre Olivier and handed to President F W de Klerk late last week, seeks to entrench the rights to: life, equality before the law, mental and physical integrity, personal liberty and security, habeas corpus and a trial, privacy, good name and reputation, freedom from forced labour, speech, science and art, legal competence, free movement, citizenship, free association, public education and training, property, economic enterprise, political freedom, franchise, social security, employ and to be employed.

The report is a part reply to the ANC's own bill of rights released earlier this year. While the ANC's bill tends to concentrate on rights of the state vis-a-vis citizens, the commission's report emphasises the rights of the individual and his protection from the arbitrary exercise of state power.

Much of what the commission recommends is at odds with the practice of NP rule. The report, for example, recommends that anyone arrested be brought before a court within 48 hours and enjoy the opportunity to legal representation. This clause, if accepted, would effectively undermine what remains of government's security legislation.

More fundamentally, the report specifically rules out laws and policies that favour one person over another on the grounds of "race, colour, sex, religion, ethnic origin, social class, birth, political and other views and disabilities or other natural characteristics".

On group rights, the report stresses freedom of association and protection of minority rights as an internationally and justifiably acceptable principle. But the same minority is not afforded any privilege. The minority can exert its legitimate rights, the report argues, only if society as a whole is based on fair and democratic principles.

Protection

"The commission's view is that it is juridically unsound to adopt the standpoint that there are statutorily definable groups with statutorily definable 'rights' in this country, particularly if by those groups are meant entities which are to be given relevance for the purposes of human rights protection," the report argues.

And "neither in legal theory nor in legal practice is it correct or necessary to recognise these values as anything other than individual rights in a bill of rights".

To the extent that government is likely to advance the report as a basic reflection of what the NP would like to see in a future constitution, the report echoes and attempts to refute the ANC's proposals. The ANC's stress on affirmative action is answered by the report's emphasis on humane and realistic actions.

While the report does not guarantee, for example, the right to a house or the right to food, it recognises the need for affirmative action.

Pik on week-long visit to the Soviet Union

B Iday 4/11/91

BILLY PADDOCK

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha left SA at the weekend for a week-long visit to the Soviet Union to establish links with the Baltic states and the Ukraine, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday.

Botha's visit could also pave the way for a meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President F W de Klerk.

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden is accompanying Botha and it is understood that the party is hoping to meet Gorbachev, Russian Federation leader Boris Yeltsin, Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and St Petersburg mayor Anatoly Sobchak.

The spokesman said except for Sobchak the other meetings could not be confirmed.

Botha is scheduled to see leaders of the three Baltic states — Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis and Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans, Estonian President A Ruutel and Foreign Minister Lennary Meri, and Lithuanian President Vytautus Landsbergis, Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius and Foreign Minister Aldiras Saugargas.

The team will also visit Kiev before travelling to Israel on Saturday where they will join De Klerk in Tel Aviv for a state visit.

From Israel the presidential party will travel to Taiwan for another visit. From Taiwan De Klerk's party will travel to Mauritius for a two-day state visit.

The world opens doors to De Klerk

304A

Political Staff Star 4/11/91

Government officials are working on two major overseas trips by President de Klerk in addition to his visit soon to Israel, the Republic of China and Mauritius.

Nigeria, current head of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), is likely, and Moscow may even be a possibility as he continues to be inundated with invitations from foreign leaders.

Government sources in Lagos are expecting Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha before the end of the year. Preparations for this visit are under way — it is understood Mr de Klerk and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida have spoken to each other by telephone.

South African officials have in the past tried to group Mr de Klerk's stops into three or four ports of call at a time — his trip to Japan in mid-December may provide the opportunity for a Nigerian visit.

Or Mr de Klerk may opt to travel to Nigeria when he visits Europe early next year. He has also been invited to Canada. Then there are invitations to Czechoslovakia and Uruguay, which he has accepted "in principle".

Reports from Nigeria quoted sources close to Mr Babangida: "A visit is definitely on target for before the end of the year. It will be either De Klerk or Botha or both."

Sources in Pretoria confirmed that officials were working on the visit, which has been in the wind since Mr de Klerk visited Kenya in June.

Sapa-Reuter reported that a visit by Mr de Klerk to Lagos would signal that the OAU, some of whose 51 members have already forged ties with Pretoria, was about to end South Africa's formal isolation in Africa.

"If they come here, they will definitely not be turned back. Nigeria, as OAU leader, is obliged to listen to the other side and to help the cause of peace," the source said.

Plans to visit Nigeria two months ago were shelved due to the Inkathagate scandal, the source indicated.



oath . . . Zambia's newly elected President Frederick Chiluba is sworn in by Chief Justice Annel Silungwa in Lusaka. Picture: AP

DP welcomes Chiluba's election

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

The Democratic Party yesterday welcomed the election of Frederick Chiluba as Zambia's new president, saying it was "right" that former President Kenneth Kaunda was removed from power "at this time".

In an interview with The Star, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said Dr Kaunda, like many leaders of his generation, "fell under the spell of socialists and believed that politicians, by interfering in a major way with the economic process, could help the disadvantaged people".

Dr de Beer, who said Dr Kaunda had been a "good friend" of his when he lived in Zambia, said events in Zambia, eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had clearly shown the failures of socialism.

ANC head of information and publicity Dr Pallo Jordan said the ANC's national executive committee would comment on the election later.

Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, who said he knew President Chiluba when both were trade unionists, told The Star Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement would send Mr Chiluba a message of congratulations today.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said her party wished President Chiluba well and applauded Dr Kaunda and his party for "accepting the will of the people".

● Shouldering Zambia's burdens — Page 11

FW briefs leaders on plans for multiparty talks

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk is expected to brief leaders today on progress in arrangements for a multiparty conference to discuss negotiation for a new constitution.

The eighth conference of government leaders is to take place in the Union Buildings, Pretoria.

It will be attended by Cabinet ministers, members of the three ministers' councils, leaders of the self-governing territories and the four provincial administrators.

● Mr Nelson Mandela has ruled out "power sharing" as a concept for a new constitution in South Africa. He told the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation in a brief interview yesterday: "We stand for majority rule. The party that commands the majority runs the country."

Nats will lose polls, say experts

(3014A) ARG 5/11/91

Political Staff

THE National Party is heading for humiliating defeats in the forthcoming by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom, according to political analysts.

The NP's chances of retaining the two constituencies, were "very slim" and run-away victories for the Conservative Party were forecast.

The Free State constituency of Virginia was held by former Education and Culture Minister in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, who retired from politics in September, and Potchefstroom was held for more than 25 years by the late Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange.

The Virginia poll is scheduled for November 28; no date has been fixed for Potchefstroom.

Contacted for comment yesterday, the head of the University of the Witwatersrand's Political Studies Department, Professor Alf Stadler, said the CP had "a very good chance" of winning both by-elections.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, who said the DP had decided against standing in Virginia in favour of the NP, said his party would do anything to help the NP retain its seats.

Asked if he thought the NP would retain the seats, Dr de Beer said: "I think the probability is that they will lose both."

Richard Humphries of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies said the NP would lose "by a couple of thousands" in Virginia and be beaten in Potchefstroom, where Mr Le Grange enjoyed a good relationship with the constituency.

Mr Humphries said the political situation and the economic climate would be factors.

Dr Dirk Kotze of the University of South Africa's Political Studies Department also forecast victory for the CP in Potchefstroom and "a close contest" in Virginia.

But NP chief secretary in the Transvaal Dr Gerhard Koornhof was confident his party would retain Potchefstroom. He could not comment about Virginia, which did not fall under his jurisdiction.

Bill of rights report praised, pilloried

Star 5/11/91.

By Kaizer Nyatsumba and Sapa

The South African Law Commission's Interim Report on Group and Human Rights, welcomed by President de Klerk at the weekend, was yesterday praised by the Democratic Party and criticised by extra-parliamentary organisations.

The report proposes a deeply entrenched bill of individual rights enforced by a constitutional court at Appellate Division level. The proposed bill includes the right to vote and a prohibition on discrimination by the State.

However, the report:

- Rejects affirmative action as envisaged by the ANC in its draft bill of rights, saying it was too wide and could sanction reverse discrimination.
- Rejects the inclusion of "second-generation rights" — such as the right to a job and education — arguing that there could be a constitutional crisis if the State could not afford to honour such rights.
- Says group rights cannot be protected as such in a bill of rights, but only through protecting collective values such as religion, culture and language.

Yesterday, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said that, judging from media reports, the commission's report appeared to be "a splendid document". The report, he said, endorsed a bill of rights which closely resembled one recommended by the DP's predecessor in the 1960s.

Dr de Beer welcomed in particular the report's finding that the best way to protect group rights was by protecting the rights of individuals.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said her party would comment once it had gone through the report.

Azanian People's Organisation publicity secretary Strini Moodley said the report was slanted in favour of "capitalists, the white minority and big business". It did not even attempt to put power into the hands of the working class.

"Consequently, Azapo is left with no option but to reject the document. The only way in which the rights of the people can be protected in their individual and collective capacities is by having the majority, through a democratically elected constituent assembly, draw up a bill of rights.

Condemned

"The South African Law Commission is itself a creation of the regime and therefore would not be in a position to articulate the needs of the majority," Mr Moodley said.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary for legal affairs Willie Seriti condemned the report's rejection of second-generation rights and affirmative action, but welcomed the move away from the protection of group rights.

Mr Seriti said second-generation rights had to be protected, "particularly if one takes into account the deprivation suffered by our people over the years".

ANC information and publicity chief Dr Pallo Jordan said the organisation's legal and constitutional affairs department would comment later on the report.

Conservative Party MP for Losberg Dr Fanie Jacobs said the commission had ignored the reality of the existence of different peoples and ethnic population groups.

"If a bill of human rights does not take this basic principle into consideration, it has no chance of success.

"The commission also ignores the internationally known principle of self-determination."

To ignore this basic principle would lead to greater polarisation in South Africa, as no nation which wanted to maintain its identity would allow a bill of rights to take away its freedom.

Dr Jacobs said many of the first and second-generation rights contained in the proposed bill were nothing less than a form of obsolete socialism.

The commission recognised rights "which are not justiciable, such as the right to work and the right to housing".

Dr Jacobs concluded that the proposed bill was probably too much for a developing Western society, and probably too little for an underdeveloped Third World situation.

Boerestaat Party (BP) leader Robert van Tonder said "the beautiful promises" contained in the proposed bill of rights was "a sure passport to heaven on earth". What the commission had forgotten was that "the devil" would rule in the new South Africa.

"The commission has neglected to make a final recommendation, namely that provision be made for the purchase of a dustbin in which the bill would be thrown after a black government had taken over."

Tyson outlines new SA's chief challenges

By Shirley Woodgate (304) Star 5/11/91

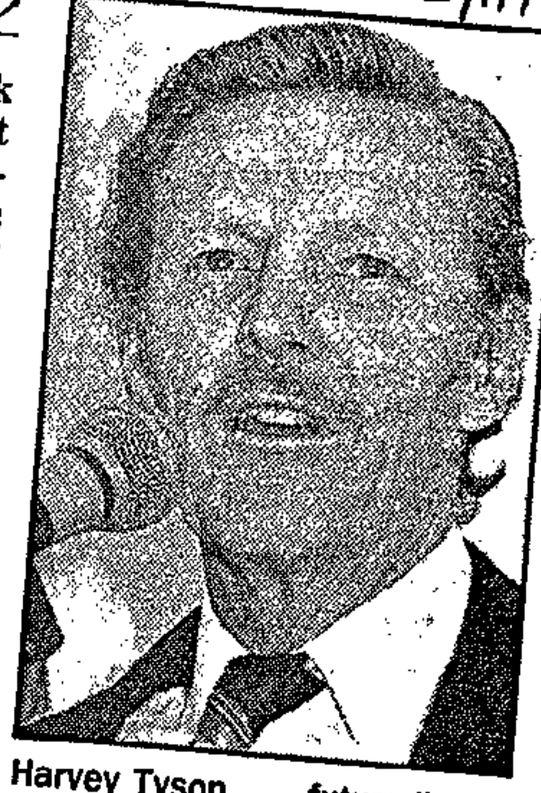
Statistics concerning black youth are the most potent and least predictable in attempts to trace pressures that will shape the future of South Africa over the next 10 years, Harvey Tyson said yesterday in a keynote address to the Johannesburg branch of the National Council of Women of South Africa.

A major problem facing any future government would be the reality that nearly half the population was black, angry, uneducated and uncontrolled by their parents, added the former editor-in-chief of The Star.

Outlining the 10 major challenges facing the new South Africa — headed by education, housing, land, and ethnic and cultural divisions — he warned that though there should be optimism for the future, it should not be translated into euphoria as there were formidable obstacles to be overcome on the road to a new democracy.

● In the education field, 60 percent of black adults were illiterate and 5 million children who should be at school were not.

● The housing problem focused on a shortage estimated at between 1,1 million and 3,4 million units.



Harvey Tyson . . . future lies in black youth.

● Tackling the land issue, Mr Tyson said it was vital that all people had equal access, with compensation for the deprived. "There is enough land in our country; putting it to best use for all is the problem," he said.

"The first challenge is to reach a compromise between the Western view that all private rights are sacrosant and the Africanist view that all open land belongs to 'the people'," he said.

● The population was expected to explode, but while Aids deaths were projected at a high of 4,4 million, with 5,2 million HIV-positive cases by the year 2000, this would not counter the population explosion, but merely alter social attitudes, create fear and drain national resources, Mr Tyson said.

● Unemployment, with 6 million out of work, and squatting, where 7 million had appeared on the outskirts of major cities, were two other major problems — but urbanisation, properly administered, offered opportunites for a developing country.

Finally, political and criminal violence would have to be overcome. Political strife was "the greatest immediate threat to our society" with 2 500 people slaughtered in politically related crimes last year, while there had been 22 000 deaths in violent crime in the last 12 months.

Mr Tyson advised that while the economy was the key, it was vital to concentrate on what was acceptable to all, not on what one party said it wanted.

Success was not only possible, but the bumpy but direct negotiation process was well on course towards shaping the bones of a new constitution in four years' time, he said.

NP tipped for defeat in by-elections

Star 5/11/91

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

304A

The National Party is heading for humiliating defeats in the forthcoming by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom, according to political analysts contacted by The Star yesterday.

The NP's chances of retaining the two constituencies, the analysts said, were "very slim" and runaway victories for the Conservative Party were forecast.

The Free State constituency of Virginia was held by former Education and Culture Minister in the House of Assembly Piet Clase, who retired from politics in September, and Potchefstroom was held for more than 25 years by the late Speaker of Parliament, Louis le Grange.

The Virginia by-election is scheduled for November 28; no date has so far been fixed for the Potchefstroom by-election.

Decided

Contacted for comment yesterday, the head of the University of the Witwatersrand's political studies department, Professor Alf Stadler, said the CP had "a very good chance" of winning both by-elections.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, who told The Star the DP had decided against standing in Virginia in favour of the NP, said his party would do anything to help the NP retain its seats.

Asked if he thought the NP would retain the two seats, Dr de Beer said: "I think the probability is that they will lose both."

Richard Humphries, of the Wits Centre for Policy Studies, said the NP would lose "by a couple of thousands" in Virginia and be beaten in Potchefstroom, where Mr Le Grange had a good relationship with the constituency over the years.

However, NP chief secretary in the Transvaal Dr Gerhard Koornhof was confident the ruling party would retain Potchefstroom.

He said he could not comment about Virginia, which did not fall under his jurisdiction.

Pik meets Latvian leaders, visits Riga

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Foreign Minister Pik Botha began a tour of Baltic and Soviet republics yesterday with a visit to Riga in Latvia.

He met Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Premier Ivars Godmaris and Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans.

At a news conference Mr Botha said Latvia's problems were worse than he had expected.

A foreign affairs spokesman said it was not yet clear whether Mr Botha would meet Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

He will meet Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, parliamentarians and journalists in Moscow.

If Mr Botha does meet Mr Yeltsin it will be in St Petersburg which Mr Yeltsin will visit for the official re-naming of the city. He will also meet mayor Anatoly Sobchak.

Today Mr Botha will fly to Estonia to meet President Ruutel and Foreign Minister Lennart Meri. He will then go to Lithuania to meet Foreign Minister Aldiras Saugardas and President Vytautas Lansbergis.

On Saturday he will fly to Israel to meet President de Klerk at the start of his official visit.

Barney Mtombothi reports from Lusaka on the post-Kaunda prospects

New Chiluba govt hints at Zambian embassy in SA

Star 6/11/91

RELATIONS between South Africa and Zambia are expected to improve dramatically following the departure of former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda from power.

The new MMD government in Lusaka, headed by President Frederick Chiluba, is keen to establish ties between the two countries.

Mr Chiluba said at a press conference recently his government would trade openly with South Africa.

He said that under Dr Kaunda Zambia had publicly maintained a hostile attitude towards SA while conducting trade relations under the table.

His government, he said, believed in honesty and openness.

MMD national secretary Godfrey Miyanda said later an MMD government would be prepared to establish diplomatic relations with Pretoria.

He said, however, the issue was still under discussion within the MMD.

It is expected that the new government will establish some kind of contact with Pretoria soon, probably at trade mission level.

The MMD's priority is to revitalise the Zambian economy as soon as possible, and trade with South Africa it hopes will help it achieve this goal.

Zambia is also expectel to make more use of South African ports to export its products, especially copper.

These new contacts are expected to be pursued with more vigour if, as expected, Vernon Mwaanga is appointed Foreign Minister.

Mr Mwaanga, who served under Dr Kaunda in the same capacity, has strong contacts with the South African business community, and earlier this year paid a highly-publicised visit to the country.

The MMD received a substantial amount of its campaign funding and help from SA.

The MMD government's foreign policy, Mr Mwaanga said recently, would be geared towards serving the economic interests of Zambia.

The situation is expected to become clear as soon as Mr Chiluba has put together his new government, but an MMD spokesman said in Lusaka this week that relations between the two countries "will be pretty strong".

The opening of ties between Zambia and South Africa will ruffle feathers in the Frontline states. Zambia under Dr Kaunda held the chairmanship of the Frontline states, and it was mainly through his endeavours that these countries held together and maintained a common policy towards the Republic.

The ANC, too, would not be pleased with the latest turn of events.

For many years, the organisation had headquarters in Lusaka and its policy is still to urge all countries to isolate South Africa.

The symbolism of Zambia — a country which was in the forefront of this campaign — breaking ranks should be very worrying to the ANC leadership.

Mr Chiluba said in his inaugural address on Saturday that Zambia would maintain good relations with its neighbours, but was no longer prepared to "strut around on the world stage like a king without clothes".

This is seen as a criticism of Dr Kaunda's leadership. He went around sorting out other people's problems while Zambia went to ruin. — Star Africa Service. □

Nod for Viljoen in multiparty talks

Sowetan 6/11/91 (304A)

A MEETING between the Government, homeland and tricameral parliamentary leaders yesterday voted that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen should negotiate on their behalf with other parties over moves to get a multiparty conference off the ground.

The meeting, held at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, was chaired by President FW de Klerk and attended, among others, by Viljoen, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Dr Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike, KaNgwane leader Cephas Zitha, the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils - Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, House of Representatives (coloured) leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse and House of Delegates (Indian) leader Dr JN Reddy - and provincial administrators.

After the meeting the Ministry of Constitutional Development said in a statement there had been general agreement on the urgency of the multiparty conference becoming a reality.

The meeting dealt exclusively with the planning of the multiparty conference and had agreed on the basic issues, the statement said.

Chief Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa and Prince SK Mahlangu of KwaNdebele could not attend but their administrations were represented. - *Sapa.*

● See picture on page 2

Ambassador from Finland meets FW

THE new Finnish ambassador to South Africa, Mr Karl Ekblom, presented his credentials to State President FW de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday morning. (304A)

Ekblom said the message behind his appointment was one of trust in the irreversibility of the process of transition towards a new South Africa.

To encourage the process Finland had first lifted "people-to-people" sanctions, then trade sanctions and now diplomatic sanctions so that relations have been raised to full ambassadorial level.

De Klerk gave him the assurance that the process was irreversible. - *Sapa.* Sowetan 6/11/91

Students praised

By ALI MPHAKI Sowetan 6/11/91

THE Azanian Students Convention last night praised all students and pupils for their "commendable" behaviour during the two-day anti-VAT strike.

No nasty incidents involving pupils were reported nationwide from observations made by the organisation.

In a statement Azasco said: "We wish to thank you for studying and writing examinations and staying well behaved. The whole oppressed people are proud of you."

Police unhappy over whites' influx

Sowetan 6/11/91 #13

A LARGE section of the Venda police force are disgruntled over a massive influx of white officers who have taken over senior positions since the coup last year.

By MATHATHA TSEDU
Northern Transvaal Bureau

Police officers who spoke to the *Sowetan* said white officers hold meetings in which blacks are not welcome.

They said white officers regularly reopen departmental hearings in which a black officer had presided and, in almost all cases, overturn the earlier verdict.

In a statement, the disgruntled officers said: "The old regime was corrupt but at least they promoted blacks to senior positions. We had blacks heading the force and all other sections.

"Since the military coup, the commissioner is white and many sections are now headed by whites. They see themselves as above us and they use SAP regulations even where these may differ from the Venda police statute.

"They hold their own meetings and still retain their SAP appointment cards. While we agree that there is a new democratic country about to happen, we do not think that should be used to bring back white police officers at the expense of black policemen"

The police councillor in the ruling military junta, Major-General Tshamaano Gerson Ramabulana, responded that he was not aware of any complaints. He called on dissatisfied officers to use official channels of communication or see him personally.

Ramabulana also said police training and promotions were being streamlined in preparation for the reintegration of the Venda police into the SAP.

"You know that many people were just promoted and when the coup happened we discovered many police officers who had committed crimes for which they should have been dismissed or disciplined. These people have been brought here to help with that but if there are specific complaints against them, my door is open," he said.

Military council chairman Brigadier Gabriel Mutheiwana Ramushwana has previously said that white officers would be appointed to instill discipline into the police force.

Asked about his preference for whites over blacks - he has also said he wanted whites to head finance and justice ministries - Ramushwana said there was a shortage of qualified blacks in the area.

Violence claims 1 000 lives

Workers

Mandate given for talks

CT 6/11/91 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South African leaders, including Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday gave the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, a mandate to negotiate on their behalf for the convening of the multi-party conference.

The leaders of the other seven self-governing homelands, Labour Party leader the Rev Alan Hendrickse and Solidarity leader Mr J N Reddy joined in giving Dr Viljoen a mandate at a meeting with President F W de Klerk yesterday.

The move could speed up preparatory talks and planning and ensure the minimum delay in getting the talks off the ground by the end of this month.

In a statement after the talks at the Union Buildings, Dr Viljoen said: "The meeting dealt exclusively with the planning of the multi-party conference and agreed on the basic issues."

He added that there was general agreement on the urgency of the talks.

Three meetings on the talks have been held between the government and the ANC over the past two weeks, and it is understood that the nuts and bolts of convening the negotiations have largely been resolved.

Fiery caucus whistles up steam

304A ARG 6/11/94

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party caucus was expected to blow off steam — but not split — at its meeting today to discuss a motion by Wynberg MP Mr Robin Carlisle to fire chief whip Mr Dave Dalling.

Debate on the motion was certain to bring to the surface tension between a strongly pro-ANC faction — which includes Mr Dalling — and independents leaning more to the National Party.

Mr Dalling's attendance at an ANC fundraiser in Stellenbosch where he made a toast, prompted Mr Carlisle's strong motion.

His enemies in the caucus believe he has abused his position as chief whip to further his pro-ANC agenda and other alleged examples of this will probably be cited.

Other ANC sympathisers such as Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg and Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck have rushed to Mr Dalling's defence and some have vowed that they will walk out of the party if the motion against him succeeds.

But most caucus members believe the motion will fail because the tension in the party is not irreparable — and because there is ambiguity about whether or not DP leader Dr Zac de Beer gave Mr Dalling permission to attend the ANC fundraiser.

Mr Dalling, MP for Sandton, said the motion was clearly a "bid to oust me and terminate my career."

He was taking the move seriously and would defend himself "vigorously."

"I won't go by default. I have done nothing I'm ashamed of."

Members of Mr Dalling's camp predicted that 15 MPs would walk out with him if he were expelled, an estimate dismissed by others who said the figure would be more like five.

"But this is highly hypothetical anyway. I strongly doubt that anyone is going to walk out," said a veteran of many caucus rumpuses.

● Dr De Beer and other senior MPs met senior National Party leaders in Pretoria yesterday. DP sources said the meeting had nothing to do with today's caucus and was part of a series of routine meetings with other parties aimed at achieving a convergence.

Another step closer to all-party talks

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

(304A) ARG 6/11/91

THE ANC and the government meet today for another round of talks to prepare for the imminent multi-party/all-party conference on negotiating a new constitution.

It is expected that today's meeting could finalise the date of the conference.

Although November 29 was provisionally agreed upon at a previous meeting, it is understood that an objection has been raised and that the conference might start later.

But failing some major breakdown, it is certain to start this year.

Yesterday at a meeting in Pretoria the governments of the six self-governing territories and the ministers' councils in parliament mandated Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen to negotiate on their behalf the arrangements for the multi-party conference.

Dr Viljoen said in a statement that the meeting — chaired by Mr De Klerk — had dealt exclusively with the planning of the multi-party conference and "agreed on the basic issues".

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who took part in the Patriotic Front meeting 10 days ago, and Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy, were among those at the meeting.

The government and ANC have almost reached agreement that the multi-party conference will take place between Pretoria and Johannesburg, in a neutral venue.

Keep your guns oiled, says AWB leader

Star
6/11/91

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche yesterday advised white South Africans to keep their guns clean and oiled and to stockpile ammunition.

Speaking to a capacity crowd at a public meeting in Nelspruit's Van Riebeeck Hall, Mr TerreBlanche drew thunderous applause when he said: "The day anybody in South Africa takes our weapons, that's the day the AWB declares war."

In his 90-minute speech, Mr TerreBlanche accused President de Klerk of being a "political thief".

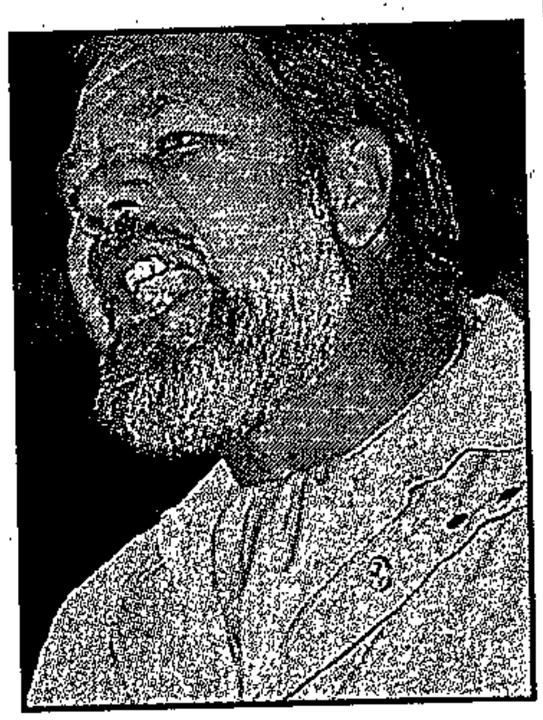
"By selling South Africa's oil reserves — reserves built up over many years under Dr Verwoerd, John Vorster and P W Botha — President de Klerk robbed the white man to pay for black housing," he said.

Amid cries of "skande, skande", Mr TerreBlanche said it was the white man who through the years "kept the black man's stomach full".

Yet, when it came to paying tax, whites accounted for 87 percent compared to 13 percent paid by Indians, coloureds and blacks, he said.

On the VAT stayaway, he said Cosatu and the ANC had little to be proud of.

"Although millions of blacks stayed at home, life in general has gone on as usual. Trains throughout the country had drivers, our Post Offices remained open and Eskom continued to produce electricity."



Eugene TerreBlanche . . . drew thunderous applause from Nelspruit supporters yesterday.

If, on the other hand, a fraction of whites had decided to go on strike for the same period the country would grind to a complete standstill "with blacks looking on helplessly", he added.

Asked if whites would ever realise their ambition of a white homeland, Mr TerreBlanche replied: "It's quite simple. All people on farms and in towns in the Old Boer Republic must simply fire all their black staff.

"They will leave and seek employment in the urban areas then, hey presto, we will have our own Boere homeland. And it will be quite legal."

AWB boss talks tough

Sowetan 6/11/91

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Speaking to a capacity crowd at Van Riebeeck Hall in Nelspruit, TerreBlanche drew thunderous applause when he said: "The day anybody in South Africa takes our weapons, that's the day the AWB declares war."

During a 90-minute speech, TerreBlanche accused State President FW De Klerk of being a "political thief".

"By selling South Africa's oil reserves - reserves built up over many years under Dr Verwoerd, John Vorster and Prime Minister PW Botha - President De Klerk had robbed the white man to pay for black housing," he said.

Amid cries of "skande, skande", TerreBlanche said it was the white man who through the years had "kept the black man's stomach full" by producing cheap food.

Yet when it came to paying tax, whites accounted for 87 percent compared to 13 percent paid by Indians, coloureds and blacks, he said.

Referring to the VAT stayaway, he said the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the ANC had little to be proud of.

"Although millions of blacks stayed at home, life in general has gone on as usual. - *Sapa.*

Inkatha gives govt mandate on talks

(304A) BILLY PADDOCK (HB)

INKATHA president and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday gave Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen the go-ahead to negotiate on his behalf with the ANC and other groups on the final arrangements for convening the multi-party conference.

The leaders of the other seven self-governing homelands, the Labour Party and Solidarity also asked Viljoen to do their negotiating.

This move would speed up preparatory talks and planning and help get constitutional talks off the ground by the end of this month. (BLOCK) 6/11/91

The homeland leaders, Labour leader Allan Hendrickse and Solidarity leader J N Reddy met President F W de Klerk yesterday for the eighth time to discuss progress on constitutional talks.

In a statement, Viljoen said: "The meeting dealt exclusively with the planning of the multiparty conference and agreed on the basic issues."

There was general agreement on the urgent need for the conference to become a reality and the meeting unanimously gave Viljoen a mandate to negotiate on their behalf, the statement said.

It is understood that after the three meetings of the joint government/NP delegation and the ANC over the past two weeks, the basics of convening the talks have largely been resolved.

Last week's meeting between the two delegations follows the patriotic front conference at which the PAC agreed to enter into constitutional talks with government. It is understood that all parties are in agreement with the broad programme for

☐ To Page 2

Talks (BLOCK) 6/11/91 (BLOCK) 6/11/91

the first round of talks.

De Klerk was assisted by Viljoen and other Cabinet Ministers at the meeting with Buthelezi, Gazankulu leader Hudson Ntsanwisi, Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike, KaNgwane's M C Zitha and Minister's Council chairmen Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Hendrickse and Reddy.

(HB) (304A)

☐ From Page 1

QwaQwa leader T K Mopeli and Kwa-Ndebele leader Prince S J Mahlangu were unable to attend, but their governments were represented at the meeting, the statement said. Also at the meeting were the four provincial administrators.

Iranian calls for ties with SA, Egypt

NICOSIA — A prominent Iranian parliamentarian yesterday called for restoration of ties with SA, Egypt and Morocco, the Islamic Republic News Agency (Irna) reported.

Saeed Rajaie Khorassani's call for restoration of ties with Egypt and Morocco was not unprecedented.

However, SA, along with Israel and the US, is a country with which Teheran had pledged never to restore ties. B/Day 6/11/91

Irna reported Khorassani as saying Iran's objection to Egypt's relations with Israel concerned the late President Anwar Sadat.

He said the government of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak could not be held responsible for Sadat's actions.

Irna said Khorassani's opinions did not reflect parliament's. Nonetheless restoration of Teheran's ties with Cairo and Rabat was considered imminent.

Under President Hashemi Rafsanjani, Teheran has been moving to reverse the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's isolationist policies. — Sapa-AP.

DP faces rift in motion of no confidence debate

B/Day 6/11/91 304A

THE DP faces another crisis within its ranks when the caucus meets today at Jan Smuts Airport to discuss a motion of no confidence in its chief whip Dave Dalling for too closely identifying himself with the ANC.

The latest threatening rift in the party between the pro-ANC, the anti-ANC and the independent groups is the third this year in a "clear depiction that politicians in the DP are increasingly feeling that they are being sidelined by the political process", one source said.

He refused to discuss the caucus meeting agenda except to confirm that there was a motion of no confidence in Dalling up for discussion.

Sandton MP Dalling, whose wife Zelda is an ANC member, said it was common knowledge that the motion was being submitted by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle because of Dalling's presence at an ANC fundraising dinner held at the home of DP MP for Simonstown Jannie Momberg.

The source said the dispute was likely to be patched up today, but strains would persist over the continuing debate within the party about links its members had with other political parties and organisations.

It has also been reliably learned that the pro-ANC group is launching

BILLY PADDOCK

a counter strike and supporting Momberg in his bid to wrest the DP chairmanship from Ken Andrew.

The first time the ANC issue raised its head publicly was at the Johannesburg congress last year when it decided to allow joint membership under special circumstances determined by the DP's National Council.

Constantia MP Roger Hulley was the first to take advantage of this when he proposed that the DP enter into a working coalition with the NP.

Proposal

He wanted leader Zach de Beer and caucus chairman Colin Eglin to negotiate a parliamentary pact with the NP so key members of the DP could serve on the Cabinet.

His proposal was strongly supported and, to a large extent driven by, Houghton MP Tony Leon.

Other MPs supporting the pact were Lester Fuchs (Hillbrow), Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North), Mike Ellis (Durban North) and Brian Goodall (Edenvale).

However, the strong pro-ANC group of Jannie Momberg, Jan van Eck (Claremont), Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) was horrified by the proposal and ensured that the DP caucus discussing it terminated its meetings and suggested that a task group instead be set up to look at contacts with other parties.

Adding to the strain in the party during the debate was speculation, that could not be confirmed, that various Natal DP MPs were holding secret discussions with Inkatha to look at an alliance.

Stuck in the middle of the DP are those MPs holding firmly to their belief of what the DP's role, and that of its predecessors had always been — to be the liberal opposition performing a watchdog role and fighting for a middle ground.

Leon's strong motivation for the Hulley option was in part influenced by developments in the Johannesburg City Council and its management committee where a DP/NP pact was tacitly agreed upon, the source said.

He said there were many frustrations among MPs that the policies they had been developing over the years and striving to have implemented had been taken over by the NP in the past two years and sold as its own. Many of the MPs were of the opinion that the DP had run its course and they should throw their lot in with one of the major players.

Ratepayers' chance to hit back, says Moss

B/Day 6/11/91

TANIA LEVY

THIS month's Johannesburg city council by-election in Killarney and Houghton would be the "first real opportunity in ages" for ratepayers to show their objections to the management committee, independent candidate Sam Moss said yesterday.

A former PFP leader in the council, Moss has squared up against DP candidate Geoff Klass to contest the by-election on November 13.

Moss said the council had become a "tyranny of the majority" since the DP and NP had formed a coalition. They did not oppose one another in by-elections and there was no effective opposition in the council.

Moss said he was angry at the deterioration in services and "arrogant, off-handed" approach with which the council's management committee dismissed ratepayers' complaints.

Property values on the new valuation roll, which had pushed up assessment rates, were "extraordinarily" high compared with market values. Ratepayers were probably in for a worse shock next year when the actual assessment rate would be hiked, he said.

The management committee was "extorting" more income to cover the cost of golden handshakes, the "aesthetically disastrous" Civic Spine and councillors' unnecessary overseas trips.

Moss's opponent, DP candidate Geoff Klass, said the management committee had had to take unpopular decisions to wipe out past mistakes.

The flak they had attracted over the rates issue was unjustified. In the past the council had used profits on services such as electricity to balance the rates account but councils were not there to make a profit out of providing services.

Klass said that if he was elected he would involve himself in promoting cultural events in the city and lobby for legislation to help preserve Johannesburg's historical buildings. This could include incentives, such as a rates rebate, to owners of these buildings.

The memoirs of a diplomat

Star 6/11/91. (3044)



The candid recollections of a veteran diplomat can make riveting reading. AT VAN WYK, of the history department at Unisa, previews " 'This Above All': Reminiscences of a South African Diplomat" by Donald Bell Sole (left).

WHAT do South African Cabinet Ministers and other dignitaries get up to on their mani- "official" visits abroad? l, some go to work and some o play.

. few of the latter have been ıtified by Donald Sole, for- r senior diplomat, in his as- unpublished memoirs.

lowever, it was no "fun- ker" who forced him into ly retirement in 1982 — it s what he terms the "in- ency of head office" in Pre- ia and the irritation of "His ster's Voice".

By inference, this was the oice" of Foreign Minister Pik otha and his chief lieutenant, Brand Fourie, then Director- eneral of Foreign Affairs.

In his reminiscences of close 500 typed pages — copies of hich have been presented to me institutions — he pays ibute where due. But he is also rthright in his criticism.

He speaks with the authority f a diplomat who served his ountry for 44 years, half of iem as an ambassador.

However, although he is also trained historian (MA, thodes), he committed a deed or which posterity will not for- ive him.

In the early 1950s, a Cabinet arty turned up in Gay Paree, vhere Mr Sole was minister at he embassy.

He says: "Almost invariably ione spoke the language and all expected to be entertained. The nly exception was Dr Malan .. By way of contrast, the Min- ster of Education, much to our ly amusement, was not inter- sted when we offered to take im to the opera, the ballet or a symphony concert, but prefer- ed instead to visit the Folies Bergeres and Moulin Rouge."

He does not mention the Minister by name, but it must clearly have been C R Swart, who later became South Africa's first president.

The first Cabinet member to call on him at Vienna was F C Erasmus, Minister of Defence and Forestry. "It was in this latter capacity that he purported to visit Austria. But he was so disinterested that it was sheer embarrassment to me. He had come to Austria to see Vienna, not to study forests."

An embarrassment of a different nature was in store for Mr Sole and his wife, Elizabeth, during the visit of another president-to-be, N J Diederichs.

Dr Diederichs, then Minister of Commerce and Industries, was accompanied by Mrs Diederichs. Being a State visit, Austrian hospitality provided for an official banquet and visit to the opera. It also provided for a return banquet — for which the official guest had no funds available. Mr Sole had to pay for it out of his own pocket.

Dr Diederichs skipped engagements to "do his own thing" and failed to turn up for an official tour of the Eumig factory. When Mrs Diederichs learnt that her husband had missed receiving a Eumig camera, she asked whether Mr Sole would not hand over his.

"What could I do but comply? She was a very difficult woman to deal with ..."

One incident which made him "especially furious" happened shortly after the ministerial couple's arrival at their hotel. Mr and Mrs Sole called on them to go over the programme of their visit.

Joyride

"Mrs Diederichs was not very interested and, turning to Elizabeth, asked her to turn on the bath for her, making sure she had rinsed it out first, as she wanted to bath and change."

While serving in Bonn they had to cope with a host of VIPs from SA — about half of whom "came mainly for the joyride".

Of those whose work performance turned out to be "quite disastrous", he mentions Ministers P C Pelser, J J Loots, Frank Waring and Lourens Muller.

Connie Mulder turned up with a large delegation, ostensibly to inspect the excellent information set-up in Germany, "but had other irons in the fire". He showed little interest in what was laid on for him, and his German opposite number remarked that though Dr Mulder had a dynamic personality, "it flattered only to deceive".

Many SA parliamentarians turned up unprepared for what they had to face, ill-informed about their own country, unwilling to study the material they were supplied with by the embassy, and generally oblivious of the poor impression they made on the Germans.

Not infrequently, Opposition members performed better than Government members, several of whom seemed to suffer from an inferiority complex.

The average parliamentarian was outclassed by black travellers like Chief Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope and Cedric Phatudi.

Mr Sole, whose career started in 1938 and who was posted in London at the outbreak of World War 2, offers a running commentary on some of the outstanding events and personalities of his day. As his comments are of contemporary nature spanning several decades, they constitute the flesh and marrow of historical writing.

Of his department's action (or inaction) during the war, he says: "Our trouble is we have no foreign policy except such ideas as are carried in General Smuts's head."

Working in close co-operation with Smuts, he has a high esteem for him as a world-class statesman until his third visit to London shortly before the end of the war. "Thereafter he went downhill, but at first imperceptibly so." And by April 1945 he was out of touch with "the post-war generation and its attitudes of mind".

Mr Sole also deals with the unorthodoxy of Deneys Reitz as High Commissioner in London, the relationship between Smuts and Churchill, his own fears of what would befall SA under J G Strijdom "when Malan goes", Verwoerd's readiness to come to terms with somebody with a mind equal to his own, as well as with a host of other personalities and topics.

From his own research into Foreign Affairs files, Mr Sole in the 1940s confronted Smuts with neglect over the past years.

He had established that Britain, after World War 1, suggested that South Africa proclaim its sovereignty over the segment of the Antarctic to the south of Agulhas. But nothing was ever done about it.

Smuts was surprised, and as the Russians were then showing interest in the same area, he hastily had the Prince Edward and Marion Islands annexed.

During World War 2, Churchill repeatedly suggested to Smuts that he annex South West Africa. He refused, believing that the world powers through the UN-to-be would allow him to incorporate the area.

Had he followed Churchill's advice, South West Africa might never have become so thorny a problem — and might have been part of SA today.

Stationed in London during the war, Mr Sole was closely involved in investigations into dealings between certain South Africans and Hitler's Nazis.

Some of the reports which passed through his hands contained "extremely delicate material relating to certain prominent members of the National Party which I received from British intelligence".

Not wishing to allow this information to become known and further bedevil Boer-Brit relations in South Africa, he kept the reports under lock and key ... and in 1953 destroyed them.

Does Mr Sole, with his historical training, know how long historians have been hunting for these self-same documents? His destruction of historical evidence amounts to an act of cultural homicide.

During the war, and for many years after it, a healthy team-spirit was maintained between Mr Sole and Brand Fourie, who joined the department in 1939. The relationship came under strain when the latter became department head in 1966.

Mr Sole explains: "I had looked forward to Brand Fourie's appointment. It did not worry me that he had been my junior. I assumed the old camaraderie would continue.

"But this was not to be. When he became Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Brand Fourie adopted a policy of not really confiding in anybody."

Lack of proper communication made matters difficult for Mr Sole. On several occasions his German and/or American sources had information on South African developments long before he got word from Mr Fourie. This happened, for example, with B J Vorster's visit to Germany in 1976.

There were also other problems, as highlighted by the drama surrounding the kidnapping of ambassador Eddie Dunn in San Salvador in 1979/80.

Mr Sole writes: "The vacillation in Pretoria, and what appeared to us to be a lack of resolution in Head Office, were quite frightening in their implications. We were fearful that precedents might be set which could endanger the lives of other diplomats."

The kidnappers demanded an enormous amount in ransom.

While the money was in the process of being exchanged for his life, but before delivery, Dunn was killed in an as yet unaccountable way.

Mr Sole says: "Head Office in Pretoria was too far away to function as an operations unit, but ... was unwilling to delegate responsibility, though it was we, not they, who sought the intervention of various authorities in a bid to apply pressure to the kidnappers."

During all of this, the kidnapped ambassador's son acted with great obduracy in El Salvador to become, as it is put, "a pain in the arse" to Mr Sole and his colleagues. "But if Dunn jun was a headache to us, there were times when Pik Botha was even more so. Pik became very panicky and jittery."

At no stage does Mr Sole question Mr Botha's capabilities as a Minister, but he is outspoken about what he terms "Pik's proclivity to emotionalism".

Concerning South Africa's military exploits in face of the "total onslaught", he is critical of the Government's "massive support" of Abel Muzorewa in the then Rhodesia. He calls it "support which cost the South African taxpayers a mint of money in fruitless expenditure".

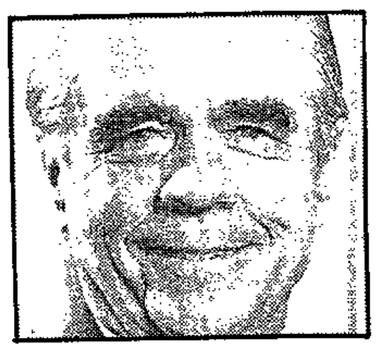
About the war in Angola he, as ambassador in Washington, was not much better informed by his own Government than the ordinary South African citizen: "Throughout my stay in Washington I received no confidential briefing whatever from Pretoria on either the objectives or the extent of the SADF operations in Angola."

He had to rely on press reports and other US sources.

On Mr Botha's handling of the Namibian issue, he says the Minister did not "have behind him a department that was properly organised to assist him". □



Pik Botha ... "His Master's Voice" was irritating.



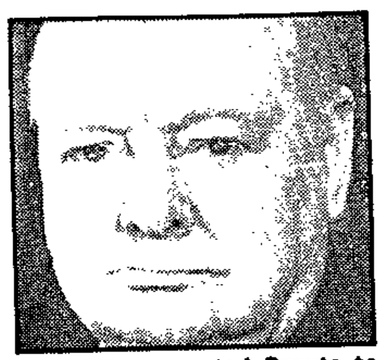
Brand Fourie ... a colleague who became secretive.



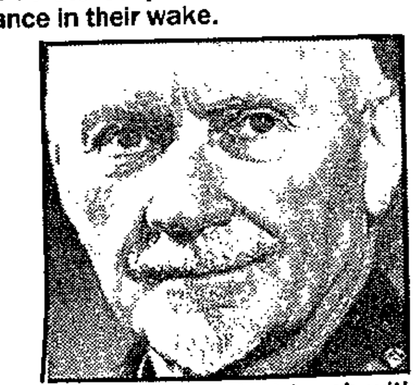
Connie Mulder ... had other irons in the fire in Germany.



Nico Diederichs and his wife ... the couple left embarrassment and annoyance in their wake.



Churchill ... urged Smuts to annex South West Africa.



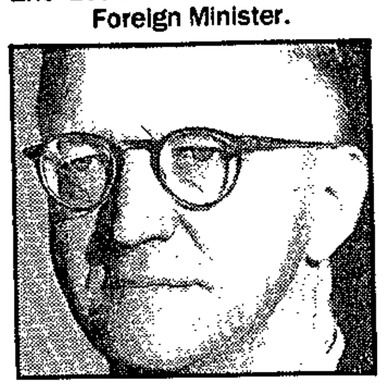
Jan Smuts ... lost touch with post-war generation.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... outclassed many an MP.



Eric Louw ... a disaster as Foreign Minister.



C R Swart ... wanted to see Gay Paree.

NP spotlight on crime

Star 6/11/91. (304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political
Correspondent

The crime wave sweeping the PWV area will come under the spotlight at the National Party's Transvaal congress this week in debate on a resolution calling on Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to take urgent counter measures.

The proposed measures include increased vehicle and/or horse patrols, more satellite police stations, more bobbies on the beat in suburbs and more support for neighbourhood watch committees.

The resolution comes from the divisional council of Rosettenville, constituency of MP Sheila Camerer.

The NP will feel the first real political pressure from its new coloured members at the congress, which starts on Friday, when they argue for equal State welfare for all races.

The party's new branch in the coloured town of Reiger Park, near Boksburg, has submitted a resolution asking for "parity in welfare aid allowances to the aged, handicapped, etc."



Ex-Labour . . . now NP, Jac Rabie, MP.



Rosettenville MP . . Mrs Shella Camerer.

This is the constituency of MP Jac Rabie, formerly a senior Labour Party member and then Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Representatives, who joined the NP this year.

About 200 new coloured members are expected to attend the congress, following the official opening of the party to all races earlier this year.

Despite the NP's scrapping of the major apartheid laws, there are still significant discrepancies in social pensions and other State welfare grants.

The agitation in NP ranks for the Government to legalise gambling is sure to surface during debate on a resolution from the Rosettenville constituency.

The resolution asks the Minister of Justice to investigate amending the Gambling Act to allow the State, local authorities and the private sector to institute scratch card games under strict control, as a means of State funding.

Mrs Camerer argued strongly for gambling to be legalised during a debate in Parliament this year.

The NP'a General Beyers branch in Innesdale, Pretoria, strikes a conservative note by asking the Government to give the vote in local government elections only to rateable individuals or legal persons.

This goes further than the NP's draft constitutional guidelines which propose that ratepayers and tenants be given extra voting powers above those of other inhabitants.

The Transvaal congress will be asked to endorse the constitutional guidelines.

If this happens, as is almost certain, they will become official party policy, having already been ratified by the other three NP provincial congresses. Other resolutions ask for:

- A transferable pension scheme.
- Non-fiction educational books to be exempted from import duties and levies.
- Equality of women to be addressed in a Bill of Fundamental Rights.

Multiparty talks definitely this year

Star 6/11/91.

By Peter Fabricius (304A)
Political Correspondent

The ANC and the Government will meet today for another round of talks to prepare for the imminent multiparty/all-party conference (MPC/APC) on negotiating a new constitution.

It is expected that today's meeting could finalise the date of the conference.

Although November 29 was provisionally agreed upon at a previous meeting, it is understood that an objection has been raised and that the conference might start later.

But it is certain to start this year.

Yesterday at a meeting in Pretoria the governments of the six self-governing territories and the ministers' councils in Parliament mandated Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen to negotiate on their behalf the arrangements for the multiparty conference.

Dr Viljoen said in a statement that the meeting — chaired by President de Klerk — had dealt exclusively with the planning of the multiparty conference and "agreed on the basic issues".

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse — who took part in the Patriotic Front meeting 10 days ago — and Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy were also at the meeting with the Government.

LP sources said last night there was no inconsistency between their stand at the PF conference and their support of the mandate to Dr viljoen.

They said the option would have been for the "troika" which organised the National Peace Accord — the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — to organise the MPC/APC.

It would be unwise to single out certain parties for this role and the best solution would be to mandate Dr Viljoen — an "honest broker" who had been dealing both with the ANC on the one hand and the self-governing governments and ministers' councils on the other.

The Government and the ANC have almost reached agreement that the multiparty conference will take place between Pretoria and Johannesburg, in a neutral venue.

It is understood they have also agreed on who should convene the conference.

The Government was pushing for a multiparty convening committee and the ANC for a neutral, non-political convener.

It is likely that 15 to 20 of the most prominent political parties — including the main parties in the self-governing territories — will attend the first multiparty conference.

The idea is that the first meeting of the MPC/APC will decide who else to invite to future conference meetings.

It is expected that the first meeting will deal only with procedures — and then break up into working groups which discuss the main agenda items and then report back to a second plenary meeting next year.

Lively debate expected at DP caucus

(304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

8 star
6/11/91

The Democratic Party caucus is expected to blow off steam — but not split — when it meets at Jan Smuts Airport today to discuss a motion by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle for the firing of chief whip and Sandton MP Dave Dalling.

Debate is sure to bring to the surface long-simmering tensions between a strongly pro-ANC faction — including Mr Dalling — and an independent faction leaning more to the National Party.

Mr Dalling's attendance at an ANC fundraising function, where he proposed a toast, prompted Mr Carlisle's strong motion.

His enemies in the caucus believe he has abused his position as chief whip to further his pro-ANC agenda.

Other ANC sympathisers such as Simon's Town MP Jannie Momberg and Claremont MP Jan van Eck have rushed to Mr Dalling's defence.

But most caucus members believe the motion will fail

Mr Dalling said would defend himself vigorously.

Members of his camp predicted 15 MPs would walk out if he were expelled — others said it would be more like five.

"I strongly doubt that anyone is going to walk out," a veteran of many caucus rumpuses predicted.

● Dr de Beer and other senior DP MPs met senior National Party leaders in Pretoria yesterday. DP sources said this was part of a series of routine meetings with other parties aimed at convergence.

Accord on conveners for talks

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Chief Justice and two religious leaders are likely to convene the all-party/multiparty conference (APC/MPC) on negotiations expected to meet within weeks.

This compromise arrangement was tentatively agreed upon by the Government and the ANC at a meeting yesterday.

The ANC will meet the PAC today to report back on the meeting and to decide if the PAC will attend a multiparty planning meeting with the Government on November 15 when final decisions on arrangements for the APC/MPC will be made.

If the PAC decides to attend, it will be its first official encounter with the Government.

The November 15 meeting is in line with the Patriotic Front conference decision last month to convene a meeting of the ANC, PAC and Government on the APC/MPC.

It will probably also be attended by the Inkatha Freedom Party — and also the governing parties of the Kangwane and Gazankulu homelands for the sake of wider representation.

The Government and the ANC have still not decided who else should attend.

The tentative decision on who should convene the APC/MPC follows negotiations stretching over several meetings.

November 29 still seems the most likely date for the conference to start, although a later date has been suggested as an alternative should this prove impractical.

Buthelezi warns of white backlash

Sowetan 7/11/91

304A

A HIGHLY militarised white population could produce an awesone backlash to any straight majority government which sought to walk the ANC path, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

BY JOE MDHLELA

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader was addressing the secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, and his entourage during their visit to Ulundi at the weekend.

In his statement, Chief Buthelezi said contrary to the Harare Declaration, which called for the handing of power to "some kind of interim political executive in South Africa", politicians would need to resolutely "produce a reconciled South Africa."

He said reconciliation which simply amounted to the handing over of power to a former revolutionary organisation, "because that is what happened elsewhere in Africa", would be disastrous.

The Inkatha leader said the assumption that the ANC always had been a government-in-waiting and that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was most certainly going to produce the first government after apartheid, simply had to be reviewed.

"We have been witness to the disaster of this approach in Mozambique and Angola.

"The Harare Declaration assumes that the catastrophic consequences of what Frelimo and the MPLA did could be avoided in South Africa," he said.

He said it was possible that the forces at work in the political arena were developing what would become a multiparty majority which will form a government.

Buthelezi criticised the Patriotic Front, saying it was the "ganging up of one group against another group".

"Dr Mandela is making an error of judgment by pouring new wine into old wine skins.

"The old liberation politics of attempting to produce a united front of the Patriotic Front kind must be regarded as suspect," he said.



BUTHELEZI

All play and no work . . .

304A

Sowetan 7/11/91

PIK BOTHA, the Foreign Minister, proved himself to be panicky and jittery when a South African ambassador was kidnapped. Education Minister CR Swart, who was soon to be State President, pooh-poohed opera and ballet on a visit to Paris - he wanted the Folies instead.

All these frank revelations, and more, come from retired ambassador Donald Sole. Here historian AT VAN WYK, of Unisa, summarises the Sole memoirs in the first of a two-part series.

WHAT do South African cabinet ministers and other dignitaries get up to on their manifold "official" visits abroad?

Well, some go to work and some go to play.

A few of the latter have been identified by Donald B Sole, former senior diplomat, in his as-yet-unpublished memoirs.

However, it was no "funmaker" who forced him into early retirement in 1982: it was what he terms the "ineffiency of Head Office" in Pretoria and the irritation of "His Master's Voice".

Voice

By inference, this was the "voice" of Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his chief lieutenant, Dr Brand Fourie, then Director-General of Foreign Affairs.

In his reminiscences of close on 500 typed pages - copies of which have been presented to some institutions - he pays tribute where due.

But he is also forthright in his criticism.

He speaks with the authority of a diplomat who served his country for 44 years, half of them as an Ambassador.

However, although he also is a trained historian (MA, Rhodes), he committed a deed for which posterity will not forgive him . . .

In the early 1950s, a Cabinet party turned up in Gay Paree, where Sole was minister at the Embassy.

He says: "Almost invariably none spoke the language and all expected to be entertained. The only exception was Malan . . . .

"By way of contrast, the Minister of Education, much to our sly amusement, was not interested when we offered to take him to the opera, the ballet or to a symphony concert, but preferred instead to visit the Folies Bergeres and the Moulin Rouge."

He does not mention the minister by name, but it must clearly have been Mr CR Swart, who later became South Africa's first President.

The first cabinet member to call on him at Vienna was FC Erasmus, Minister of Defence and Forestry.

"It was in this latter capacity that he purported to visit Austria.

Study

"But he was so disinterested that it was sheer embarrassment to me. He had come to Austria to see Vienna, not to study forests."

An embarassment of a different nature was in store for Sole and his wife, Elizabeth, during the visit of another president-to-be, NJ Diederichs.

Diederichs, then Minister of Commerce and Industries, was accompanied by Mrs Diederichs.

Being a state visit, Austrian hospitality provided for an official banquet and visit to the Opera. It also provided for a return banquet - for which the official guest had no funds available.

Accordingly, Sole had to pay for it out of his own pocket.

Diederichs skipped engagements to "do his own thing" and failed to turn up for an official tour of the Eumig factory.

When Mrs Diederichs learned that her husband had missed receiving a Eumig camera, she asked whether Sole would not hand over his.

"What could I do but comply? She was a very difficult woman to deal with.

"Every head of mission heaved a sigh of relief when she left his territory."

Visit

One incident which made him "especially furious" happened shortly after the ministerial couple's arrival at their hotel. Mr and Mrs Sole called on them to go over the programme of their visit.

"Mrs Diederichs was not very interested and, turning to Elizabeth, asked her to turn on the bath for her, making sure she had rinsed it out first, as she wanted to bath and change!"

Retired ambassador recounts the tale of what South African diplomats got up to while abroad

While serving in Bonn they had to cope with a host of VIPs from South Africa - about half of whom "came mainly for the joy ride".

Fire

Of those whose work performance turned out to be "quite disastrous", Sole mentions ministers PC Pelser, JJ Loots, Frank Waring and Lourens Muller.

Connie Mulder turned up with a large delegation, ostensibly to inspect the excellent information set-up in Germany, "but had other irons in the fire".

He showed little interest in what was laid on for him, and his German opposite number remarked that although Mulder had a dynamic personality, "it flattered only to deceive".

Notorious

Then there was the anonymous deputy minister who got into serious trouble on Hamburg's notorious Reeperbahn, centrepiece of the red light district.

Many South African parliamentarians turned up unprepared for what they had to face, ill-informed about their own country, unwilling to study the material they were supplied with by the Embassy, and generally oblivious of the poor impression they made on the Germans.

Complex

Not infrequently, Opposition members performed better than Government members, several of whom seemed to suffer from an inferiority complex.

The average parliamentarian was out-classed by black travellers like Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope and Cedric Phatudi.

Sole, whose career started in 1938 and who was posted in London at the outbreak of World War 2, offers a running commentary on some of the outstanding events and personalities of his day.

● Continues tomorrow

Wrangling pushes back target date for talks

(304A)

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africans will probably have to wait a little longer for the start of all-party talks — but both the ANC and the government have given the assurance that the negotiation process is still on solid ground.

Sources indicated last night that the target date of November 29 for the beginning of multi-party constitutional talks seemed to be slipping away in the face of differences over preparatory arrangements, but said any delay would be likely to be "in the order of days or weeks, not months".

And, after his meeting with German deputy foreign minister Helmut Schäfer in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said he believed that despite snarl-ups in convening the "steering committee" for all-party talks, he was confident the peace process was still on track and would succeed.

The ANC had initiated the process and would "do everything in its power to see that it is given momentum".

This followed remarks in a similar vein by President De Klerk on Tuesday. He said then: "Yes, there have been hitches, but the multi-party conference will take place before the end of this year. . . things are basically on track. (Specific) dates are not important. What is important is that time is of the essence."

Giving his explanation of the recent war of words between the ANC and government in the run-up to "real" negotiations, Mr Mandela told reporters that South Africans should take with a pinch of salt statements by Mr De Klerk: "You must qualify what he is saying at the moment because he is worried about two forthcoming by-elections.

"He is worried about the right wing, which should not be taken lightly," Mr Mandela said.

Although complex disagreements among major political players have led to repeated postponements of the convening of a crucial "steering committee" to finalise arrangements for a multi-party conference, it is understood that an important obstacle was overcome this week when the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed on who should be represented on such a committee.

It is now likely that 20 or more parties will serve on the committee, including all the homeland parties and even the TVBC states.

Originally the IFP wanted only a troika — the NP, the ANC and Inkatha — to serve on the steering committee, but softened its position after bilateral negotiations.

Sources close to the talks said the steering committee would probably not meet this week, as had been hoped, although they expected it to meet "soon".

This made it unlikely that the all-party conference could be organised in time for the target "start-up" date of November 29. A "fall-back" date of December 9 has been mentioned.

Take care in contacts with ANC, MPs told

MICHAEL MORRIS and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has avoided a caucus showdown over links with the ANC, but MPs in the pro-ANC camp have been warned to exercise greater discipline in contacts with the movement.

A motion of censure against chief whip Mr Dave Dalling was withdrawn at yesterday's caucus meeting at Jan Smuts Airport, described by some sources as being "a bit rough at times," but MPs had a thorough discussion on the issue of contacts with other parties, especially the ANC.

Announcing the withdrawal of Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle's motion against Mr Dalling, party leader Dr Zac de Beer said in a statement that the caucus had decided that interaction by the DP with the ANC and the National Party should continue.

(30th) ARG 7/11/91

Mr Carlisle brought the motion because Mr Dalling attended an ANC fundraiser in Stellenbosch, also attended by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Another MP closely involved in the Stellenbosch event, Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg, said today the caucus had a "positive" discussion on the issues and he had "no problems" with the outcome.

Mr Momberg, who hosted Mr Mandela at his Stellenbosch home, added: "I could do it again without being in conflict with the party's position."

"We weren't slapped on the wrists at yesterday's meeting."

Troika to head talks

(304A
NRG 7/11/91

Chief Justice, clerics to convene all-party negotiations

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE Chief Justice and two religious leaders are likely to convene the all-parti-party conference on negotiations which is expected to meet within weeks.

The government and the ANC tentatively agreed to this compromise arrangement at a meeting yesterday.

The ANC was to meet the PAC today to report back on yesterday's meeting.

A decision was expected to be taken on whether the PAC would attend a multi-party planning meeting with the government on November 15.

At that meeting, final decisions will be taken on arrangements for the all-party conference.

If the PAC does decide to attend, this will be its first official encounter with the government.

Plans for an all-party conference before the year end were given a further boost yesterday when ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela predicted the first meeting before the end of November.

Speaking at a press conference in Accra during a visit to Ghana, he said the all-party conference would work out mechanisms for setting up an interim government of national unity, draw up broad proposals for a new constitution and set out the modalities for the election of a constituent assembly that would define the details of the constitution.

The congress, he said, would be "the route through which the ANC will relieve the apartheid regime of exclusive responsibility for the management of the State and its resources."

The November 15 meeting is in line with the Patriotic Front conference decision last month to convene a meeting of the ANC, PAC and government to discuss an all-party conference.

The November 15 meeting will probably also be attended by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governing parties of the Kangwane and Gazankulu

Troika heads talks

(Cont from page 1)

homelands for the sake of wider representation.

The government and the ANC have still not decided who else should attend.

The tentative decision on who should convene the all-party conference follows negotiations stretching over several meetings.

The government first proposed that President De Klerk should issue the invitations to the conference, on behalf of the main parties.

The ANC objected and the government then proposed the Chief Justice. The ANC found this more acceptable but also felt that in the eyes of its constituency, the Chief Justice might be too closely identified with the "system".

They proposed that he should be assisted by two religious leaders and, it is understood, this was accepted by the government.

November 29 still seems the most likely date for the conference to start, although a later date has been suggested as an alternative if this proves impractical.

DP pulls MPs into line

(3044) CAPE TIMES

Own Correspondent 7/11/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party's MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, has kept his job as chief whip of the party but has been rapped over the knuckles and pulled into the party line at its marathon caucus meeting at Jan Smuts Airport.

Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg and maverick Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck were also censured indirectly at yesterday's meeting.

Clearly indicating irritation with the petty squabbles between his MPs, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said in a statement after the meeting that the no-confidence motion in Mr Dalling as chief whip had been withdrawn.

"Instead caucus discussed important matters relating to our interaction programme and our convergence strategy".

Earlier this week Dr De Beer said he was sure the caucus would deal with the motion by Wynberg MP Mr Robin Carlisle in an adult and mature fashion.

Mr Carlisle had wanted Mr Dalling fired as chief whip because of his attendance at an ANC fund-raising dinner which had been given at the home of Mr Momberg and which ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela attended. Mr Van Eck was also present.

Convergence

It is understood that Mr Carlisle was unhappy that an MP with such a senior position in the party was involved so deeply in ANC activities.

However, instead of the motion being put, the party, recognising the threat such tensions could cause, decided to bring all members into line.

Dr De Beer said interaction with other parties was important and should continue "subject to normal party discipline which commits all our members to the policies, programmes and principles of our party ... and (therefore) prevents them from involving themselves in the fund-raising or recruiting activities of other parties".

He said it was noted with satisfaction that considerable convergence between the NP and the ANC was taking place in that their policies were closer to each other and also closer to the DP's.

Dr De Beer said the party believed that a multi-party conference would be held soon and the DP would aim for agreement with other parties on transitional measures and a negotiating process.

ARG 7/11/91 (3E) (304A)

Pressure on SA stays

The Argus Foreign Service

GENEVA. — Leaders of 46 organisations devoted to dismantling South Africa's racial policies have decided to keep up pressure on the government until a truly multiracial regime emerges.

Mr Sotiris Mousouris, UN assistant secretary general and head of the UN Centre Against Apartheid, said here yesterday that a two-day meeting had resolved to support a two-track approach to South Africa — to maintain pressure on the authorities until a democratic constitution is in place and to increase assistance to anti-apartheid forces.

"Our meeting with anti-apartheid groups from around the world and with representatives of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Conference of Azania have shown that there is still much work to be done," Mr Mousouris said.

He said the meeting had reviewed developments in South Africa since 1989 and international reaction to them, and had decided that while the government had taken some positive steps, "further measures need to be taken to create a climate for free political activity."

He said the future activities of the UN Centre against Apartheid would only be plotted after the General Assembly debate on South Africa next month.

But it had been agreed at the Geneva talks that there should be an end to violence, the formation of a transitional government and the release of all political prisoners.



All-party congress 'this month'

304A

Star 7/11/91

Star Africa Service

ACCRA — The all-party congress in South Africa would take place before the end of November, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday in Ghana.

He said the congress would work out mechanisms for setting up an interim government of national unity, draw up broad proposals for a new constitution and set out the modalities for the election of a constituent assembly that would define the constitution's details.

The congress, he said, would be "the route through which the ANC will relieve the apartheid regime of exclusive responsibility for the management of the state and its resources.

"De Klerk and I are convinced that a system of linkage between attainment of certain objectives in South Africa, like interim government and lifting of sanctions, is most likely to deliver best results."

Mr Mandela said the ANC leadership was trying to move South Africa away from confrontation with the minority government of Mr de Klerk.

He said the majority had already demonstrated that they could no longer tolerate a situation where the minority took decisions on their behalf.

It was difficult at present to secure the total involvement of blacks in the administration of South Africa "but it could happen any moment from now".

From Ghana Mr Mandela flew yesterday to Ivory Coast and then will visit Senegal.

● Accord on conveners — Page 2

If you win, you still lose . . . George Helfrich won his case but still has to pay a bill. Picture: Herbert Mabuza new job, he was summonsed to make a special order awarding most people. reg." □

Learning to share the burden

Star 7/11/91. (304A)

South Africa's most important contact in years with the German government takes place less than two weeks from now with the visit of Deputy Foreign Minister Helmut Schaefer (right). In Bonn, The Star's Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON talked to Mr Schaefer about his expectations for the trip — and his experiences of political transition.



ALTHOUGH Helmut Schaefer insists he will be doing more listening than talking during his mould-breaking visit to South Africa, the German Minister of State for Foreign Affairs has clear ideas about this country's transition — many of them shaped by his own experience of political reunification. He knows at first hand what it takes to patch together a divided country, and this leads him to counsel simultaneous speed and patience.

On November 18 Mr Schaefer — liberal deputy to veteran Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher — becomes the first official visitor from his ministry to Pretoria since South Africa's international isolation began. With Germany now acknowledged as the economic powerhouse of Europe, as well as the world's biggest exporter, local politicians will be concerned to convince him that a future South Africa can be a worthy recipient of German investment, aid — and interest.

Interviewed in his office in Bonn, Mr Schaefer displays a knowledge of, and intensity of feeling about South Africa, which is somewhat surprising given the more pressing problems on reunited Germany's doorstep. (He was scheduled to answer questions in the Bundestag that afternoon about Yugoslavia and Turkey.)

Obvious demographic differences aside, he sees many parallels between the process through which Germany is advancing, and that which South Africa is about to embark upon. A relatively poor part of society must be united with a relatively rich part, he says, and this involves dramatic changes — both moral and pragmatic — for individuals.

In Germany, "the concept of sharing has been the key. In our particular situation we have raised taxes (for citizens of the former Federal Republic), meaning certain sacrifices from the wealthy towards those that were underdeveloped and did not have the chance to develop the same wealth because of the system.

"Here a certain comparison is possible with South Africa. Just as we understand that we cannot get the eastern part of Germany up to our level without certain sacrifices, I believe you face a similar challenge."

The way in which this "sharing" is perceived is crucial to its success, Mr Schaefer believes. "When we raised our taxes, it was explained (to the German people) partly in moral terms, partly in pragmatic terms.

Chancellor (Helmut) Kohl said overcoming the separation meant sharing the burden.

"In German the word 'teilen', to separate, has a special meaning. It also means participation, sharing — there is no exact translation in English. So we talk of overcoming the separation by 'teilen', sharing the burden. This was the moral formula.

"The pragmatic formula was to say that of course in the long run this will contribute to more wealth for all. And if you don't start sharing now, the burden you will have later will be greatly increased."

There are lessons here for South Africa, Mr Schaefer believes: "It is my view that white South Africans have to take these moral and pragmatic steps. It doesn't make any sense to remain in fear — although we fully understand the fears.

"What is vital is to draw a distinction between sacrifice and suffering. It must be made clear to the whites that they don't need to suffer in this sense. There is to be a new society, and blacks must have the opportunity to participate, not only politically, but in terms of economic development. This will benefit everybody in the end."

In the still-unequal parts of Germany — those in the former German Democratic Republic have not achieved immediate wage parity, and are still earning only about 60 percent of what their compatriots in the western part do, while relative productivity remains uneven — "we are slowly equalising the situation. We are moving quickly, but people are also being patient — because we have given them the clear perspective that it will change in the coming years."

Mr Schaefer advises South Africans to realise that they are no longer a central focus of world politics, but insists that Europe will "not forget about, or marginalise" the country. In terms of potential European support, he believes much will turn on how South Africans themselves perform, and in part "this depends on the readiness of the wealthier people in South Africa to understand that it is also part of their future social obligation."

The message is clear: Europe and the West will help, if they are convinced that South Africa is trying to help itself, and not simply relying on huge handouts from abroad.

Mr Schaefer insists that detailed mechanisms for change are an internal matter, but calls on "white politicians to understand that black politicians must convince the majority of their voters that they are getting something out of this process — the questions of land, housing, participating in business and so on. We are ready to support efforts in this direction, but we cannot do this first, and then only look at what the South Africans are doing themselves."

There is also German — indeed Western — self-interest in the political outcome of negotiations. "We understand politically that South Africa, if it works, will have a tremendous stabilising effect on the whole of southern Africa, economically as well as politically."

The Bonn government is at pains to avoid being seen as partisan in terms of party-political power struggles within South Africa, and confines itself to support for the broad negotiations process. "We will go with something that is agreed to by all the parties, not just one of them," says Mr Schaefer. "We want to encourage everybody to go forward."

This even-handedness does not rule out some pointers, however: Bonn lets it be known that Germany wants the De Klerk government to move quickly, and that it has no time for talk of widespread nationalisation from the ANC. "I have been asked by many black leaders what the reasons were for German economic success after World War 2. And I say clearly because the government understood from the very beginning that government can only create an economic framework, but is totally reliant on the initiative of private entrepreneurs. We did not press industry or business, we gave them the chance to develop.

"I certainly see that there are problems within the ANC and others on nationalisation and so on, and this is something I will want to discuss. When we look at Eastern Europe we see very clearly that centralised command planning hasn't worked, and has had disastrous effects.

"On the other hand no society in the West is totally privatised — we have railroads, we have post offices which are State owned, we have the Lufthansa airline. But this is only a minority of the German economy, and we would advise people to be very careful with this old idea of nationalisation which can create many problems and not help with the development of South Africa."

Mr Schaefer will be in South Africa for five days, and is expected to meet leaders of the major political players — as well as Nobel Prize-winning novelist Nadine Gordimer. He is excited about the trip: "It's funny, I've always been attracted to crisis spots. Especially if they can work out in the end." □

DP MPs chastised at caucus meeting

B1 Day 7/11/91 (3047A)

BILLY PADDOCK

DP Sandton MP Dave Dalling retained his job as chief whip of the party but was rapped over the knuckles and told to toe the party line at a marathon caucus meeting yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport.

Simonstown MP Jannie Momberg and Claremont MP Jan van Eck were also indirectly censured.

Clearly indicating irritation with the petty squabbles between his MPs, DP leader Zach de Beer said in a statement after the meeting that the no-confidence motion in Dalling as chief whip was withdrawn.

"Instead caucus discussed important matters relating to our interaction programme and our convergence strategy". Earlier this week De Beer said he was sure the caucus would deal with the motion by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle in an adult and mature fashion.

Carlisle wanted Dalling fired as chief whip because of his attendance at an ANC fundraising dinner at Momberg's home at which ANC president Nelson Mandela was present. Van Eck was also present. It is understood that Carlisle was unhappy that an MP with such a senior position in the party was involved in ANC activities.

However, instead of the motion being put forward, the party recognised the threat such tensions could cause and decided instead to bring all members into line.

De Beer said interaction with other parties was important and should continue "subject to normal party discipline which commits all our members to the policies, programmes and principles of our party".

HEATHER ROBERTSON reports on a UWC workshop that tackled unconscious prejudices:

Unlearning racial hatred

Scull 7/11 – 13/11/91

A GROUP OF MARIMBA PLAYERS in skins and beads are enthralling a crowd in Cape Town with their pounding rhythms. "Look at those monkeys" comments a white spectator to an Indian man beside him.

On the day of Nelson Mandela's release, white and coloured activists were shouted down by a few black men who said: "We are black and we have suffered, this is our leader, not yours," subsequently threatening them with an onslaught of the black race against "settlers and sellouts".

Mannenburg residents recently signed a petition in protest against the Tambo square squatters on a vacant plot in their area.

Racism, discrimination and prejudice are part of the psyche of South Africans. It is the internalised disease inherited from 339 years of apartheid.

Last month a group of adult educators at the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) at the University of the Western Cape decided to take the racist bull by the horns by hosting a workshop called "Challenging Racism".

Twenty seven university staff and adult educators from churches, trade unions and educational institutions were taken through a gruelling five days where they were confronted with their own prejudices as well as institutional racism. While this kind of work is not going to stop racial bigotry or prejudice, it does make an attempt to acknowledge the problem and pose solutions, even if only in the adult educational sphere.

"We wanted to help adult educators develop a deeper understanding of racial oppression and internalised racism so that we could explore ways of developing educational practises that challenge racism," says Ms Antoinette Zanda, a course facilitator.

In designing the course Zanda attempted to balance looking at personal attitudes and working towards structural change in the community.

Many participants were frustrated that the course focused on individual participants because they wanted theoretical information on racism.

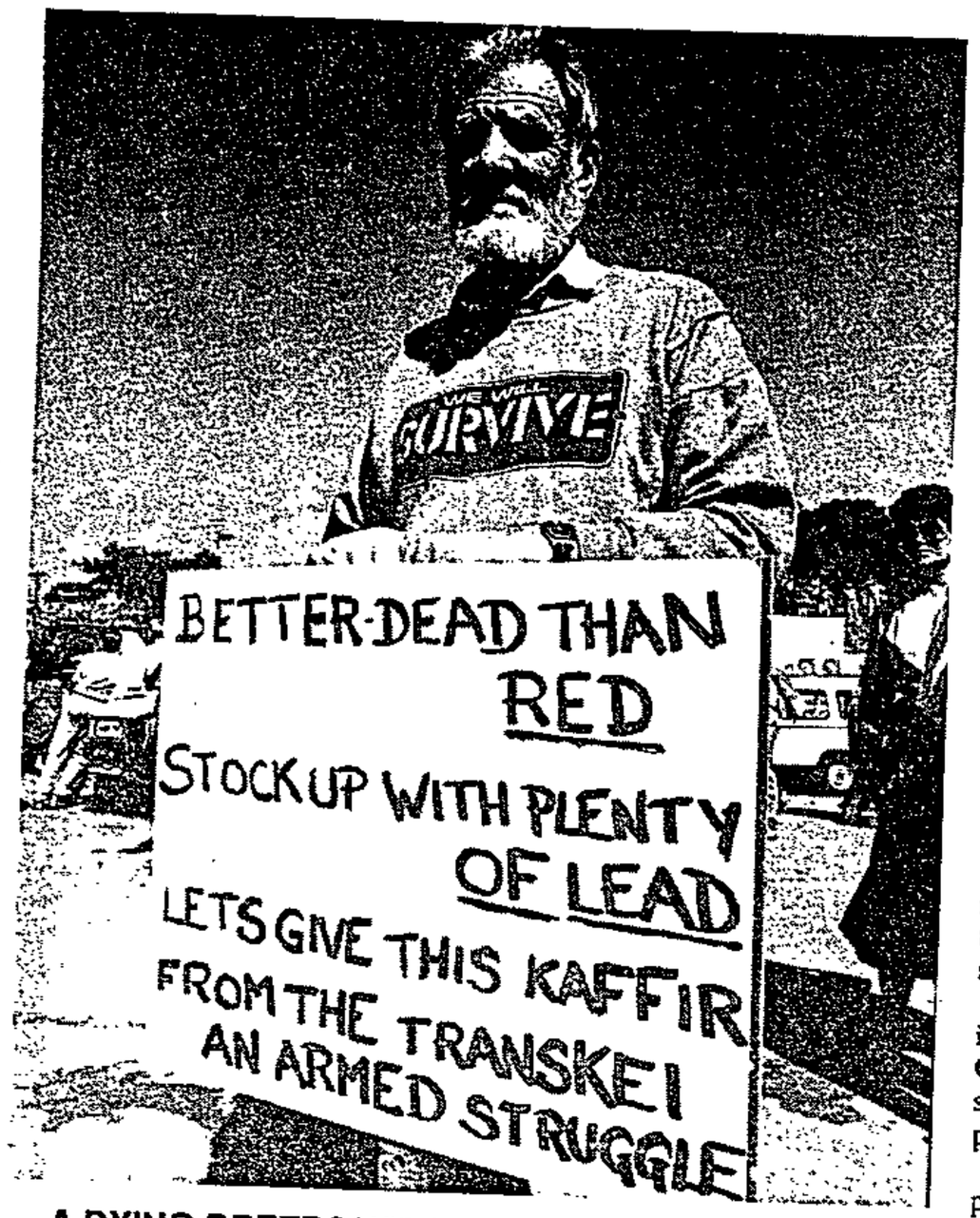
"But that would have defeated the object of the course," says Zanda. "Theories are more comfortable than looking inside yourself."

Her approach is personal prejudices must be tackled before challenging racism on an ideological level.

"It's easy to think that because you understand racism you yourself are not racist," says Zanda. "People were shocked when they realised how they themselves perpetuated stereotypes."

Pethu Serote, an ex-teacher at the ANC's Somafco College in Tanzania, says she first resisted disclosing personal experiences of racism because they were too close to the bone.

"It was a highly emotional experience to talk about experiences of racism that have touched my life and bring them out in a workshop. But I have become stronger through the process of self discovery. You need to be able to challenge racism at all levels as soon as you recognise it."



A DYING BREED? Will this type of sentiment continue

The workshop method, based on co-counselling where there is equal time for all participants, explored the root of discrimination, not only between black and white but also between ethnic categories such as coloureds, Xhosas, Zulus and Indians.

Although people in these groups are prejudiced, it is only whites who are racist, argues Zanda. "We do not consider discrimination between, say, coloureds and Africans as racism. All people who experience racism are not capable of being racist."

Zanda said the difference between discrimination and racism is based on which group has control over society.

"Discrimination happens when one person expresses a pre-judgement or a stereotypical assumption about other people and acts accordingly. To be racist is to have institutional power such as laws, education and government behind your prejudices.

"In this country only whites can be called racist. They also have the ideology of superiority behind them which makes them operate from a position of being more advanced than other groups.

"With internalised racism, when someone treats you in a racist way you start operating from a position that is inferior," says Zanda.

Challenging racism has to happen on two fronts, says Zanda.

"Racists need to look at domination, how they have internalised the belief that they have the right to dominate. We try and encourage people to look at when and why they dominate.

"On the other hand, people who suffer the brunt of racism often believe that they are the only ones operating from a position of inferiority. Once in a group they are empowered by recognising others' experience."

Zanda ran anti-racist workshops in Canada for five years.

"In Canada I also dealt with the issue of a white system which acts against Vietnamese, Chinese, Indians and Palestinians," she said.

"In South Africa workshops of this nature are different because we are trying to change the power structure so that everybody can have access."

This method of challenging racism is remarkably similar to the Black Consciousness programmes of the seventies which emphasised black pride and self assertion.

Zanda argues the reason why people dropped Black Consciousness was because whites became extremely threatened.

"White people benefited by encouraging coloureds and Indians not to get under the black umbrella. There have been awards for ethnic groups in South Africa for maintaining a seperate identity."

But for her the bottom line is clear.

"White people have two choices, either they support this kind of work and accept that both personal and structural change is necessary or they can sit it out and black people will achieve structural change anyway. If they don't accept this gesture, they will be overcome anyway."

DP caucus warns party's pro-ANC camp

(3044) 9/11/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Democratic Party Chief Whip Dave Dalling will not be fired for attending an African National Congress fundraising function, but the party has laid down clear policy to prevent DP members from attending such functions in future.

The DP caucus sent a warning signal to its pro-ANC camp at a meeting yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport.

DP leader Zach de Beer said last night that a motion by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle, calling for Sandton MP Mr Dalling to lose his Chief Whip position, had been withdrawn at the meeting.

Mr Carlisle brought the motion because Mr Dalling had attended a recent ANC fundraiser in the Cape, which was also attended by Nelson Mandela.

Dr de Beer said the caucus had decided that interaction by the DP with the ANC and the National Party should continue.

But this interaction would be "subject to normal party discipline which commits all our members to the policy, programmes and principles of our party and prevents them from involving themselves in the fundraising or recruiting activities of other parties".

Mr de Beer added that the party caucus believed the multiparty conference would be held "very shortly".

Star 8/11/91

National strike 'a last resort'

HARARE — South African blacks were advised, in an editorial in Zimbabwe's semi-official newspaper The Herald, to use the weapon of a national strike only as a last resort.

The paper said this week's anti-VAT strike had sent a signal to President de Klerk that he will have to enfranchise the black majority. (SOUTH)

But, like an atomic bomb, the strike weapon was most effective when kept in storage.

Both sides must acknowledge the absolute necessity for accommodating the other's fears and addressing them candidly. If this were not done, South Africa would be faced with the real possibility of a civil war. — Star Africa Service.

FW slams dumping of national symbols

Star 8/11/91 304A

Staff Reporters

President F W de Klerk has slated the National Olympic Committee of SA (Nocsa) for dumping the national flag, the green and gold and the Springbok emblem.

Opening the National Party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria last night, he said it was not up Nocsa or its chairman, Sam Ramsamy, "to take decisions about national symbols such as the flag and the anthem".

Mr Ramsamy announced on Wednesday night that Nocsa had unanimously accepted an invitation from the International Olympic Committee to attend the Barcelona Games.

He said Nocsa had decided, as an interim measure, that the South African team would compete under a neutral flag and would apply to the Olympic Committee to be allowed to use the Olympic anthem, Beethoven's "Ode to Joy".

Mr de Klerk said he was overjoyed that South Africa would be participating in the Olympic Games next year but it was unacceptable that the question of national symbols had been dragged in.

"Those who want to serve South Africa's interests won't just wipe these things from the table that are so dear to South Africans."

The green and gold, and the Springbok, had a proud history and were worn with pride by every South African. They had nothing to do with apartheid.

He said he blamed the ANC for trying to misuse the issue in order to build a power base.

Sport could, in effect, be a unifying factor with the whole country "supporting our team. If we are serious about nation-building then politicians must stay out of these areas".

Other reaction to the issue included:

- The ANC says it is right that South African athletes should compete under a neutral flag to the strains of a neutral anthem.
- The athletes should compete under the Vierkleur, says the Herstigte Nasionale Party.
- They should not compete internationally at all, says Azapo.
- We will have none of the interim anthem and emblem, say the CP and the AWB.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus hoped all South Africans would identify with the new symbols as an interim measure.

She added that the idea of launching a competition for a new emblem, open to all, with a cash prize of R10 000 and an expenses paid trip to the Barcelona games for the winner was something that reflected the will of the people.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said sports people had allowed "communist" Sam Ramsamy, to unjustly make it impossible for the country's athletes to participate under their own flag.

CP spokesman on sport Daan Nolte, MP for Delmas, said the Afrikaner's identity was being trampled on.

The AWB's Piet "Skiet" Rudolph said the AWB would not accept the new anthem and flag

Azapo's secretary general Don Nkadimeng said his organisation was opposed to the relaxation of the sports moratorium and maintained that the time was not yet ripe for the lifting of the sports boycott.

Snap Poll

If you want to hear the Olympic hymn, Beethoven's "Ode to Joy", which Nocsa has proposed SA athletes adopt for the Olympic Games in Barcelona, telephone TelStar 087-2000-223. Then vote "yes" you like it or "no" you do not. Results will be published in the Saturday Star. The cost of the call is R1,41 a minute.

From the days of slavery to the battle for human rights

304A

W/E Mail 8/11 - 14/11/91

THE SLAVE QUESTION: LIBERTY AND PROPERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA
by RL Watson
(Witwatersrand University Press, R42,95)

IN many countries with a colonial past, such as the Caribbean, the United States or Brazil, slavery is widely acknowledged to have been a major influence in the shaping of modern social and political forces. But in South Africa the slave system which was used in the Cape for almost 200 years is not widely known about. Although there have been several recent historical studies of the subject, none of them have been published locally or made available outside university libraries. Witwatersrand University Press are therefore to be congratulated for having produced an affordable local edition of this latest work on the subject which was first published in the United States.

Slavery was a key institution in the shaping of early colonial society in the Cape, but it is Watson's argument that it had also an important influence on South African policies and actions far beyond this chronological and geographical base.

Unlike the other books on the topic which emphasise what it was like to live and work as a slave, Watson's focus is on the history of ideas. He examines the ways in which the settlers — slave owners, merchants, missionaries and traders — responded to the moves to bring slavery to an end in the 1820s and early 1830s. In contrast to the United States, with which Watson is familiar, the Cape slave reformers placed more emphasis on property rights, which included the rights of owners in their slaves, than on the natural rights of men and women to liberty.

They thus proposed gradualist solutions, such as purchasing the freedom of children, or compensating owners, rather than immediate and total liberation of the slaves. Here there was no question of freeing slaves from their owners by force. Nor did missionaries play a role in identifying slavery as sinful, as was the case in the Caribbean. The focus of their attention was rather the status of the indigenous Khoi people, and in stressing this exploitation people such as John Philip played down the abuse of human rights against slaves.

Watson's central point is that the pre-eminence of property rights over natural rights for slaves in the early 1830s explains the failings of South Africans to oppose later denial of human rights more generally.

Here the temptation to claim a relevance to modern South African issues and dilemmas, particularly for an international readership, carries him too far. More significant to the existing lack of human rights in this country have been the arguments of racial supremacy and segregation which emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and which did not stem from the debates around slavery. As Watson acknowledges, there was little overt justification of slavery on racist grounds at the Cape. South African slavery has had a less direct impact on later racial policies than was the case with its North American counterpart.

But this should not detract from the value of *The Slave Question*. Its content is not as narrowly defined as this summary might indicate. Along the way Watson also tells us about the kind of society in which slaves lived, their short-lived attempts at rebellion, the existence of a proto-nationalism at the Cape and much else. It is well written and presented. And if the argument is pushed too far, Watson has nonetheless done a great service in drawing our attention to a topic too often neglected in South African history.

Nigel Worden

●Nigel Worden is a senior lecturer in history at the University of Cape Town

Strange affairs

Sowetan 8/11/91 304A

DONALD SOLE'S comments are of a contemporary nature spanning several decades and they constitute the flesh and marrow of historical writing.

Of Foreign Affairs action (or inaction) during the war, he says: "Our trouble is we have no foreign policy except such ideas as are carried in General Smuts' head."

Working in close cooperation with Smuts, he has a high esteem for him as a world-class statesman until his third visit to London shortly before the end of the war.

Downhill

"Thereafter he went downhill, but at first imperceptibly so."

And by April 1945 he was out of touch with "the postwar generation and its attitudes of mind".

Sole also deals with the unorthodoxy of Deneys Reitz as High Commissioner in London; the relationship between Smuts and Churchill; his own fears of what would befall the country under JG Strydom "when Malan goes"; the readiness of Verwoerd to come to terms with somebody with a mind equal to his own; as well as with a host of other personalities and topics.

Neglect

From his own research into Foreign Affairs files, Sole in the 1940s confronted Smuts with neglect over the past years.

He had established that Britain, after World War I, suggested that South Africa proclaim its sovereignty over the segment of the Antarctic to the south of Agulhas. But nothing was ever done about it.

Smuts was surprised, and as the Russians were then showing interest in the same area, he hastily had the Prince Edward and Marion Islands annexed.

Powers

During World War 2, Churchill repeatedly suggested to Smuts that he annex South West Africa. He refused, believing that the world powers through the United Nations-to-be would allow him to incorporate the area.

Had he followed Churchill's advice, South West Africa might never have become so thorny a problem - and might have been part of SA today.

Stationed in London during the war, Sole was closely involved in investigations into dealings between certain South Africans and Hitler's Nazis.

Reports

Some of the reports which passed through his hands contained "extremely delicate material relating to certain prominent members of the National Party which I received from British intelligence".

Not wishing to allow this information to become known and further bedevil Boer-Brit relations in South Africa, he kept the reports under lock and key . . . and in 1953 destroyed them.

Does Sole, with his historical training, know how long historians have been hunting for these self-same documents? His destruction of historical evidence amounts to an act of cultural homicide.

During the war, and for many years after it, a healthy team-spirit was maintained between Sole and Brand Fourie, who joined the department in 1939. The relationship came under strain when the latter became department head in 1966.

This is the second and last part of the frank revelations of retired South African ambassador Donald Sole, which have been summarised by Unisa historian AT VAN WYK.

Worry

Sole explains: "I had looked forward to Brand Fourie's appointment. I did not worry me that he had been my junior. I assumed the old camaraderie would continue.

"But this was not to be. When he became Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Brand Fourie adopted a policy of not really confiding in anybody."

Lack of proper communication made matters difficult for Sole. On several occasions his German and/or American sources had information on South African developments long before he got word from Fourie. This happened, for example, with BJ Vorster's visit to Germany in 1976.

Drama

There were also other problems, as highlighted by the drama surrounding the kidnapping of ambassador Eddie Dunn in San Salvador in 1979/80.

Sole writes: "The vacillation in Pretoria, and what appeared to us to be a lack of resolution in Head Office, were quite frightening in their implications. We were fearful that precedents might be set which could endanger the lives of other diplomats."

The kidnappers demanded an enormous amount in ransom.

The money was in the process of being exchanged for his life, but before delivery Dunn was killed in an as yet unaccountable way.

Mr Sole says: "Head Office in Pretoria was too far away to function as an operations unit but was unwilling to delegate responsibility, though it was we, not they, who sought the intervention of various authorities in a bid to apply pressure to the kidnappers."

Headache

During all of this, the kidnapped ambassador's son acted with great obduracy in El Salvador to become as it is put, "a pain in the arse" to Sole and his colleagues. "But if Dunn junior was a headache to us, there were times when Pik Botha was even more so. Pik became very panicky and jittery."

At no stage does Sole question Botha's capabilities as a Minister, but he is outspoken about what he terms "Pik's proclivity to emotionalism".

Exploits

Concerning South Africa's military exploits in face of the "total onslaught", he is critical of the Government's massive support" of Abel Muzorewa in the then Rhodesia. He calls it "support which cost the South African taxpayers a mint of money in fruitless expenditure".

Briefing

About the war in Angola he, as ambassador in Washington, was not much better informed by his own Government than the ordinary South African citizen: "Throughout my stay in Washington I received no confidential briefing whatever from Pretoria on either the objectives or the extent of the SADF operations in Angola."

He had to rely on press reports and other US sources.

On Botha's handling of the Namibian issue, he says the Minister did not "have behind him a department that was properly organised to assist him.".

At no stage does Sole question Botha's capabilities as a Minister, but he is outspoken about what he terms "Pik's proclivity to emotionalism".



PIK BOTHA

Bill must wait - Azapo

By MATHATHA TSEDU

8/11/91

AZAPO has rejected the implementation of the draft Bill of Rights by the Government.

The organisation has, however, accepted the draft published at the weekend.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng said the Bill, if enacted under present conditions, would entrench black dispossesion of land and other properties and should therefore await ratification by a constituent assembly.

Nkadimeng said the notion of inviolability of private property, which is included in the Bill drawn by the Law Commission, should be approached with "extreme caution".

"The simple difficulty with this provision is that the wealth of this country is concentrated in the hands of a few white people. More importantly, whites own and occupy 87 percent of our land.

"Azapo's position is that the people themselves, through the constituent assembly, can decide which rights should be made sacrosanct and which not and at what stage."

The Bill has been welcomed by several bodies, including the National Party, ANC and Democratic Party.

AROUND THE

All-party talks this month - ANC

Sowetan 8/11/91

30411

Accra - The all-party congress in South Africa would take place before the end of this month, according to ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He told a news conference in Accra on Tuesday that the congress would work out mechanisms for setting up an interim government of national unity, draw up broad proposals for a new constitution and set out the modalities for the election of a constituent assembly that would define the details of the constitution.

The congress, he said, would be "the route through which the ANC will relieve the apartheid regime of exclusive responsibility for the management of the state and its resources.

"De Klerk and I are convinced that a system of linkage between attainment of certain objectives in South Africa, like interim government and lifting of sanctions, is most likely to deliver best results."

Leadership

Mandela said the ANC leadership was trying to move South Africa away from confrontation with the minority Government of President de Klerk.

He said the majority in South Africa had already demonstrated that they could no longer tolerate a situation where the minority took decisions on behalf of the majority.

It was difficult at present to secure the total involvement of blacks in the administration of South Africa "but it could happen any moment from now".

Expressing regret that some African governments had started establishing links with the apartheid regime, Mandela said such links were premature.

"I will give the signal at the right time," he said.

Earlier, the head of Ghana's military government, Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings, told Mandela that Ghana would continue to give help to "black South Africa". - *Sowetan Correspondent*

ANC 'abusing sport and culture for own political ends'

(3047) ARG 8/11/91

Political Staff

THE ANC was abusing sport and culture for political ends, said President De Klerk.

"(The) announcement of our participation in the Olympic Games is a good example of this," he said last night at the opening of the National Party's Transvaal Congress in Pretoria.

Mr De Klerk accused the ANC of exploiting the situation for its own political gain in order to pose as those who were really in power.

He said the ANC changed its strategy on sanctions when it realised the government was breaking the organisation's grip in that field.

"In sport and culture it saw an opportunity," he said.

The NP and the government have not involved themselves directly in sport and entertainment, recognising the autonomy of sports and cultural organisations.

"In this, the ANC saw an opportunity. They realised that they did not have to deal in those areas with the strong National Party . . . but with organisations and individuals that, in some cases, will do almost anything to open the doors for sports and arts enthusiasts."

It was unacceptable that Nocsa or its chairman, Mr Sam Ramsamy, took decisions about national symbols such as the flag and anthem.

National sports colours and symbols were an emotional issue and should be treated with circumspection.

Mr De Klerk said the government had never been prescriptive on this issue and its role was limited to the registration of colours and emblems when applications were received.

Referring to the green and gold colours and the Springbok, he said it was short-sighted to disregard a proud tradition. It was also undesirable for every sport to try to do its own thing.

He urged sports administrators, sportsmen and women "to think again and find a sensible solution."

(3044) ARG 8/11/91

ANC deflects blow

'Look who's talking about a lack of trust'

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC today "took strong exception" to President De Klerk's criticism in Pretoria last night, and said the National Party leader acted "irresponsibly".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was "outrageous" that President De Klerk, whose government had used tax money to fund Inkatha and whose security forces were failing to curb violence, was now saying the ANC could not be trusted.

There were indications that people in the police and army were involved in the violence but the government had done little about it.

"Inkathagate proved that the NP could not be trusted. We find it unacceptable that President De Klerk should now accuse us."

He was responding to President De Klerk's strong attack on the ANC, made at the NP's Transvaal congress in Pretoria last night.

Mr Niehaus said the state president was playing politics to consolidate his conservative Transvaal constituency, and was therefore acting "irresponsibly".

Mr De Klerk told delegates at the Transvaal NP Congress that the ANC could not be trusted in its present guise and that its financial support was "drying up".

The ANC was "ineffective because of internal squabbling and a lack of clear policy directions" and was losing support as a result of its inability to contribute towards ending vioence".



Mr De Klerk



Mr Jay Naidoo

He said the ANC's strategy — to show it held the initiative and was able to dictate events — was arrogant and presumptious.

He noted the "small and dying" SACP clung to the ANC like a "parasite" undermining the ANC's reputation.

Mr De Klerk noted that Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo was leading the ANC by the nose and involving it in actions detrimental to the country.

He acknowledged the importance of the ANC as a player but appealed to the more balanced of its leaders to promote a climate of confidence and understanding.

● Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen will be Acting State President until November 18 when Mr De Klerk returns from Taiwan, Israel and Mauritius.

ANC 'is not your friend', FW tells NP

(304A) CT 8/11/91

From BARRY STREEK

PRETORIA. — The ANC was in the clutches of radical and communist elements and could not betrusted in its present guise, President F W de Klerk said last night.

The ANC as it was now "is not your friend", he said when he opened the National Party's Congress here.

"It is steering a course which, if it should succeed, will make you poorer and rob you of reasonable opportunities for a better life for you and your children."

President De Klerk's strong attack on the ANC follows equally strong criticisms of the ANC when he opened the NP's Cape Congress in Stellenbosch last month. It reflects the NP's determination to achieve sufficient popular support to defeat the ANC in an election.

He also said the ANC had identified employers and the economy as a target, that Cosatu was trying through strikes, threats and stayaways to strengthen its own position within the ANC and that its general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, was leading the ANC by the nose.

Mr De Klerk urged commerce and industry to stand firm and act purposefully in an organised manner to ensure that the trade unions stayed within the law or "they and the country will pay a high price".

Mr De Klerk stressed that the NP would continue to seek an understanding through discussion and negotiation and said its hard work to get the multi-party conference off the ground proved this.

"About one thing there should be no doubt — the NP is not prepared to allow the ANC or any other party or movements to take over power."

Those who had a perception that the ANC and its allies would take control of South Africa were not taking the NP into account nor the fact that no solution was possible without the NP.

Mr De Klerk said that as the government had succeeded in breaking the ANC's grip on sanctions the ANC had changed its strategy and now saw an opportunity in sport and culture.

The government welcomed South Africa's re-entry into international competition but it was convinced that the people in control of sport and entertainment should stand firm against political interference.

Mr De Klerk said the reality was that the ANC's financial support was drying up, and it was disorganised and ineffective because of internal squabbling and a lack of clear policy.

It was also losing support as a result of its inability to contribute towards ending violence.

"Now that the ANC is no longer able to hide behind apartheid and the image of a disadvantaged and banned organisation, it stands exposed to the glaring spotlight of public attention.

"By the day it is becoming clear that the ANC cannot be trusted in its present guise."

"I am not saying these things because it gives me pleasure. The ANC remains an important actor.

"It is in the country's interest that the ANC's balanced leaders — and there are some — should act in such a way that they contribute positively to the establishment of confidence and the achievment of a reasonable understanding."

The Birth of a new Afrikaner

MANY Nationalist politicians have found themselves unable to say they are sorry about what was done in the name of apartheid.

The humiliation, degradation and impoverishment caused by the policy was not their main reason for formally scrapping it.

It was the fact that apartheid was simply not working - and it took them some 42 years to find that out - along with the brutal economic realities, the isolation from the rest of the world and the serious security situation that was building up that moved the Nationalist politicians to abandon the policy.

Hurt

President De Klerk has now at long last said that he was sorry for the hurt inflicted by the years of apartheid.

Soon it will be difficult to find anyone among these politicians who ever believed in apartheid.

This is why a new book, The Birth of a new Afrikaner by At van Wyk (published by Human and Rousseau), by an Afrikaner academic is particularly timely.

One wonders how it was possible that so many could for so long so blindly have believed in apartheid. Former journalist At van Wyk looks back on his experiences

Sowetan 8/11

The Birth of a new Afrikaner is the story of how one man came to his senses through a long and sometimes painful process.

Principles

As the author, in a reference to what Nationalist politicians are going through these days puts it "The Nats who are to blame for the longevity of apartheid have to adapt to a set of principles which are turning them into 'liberals' and 'humanists' similar to those whom in their apartheid past they used to denounce as 'enemies' of the State and put under house arrest or into jail."

Courage

It takes some courage for an Afrikaner to stand up with with his personal confession of how he had been a committed believer in apartheid and to tell of the long process of disenchantment.

Van Wyk of the history department of the University of South Africa tells of the "highs" of his fervent belief in apartheid and of the increasing "lows" as the realisation crept up on him that it could not work and that it was morally indefensible.

Policy

He wrote the story of his political metamorphosis "to explain to my children and grandchildren my involvement in the apartheid policy of yesteryear" and he wonders if they will forgive him.

As in the case of many other "reconstructed Afrikaner Nationalists" as Van Wyk calls them his was not a sudden shocking Damascene illumination.

His unquestioning acceptance of the virtues and indeed the inevitability of apartheid gradually changed over long and often violent years and though many ostensibly unrelated but dramatic events.

Some of the doubts started as far back as 1969. That was when the Labour Party won 26 of the elected seats against the 11 taken by the pro-Nat Federal Party.

304A

Ignoring this the Government appointed all the nominated members from the ranks of the Federal Party.

Power

Although was concerned about the total lack of a moral base for what had been done Van Wyk was not then prepared to speak his mind because in those days, with State and Church, the Ned GerefChurch, in a power block, criticism from within its ranks were not taken kindly.

In his own academic circles there was petty apartheid discrimination.

With the black uprising in 1976 where the final spark was a Government attempt to force Afrikaans on some of the schools he wondered if the Afrikaners would never learn even after their own experiencing of Lord Milner trying to Anglicise them by forcing English down their throats.

There were times of renewed hope such as after Mr PW Botha had come to power but instead Botha "ground to a halt in a feverish defence of his reformist stance against a bitter rightwing attack and wasted his manifold opportunities, only to tumble ingloriously to his political end and oblivion."

Another thing that was increasingly disturbing to the author was the Broederbond's self-appointed overlordship of Afrikanerdom.

Beliefs

A study of black politics further unsettled his political beliefs.

He came to learn of an entirely different side of the story from the one the Nationalists had been marketing for years.

He was surprised at his growing sympathy for a body of moderates, mostly Christian, who for three long decades had striven constitutionally for acceptance by their white rulers, only to be rejected and humiliated time and again.

Once, along with many other Nationalists, he had hailed Dr Hendrik Verwoerd as a prophet, especially for his plan to give blacks their own "homelands" in order to get rid of the black problem.

In the end the homeland policy was a dismal failure.

Painful

The author's long and painful political journey came to an end with the realisation that "apartheid, a concept never taken over by any other culture and recently dubbed the ultimate in racism on account of its denial of basic human dignity failed on all fronts."

One wonders how it was possible that so many could for so long so blindly have believed in apartheid.

Flowing

Van Wyk's conclusion is that he is ready and willing to be part of any open society under a democratically elected government, as long as he can remain an Afrikaner.

A journalist before he became a historian, Van Wyk writes in an easy, flowing style.

This is not a heavy political tome but an often engaging and amusing book - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

SA's image gets a boost

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — For the first time in decades, a leading British newspaper has carried a front page article extolling the virtues of South Africa as an emigration destination in its appointments section.

But the feature, in yesterday's Daily Telegraph, makes the point that whereas in the past people went there for the privileges a white skin could bring, today many are going to contribute to South Africa's transition to a non-racial democracy.

And along with the new immigrants, a steady flow of skilled exiles are also returning home to make a fresh start in the "new South Africa".

Yesterday's article, headed "Should you take the plunge?", notes that "after years of isolation the new South Africa needs skilled Britons to help reactivate the economy".

"Until recently people had one over-riding motive for wanting to move to South Africa: the privileged, sun-drenched lifestyle complete with servants and swimming pool. All who abhorred apartheid stayed away.

"Now that a more democratic future is emerging, the motives are changing. Although the benign climate and relatively low cost of living are still a big attraction, a growing number of skilled people are going out to help South Africa to make the transition to a more just society," wrote Chris Partridge.

While the rand remains low against the pound, he said, it is financially a good time for Britons to emigrate. Furthermore, approved immigrants are given an advantageous exchange rate. Salaries for professional people are high.

But the high crime rate, he said, remains a major negative factor. And getting a visa is a "bureaucratic nightmare involving, it is said, some of the most obstructive officials outside the American immigration service".

But for young professionals of all races prepared to surmount such obstacles, South Africa has a lot to offer, said Mr John Kockott, a partner in the Kent-based recruitment firm, SA Placements.

He added: "As long as you have a skill, colour makes no difference to emigration prospects. We are seeing a lot of exiled black South Africans going back.

"Engineers are in particularly great demand, in fields as diverse as construction and the motor industry. Financial expertise and teachers are also urgently needed.

"The one thing we are not interested in is unskilled labour."

International recruitment firms which shunned South Africa during the sanctions period are now taking a close interest, said Mr Douglas Kinnaird of the PA Consulting Group.

SA is, and will remain, the giant in a small room, writes **Stanley Uys** from Londo

Old diplomacy in a new guis

Star 8/11/91 304A

MOST of us have assumed that as South Africa's internal politics become "normalised", its external relations will be "normalised" simultaneously — and that this process is already under way, particularly in Africa. Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, calls the process the New Diplomacy.

But how new is this New Diplomacy? The question is asked by two academics in the October issue of International Affairs, journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

One is Professor Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, and the other is Graham Evans, lecturer in International Relations at the University College of Swansea.

In a recent column, I discussed the likely relationship between a post-apartheid South African government and its neighbours, and suggested that sentiment would not prevent a black majority government from "dominating" the region economically. Vale and Evans take this argument further.

Vale, referring to the expectation that once South Africa is liberated, "the region's destiny and economic salvation would be sealed by a concordat of the majority-ruled states", says changes in the international system have killed these predictions. "If anything," he says, "the ending of the Cold War has accented the lopsided distribution of power in southern Africa."

Vale says that President de Klerk, by focusing particularly on southern Africa in his February 2 1990 speech, not only raised the prospects for a new regional order, but also staked his Government's claim to regional domination. "The New Diplomacy aimed to manipulate the fears and expectations of South Africa's neighbours with a view to extracting international support for the South African Government for the ending of sanctions."

Vale suggests that even if individual southern African countries have been drawn to the New Diplomacy, the policy so far has been only a partial success, because no one outside Zaire and Kenya (both peripheral to the region) has agreed to join Malawi in establishing diplomatic relations with Pretoria. Also, the New Diplomacy has failed to create a common regional market.

Vale continues: "In its primary desire to control the process of transition inside South Africa, the National Party was unwilling to change the substance of regional relations. The New Diplomacy merely replaced South Africa's early military domination of the region with a mix of diplomatic and economic levers. Style rather than substance was the leitmotif."

Professor Vale also believes that the New Diplomacy further confused South Africa's neighbours by making it seem as if the ANC had no stake in regional affairs. As a result, "the ANC has been unwilling to engage the De Klerk Government in serious debate over the future of southern Africa ... there has been an unwillingness to spell out serious policy options".

Evans is even more critical than Vale. He believes that "despite reassuring noises from Pretoria, there is no unambiguous signal that a fundamental re-evaluation of the foreign policy means/ends formula is under way. The indications are that the new political dispensation has not, so far, spilt over into the foreign policy realm".

South Africa's foreign policy, Evans contends, will not suddenly become "normal" once apartheid disappears. He notes the view that whoever formulates policy, geopolitical and economic realities will dictate that South Africa gravitates towards its "natural" role as the regional hegemon, that of the giant in the small room, and that overlying this thesis "is the belief that the giant will be a gentle one"(gentle giantism?).

If this were true, the new South Africa would be "a beneficial and benevolent force in the neighbourhood ... the bully boy on the block will be transformed into the genial policeman-cum-social welfare worker". Both Mr van Heerden and the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, says Evans, "share this idealistic vision of harmonious and non-exploitative relations with their neighbours".

On the other hand, says Evans, it might be argued that, contrary to popular belief, a post-apartheid South Africa "is likely to be a net recipient of aid rather than a more or less benevolent donor of it".

Evans's conclusion is that the New Diplomacy "is neither particularly new, nor does it involve a significant deviation from South Africa's traditional regional and international objectives".

He writes: "Despite a presumption in favour of equality with its neighbours, a new majority-rule government, perhaps after a brief honeymoon period, would be unable to resist the obvious benefits of being the key player in local balance-of-power politics.

"This would not preclude regional co-operation or the creating of an integrated trading bloc, but it would be on South Africa's terms. In the absence of an external force, the role of manipulating 'balances' seems pre-ordained, whoever occupies the Union Building in Pretoria."

It's an interesting debate, and an ongoing one. I have space for only one comment. If, as Evans admits, "it is extremely unlikely that a reconstructed ANC in office would be able to resist the temptation to lord it over the neighbouring states", and if, as he further observes, "it is one of the very few truisms of world politics that neither ideological affinity nor emotional attachment will preserve 'special relationships' for long unless they are firmly grounded in a bedrock of mutual interest", then what would the difference be between the New Diplomacy and an ANC government's regional policy? □

'ANC losing support, and in present guise cannot be trusted'

FW warns of crackdown

304A Star 8/11/91

By Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatsumba Political Staff

President de Klerk said last night that it was becoming clearer by the day that the ANC could not be trusted in its present guise.

He warned that he would be obliged to take "serious" steps to combat violence if the National Peace Accord did not succeed.

Apparently hinting at a crackdown, Mr de Klerk said the further steps would not be in the country's interests.

He was addressing about 1 500 delegates while opening the Transvaal's National Party congress in Pretoria.

Mr de Klerk said he did not wish to elaborate on the steps he would take if he were compelled to "take things further"; but was adamant they would entail "serious implications".

In a strong attack on the ANC, Mr de Klerk said: "The reality is that the ANC's financial support is drying up, it is disorganised and is losing support as a result of its inability to contribute towards ending violence.

"Now that the ANC is no longer able to hide behind apartheid and the image of a disadvantaged and banned organisation, it stands exposed to the glaring spotlight of public attention. By the day it is becoming clearer the ANC cannot be trusted in its present guise," he said.

"It is glaringly inconsistent. Consider, for example, its conflicting statements on economic policy.

"The SACP is clinging to the ANC like a parasite and is undermining its reputation. Jay Naidoo is leading the ANC by the nose and involving it in actions detrimental to the country.

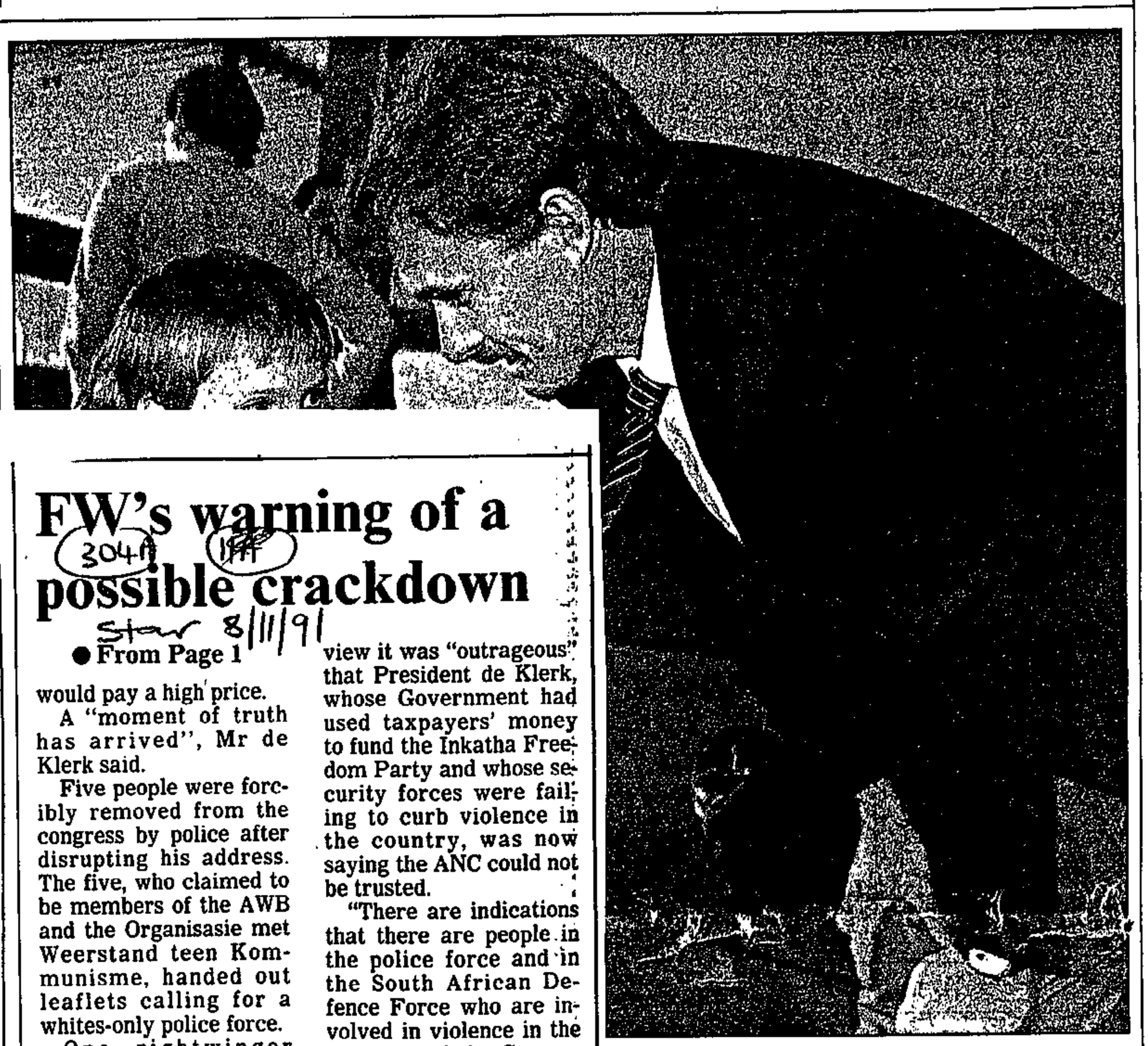
"I am not saying these things because it gives me pleasure. The ANC remains an important actor. It is in the country's interests the ANC's balanced leaders contribute positively to establishing confidence and achieving an understanding.

"The National Party will continue to seek such an understanding through discussion and negotiation. Our hard work to get the multi-party conference off the ground proves this."

He said the announcement of South Africa's participation in the Olympics was a good example of the ANC "manipulating" sport for political ends.

Referring to Cosatu's anti-VAT strike, Mr de Klerk warned organised commerce and industry that if they did not ensure trade unions acted within the law, they

● To Page 2



SA cricket team left Jan Smuts last night. Picture: Jacoob Rykliff

FW's warning of a possible crackdown

304A 1PP Star 8/11/91

● From Page 1

would pay a high price.

A "moment of truth has arrived", Mr de Klerk said.

Five people were forcibly removed from the congress by police after disrupting his address. The five, who claimed to be members of the AWB and the Organisasie met Weerstand teen Kommunisme, handed out leaflets calling for a whites-only police force.

One rightwinger yelled: "Meneer de Klerk, jy is 'n Marxist!"

He too was ejected from the meeting.

Mr de Klerk said there was a mood of despair and insecurity in the country because of a widespread perception that the ANC, with its "irresponsible utterances and actions", would take over South Africa; because of the violence and growing crime rate and because of the recession.

● The ANC today took strong exception to President de Klerk's criticism in Pretoria last night and said the National Party leader had acted "irresponsibly".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said in an interview it was "outrageous" that President de Klerk, whose Government had used taxpayers' money to fund the Inkatha Freedom Party and whose security forces were failing to curb violence in the country, was now saying the ANC could not be trusted.

"There are indications that there are people in the police force and in the South African Defence Force who are involved in violence in the country and the Government has not done much about it.

"Inkathagate proved that the NP could not be trusted. We find it unacceptable that President de Klerk should now accuse us," Mr Niehaus said.

He added that the State President was "playing politics" to consolidate his conservative Transvaal constituency, and was therefore acting "irresponsibly".

He said for a man who claimed to be committed to peace and negotiations, President de Klerk gave the impression of spoiling for war.

● Honours and 18 holes for FW — Page 10

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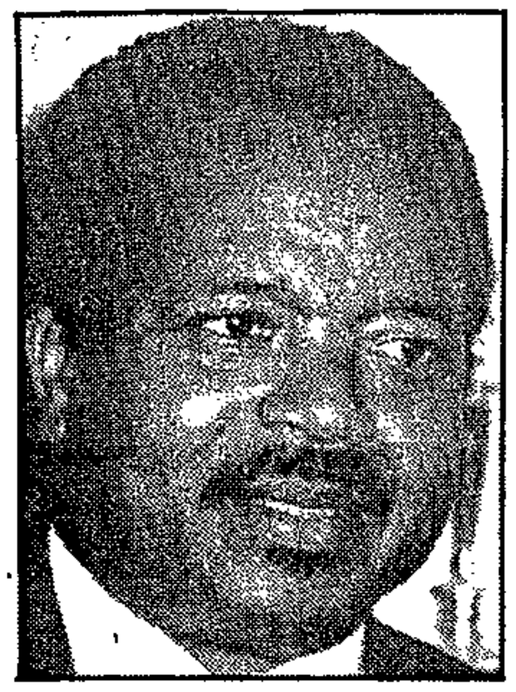
Similarities in SA and Cameroon

South Africa's first ever business delegation to Cameroon discovered that the country faces remarkably similar political and economic problems on its path to a multiparty democracy. SVEN LÜNSCHE reports.



President Paul Biya . . . led Cameroon on the path to multiparty democracy in December last year.

AS SOUTH Africa prepares for its all-party conference, possibly later this month, a similar and seemingly unrelated political process is evolving in Cameroon.

But it seemed more than coincidence that a South African business delegation to Cameroon last week witnessed first-hand the unfolding of this process in the West African state.

While the 130 SA delegates were attending a business conference at the Chinese built conference centre in the capital, Yaounde, 47 political parties met at the same venue to discuss Cameroon's first multiparty elections, scheduled for February next year.

Cameroon ventured on its path to multiparty democracy in December last year when President Paul Biya, in a desperate bid to get his country out of its economic doldrums and under pressure from international financial powers, allowed political activity after nine years of one-party rule.

However, as in South Africa, the breakdown of old structures has led to an upsurge in ethnically and politically motivated violence, exacerbated by severe economic depression.

Most observers blame President Biya's insistence on controlling the transition period. He refused a general amnesty for political prisoners and has held out on opposition demands for an independent national conference to discuss the electoral code.

Power is largely vested in his CPDM party, which is representative of tribes from the French speaking part of the country. Cameroon achieved independence when the British and French-ruled parts were united in the 1960s.

The 20-party opposition grouping in the Co-ordination Committee of the Opposition, with its stronghold in the economically more powerful north-west and western provinces, not surprisingly has stirred up Anglophone nostalgia and called for a more federal system of government.

Earlier this year, the opposition parties rejected what they saw as half-measures by the CPDM and launched a campaign of civil disobedience, including a nationwide strike and a call to stop all tax payments.

With the political dominoes falling about him and threat of greater disturbances looming President Biya fell back on the security establishment.

Demonstrations in Yaounde and the port city of Doula were brutally repressed, opposition leaders arrested and the aggressive privately-owned press partially censored.

In a bid to placate pressure from international financial donors and amid the crippling effect of the tax boycotts the CPDM convened the all-party conference last week to discuss a draft electoral code and wider access to State run TV and radio.

However, the main opposition parties refused to take up their seats, and while the government insists that the elections will go-ahead as planned, many observers fear that unless the elections are delayed, more violence will follow.

"President Biya should delay the elections or at least appoint a neutral committee to supervise the run-up to the elections," says Gregoire Owana, an outspoken Member of Parliament for the CPDM.

Underlying the government's desperate bid to find a political solution is an economy on the verge of collapse.

A drive through Yaounde, which with 800 000 people is bursting at its seams, reveals a picture of dismal poverty, so typical of many African cities.

The currency, Cameroon Francs, which is interchangable among most Francophone west and central African countries, is stable but of little use to the man on the street in the face of soaring price increases.

Official statistics are hopelessly out-of-date, but in the admittedly over-inflated environment of the five-star hotels, a beer costs the equivalent of R7,50, international phone calls are between R30 and R60 a minute and a T-shirt can cost up to R100.

To exacerbate the situation export earnings of key commodities — oil, gas, cocoa and coffee — have slumped in the wake of a decline in international prices.

In response to the economic collapse Cameroon had to swallow the bitter medicine of IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes, which link the inflow of foreign aid to a free-market orientation of the economy.

As a result the government has sold off numerous State enterprises, created a number of industrial free trade zones and established a foreign investment code, which ranks among the most liberal in Africa, according to Rene Owona, Industrial and Commercial Development Minister.

It is also looking to reduce its dependence on France in terms of international trade and investment and many Cameroon businessmen are pinning their hopes in this respect on South Africa.

Relations between the two countries have only just been established on an informal basis, but the haste with which official restrictions were lifted to allow the SA businessmen to attend the conference in Yaounde reflects Cameroon's willingness to strengthen ties.

The conference failed in its attempts to facilitate discussions on inter-African economic and financial issues between businessmen, who were expected to arrive from "Cape to Cairo". Five key speakers did not appear and over half of the expected 600 delegates never arrived.

However, the SA delegation was given a rousing welcome by both government officials and local businessmen, who expressed more than a passing interest in developing closer financial links.

Derek Auret, who heads the Foreign Affairs Department's Africa section, said officials were particularly interested in jointly developing Cameroon's vast mineral and energy resources as well as co-operation in such sectors as agriculture and informal business.

Many SA businessmen though, with the Zairean experience still fresh in their minds, will undoubtedly await a more stable government to develop these links. □

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Winning the peace



Southern Africa can avoid being marginalised, says US ambassador William Swing, who told the SA Institute of International Affairs how we can get on better in the region.

At no time has the region had such a fortuitous set of circumstances: a favourable and promising global backdrop; a nascent regional framework; and a healthy confluence of forces and elements domestically in SA, the flagship of southern Africa.

Southern Africa at present offers Africa its greatest prospect for a functioning, even vibrant, region in the short-to-medium term. Regional co-operation has an opportunity to succeed in southern Africa — though it has largely failed elsewhere in Africa — because of a twin dynamic that is at work here: peacemaking and democratisation.

Southern Africa's record in peacemaking over the past two decades is much better than generally acknowledged and it is one in which outside powers ultimately abandoned post-colonial Cold War tactics to play a constructive role.

SA is at the epicentre of this peacemaking dynamic. For decades, the battlefield in Pretoria's fight to uphold white minority rule knew no national boundaries. Thanks to courageous decisions by many South Africans, that long war is now over, with the struggle about to move to the negotiating table.

In fact, the ingredients are present for a *lasting* peace. Armed resistance movements have discovered that without outside support and encouragement they cannot succeed, and in the emerging world order such support and encouragement have become anachronistic. The real success that liberation movements and governments have achieved has been a result of diplomacy, not military exploits.

In SA the debate on what forms of democracy are best suited to this country is well advanced. But similar discussions are taking place throughout southern Africa. Much of the future economic success and political stability of the region will depend on the outcome of this debate and on negotiations leading to the establishment of a new democratic order in the area.

The success of these or any other ideas on regional or domestic matters would require full consultation and consensus among all the competing political forces within SA.

SA's moves to jettison apartheid have produced in their wake a situation in which it is possible to conduct an honest dialogue on human rights violations elsewhere in Africa.

The protection of human rights and safeguarding of democracy are, or should be, the common glaring concern in the region. No one nation can fully insulate itself from the effects of civil conflict or human rights abuses in neighbouring states.

At some point, governments in the region will probably want to consider putting in place mechanisms for regular consultations on human rights issues, possibly in the same fashion as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which originally provided for detailed treatment of human rights issues on a Europe-wide basis. In other words a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Southern Africa.

Initially, one would expect opposition to this idea. But the eventual emergence of such a conference or a Southern Africa Human Rights Commission, operating according to an agreed code of conduct and empowered to examine alleged human rights problems in member states, could prove to be a powerful moral force. Though admittedly ambitious, it would send a strong signal to the rest of the world about the region's commitment to democratic values.

Maintaining regional peace in the post-apartheid era will, to a large extent, be a task left to southern Africans themselves. Here one could examine as a possible model the Joint Commission on Namibia, moribund for having largely accomplished its mandate and now lacking a clearly defined new mission — and about to hold its final session in Havana next month.

The overall idea is to create a regional dialogue with a view to reducing tensions, overcoming historical suspicions and animosities, promoting arms reduction and resolving any disputes that might arise.

Finally, there is the overarching question of regional economic co-operation. Too much has perhaps been said already about the benefits which will accrue to the entire region from the demise of apartheid. The image of the new SA as a locomotive for economic development in the region and beyond has become overworked. Many serious observers are now concerned lest an apartheid-free SA should be inward-looking, protectionist and autarkic — too preoccupied with redressing the historical inequities of apartheid to concern itself with its immediate neighbourhood. Under this scenario, the new SA will be an aid recipient, with few resources to spare for its neighbours.

Moreover, it is argued, even if SA were to try to play an active role in an organisation such as SADCC, that institution would collapse because of SA's economic might. With SA's economy outperforming that of the 10 SADCC states combined in virtually every sector, Pretoria might so dominate the organisation that co-operation could become meaningless, or so the argument goes.

Despite these understandable fears, I believe that there is no alternative to seeking closer regional economic co-operation as a matter of active policy. Unlike much of the rest of Africa, southern Africa is rich in resources, infrastructure, know-how and development potential. What is urgently needed is for the SADCC to review its 10-year mandate to reduce the dependency of southern African states on SA and to devise a new mandate designed to increase southern African interdependence.

Global trends argue for some serious rethinking about how an SA without apartheid and its neighbours can achieve a greater degree of integration. In a world where Africa as a whole runs the increasing risk of marginalisation, the states of southern Africa have little option but to build together an integrated region — or otherwise risk oblivion and irrelevance. Like SA, the emergent southern African sub-area offers Africa its best hope yet for peace and democracy.

New multiracial party

Star 8/11/91

A new multiracial party, the United People's Front, will be launched in Pietersburg tomorrow by party leader Nelson Ramodike. Mr Ramodike said the new party would strive for reconciliation and reconstruction in the country.

304A

Tos Wentzel reviews a book by a Nat who came to his senses

Confessions of a New Afrikaner

Star 8/11/91

304A

MANY Nationalist politicians have found themselves unable to say they are sorry about what was done in the name of apartheid. The humiliation, degradation and impoverishment caused by the policy was not their main reason for formally scrapping it.

It was the fact that apartheid was simply not working — and it took them some 42 years to find that out — along with the brutal economic realities, isolation from the rest of the world and build-up of a serious security problem that moved the Nationalist politicians to abandon the policy.

Soon it will be difficult to find anyone among these politicians who ever believed in apartheid.

This is why a new book by an Afrikaner academic, "The Birth of a New Afrikaner" by At van Wyk (Human and Rousseau, R34,99), is particularly timely.

"The Birth of a New Afrikaner" is the story of how one man came to his senses through a long and sometimes painful process.

As the author, in a reference to what Nationalist politicians are going through these days, puts it: "The Nats who are to blame for the longevity of apartheid have to adapt to a set of principles which are turning them into 'liberals' and 'humanists' similar to those whom in their apartheid past they used to denounce as 'enemies' of the State and put under house arrest or into jail."

It takes some courage for an Afrikaner to stand up with his personal confession of how he had been a committed believer in apartheid and to tell of the long process of disenchantment.

Van Wyk, of the history department of Unisa, tells of the "highs" of his fervent belief in apartheid and of the increasing "lows" as the realisation crept up on him that it could not work and that it was morally indefensible.

He wrote the story of his political metamorphosis "to explain to my children and grandchildren my involvement in the apartheid policy of yesteryear" and he wonders if they will forgive him.

As in the case of many other "reconstructed Afrikaner Nationalists", as Van Wyk calls them, his was not a sudden shocking Damascene illumination.

His unquestioning acceptance of the virtues and indeed the inevitability of apartheid gradually changed over long and often violent years and through many ostensibly unrelated but dramatic events.

Some of the doubts started as far back as 1969. That was when the Labour Party won 26 of the elected seats against the 11 taken by the pro-Nat Federal Party. Ignoring this, the Government appointed all the nominated members from the Federal Party.

Although concerned about the total lack of a moral base for what had been done, Van Wyk was not then prepared to speak his mind because in those days, with State and Church (the Ned Geref Kerk) in a power bloc, criticism from within its ranks were not taken kindly. In his own academic circles there was petty apartheid discrimination.

With the black uprising in 1976, where the final spark was a Government attempt to force Afrikaans on some of the schools, he wondered if the Afrikaners would never learn even after their own experience of Lord Milner trying to force English down their throats.

A study of black politics further unsettled his political beliefs. He came to learn of an entirely different side of the story from the one the Nationalists had been marketing for years. He was surprised at his growing sympathy for a body of moderates, mostly Christian, who for three long decades had striven constitutionally for acceptance by their white rulers, only to be rejected and humiliated time and again.

Once he had, along with many other Nationalists, hailed Dr Hendrik Verwoerd as a prophet, especially for his plan to give blacks their own "homelands" in order to get rid of the black problem. In the end, homeland policy was a dismal failure.

The author's political journey came to an end with the realisation that "apartheid, a concept never taken over by any other culture and recently dubbed the ultimate in racism on account of its denial of basic human dignity, failed on all fronts".

Van Wyk's conclusion is that he is ready and willing to be part of any open society under a democratically elected government, as long as he can remain an Afrikaner. □

Honours galore and 18 holes for FW

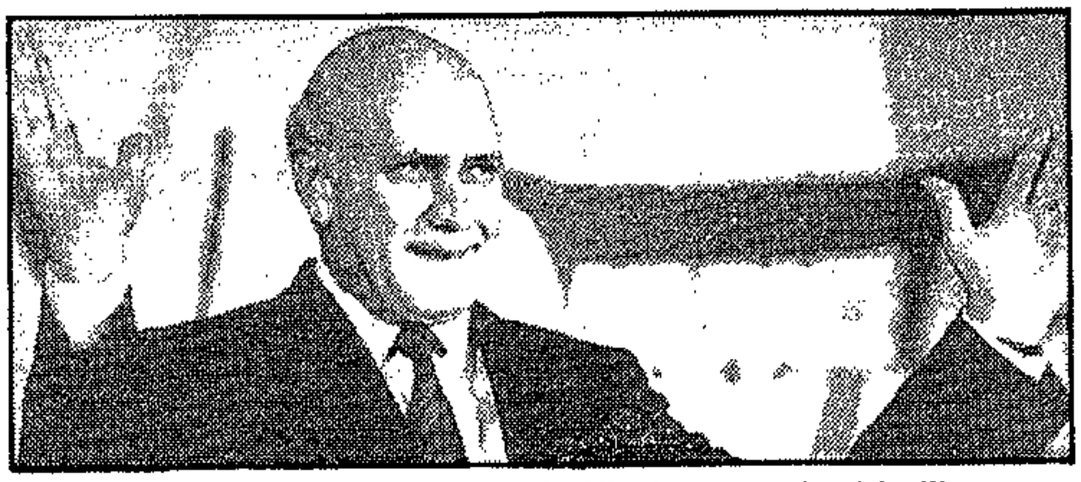
(304A)

By Alan Dunn
Political Staff Star 8/11/91

The Order of Brilliant Jade Grand Cordon, two doctorates, part of a forest named in his honour, and 18 holes of his favourite pastime are on President de Klerk's agenda when he visits Israel, the Republic of China, and Mauritius.

He leaves on a chartered SAA Jumbo jet tomorrow to visit and pay respects to long-standing allies Israel and the Republic of China.

In Israel, Mr de Klerk will meet and dine with President Chaim Herzog and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and hold talks with Shimon Peres, leader of the opposition Labour Party.



Flying high . . . President de Klerk will visit old allies.

In a packed three-day programme, he will visit memorials, lay wreaths, see Nazareth, Bethlehem, Tiberias, and the Knesset (parliament).

His first doctorate will come from the Bar-Ilan University near Tel Aviv. The naming of the forest is due to take place at Zomet Golani in the South African Forest, which is dedicated to South Africans killed in Israel's War of Independence.

Mr de Klerk will arrive in Taipei on Thursday where President Lee Teng-hui will award him the Order of Brilliant Jade Grand Cordon. Mr de Klerk will also receive the Key of Taipei.

The Republic of China's Mr Lee will host Mr de Klerk at a State banquet and again the next morning at the Taiwan Golf and Country Club.

In Mauritius on November 16, Mr de Klerk will see Prime Minister Sir Aneerood Jugnauth, his deputy Dr Prem Nababsing, Foreign Minister Paul Berenger, and Agriculture Minister Murlidas Dulloo.

Historic speech 'no big deal'

Political Staff ARG 9/11/91 (3641)

THE first black Nationalist to address a Transvaal National Party Congress, Mr Joe Tshabala, was not aware he was making history when he spoke at the gathering.

"It's no big deal," said Mr Tshabala, who is chairman of the NP Atteridgeville branch. He quipped that he had "not really joined the NP — I just remained there."

Asked about his impressions of the congress, he said: "There is a lot of discipline. Everything is perfect in the running of the congress."

Mr Tshabala, a former mayor of Atteridgeville, noted that liberation movements had not yet rescinded their calls for the heads of "collaborators".

"I have found a political home where I belong," he said.

ANC top o

9/11/91 Arg 3048

When do blacks really think they will govern South Africa? And who will they vote for? A new opinion survey shows growing disillusionment in the black community.

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff reports.

Blacks feel integrity of De Klerk in doubt

SOUTH Africa's urban blacks are losing faith in the negotiation process and are doubtful about the integrity of President De Klerk, a new survey suggests.

These are among the striking impressions to emerge from a survey of opinion among a balanced sample of readers of the Soweto newspaper, the Sowetan.

A black government is not an imminent prospect for most blacks in the PWV area — a quarter think there will be one only in six to 10 years from now, and 20 percent believe there will never be a black government.

The ANC, though, is by far the most popular political home for blacks on the Reef.

A carefully selected group of 433 Sowetan readers was questioned in half-hour face-to-face interviews by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) over six weeks, between August and October this year.

The same group was questioned during the same period last year. MMR says the group does not necessarily reflect the opinions of the whole black community since the sample was, on average, young, more literate and more affluent.

Among the most striking contrasts between last year's and this year's responses is the high level of disillusionment among urban blacks.

And a key perception this year — that the government is not serious about negotiations — was entirely absent last year.

Managing director of MMR, Jos Kuper, told Weekend Argus: "One of the most striking things is that the level of trust and belief in President De Klerk and in negotiations is diminishing, while the level of trust in (ANC president) Mr Nelson Mandela has increased substantially.

"A year ago, there were many more people who felt hopeful and optimistic about the future. But expectations are changing and many blacks see a black government in the country later rather than sooner.

"Judging by the comments from the panel, one of the main reasons for this is the perception that the government is not serious about negotiations."

President De Klerk's trustworthiness has declined from 68 percent last year to 43 percent this year, while Nelson Mandela's trustworthiness has improved.

The level of optimism has dropped: the "very hopeful" category has declined from 59 to 45 percent, while those who are "not very hopeful" has increased from 29 to 39 percent.

Last year, the average expectation was that South Africa would have a black government in three years and 11 months. A year later, the expectation has barely changed ... it is three years and 10 months.

Nearly 70 percent foresee a black government between two and 10 years from now, but 20 percent do not believe South Africa will ever have a black government.

Nevertheless, the survey shows Nelson Mandela is far and away the leader in the popularity stakes, with 90 percent saying they trust him.

Tying at 73 percent are ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Third, with 71 percent, is general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Frank Chikane.

Next is Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo (64 percent), followed by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani (60 percent) and ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (53 percent).

President De Klerk scores 43 percent. Twenty percent of the respondents don't know if they trust him or not, while 36 percent say they don't.

According to the poll, South Africa's most politically distrusted figures include Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (83 percent of the respondents do not trust and believe what he says — only four percent trust him), former Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok (72 percent against — 11 percent trust him) and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha (69 percent against — 14 percent trust him).

Political exposure is a problem President De Klerk does not have — all respondents know who he is. Only a fraction of a percent don't know who Mr Mandela is.

But PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu is not known by 45 percent, and 23 percent do not know who ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa is.

However, the survey shows the ANC is the runaway leader as far as the respondents' voting intentions are concerned.

Of the 311 respondents in the PWV area, 76 percent say they will vote ANC. Only four percent support the National Party, six percent support the PAC and two percent Inkatha.

There is no support in the survey for the SACP, only one percent for Azapo and one percent for the Democratic Party.

An ANC/NP alliance scores two percent, while an NP/Inkatha alliance scores nil.

A significant portion of the survey focuses on attitudes to consumer boycotts and stayaways. Some respondents gave more than one comment.

In all, 79 percent have expressed negative feelings about consumer boycotts, while 53 percent are more positively inclined towards them.

The main reason for the negative attitude towards consumer boycotts (22 percent say so) is that shops in the township are too expensive.

Significantly, 13 percent of respondents also claim boycotts are not fair — they say "the comrades and their parents buy in town" and that "the organisers loot the people". Ten percent say boycotts are a useless strategy.

Other reasons are that township shops cannot supply desired items (seven percent), boycotts lead to violence (seven percent) and boycotts threaten jobs (seven percent).

Of those who are favourably inclined towards boycotts, 22 percent say they help to apply pressure on the government to meet demands and eight percent say they "force whites to listen to what we want".

However, political stayaways attract a higher level of support — 70 percent — while 73 percent have negative feelings towards them.

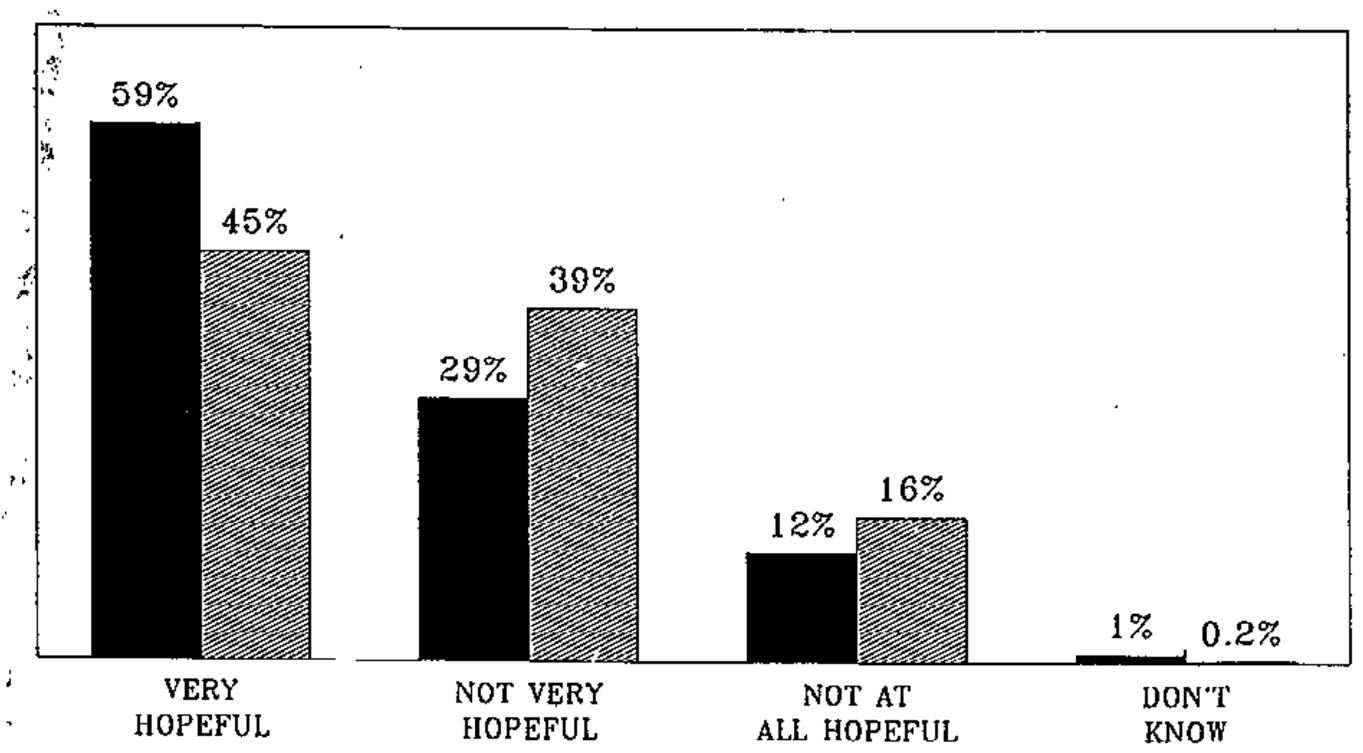
The main reason given by those who oppose stayaways (28 percent) is that they believe this kind of action results in retrenchments. Twelve percent feel stayaways lead to violence, and 10 percent that they interfere with schooling.

Of those who support stayaways, 19 percent believe they help to pressure the government into meeting demands and 13 percent feel they are effective.

the pops

(304A) ARG 9/11/91

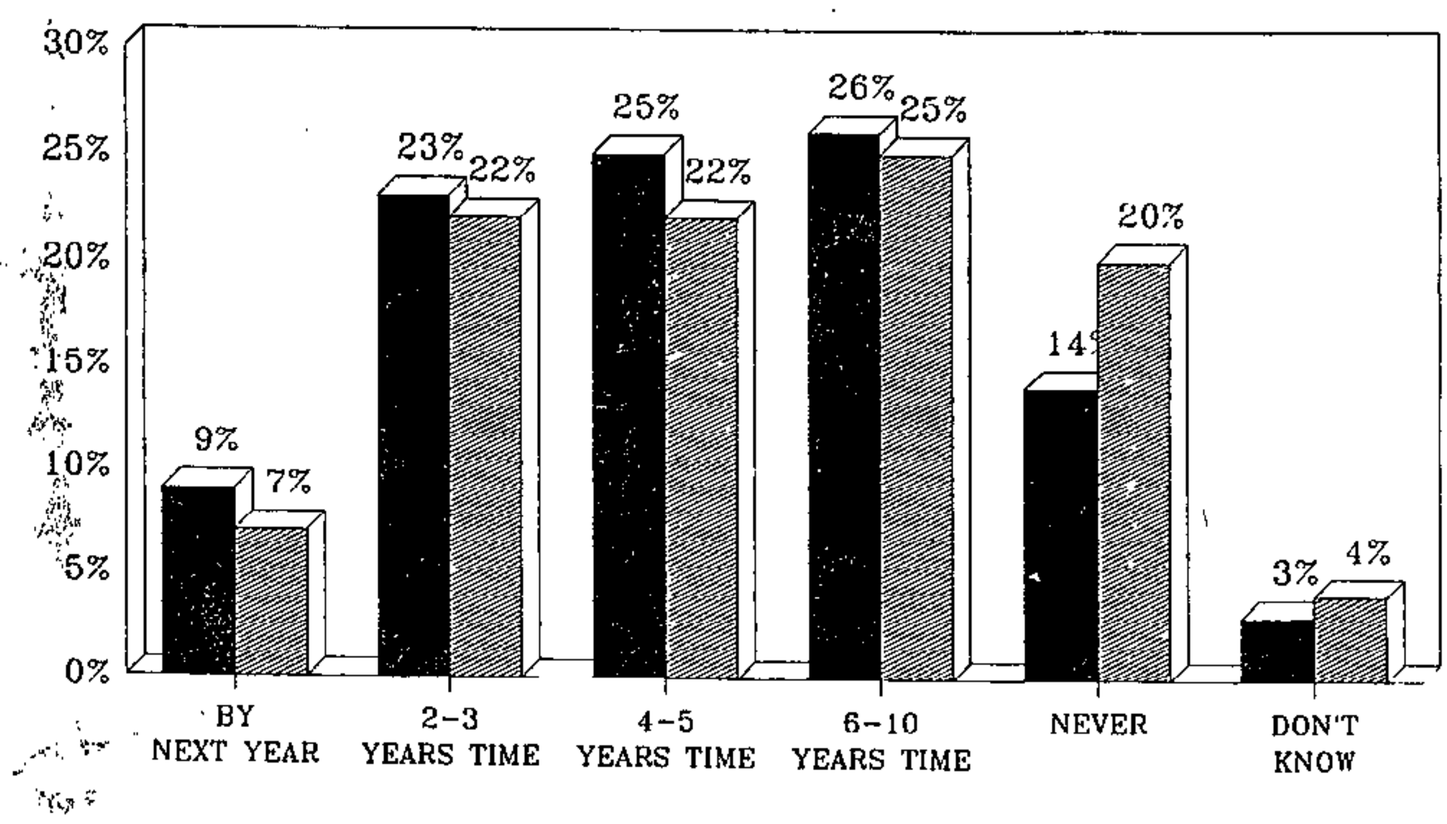
Q: HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR FUTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA?



NOTE: SOWETAN READERS HAVE BECOME MORE DISILLUSIONED OVER THE PAST IN THEIR HOPE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY

☐ HOPE DECLINES: Respondents have become more disillusioned over the past year. The black columns reflect 1990 results, while the hatched columns reflect opinions this year.

Q: WHEN IF EVER, DO YOU THINK THERE WILL BE A BLACK GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA?



PHASE I AVERAGE = 3 YEARS, 11 MONTHS

PHASE II AVERAGE = 3 YEARS, 10 MONTHS

NOTE: THE ONE YEAR GAP BETWEEN PHASES IS NOT REFLECTED IN THE RESPONSES

☐ EXPECTATIONS DEFERRED: Few blacks believe a black government is imminent in South Africa. The black columns show last year's opinions, while this year's responses are shown in the hatched columns.

☐ WHO WINS? A big thumbs up for the ANC in the Soweto poll.

VOTING INTENTION

BASE: 311 RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED THE QUESTION

Paying the ANC back in kind

304A ARG 9/11/91

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

NATIONAL Party mud-slinging at the African National Congress was prompted by that organisation's attacks on the NP, the secretary-general of the NP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said.

"We are establishing a set of common values shared by most South Africans. If we perceive them (the ANC), to be in contradiction of these shared values, we will attack them and try to persuade them in accordance with such values," Dr Van der Merwe told journalists at the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria yesterday.

Aggression by the NP had been prompted by aggression from the ANC, he said.

His observations came after the ANC rebuked President F W de Klerk for an attack on the ANC during Thursday's session of the National Party congress.

Dr Van der Merwe said two processes were running parallel: attempts to build consensus around the rules of the political game and the game itself.

It would have been better had the rules been established before parties started playing the game but it had not worked like that in practice.

Dr Van der Merwe said the NP had acted with great restraint for a long time "but after a while you begin to look stupid".

"They attack you morning and night and you say nothing," he said.

The animosity between the two parties did not rule out a government of national unity, said Dr Van der Merwe in reply to a question.

"But at some point the two parties would have to fight each other in an election, if it is in four years' time."

A hands-off agreement would have been better.

Dr Van der Merwe conceded the attacks on the ANC were also aimed at reassuring the NP's constituency.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the ANC yesterday slammed President De Klerk for his speech at the Transvaal Congress of the National Party on Thursday, charging that it would hardly contribute to a positive atmosphere in the run-up to an all-party conference.

"President De Klerk's speech is completely at variance with the stated commitment of the government and the party that heads it to negotiate a democratic transformation of South Africa," said the ANC.

Neither the ANC nor Cosatu would be cowed by the president's "barely-concealed threats to employ repressive measures".

"Such threats only fuel existing tensions and will further undermine confidence in the government's commitment to change. For its part, the ANC will continue discussions and exchanges with all parties and movements in preparation for an all-party conference.

"We are committed to bringing the negotiating process to its logical conclusion, the creation of a democratic society. We shall not permit President De Klerk to scuttle it," the ANC said.

De Klerk warns of 'power grabbing'

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk urged commerce and industry, by using a clear and reasonable strategy, not to fall prey to regular disruption and "power grabbing".

He told delegates at the Transvaal National Party Congress in Pretoria last night that the ANC has targeted employers and the economy.

The country would pay a high price if commerce, industry and individual employers did not stand firm.

Employers would only retain their independence if they acted in an organised manner to ensure that trade unions acted within the law.

"I have nothing against legitimate trade unions and negotiating with them — only against radical union leaders who are trying to grab political power at the expense of their members."

Make way for unity, Naidoo tells De Klerk

JOHANNESBURG. — The government should accept that the only way forward was to step down in favour of national unity, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said here.

Accepting a Newsmaker of the Year award, presented by the Lenasia Indicator, on behalf of Cosatu, last night he strongly criticised what he termed "childish attacks" on Cosatu by President De Klerk.

"Our door is open for negotiations. We either collectively determine the way forward for a new South Africa or we plunge into the abyss of conflict and confrontation," Mr Naidoo said.

He claimed that Mr De Klerk was dishonest about his intentions.

"Which is it to be, Mr De Klerk? Either you are lying to us and the world or you are lying to the white electorate who are increasingly rejecting you.

"Democracy means universal franchise, free and fair elections and all participants accepting the outcome, or do you have something else in mind if the voting goes against you?"

He appealed to employers not to "jump into bed" with the National Party, warning that such action would bring more trouble and be "as profitable as a cruise on the Oceanos." — Sapa.

NP constitutional plans now official party policy

Political Staff B04A ANG 9/11/91

THE National Party's constitutional proposals became party policy yesterday when the Transvaal NP congress adopted them unanimously after earlier approval by the other three provincial congresses.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen stressed that the proposals could be altered as a result of debate within the NP, at the negotiation table or as a result of the Bill of Human Rights.

Responding to a question on what the NP's bottom line in negotiations was, Dr Viljoen said one could not enter negotiations with non-negotiables as the purpose of negotiations was to reduce differences through a process of give and take.

"This does not mean you don't have strong convictions that you will stand by, by hook and crook," he said.

Asked by a delegate about the perception that the ANC was interested only in taking power, he said as the negotiation process continued, there were still ANC members who were interested only in the transfer of power.

Dr Viljoen rejected the ANC demand of an interim government saying it had a "loaded" meaning and it implied the suspension of the constitution.

The NP believed that the present constitution should remain until it was either amended or abolished by Parliament.

He rejected the demand for the suspension of the constitution and an interim government ruling by decree.

However, he said the NP was prepared to negotiate transitional arrangements during the interim period.

Dr Viljoen would not confirm whether the government had agreed with the ANC about all party talks being convened by the chief justice and two church leaders.

He said at a Press briefing that several options about the convenor of such talks were being discussed and they would hopefully be finalised within the next few days.

day, November 9 1991

Chairmanship accord 'soon'

(3648) ET 9/11/91

From BARRY STREEK

PRETORIA. — Agreement on independent chairmanship of the multi-party conference was likely within days, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

Consensus had already been reached that the chairmanship would be independent and not come out of any of the parties, he said at a press briefing at the National Party's Transvaal congress.

However, he refused to comment on press speculation that the chairmanship would be shared between the Chief Justice and two unnamed church leaders.

"I don't want to go further on this. We have a lot of different options which still have to be finalised," he said.

Neither Dr Viljoen nor the NP's secretary-general, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, would confirm that the multi/all-party conference would begin on November 29, but it appears all the major parties have agreed on this date, with December 9 as an alternative.

Asked how optimistic he was of the negotiations succeeding, Dr Viljoen replied: "I am more optimistic about the process than I was three or four weeks ago."

Both Dr Viljoen and Dr Van der Merwe said all parties were determined to begin the negotiations before the end of the year.

Dr Van der Merwe said that if the PAC's leadership held the same views as its external leaders about the use of violence "it does create a very real problem for us".

Although the NP was trying to get consensus about the rules of the game, the ANC had already started playing by making repeated attacks on the government, which had been forced to respond.

The stakes were too high not to respond to these attacks and this was the reason for the apparently contradictory process of trying to achieve consensus in negotiations and public criticisms of each other by the major parties, Dr Van der Merwe said.

Sapa reports that Dr Viljoen will be Acting State President while Mr F W de Klerk is away.

Mr De Klerk leaves on Saturday for Taiwan, Israel and Mauritius and returns to South Africa on November 18.

New farming laws

PRETORIA. — The cabinet has approved in principle the National Manpower Commission's recommendation that the Labour Relations Act and the Wage Act be made applicable to agriculture, Manpower Minister Mr Eli Louw said yesterday.

The final decision on how these acts would be made applicable was subject to further consultation with a wide range of people.

Negotiations under spotlight

CT 9/11/91
(3041)

Staff Reporter

TWO important weekend conferences on political process and negotiation kicked off in the city last night, as the multi-party constitutional conference draws nearer.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) tackled the "key questions of constitution-making", while the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD) held a pilot workshop on a "political leadership programme".

At the IMPD workshop at a city hotel participants were given key pointers on the art of political negotiations and conflict resolution by Professor Pierre du Toit of the department of political science at Stellenbosch University.

The workshop will also address comparative electoral systems, election strategies and campaigns.

At the Idasa conference at UCT, Professor Dennis Davis, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that without control on the forces of violence "there will be no democracy".

Sowetan civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana, who spoke on "Legitimacy and Participation in the Constitutional Process" said advice from overseas was to "seize the moment" and get the multi-party conference going.

There was no alternative but to talk and "evil forces" should not be allowed to derail the process through violent acts, said Dr Motlana.

Waiving the white flag

Star 9/11/91 304A

FLAGS can bring out the best, and worst, in people. White South Africa is demonstrating the latter truth.

The hysterical and ugly backlash against the use of neutral, temporary symbols for our reentry into world sport does not only threaten to poison a moment for which we waited decades.

It also sends a message of limpid clarity to black South Africans: most whites, far from being changed people, are not even close to considering real change — even in the realms of symbolism.

If there is acknowledgement that we are in the middle of a period of fundamental transition, it exists only at the level of abstruse theory: heaven help anyone who takes it literally.

Dr Treurnicht aside, politicians who should know better have behaved shamefully on the question of Olympic iconography. Minister Louis Pienaar, at his most churlish, says the introduction of temporary symbols is a slap in the face for the majority of South Africans. His definition of "South Africans", in this construction, is

Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



presumably Verwoerdian. Alternatively, his arithmetical skills are lamentably limited.

President F W de Klerk, who deserves so much of the credit for the process leading to our reconciliation with the outside world, turns joy to rancour with palpably ludicrous claim that the ANC has hijacked the Olympic return.

And then he compounds his error with the contention that the Springbok emblem has "nothing to do with apartheid".

Those who were around at the time of John Vorster and Basil D'Oliviera may be excused for gasping loudly at this statement: there is certainly an argument for letting bygones be bygones, but you cannot simply deny what has gone by.

The National Olympic Committee of South Africa has in fact acted with extraordinary sensitivity. It should be hailed for demonstrating to other groups that with goodwill, progress can be achieved during the transition process, without hurting anyone's feelings and without prejudging issues which need to be resolved jointly, when the time is right.

There is no suggestion that the rather lacklustre flag Nocsa has produced, and the rather overused anthem it has borrowed, are intended to become a permanent part of South African life.

Nocsa has simply recognised that it would be equally divisive at this stage to utilise the old — or to impose the new.

To listen to the Government's ill-considered outbursts, one might imagine that Nocsa had proposed the ANC colours — with crossed Kalashnikovs — as the flag, and "Viva Umkhonto" as the anthem. The Government is right to the extent that it says no one can unilaterally devise symbols for the nation. It is regrettable — and, sadly, characteristic — that it should fail to apply this dictum to itself.

I would guess that South African cricket fans of all pigmentations will forget, within about 10 minutes, about the colours Clive Rice and his men are wearing in Calcutta tomorrow morning when they take the field. They will be much more concerned about the taking of wickets.

A salutary lesson of the VAT strike (which has not been learned, but should be, because it applies to every aspect of our transition), was that consultation is essential. I still believe that the moving force behind that strike was not the minutiae of the tax system, but the feeling of angry humiliation at having had it unilaterally imposed.

And I would be prepared to place a modest bet on the prediction that, if the matter can be discussed in calm, friendly and egalitarian fashion, black leaders might well agree that the Springbok emblem should be retained as the symbol of sporting excellence in the new South Africa.

This hope is threatened by the vituperation of the past few days. A Ukrainian proverb has it that "when the flag is unfurled, all reason is in the trumpet". I hope Minister Pik Botha heard it on his recent travels in that area.

NOW it's official: NP policy

Star 9/11/91 (30A)

Tvl congress gives constitutional yes

The National Party's constitutional proposals became party policy yesterday when the Transvaal NP congress adopted them unanimously after earlier approval by the other three provincial congresses.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen emphasised that the proposals could be altered as a result of debate within the NP, at the negotiation table or as a result of the Bill of Human Rights.

Responding to a question on what the NP's bottom line in negotiations was, Dr Viljoen said one could not enter negotiations with non-negotiables as the purpose of negotiations was to reduce differences through a process of give and take.

"This does not mean you don't have strong convictions that you will stand by, by hook and by crook," he said.

Asked by a delegate about the perception that the ANC was only interested in taking power, he said as the negotiation process continued, there were still ANC members who were only interested in the transfer of power.

Dr Viljoen rejected the ANC demand of an interim government saying it had a "loaded" meaning and it implied the suspension of the constitution.

In place

The NP believed that the present constitution should remain in place until it was either amended or abolished by Parliament.

He rejected the demand for the suspension of the constitution and an interim government ruling by decree.

However, he said the NP was prepared to negotiate transitional arrangements during the interim period.

Dr Viljoen would not confirm whether the government had agreed with the ANC about all party talks being convened by the Chief Justice and two church leaders.

ESTHER WAUGH

He said at a press briefing that several options about the convenor of such talks were being discussed and they would hopefully be finalised within the next few days.

Asked about the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army, claiming responsibility for the murder of policemen, Dr Viljoen would not go further than his earlier statement which said the organisation could be jeopardising its chances of attending multi-party talks.

Dr Viljoen added that the first priority was to arrange the talks and technicalities could be dealt with later.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the party's mud-slinging of the ANC in public was prompted by attacks from the ANC.

"We are establishing a set of common values shared by most South Africans. If we perceive them (the ANC) to be in contradiction of these shared values, we will attack them and try to persuade them in accordance with such values," he told journalists yesterday at the Transvaal National Party Congress.

Aggression by the NP had been prompted by aggression from the ANC, he said.

Dr van der Merwe said the NP had acted with great restraint for a long time "but after a while you begin to look stupid".

The animosity between the two parties did not rule out a government of national unity, said Dr van der Merwe in reply to a question, but at some point the two parties would have to fight each other in an election.

Dr van der Merwe conceded the attacks on the ANC were also aimed at reassuring the NP's constituency.

Dalling defiant on ANC link

S/Times 10/11/91

By NORMAN WEST and EDYTH BULBRING

A DEFIANT Mr Dave Dalling, DP Chief Whip, says he will continue to accompany his wife, Zelda, to functions arranged by the ANC — despite this week's bid to have him axed as Whip at a caucus meeting.

And Zelda, a member of the ANC, said she planned to accompany her husband to a DP fund-raising breakfast in Cape Town this morning.

"She will not refuse to go with me because it is a DP function. I assure you the ANC will not reprimand her for it," Mr Dalling said.

Mr Dalling's sympathetic attitude towards the ANC erupted into a major row this week when Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, proposed at a caucus meeting that Mr Dalling be relieved of his senior post in the party because of his ties with the ANC.

Sanction

He was criticised for attending a fund-raising dinner for ANC president Nelson Mandela at the end of September. After four hours' debate the motion was withdrawn.

Mr Dalling disclosed yesterday he had attended the function with the official sanction of DP leader Dr Zac de Beer.

Speaking from his home in Stellenbosch the day after the DP caucus, Mr Dalling denied he had ever claimed that the DP and ANC were allies, as claimed by his opponents in the DP.

"I accompanied my wife, Zelda, who was involved with ANC fund-raising and recruitment to the function. I attended it because of the special circumstances that pertain, and with the permission of Dr De Beer.

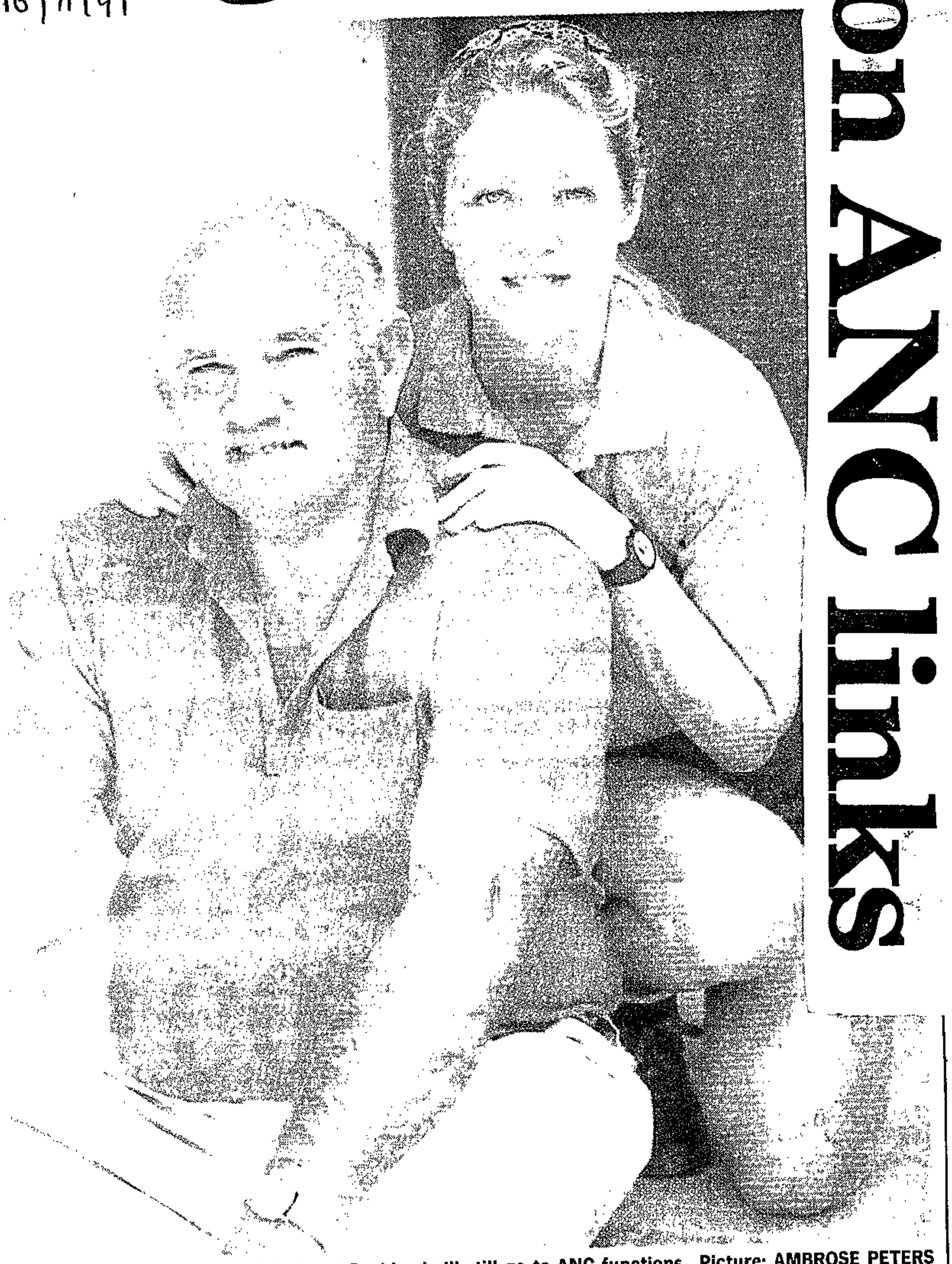
"I have no quarrel with the ANC. I do not feel compromised in any way by being married to Zelda, who is a member of the ANC. She is her own person and an adult."

On his relationship with Mr Carlisle, Mr Dalling said he was "very unhappy" about the no-confidence motion, but said he also thought it was "most sensible of him to have withdrawn the motion".

"I can also tell you there was not a single complaint at the meeting from a single member of the caucus, including Mr Carlisle, about my competence as Chief Whip.

"I bear no grudges and I hope bridges can be mended quickly."

His relationship with the DP had not changed in any way as a result of the motion, he said.



NO COMPROMISE: Zelda and husband David, who'll still go to ANC functions Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

Tensions in DP erupt into a bitter party free-for-all

S/Times 10/11/91 (304A)

Meanwhile, the Dalling affair has brought to the surface divisions in the party in the week preceding its annual congress.

A caucus member said the incident was just one of a long and dreary chronology — the DP would linger on as long as possible — "divided, comfortable and ineffectual until it disappears into obscurity".

The tensions are between two groups: the "ANC-lags" — a term coined by Seapoint MP Colin Eglin — who want a close relationship with the ANC and perhaps a merger at some point, and others who want to remain independent and recruit members from the black community.

DP members across the divide agree that at some point the DP is going to have to make a hard choice — to enter into an arrangement with the ANC or the NP. Either way, they believe, the caucus will split.

This decision is unlikely to be made at the DP's annual congress in Cape Town, and is likely to be put off as long as possible.

Dr De Beer said this week that the DP would insist on retaining its independence and would play a central role in national politics.

He said DP recruitment in the black community was doing very well, and that in a nonracial election the DP would get the votes of 12 percent of the voters, more than half of whom would be blacks.

It would then be in a position to be part of a centre-coalition government. In the event of faring badly in an election, there would obviously be no future for the DP, he said.

Women must take a stand

S|Times 10|11|91 (304A)

DENE SMUTS calls for women's rights to be put firmly on the political agenda

BLACK and white South Africans are about to sit down to negotiate the future — but it will be males who will be primarily shaping that future.

The problem of the political under-representation of women in South Africa must be dealt with now and not only at the time of the first democratic election. Only women can convincingly represent women's rights and interests, just as only blacks can represent black interests.

How high a priority, for example, would a male multi-party conference place on the principle of the equal legal status and parental authority of spouses?

I believe that principle must be enshrined here, as it is in England and all modern continental systems, in laws, fundamental laws, bills of rights and amendments to civil codes.

It should form the point of departure of the women's charter, because from it will flow family law and criminal law and procedures relating to violence against women.

The position of women within their marriages, relationships and families is the origin of their subordinate status in society. The complete lack of legal status of women in customary union must clearly lie at the root of the crude "cultural" excuses for sexual harassment and battery revealed in the recently published University of Cape Town report on the subject.

Customary union may well have to be accommodated in a new order, but the basis on which it is accommodated will have to be one negotiated with women as well as men.

The Law Commission's consultations in the TBVC and self-governing territories have produced patriarchal results including "reservations concerning the proposal that women should obtain greater capacity with regard to matrimonial property", which take the debate back 200 years when the demand of Frenchwomen to own property first put "women's rights" on the agenda.

Women's rights can be a misleading phrase. What are often referred to as "women's rights" should not be construed as rights peculiar to women — what is at issue is access for women to their rights as citizens.

The only rights which are peculiar to women are rights of protection that relate to their reproductive role (in the workplace for example) and physical vulnerability to violence. The abortion debate and one version of the term "gender democratisation" both tend to confuse the issue.

I hold the view that abortion should not be dealt with as a women's rights issue because the rights of the father and the foetus or child are also at issue; and because to claim such a right for women is to absolve men from their procreative and parental responsibilities.

Certainly women often have a perspective different from that of men, as a result of their exclusion and their life experience, but these do not translate into different sets of economic or political beliefs.

No — we want more women to be involved in negotiations because they will represent the specific interests, not of a biological sector, but of a sector disadvantaged on physiological grounds; we want more women in the new parliament to go on promoting and protecting these interests, but also the interests of the party for which they stand and the people they represent.

An effectively all-male parliament is as unacceptable, as unrepresentative of the society it governs, as an all-white parliament, or a tri-colour parliament, or any parliament that excludes any sector, explicity or effectively.

Should greater representativity be achieved by quotas or reserved seats?

Tokenism holds great dangers and disadvantages, but perhaps there is a case to be made for the enlarging of all party congress/multi-party conference delegations to include females.

The minimum mechanism for addressing the problem of female under-representation and women's status in society is a commission on women's status, consisting of women only.

Its function should be to direct or advise the MPC/APC on constitutional measures to eliminate discrimination which impedes the exercise by women of their political, civil and economic rights as citizens.

□ *Dene Smuts is the Democratic Party's MP for Groote Schuur and a former journalist.*

SA and Soviets sign an accord

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA and the Soviet Union yesterday signed an agreement restoring consular relations between the countries.

Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Rusty Evans said from Moscow that the protocol was signed between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin at 3.15pm yesterday after four hours of talks in Moscow.

The restoration of consular relations normalises relations between the countries. Consular relations were severed in 1956 and Interest Offices in both countries were established only in the middle of this year.

Protocol

The signing of the protocol took place during Mr Botha's week-long visit to the Ukraine and the Baltic states before he joins President FW de Klerk on a visit to Taiwan and Israel.

The normalisation of relations is expected to be cemented by a visit by Mr De Klerk to Moscow in the third week of December, after he visits Japan.

The protocol stated that the two countries recognised that establishing and broadening SA-Soviet co-operation met the interests of the people of both countries.

FW orders political offensive in Olympic flag and anthem

CALL BLUFF

Sunday Times 16/11/91

By MIKE ROBERTSON, EDYTH BULBRING and CHARIS PERKINS

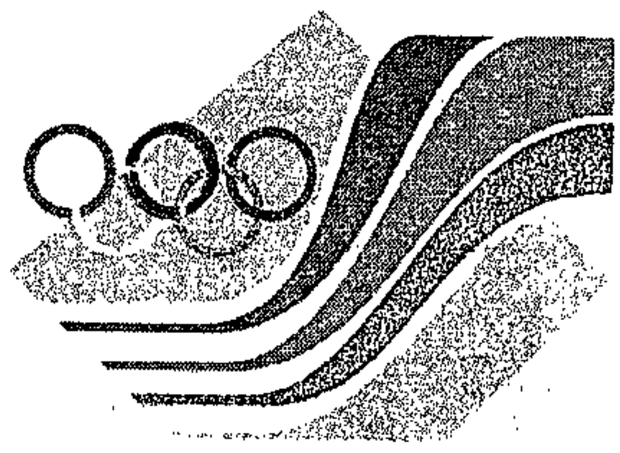
THE Cabinet, rattled by the two-day VAT strike and the ditching of the South African anthem and flag for the Olympics, decided to go on the offensive this week against the ANC and Cosatu.

The successful general strike, coupled with warnings by Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo that it would happen again unless the union federation was allowed to participate in running the economy, has incensed the Cabinet.

But the last straw, sources said yesterday, was the ditching of traditional sporting symbols and colours for the Olympic team and a general feeling that South Africa's return to world sport had been hijacked by the ANC.

Cabinet members are angered at a growing public perception that the ANC is succeeding in a bid to gain power "through stealth". Among those particularly concerned are Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

The Sunday Times has learnt that the Cabinet decided at its Wednesday meeting that President FW de Klerk would use the opening of the Transvaal National Party Congress, the party's last before the beginning of multi-party talks, to rebut the impression that the NP was being usurped by the ANC.



Nocsa's controversial Olympic emblem

The day after the Cabinet meeting, Mr De Klerk launched his blistering attack on the ANC in which he said it could not be trusted in its current guise.

This was followed by Minister of National Education Louis Pienaar's threat that the Government would cut off State money to the National Olympic Committee of South Africa because of its decision to ban the country's flag, anthem and Springbok symbol when South Africa's Olympic team goes to Barcelona.

Yesterday, Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis attacked Mr Naidoo, accusing him of telling "public lies" over VAT negotiations.

The Cabinet this week decided that no Minister should undertake actions that might appear to allow interim government "by stealth".

It was also decided that any attempt to involve other parties in the running of the country should be negotiated at the multi-party conference on the basis that other parties wanting a share in power would have to share responsibility.

After the VAT strike, Cabinet members were adamant that this proviso be applied to any transitional arrangement relating to financial matters.

Mixed

In his congress speech, Mr De Klerk reflected the concerns of Cabinet by accusing the ANC of exploiting South Africa's return to world sport for its own political gain to act as if it was really in power. He reiterated that the NP would not allow the ANC or any other party to assume power unilaterally.

The Cabinet's public response to President De Klerk's speeches were mixed.

One Minister said: "If you got the impression that we are *gatvol* of the ANC and are beginning to tighten the screws on it, then you are right."

Another added: "We are now *gatvol* of its antics."

Others, locked in continuing delicate negotiations with the ANC, were more circumspect.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the ANC had, in recent weeks, harshly criticised the Government. President De Klerk's speech was an attempt to "equalise the playing field".

The Government, he added, had been reticent in responding to ANC allegations but had decided that the time had come to put its point of view.

Anger

But, he said, it was still keen to get multi-party talks going.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, a key figure in negotiations, said the speech had to be seen against a background of growing white anger at ANC statements on economic matters.

"It also has to be seen against the background of the rhetoric of Jay Naidoo and the ANC blaming everyone except itself for violence," he said.

Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer said there was a perception among a large section of

□ To Page 2

The forum would identify a prior



HARDER LINE: President De Klerk at the Transvaal NP congress where he got tough with the ANC

FW visit may aid farmers

304A

S/Times 10/11/91

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

A DOUBLE taxation agreement and Taiwanese assistance for South African agriculture could flow from President FW de Klerk's visit to the Republic of China this week.

The President left last night on a week-long trip which also includes a visit to Israel and Mauritius.

The visits to Israel and the Republic of China have been classified as full State visits — the first Mr De Klerk has been accorded outside SA since becoming President.

SA's relations with Israel are sound, although some difficulties could arise over attempts by this country to foster relations with Israel's Arab neighbours, who present a potentially lucrative market for South African produce.

Taiwan is SA's sixth largest trading partner and this country enjoys a positive trade balance in excess of R1-billion.

Relations with the Republic of China are extremely good, but possible problems could arise over sensitivities in that country over SA's recent attempts to improve relations with communist China.



State President FW de Klerk shakes hands with Israeli Prime Minister Mr Yitshak Shamir on his arrival in Jerusalem yesterday. Israeli Foreign Minister Mr David Levy (centre) looks on.

FW arrives in Israel for official visit

JERUSALEM - State President FW de Klerk and his entourage were welcomed by Israel's President Chaim Herzog at a ceremony held at Jerusalem's Rose Garden yesterday.

The South Africans arrived for a three-day State visit at Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion International Airport earlier after a long flight around the Bulge of Africa.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha joined the tour after a visit to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

De Klerk, his wife Marike, and senior officials were met by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Minister of Foreign Affairs David Levy. The visitors were driven to Jerusalem's King David Hotel.

An Israeli army band played Die Stem and the Israeli national anthem.

After inspecting a guard of honour representing the navy, air force and army, the two presidents and their wives met a line-up of dignitaries including the cabinet, opposition leader Mr Shimon Perez, spiritual leaders of all faiths and representatives of friendship associations. - *Sapa.*



This is the area that has been filled with refuse and has damaged cars in Khutsong, Carletonville on the Far West Rand. Residents of the nearby squatter camp fear that their shacks are going to be swallowed by the sinkhole in the area. Pic: PAT SEBOKO

Step towards multiparty talks

304A

Sowetan 11/11/91

By SONTI MASEKO

TOP-LEVEL talks between the Government and the Patriotic Front will take place on Friday.

The talks, to be held at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, will make preparations for a multiparty conference on November 29.

Yesterday, Azapo held a meeting at a secret venue in KwaNdebele, reportedly to decide whether to rejoin the PF and take part in Friday's talks.

Sources in the PAC said this week's talks were in line with a PF conference resolution to press for a constituent assembly by engaging the Government in talks as soon as possible.

● To page 2

Govt to meet Patriotic Front

Sowetan 11/11/91

304A

● From page 1

The PF holds that a constituent assembly is the only legitimate organ to draw up the country's constitution. It also is demnding an interim government or transitional authority.

The Government, on the other hand, sees the multiparty conference as the organ to draw up the future constitution of the country. It is opposed to a constituent assembly and interim government.

Friday's talks will mark the first contact between the PAC and the Government. The PAC insists the event is not tantamount to negotiations, but a preconstitunet assembly meeting.

"The PAC has never been opposed to the peaceful resolution of problems, if there is a chance for a peaceful resolution, we will grab it," a spokesman said.

It is also expected that the Government will demand that the PAC denounce violence or APLA, its military wing which lately claimed reponsibility for the killing of Soweto police. PAC have said this is out of the question.

An official of the PAC last night also said PF officials would be discussing the appointment of a convener for the multiparty conference, a venue, agenda and chairman.

Black NP chairman threatened by rival

Sowetan 11/11/91

FORMER Atteridgeville community councillor Mr Joseph Tshabalala, now local chairman of the National Party, yesterday said he had been threatened with violence by a member of a rival political organisation.

Tshabalala told *Sowetan* he had received threats that his local NP office was going to be burnt down.

Tshabalala, who served as Atteridgeville's mayor for four years, said the threats followed his intensive campaign in the township which had netted about 6 000 members.

He was going to report the matter to the police and the special commission of inquiry investigating intimidation and violence in the country. He knew who had issued the threats. Tshabalala was lauded by President FW de Klerk on Friday for making history by being the first black delegate to address the NP Congress in the Transvaal.

Asked why he had joined, Tshabalala said: "I have worked within the perimeters of their perceptions for a long time as councillor and mayor. I also looked around for a political party I could join but found none except the NP.

"I have found a political home, especially after racial doors were kicked open and apartheid laws scrapped. I also joined the NP to help strive for a just system of law where all people will be treated equally."

Addressing the Congress on Friday, Tshabalala opposed a motion by the Bryanston constituency for the establishment of regional peace maintenance units to fight political violence.

Asked about the NP's chance of winning elections in Atteridgeville Tshabalala, who was re-elected branch chairman at the end of the Congress on Saturday, said: "The Atteridgeville seat is safe for the Nats."

Tshabalala added that they had 4 000 members in nearby Laudium, more than 3 500 in Mamelodi and about 800 in Soshanguve.

By MONK NKOMO

Dictating

SA back to square one

Sowetan 11/11/91.

304A

THE three-day Transvaal National Party Congress ended on Saturday with no indication of new legislation by the Government to address the misery suffered by blacks under apartheid rule.

By MONK NKOMO

This is the view of Professor Willem Kleynhans, former head of the department of political science at the Unisa.

"There was no indication of introducing new legislation to address black housing, unemployment, education, the homeland system and local governments which have collapsed.

"The congress failed to come up with plans to rebuild South Africa. We are back to square one," said Kleynhans.

Violence

Instead of dealing with causes of violence which have plagued the country and claimed thousands of lives, the NP congress focused mainly on harsher measures to curb violence, including the possibility of re-introducing the state of emergency, he said.

A number of black NP members also attended.

Kleynhans warned that speeches made by the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, and other Ministers threatening to take harsher measures against such black liberation movements as the ANC, would bedevil race relations.

He also warned that the speeches could harm the forthcoming multiparty talks between the Government and the ANC.

In his opening speech on Friday night, De Klerk attacked the ANC and accused it of being "glaringly inconsistent".

"Now that the ANC is no longer able to hide behind apartheid and the image of a disadvantaged and banned organisation, it stands exposed.

Support

"By the day it is becoming clearer that the ANC cannot be trusted in its present guise.

"The reality is that the ANC's financial support is drying up and that it is disorganised and ineffective because of internal squabbling and is unable to contribute towards ending the violence."

Kleynhans said the Government's attack on the ANC was to appease its supporters, who wanted to see tougher measures taken against the organisation.

Nothing was discussed on how to improve black lives. "All they were interested in was to display their rhetoric of kragdadigheid," he said.

Kleynhans warned that the Government's reluctance to address major problems would force "these people to use revolutionary measures to achieve their objectives".

Interviewed by *Sowetan* at the congress on Friday, Minister of Finance and Transvaal NP leader Mr Barend Du Plessis said the process of power sharing in this country was underway.

The NP was fast becoming - if not already - a real, true multiracial political party in South Africa.

National PAC executive member Dr Lerole Mabe commented:

"They should be discussing ways of handing over power to the majority. Nothing else."

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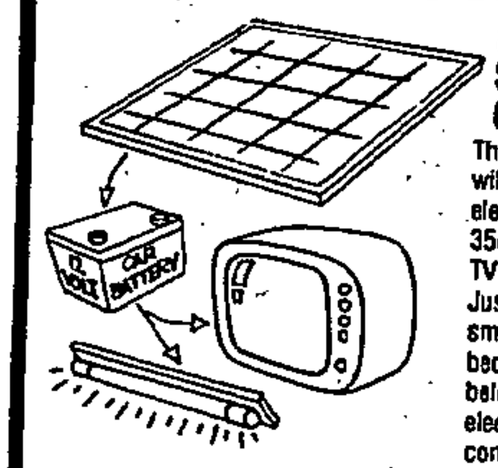

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New York mayor heading for SA visit

NEW YORK. — Mayor David Dinkins has left for Johannesburg on a trip to develop New York's ties with a post-apartheid South Africa. 3044 ARG 11/11/91

Mr Dinkins, whose city has the largest population of blacks in the US, is accompanied on the two week trip by more than three dozen city officials and private businesspeople.

He is scheduled to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow after a stopover in Rome.

Mr Dinkins's trip is privately paid for and he is travelling under the auspices of Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader. Mr Mandela's triumphal reception in New York last year is often cited by Mr Dinkins as the high point of his mayoralty.

The mayor is scheduled to meet South African officials, including Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who is acting president while President De Klerk is abroad.

"South Africa is a very, very rich country and someday they are going to be free," Mr Dinkins told reporters just before leaving.

"And as Nelson Mandela said in a speech in the financial sector here, they are going to remember their friends." — Sapa-Reuter.

Mbeki to speak at DP event

07 11/11/91 Staff Reporter (3054)

THE ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki is to speak at a Democratic Party public meeting in Fish Hoek soon, the MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, said at the weekend.

And DP chief whip Mr Dave Dalling said yesterday he would continue to accompany his wife Zelda, an ANC member, to ANC functions "within the bounds of what I'm allowed to do by the Democratic Party".

Earlier this week Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, proposed at a caucus meeting that Mr Dalling be relieved of his post because of his ties with the ANC.

He was criticised for attending a fund-raising dinner for ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela at Mr Momberg's house in September. The motion was withdrawn after a four-hour debate.

Mr Momberg told DP supporters at a fund-raiser in Fish Hoek on Saturday night that Mr Mbeki had accepted an invitation to speak from a DP platform in the constituency in January next year.

"We just have to inform him of the date of the meeting," he said to applause.

Mr Momberg emphasised that "contrary to what some people are saying", he had no intention of defecting to the ANC.

And, if he did decide to leave the DP, he believed it would be "unethical" for him to remain as MP in Simon's Town after winning the seat on a DP ticket.

Mr Dalling said yesterday he did not intend defying party discipline or to become involved in a dispute with the DP.

"I see no problem with attending the odd ANC function with my wife," he said.

Negotiations: Where did the talks go wrong?

CT 11/11/91

304A



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN GILIOMEE

WITH the all-party talks scheduled to start soon, South Africa has finally come to the end of the pre-negotiations phase which started symbolically at the Dakar meeting organised by Idasa in June 1987.

Comparative studies show that for the actual negotiations to succeed the phase of pre-negotiations must achieve two goals. On the one hand all the parties must develop a common commitment to negotiations as a way of solving disputes. On the other hand they must come to a common definition of the problem which has given rise to the dispute.

What in essence has gone wrong in our pre-negotiations phase is that progress towards a commitment to political negotiations has occurred at the expense of defining the problem. Virtually all South African parties from the left to the right extremes of the spectrum are now formally committed to political negotiations.

However, no real progress has been made towards a common definition of the problems, without which no solution is possible. In fact the degree of fervour in support of negotiations has been in inverse proportion to the capacity for a dispassionate analysis of the problem. In many cases the commitment to negotiations has become nothing but an incantation. As any reader of the ANC and the NP supporting Press will testify, the basic rhetoric of "the System" and "the Struggle" has not changed markedly.

Historic causes

Defining the problem is of course considerably more difficult than working up enthusiasm for negotiations in the abstract. For it is in engaging in such an enterprise with an adversary that cherished myths and hidden flaws are exposed. Yet such a task is unavoidable if negotiations are expected to lead to a joint search of solutions that can be jointly carried out — which is the only basis for peace in South Africa.

Broadly speaking there exists the following conflicting definitions of the problem in South Africa.

The first is the disagreement over the historic causes of South Africa's economic ills and political conflicts. For those in the liberation movement the answer is simply that it is apartheid (without specifying if it is a policy stretching back to 1948, 1910, 1876 or 1652) and the racially skewed capitalist system acting as reinforcement of white domination. South Africa experienced, as the ANC used to put it, colonialism of a special type whose whole dynamic was the exploitation of blacks for the benefit of whites. Hence the present desire for radical economic intervention to address the historic injustices.

For its part the NP would concede that its policies since 1948 exacerbated South Africa's problems. In its view, however, South Africa without apartheid would still have been torn by ethnic and other conflicts and be burdened by an economic growth rate far too low for a population which grows much too fast. Hence the solution: rapid growth as the only method of effectively addressing unemployment and poverty.

The second major disagreement is over the nature of the political struggle. On the one hand there is the definition of the liberation movements, shared by some liberals, that South Africa without apartheid is a normal, nearly homogeneous society. All that is necessary is for racially allocated power and privilege to be removed and for individual citizens to have trust in their constitution and the common law.

The NP by contrast believes South Africa is as divided a society as Yugoslavia, one where ethnic tensions not properly contained can easily blow the fabric of society apart. It tends to believe that people in South Africa derive their identity from the groups they belong to and that the real goal of the ANC is to replace the white nation in which blacks were *bywoners* with a black one in which whites would be the *bywoners*. The NP leadership would feel its view vindicated by an ANC discussion document of September stating that as "a non-racial and democratic movement for change the liberation movement represents the new nation in the making".

Critical imbalances

These differences are not of mere academic importance. For a party's definition of the problem will to a large extent dictate the solution which it believes should be sought. If apartheid going back to 1652 is seen as the root cause of all the trouble blacks have experienced and if patriotism is defined as opposition to apartheid — as the Patriotic Front did recently — how can the ANC hope to justify to its followers a negotiated settlement which leaves an "unpatriotic force" such as the NP holding key positions in the government?

And if South Africa is deemed to be a regular society suited to a normal form of majority rule, how can the ANC accept a constitution in which the minority parties are protected through numerous checks and balances?

For the NP there is the same dilemma. As the Survey of the Stellenbosch Centre for South African Politics shows, there is strong support among government elites for addressing the critical imbalances which has developed in areas such as housing, education and health. Yet it knows that its constituency will support that only to the extent that the new order will concede that whites historically also played a positive role in the development of the country and gives them effective representation on all levels of government. Whites will allow a post-apartheid government to concentrate on bread and butter politics only if the battle for identities is kept in check and no party is allowed to impose its definition of the nation on the other.

It would be a great boost for the peace process if the all-party conference immediately turns its attention to the definition problem. A commitment to negotiate is not enough. Political leaders must share a common understanding of the past before they can build a common order for the future.

[Herman Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.]

New unrest proclamations a possibility

304A Star 11/11/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

New unrest areas could be declared and security powers within those areas extended if the level of political violence does not come down.

Senior Government sources said they believed this was what President de Klerk had in mind when he told the Transvaal National Party congress last week that he would take "further steps" if the Peace Accord did not work.

However, no plans had been drawn up, they stressed.

Mr de Klerk warned: "Everybody has to realise that 'taking further steps' entails serious implications.

"I do not wish to elaborate now, except to say that it would not be in the country's interests if we were compelled to take things further."

Some political observers have interpreted Mr de Klerk's remarks as a warning that a new state of emergency may be imposed.

And, according to some Sunday press reports, the Government has not ruled this out.

But a Cabinet source told The Star that it was more likely that further unrest areas could be proclaimed and that extraordinary powers granted to security forces in these areas could be expanded.

Mr de Klerk was not the only Government leader at the congress to hint at a crackdown.

The congress was dominated by anger and impatience with political violence, ordinary crime and accusations of ANC-Cosatu interference in matters outside their proper sphere — such as the VAT strike and the decision to strip the SA Olympic team at Barcelona of its Springbok emblem and the national flag and anthem.

Transvaal NP leader and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said at the congress that the Government was sick and tired of political violence and crime.

This included not only local actions but also international agitation for boycotts and sanctions which destroyed business confidence.

He said the Government had so far acted reasonably and that further steps would therefore be morally justified.

Internationally, steps against violence, intimidation and crime would not be criticised because the actions and contradictory statements of the ANC and its allies had neither been fair nor reasonable, Mr du Plessis said.

Some senior NP sources dismissed the sabre-rattling rhetoric as "party politics" and said much of it was aimed at bolstering flagging support before the upcoming Virginia and Potchefstroom by-elections.

ANC sources said the bellicose rhetoric was good for them because it helped break down the impression among ANC followers that their leaders were too "pally-pally" with the Government.

SA-USSR links restored

3049 ET 11/11/91

MOSCOW. — The Soviet Union restored consular relations with South Africa on Saturday, formally ending 3½ decades of cold war hostility between the two states, the Soviet news agency Tass said.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and his Soviet counterpart, Mr Boris Pankin, signed a protocol restoring consular relations, which the two countries suspended in 1956.

The event marks the culmination of a gradual warming of relations over the past five years, as diminishing cold war rivalry and political reform in both countries narrowed their political differences.

"I do not see a difference in our governments' positions as regards fundamental principles in politics, the economy or human rights," said Mr Botha, now on a private visit to the Soviet Union.



PIK IN SOVIET . . . South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha makes a point to a press conference in the USSR. Picture: AP

Mr Pankin said his talks with Mr Botha had been "substantive and frank" but that the two countries "have yet to cover a long road in the development of relations".

He said the Soviet Union would "continue to honor commitments assumed in accordance with United Nations decisions", in an apparent reference to continued UN sanctions against South Africa, which include an arms and oil embargo and a ban on cultural ties.

But, said Mr Pankin, "favourable democratic processes in the Republic of South Africa are being developed. We will certainly not be the last to abandon United Nations sanctions".

He said if reform continued "in the right direction" in South Africa, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries was "not far off".

South Africa has had a formal presence in the Soviet Union since February, when it established an interests section in the Austrian embassy in Moscow.

South Africa established diplomatic relations on Thursday with the newly-independent Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Defining the arena for talks

Star 11/11/91 (304A)

The Pattern of Politics
HERMANN GILIOMEE



WITH the all-party talks scheduled to start soon, South Africa has finally come to the end of the pre-negotiations phase that started symbolically at the Dakar meeting organised by Idasa in June 1987.

Comparative studies show that, for the actual negotiations to succeed, the phase of pre-negotiations must achieve two goals. On the one hand all the parties must develop a common commitment to negotiations as a way of solving disputes. On the other hand they must come to a common definition of the problem that has given rise to the dispute.

What, in essence, has gone wrong in our pre-negotiations phase is that progress towards a commitment to political negotiations has occurred at the expense of defining the problem. Virtually all South African parties from the Left to the Right extremes of the spectrum are now formally committed to political negotiations.

However, no real progress has been made towards a common definition of the problems, without which no solution is possible. In fact, the degree of fervour in support of negotiations has been in inverse proportion to the capacity for a dispassionate analysis of the problem. In many cases the commitment to negotiations has become nothing but an incantation. As any reader of the ANC- and the NP-supporting press will testify, the basic rhetoric of the "system" and the "struggle" has not changed markedly.

Defining the problem is, of course, considerably more difficult than working up enthusiasm for negotiations in the abstract. For it is in engaging in such an enterprise with an adversary that cherished myths and hidden flaws are exposed. Yet such a task is unavoidable if negotiations are expected to lead to a joint search for solutions that can be jointly carried out — which is the only basis for peace in South Africa.

Broadly speaking there are the following conflicting definitions of the problem in South Africa:

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For its part the NP would concede that its policies since 1948 exacerbated South Africa's problems. In its view, however, South Africa without apartheid would still have been torn by ethnic and other conflicts and be burdened by an economic growth rate far too low for a population that grows much too fast. Hence the solution: rapid growth as the only method of effectively addressing unemployment and poverty.

The second major disagreement is over the nature of the political struggle. On the one hand there is the definition of the liberation movements, shared by some liberals, that South Africa without apartheid is a normal, nearly homogeneous society. All that is necessary is for racially allocated power and privilege to be removed and for individual citizens to have trust in their constitution and the common law.

The NP, by contrast, believes South Africa is as divided a society as Yugoslavia, one where ethnic tensions not properly contained can easily blow the fabric of society apart. It tends to believe that people in South Africa derive their identity from the groups they belong to and that the real goal of the ANC is to replace the white nation in which blacks were *bywoners* with a black one in which whites would be the *bywoners*.

The NP would feel its view vindicated by an ANC discussion document of September stating that as "a non-racial and democratic movement for change, the liberation movement represents the new nation in the making".

These differences are not of mere academic importance. For a party's definition of the problem will to a large extent dictate the solution it believes should be sought. If apartheid going back to 1652 is seen as the root cause of all the trouble blacks have experienced and if patriotism is defined as opposition to apartheid — as the Patriotic Front did recently — how can the ANC hope to justify to its followers a negotiated settlement which leaves an "unpatriotic force" such as the NP holding key positions in government?

And, if South Africa is deemed to be a regular society suited to a normal form of majority rule, how can the ANC accept a constitution in which the minority parties are protected through numerous checks and balances?

For the NP there is the same dilemma. As the survey of the Stellenbosch Centre for South African Politics shows, there is strong support among Government elites for addressing the critical imbalances that have developed in areas such as housing, education and health. Yet it knows its constituency will support that only to the extent that the new order will concede that whites historically also played a positive role in the development of the country and gives them effective representation on all levels of government. Whites will allow a post-apartheid government to concentrate on bread and butter politics only if the battle for identities is kept in check and no party is allowed to impose its definition of the nation on the other.

It would be a great boost for the peace process if the all-party conference immediately turned its attention to the definition problem. A commitment to negotiate is not enough. Political leaders must share a common understanding of the past before they can build a common order for the future. □

(Hermann Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.)

Tel Aviv gives FW a warm welcome

JERUSALEM — President F W de Klerk flew into Tel Aviv to a warm welcome yesterday and immediately assured Israel that the "new SA" would continue to be a trustworthy friend. Bidoy 11/11/91

The President was speaking at the official state welcome given to him by President Chaim Herzog at Jerusalem's Rose Garden at the Knesset (parliament).

De Klerk was given a red-carpet reception by Herzog at Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion Airport after a 14-hour direct flight from Johannesburg. He was then driven to Jerusalem where SA's flags were being flown

CHRIS WHITFIELD

for the first time since the 1976 official visit of Prime Minister B J Vorster.

At the Rose Garden Herzog said he hoped the visit would lead to growing co-operation between two countries.

"Your courageous and farsighted policy — and it has already borne real and important fruit — has earned admiration and appreciation in all the countries of the world including, of course, Israel," said

☐ To Page 2

Tel Aviv

☐ From Page 1

Herzog.

De Klerk said he had come to the country to "discuss matters of bilateral interest" and explore areas in which the countries could co-operate.

He also praised SA's Jewish community.

Jewish Board of Deputies chairman Mervyn Smith, one of 14 community leaders from SA who flew over for the visit, said it was a "momentous occasion".

During the ceremony, protesters could be heard in the background — but the target of their ire was Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's nearby residence.

With De Klerk on the trip are his wife Marike, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and their respective entourages.

They leave for the Republic of China on Wednesday evening.

After the reception, De Klerk attended a church service at the local St Andrew's Church conducted by former chaplain-general Koos van Zyl.

He was then taken on a whirlwind visit to sights of historic interest in the holy city. De Klerk laid wreaths at the grave of Theodore Herzl, founder of the Israeli nation; at the national cemetery on Mount Herzl; and at Yad Vashem, the martyrs' and heroes' memorial to the holocaust.

After touring the memorial with its collection of photographs and artefacts from Nazi concentration camps, De Klerk said the experience had "moved my heart".

De Klerk also held a meeting during the afternoon with Shimon Peres, leader of the Israeli opposition Labour Party.

Botha lunched with his counterpart, David Levy, who is also deputy prime minister.

A brief meeting with Shamir was scrapped yesterday, reportedly because the Israeli leader was to attend the funeral of British publishing magnate Robert Maxwell. However, they will meet today.

Meanwhile the signing of what officials described as an "umbrella protocol agreement", facilitating co-operation between the countries in a number of areas, was delayed until today.

Foreign Affairs officials said the delay had been for logistical reasons.

● Picture: Page 3

DP begins anti-crime campaign for suburbs

Star 12/9/91

304A

By Guy Jepson
Crime Staff

A high-profile campaign to force the Government to act against rampant suburban crime was launched by the Democratic Party last night.

Addressing a rally in Saxonwold, Johannesburg, Houghton DP MP Tony Leon said the drive aimed to mobilise large-scale support to force the authorities to end "this scourge of criminality which is disfiguring our lives and destroying our future".

The campaign would involve petitions demanding a more visible police presence in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, and the deployment of national servicemen and municipal traffic officials for crime prevention duties.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said South Africans desperately needed to break the vicious circle of spiralling crime and low foreign investment.

Investment decisions were being hindered by unchecked crime which created the impression that the country was out of control. Lack of investment, in turn, led to a further growth in crime.

Mr Leon said the DP would also present Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel with a "laundry list" of problems, shortages and deficiencies in police equipment and resources in the region.

The DP would also, during the next session of Parliament, urgently direct "the radical rewriting of our gun control laws".

Current legislation was "completely ineffectual" as it was directed only against those in possession of valid firearm licences.

Three senior SAP officers — Brigadier Jaap Venter, regional head of Reactive Services, and the two divisional heads responsible for policing in the northern suburbs area, Brigadier Fred Bull and Lieutenant-Colonel Willem van Jaarsveld — were present at the rally.

CONGRESSES

Unedifying NP response to emblem issue

304A ARG 12/11/91

By Peter Fabricius

National Party congresses are usually remembered not for what was on their agendas but the way they reflected the important events of the day.

So it may well be that last week's Transvaal NP congress will be recalled as the one where the government botched the vital issue of South Africa's return to international sport.

This was a long-awaited moment. Cabinet ministers had for months been saying that their reforms would be vindicated in white eyes when the first South African team ran onto the world's sports fields.

That would be a great unifying moment.

Then it happened. We were back in international cricket and back in the Olympics.

But instead of seizing the moment and playing it for all its worth as a triumph for their reforms, Mr de Klerk and his Government threw a collective tantrum.

Because NOCSA and others denied us re-entry under the traditional colours, the Springbok emblem, the national anthem and the flag, Government leaders from Mr de Klerk down, complained in a shrill chorus about the ANC abusing its position by interfering in sport.

National Education Minister Louis Pienaar went further by threatening to cut off NOCSA's funding.

It was an unedifying spectacle.

Especially if one bore in mind the crucial role played by someone like the benign ANC "Minister of Sport" Steve Tshwete in SA's return to world arenas.

Most sportsmen and sports fans, one would imagine, are tremendously grateful to him.

And prepared to overlook the matter of the symbols - especially as the temporary ones could be replaced by the Springbok once again when the interim phase has passed, as NOCSA's Sam Ramsamy pointed out.

Sportsmen and sports fans - and these right now probably represent a fairly large chunk of the population - would probably not have been pleased by the Government's hysterical attack on the people who played a vital role in getting us back into world sport.



President de Klerk



Mr Louis Pienaar

Even at the congress itself, there were Nationalist delegates who stood up and said it was expecting too much of blacks to identify with the Springbok emblem when they had never yet been allowed to wear it on their chests at an Olympic meeting.

Why did the Government over-react?

The VAT strike partly explains. It probably contributed much of the venom in the Government's approach to the sports symbols question.

One must remember that the strike was in a sense a result - fairly or unfairly - of Transvaal leader and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis's handling of the introduction of VAT.

The palpable success of the strike - and it was a success, whatever weight one gives to the unquantifiable element of intimidation - was an undoubted blow to Mr du Plessis's prestige and stature.

He was no doubt looking for revenge and it was his congress so he had clout. Indeed there is a suggestion that at last Wednesday's Cabinet meeting he demanded that the ANC/Cosatu/SACP get a mauling and prevailed, despite some opposition.

But it was not just a personal matter. The success of the VAT strike was a blow to the Government as a whole, especially as Cosatu's Jay Naidoo shrewdly presented it as a vote of no-confidence in the Government and a vote in favour of an interim government.

This touches what was the underlying theme of Mr de Klerk's remarks and the mood of this congress - a sense that the National Party was losing its grip on events.

One suspects it was not so much the question of the national symbols that bothered the NP, but that the sports issue demonstrated that they were not in total control of events any more.

Mr de Klerk said almost as much in his opening remarks. He said there was a mood of gloom and despondency in the country for three reasons - the state of the economy, the explosion of crime and the sense that the ANC was seizing control.

This last perception was fed by both Cosatu's two-day VAT strike last week and the way the ANC had allegedly interfered in the scrapping of the national symbols, he said.

It was to dispel this impression that Mr de Klerk attacked the ANC about the sports symbols and the VAT strike.

And stated more explicitly than ever before that the NP would simply not relinquish its exclusive grip on power, except on its own terms.

On the eve of the all-party talks about negotiating a new constitution, this defiant brand of rhetoric was bound to cause some public alarm.

Some cabinet members dismissed the speech as just "party politics" aimed at bolstering NP support - especially before important by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom.

And indeed a close study of Mr de Klerk's speech reveals a liberal sprinkling of qualifiers, making the point that the "ANC is an important actor" and appealing to its "balanced leaders" to play a positive role.

And even, in the midst of his attack on the ANC for interfering in sport, quiet thanks to the ANC for helping SA back into world sport!

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investigated and evaluated.

Newood's attempts to raise finance/merge should be inquired into and assessed.

12. (i) Merger possibility.

(ii) Greater reliance on audited financial statements likely.

(iii) As in 3(iii) and possible lowering the materiality limits.

Mayor Dinkins arrives today

JOHANNESBURG — New York's first black mayor, Mr David Dinkins, is to arrive in South Africa today to tour the country under the auspices of the African National Congress, ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Mr Dinkins's privately-funded trip is a long-awaited reciprocal visit to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela who visited Mr Dinkins in New York in June last year. — Sapa, UPI

(304A) Star 12/11/91

PAC, Govt to have first talks

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Government will have their first official contact at a meeting to be held this week, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke has confirmed.

The meeting, to be held at an as yet unknown venue, will involve the Government "and its allies" on the one hand and the newly formed Patriotic Front — including the PAC — on the other hand.

The focus of the meeting will be the multiparty talks to be held on November 29, which will mark the beginning of real negotiations.



Dikgang Moseneke . . . first official contact.

Mr Moseneke said the fact that the PAC would attend this week's meeting was now "public knowledge" after he had said as much at a meeting in Lenasia at the weekend.

However, he would not disclose where and when the meeting was scheduled to take place.

A senior ANC official yesterday confirmed the meeting was on.

The official revealed that the ANC and the Government would hold talks today to finalise details for the meeting, and these were likely to be made available to the press on the same day.

The PAC, which retains its armed struggle, has always refused to have any contact with Pretoria, claiming the Government was illegitimate and that the PAC therefore did not recognise it. This week's meeting will be the first direct contact between the two parties.

CP hits at Nats over ANC

304A
Sowetan
12/11/91

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's attacks against the ANC "seemed highly unbelievable and clearly aimed at the by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom", the Conservative Party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said yesterday.

Unbelievable

Hartenberg said in a statement yesterday that the National Party and its leaders were preparing to rewrite South Africa's constitution with the ANC as one of the primary negotiation partners.

"Against this background, the NP's criticism of the ANC is unbelievable and clearly aimed at the by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom.

"The NP's attacks against the ANC during the past few days mainly centre on the decision against using the springbok emblem, the South African flag and the national anthem at the Olympic Games, and against Cosatu's two-day national strike.

By-election fears inspired FW's attack on ANC

B/Day 12/11/91 304A

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's sabre-rattling attack on the ANC at the opening of the NP's Transvaal congress last Thursday was picked up and embraced wholeheartedly by the congress as the NP prepared to do party political battle. The positive reaction from the NP faithful contrasted with the negative response from the NP's opponents, including the DP and ANC.

Questions abound. Has the fearless De Klerk lost his nerve? Has the strain of trying to be a statesman been too much? Has he allowed his frustrations to get the better of him?

There are strains within the party and among his Cabinet colleagues. The way the latter continued in a similar vein throughout the congress indicates that at least some of them were grateful to give vent to their feelings that the ANC had taken unfair advantage of a more understanding NP.

Since the unbanning of the ANC there have been those NP leaders who have believed in taking advantage of every slip the ANC made. Others, those more committed to negotiation, have cautioned against this, warning that a weakened ANC would threaten stability. They believe the ANC should be given a chance to establish itself.

The NP has had to endure taunts, insults and provocation from both the ANC and the CP, with the latter sniping that government was being led by the ANC.

In this situation, the NP is confronted by by-elections in two NP seats: Virginia (formerly held by Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase) and Potchefstroom (Speaker Louis le Grange).

It is almost a foregone conclusion that the CP will take Virginia, but Potchefstroom is considered marginal. Both constituencies are conservative and the CP is making as much capital as possible out of the NP's negotiating links with the ANC.

Both NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe and Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis indicated on Saturday that they wanted to use the by-elections to win back support for the NP.

Given this background, and the fact that De Klerk was speaking at a party political congress, statesmanship took second place. If one looks closely at his speeches at the four provincial congresses in the light of political developments in the country, it all falls into perspective.

At the Bloemfontein and Durban congresses the ANC was still abiding by its April ultimatum and refusing to hold any constitutional negotiations. De Klerk was also selling the NP's new constitutional blueprint which was unveiled at the Free State congress. The aim was to woo the ANC alliance back to the negotiating table, and win unanimous rank-and-file NP support for the constitutional proposals.

His speeches in Bloemfontein and Durban were almost identical, except that in Durban he concentrated strongly on the regional aspects of the NP proposals, knowing Natal's predeliction for regional autonomy.

By the time the Cape congress arrived, the peace accord had been signed and the ANC was firmly back in negotiation mode. Here De Klerk launched his fiercest attack yet on the ANC, saying the organisation and its allies were spoilers delaying negotiations. He also questioned whether the ANC and its alliance could be trusted while they continued to embrace communism.

"Stability and a fundamentally sound value system . . . are not negotiable," he said, adding that government had the capacity to safeguard these values in a new SA.

His speech last week was similar, designed to show his supporters that he had not gone soft, and that the NP had no intention of handing over power without a fight.

This approach has two aims. Firstly, he has attempted to counter CP electioneering tactics and give his party something to work with in the two constituencies.

Secondly, and more importantly, it shows that the NP has shifted in its attitude towards the ANC from that of a negotiating partner to that of the political opponent which is the strongest threat to the NP's hold on power.

As Du Plessis explained, while the NP will negotiate a new constitution with the ANC, this does not preclude the NP from entering political battle with it and its policies.

Nevertheless, had De Klerk stuck to knocking the ANC on its economic policies and disorganisation he might have won more support. But his choice of Springbok colours, emblems and anthems was churlish at least and naive at best.

will make reforms succeed – FW

12/11/91 Star (3 col A)



Shalom, FW . . . President de Klerk is blessed by a rabbi at the Western Wall during his tour of Jerusalem's Old City.

Picture: AFP

World support

'History of conflict enables SA to understand Israel'

304A

Star 12/11/91

TEL AVIV — Reform would succeed in South Africa because of international support for a dispensation founded on the principles of the world's successful democracies, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing the convocation of the Bar Ilan University on receiving an honorary doctorate, he said that with few exceptions the members of the international community accepted that South Africa had progressed beyond the point of no return.

"The course we have chosen is not an easy one," he said. There would be setbacks, delays and disappointments, some of which had already been experienced. "Nonetheless I am confident we shall succeed."

This was because:

- Most South Africans were tired of conflict and confrontation and wanted peace, progress, prosperity and participation by all.
- The world was moving away from conflict, confrontation and conspiracy to co-existence, co-operation and consensus.
- South Africa would enjoy international support for a dispensation founded on the political, economic and social principles characterising the successful democracies of the world.
- There was no other choice.

In South Africa millions were still without many of the rights that citizenship of a country normally brought with it. Power could not be divided in the circumstances and therefore had to be shared.

A new constitution was needed in terms of which all South Africans would enjoy equal treatment and opportunity in every sphere of life, including a vote of equal value for each adult citizen.

There were parallels between SA and Israel in their history of conflict between ideologies, and ethnic, cultural and religious groupings.

"For that reason I believe that South Africans, probably more than anybody else in the world, understand what Israel is going through and they wish her well," Mr de Klerk said.

At a luncheon hosted by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Mr de Klerk called on Israel to become involved in the economic potential of South Africa and the subcontinent.

He said he believed that, on his three-day state visit, a new foundation had been laid for closer co-operation between the two countries.

He also believed that "we will, through goodwill and the adherence to basic non-negotiable principles, remove South Africa from the world agenda of troublespots".

While good progress had been made through negotiations towards a fully inclusive democracy, the same process was in progress in neighbouring countries such as Zambia.

"There is a consensus that there will be close economic co-operation between 11 or 12 states in the region," he said.

Willing

There was a market of 100 million people to which South Africa would add its development and expertise, "willing and able to play a constructive role in a dynamic new economic entity in the world".

"Look at South Africa, see its potential and become involved in close mutual action," Mr de Klerk urged.

Mr Shamir said he had held a constructive and instructive working session with Mr de Klerk before lunch and wished him every success with his reforms.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday reassured Palestinians that South Africa wanted to deal with Israel and the Arab world in a non-partisan way.

He was addressing the Palestinian mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Freij, and his councillors.

Mr Freij complained to Mr Botha about discrimination exercised against Palestinians of the occupied West Bank. He is the only Palestinian contact scheduled for the SA state visit.

Mr Botha told him South Africa had 500 000 Muslims, for whom the Government had regard and concern. — Sapa.

Peter Fabricius argues that the NP Transvaal congress botched the sports issue

Nats throw collective tantrum

Star 12/11/91

(3041)

NATIONAL Party congresses are usually remembered not for what was on their agendas but the way they reflected the important events of the day.

So it may well be that last week's Transvaal NP congress will be recalled as the one where the Government botched the issue of South Africa's return to international sport.

This was a long-awaited moment. Ministers had for months been saying their reforms would be vindicated in white eyes when the first South African team ran on to the world's sports fields. That would be a great unifying moment. Then it happened. We were back in international cricket and back in the Olympics. But, instead of seizing the moment and playing it for all its worth as a triumph for their reforms, Mr de Klerk and his Government threw a collective tantrum.

Because Nocsa and others denied us re-entry under the traditional colours, the Springbok emblem, the national anthem and the flag, Government leaders from Mr de Klerk down complained in a shrill chorus about the ANC abusing its position by interfering in sport. Minister Louis Pienaar threatened to cut off Nocsa's funding. It was an unedifying spectacle. Especially if one bore in mind the crucial role played by someone like the benign ANC "Minister of Sport" Steve Tshwete in SA's return to world arenas.

Most sportsmen and sports fans, one would imagine, are tremendously grateful to him. And prepared to overlook the matter of the symbols. Sportsmen and sports fans — and these right now probably represent a fairly large chunk of the population — would probably not have been pleased by the Government's hysterical attack on the people who played a vital role in getting us back into world sport.

Even at the congress there were Nationalist delegates who stood up and said it was expecting too much of blacks to identify with the Springbok emblem when they had never been allowed to wear it at an Olympic meeting.

Why did the Government overreact? The VAT strike partly explains. It probably contributed much of the venom in the Government's approach to the sports symbols question. One must remember that the strike was in a sense a result — fairly or unfairly — of Transvaal leader and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis's handling of the introduction of VAT. The palpable success of the strike was an undoubted blow to Mr du Plessis's prestige and stature. He was no doubt looking for revenge and it was his congress.

But it was not just a personal matter. The success of the VAT strike was a blow to the Government as a whole, especially as Cosatu's Jay Naidoo shrewdly presented it as a vote of no-confidence in the Government and a vote in favour of an interim government.

This touches what was the underlying theme of Mr de Klerk's remarks and the mood of this congress — a sense that the National Party was losing its grip on events. One suspects it was not so much the question of the national symbols that bothered the NP but that the sports issue demonstrated that it was not in total control of events any more. Mr de Klerk said almost as much in his opening remarks. He said there was a mood of gloom and despondency in the country for three reasons: the state of the economy, the explosion of crime and the sense that the ANC was seizing control.

On the eve of the all-party talks about negotiating a new constitution, this defiant brand of rhetoric was bound to cause some public alarm. Some Cabinet members dismissed the speech as just "party politics" aimed at bolstering NP support — especially before by-elections in Virginia and Potchefstroom. And indeed a close study of Mr de Klerk's speech reveals a liberal sprinkling of qualifiers, making the point that the "ANC is an important actor" and appealing to its "balanced leaders" to play a positive role.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe tried to explain these apparent contradictions in press briefings at the congress. He said they were the result of an unavoidable overlap of two phases of the transition, the phase of agreeing to the rules of the political game and that of actually playing the game.

The result was that before the rules had been finalised (at the multiparty conference for instance) the game had started and the ANC and Government were already competing with each other — for support in an election that might take place only in four years' time.

But whatever the wider issues, the congress will probably be remembered for the sport question more than others. And, on that one, the NP simply looked like a bunch of politicians protecting their own party interests and not those of the country. □

Harsh criticism of Mandela

Political Staff (WP) 304A (KP)

JERUSALEM — Nelson Mandela's embraces of Yasser Arafat and Muammar Gaddafi will long not be forgotten or forgiven in Israel. Star 12/11/91

They surfaced again yesterday in the Jerusalem Post, where the Palestine Liberation Organisation and Libyan leader were described as "soul mates" of Mr Mandela.

In editorial comment lavishing accolades on President de Klerk, it criticised the ANC's communist element and accused Mr Mandela of being a relic of thinking that had been dramatically overtaken by history.

Mr de Klerk's visit is very much in the news, sharing prominence with the burial in Jerusalem of publishing magnate Robert Maxwell.

Pik denies any military collusion

By Alan Dunn
Political Staff

JERUSALEM — Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday repudiated longstanding suspicions of military collusion between South Africa and Israel.

Signing a wide-ranging memorandum of understanding aimed at general co-operation with Israel with his Israeli counterpart David Levy, he noted that military co-operation was conspicuous by its absence from the accord.

"I trust that this will finally eliminate the suspicions, charges and accusations of some dark, secret co-operation between the two countries," he told reporters afterwards.

He said the agreement should normalise relations with Israel.

Military co-operation was not a priority in the present phase of South African development.

The agreement, in the fields of culture, humanities, art, science, sport, education, medicine, agriculture, tourism, ecology and the environment, was to consolidate and expand co-operation between the countries in important disciplines.

Tony Leon examines the potential in a New South Africa for endangering rights while redressing wrongs

'Victimology' and other perils of affirmative action

Star 12/11/91

NIGEL Lawson, the politically brilliant and acerbic former Chancellor of the Exchequer in Britain, once dismissed his Labour Party opponents saying:

"To be in opposition is to promise;
To govern is to have to choose."

In South Africa, we are lit by explosive forces — declining incomes, massive joblessness, inflation-driven increases in prices and marginal tax rates, and sky-rocketing crime — which have now reached combustion point.

It is clear that the liberation parties will add another combustible ingredient: heightened expectations. They will contest a future election flourishing an endless list of promises that will expect quick fullfilment in the New South Africa. However, when these political promissory notes come to be honoured, it will be found that they flattered only to deceive, that in order to spread wealth and opportunity it must first be created and husbanded. Then the very institutions that offered deliverance, such as Parliament and the courts, will be undermined when unable to provide what the politicians promised.

While blaming apartheid is often an accurate analysis of our past, it is reaching proportions of a national pastime, suggesting that the Left's agenda in the New South Africa will be a sort of "victimology" — creating a multipli cation of rights and a withering of duties and obligations. The most obvious manifestation of this tendency is the tripwire of affirmative action, which the ANC, for example, presents as a panacea for post-apartheid South Africa.

The ANC goes beyond simply suggesting affirmative action as one of several devices that might be useful in the quest for a society founded on opportunity and unshackled from its racist past.

The ANC Bill of Rights states: "Nothing in the constitution shall prevent the enactment of legislation, or the adoption by public or private body, of special measures of a positive kind designed to procure the advancement and the opening up of opportunities, including access to education, skills, employment and land, and the general advancement in social, economic and cultural spheres of men and women who in the past have been disadvantaged by discrimination".

Thus the principle of affirmative action will be the most significant right, trumping all others, in an ANC South Africa, since any legislation or practice committed in the name of reverse discrimination will be accorded constitutional preference over other, perhaps more fundamental, rights.

The South African Law Commission's recently published revised Bill of Rights delivered a wrist slap on this proposal, stating that it was "unacceptable" to take things away from one person and give them to another, and equally unacceptable that some people could be favoured at the expense of others.

No doubt, carefully applied and wisely executed, affirmative action is a necessary policy to help level the playing fields of South Africa. In degrees, and on a wider scale than realised, it is already being applied, most notably in our universities and at various management levels of business. Quite clearly, the civil service desperately needs to make race one of several factors in its recruitment and promotional practices, since race has been a factor in exclusions from state employment.

However, we should learn the lessons of social engineering gone awry by studying recent lessons from the American experience.

US Associate Justice Clarence Thomas was heavily criticised for his 1985 commencement address to black graduates when, instead of telling them how tough he had it as a student in overcoming racism, he advised his audience: "You all have a much tougher road to travel. Not only do you have to contend with ever present bigotry, you must do so with a recent tradition that almost requires you to wallow in excuses."

The revisionist opposition to affirmative action there is classically liberal, since it questions policies that concentrate less on individual opportunity and more on group outcome.

One cynic dismissed the entire exercise on the basis of the rationale that "since race discrimination favoured whites in the past, justice demands pro-black unfairness now". A question that Americans consider relevant today, and South Africans must almost immediately confront, is whether such policies will allow their country to be globally competitive against ruthless trading rivals such as Japan and the Pacific Rim countries, where social engineering of this kind is dismissed as accidental nonsense.

The extreme, and most controversial, form of affirmative action is so-called "race norming". Thirty-eight state employment services in America are currently using this device, which is the process of adjusting raw test scores within racial groups to compensate for low minority test results (from Hispanics and blacks). The rationale behind it is the allegation that any tests that emphasise logical, analytical methods are problem solving will be biased against such minorities.

The most eloquent denunciation of race norming came from the pen of black journalist Colbert King: "This comes dangerously close to suggesting that when blacks are called upon to demonstrate, through examination, their ability to reason objectively and methodically, they can be expected to come up short. That is precisely the stereotype and racist caricature that bigots have always tried to project".

While affirmative action has certainly materially advanced minorities in America, it is the single issue that is central to understanding racial tensions in that country: a cautionary note, perhaps, as we embark on our own hazardous journey of reconciliation and reconstruction. □

● Tony Leon is Democratic Party MP for Houghton.

Steering committee meets on Friday

All-party talks vital step closer

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The negotiating table will become visible in outline for the first time on Friday when a steering committee convenes in Johannesburg to make final arrangements for multiparty constitutional talks.

It is expected that senior leaders representing up to seven parties will attend the historic meeting. The National Party and ANC will certainly be present, and sources close to the negotiations process are hopeful that the PAC, Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party will also.

Sources told The Star yesterday that the date, venue, agenda, convener, participants and other details about the long-awaited all-party conference — which marks the end of the "talks about talks" phase of negotiations — would probably be announced after Friday's meeting.

The Government and the ANC were expected to meet last night to finalise arrangements for the steering committee meeting and to make provisional proposals on the "modalities" of the multiparty talks.

One issue they were likely to consider was whether or not the IFP should form part of the steering committee. Last week IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in his capacity as Chief Minister of KwaZulu, agreed that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen should represent him and other homeland leaders as well as parliamentary administrations in preparatory talks.

It is not clear, however, whether this arrangement referred to the KwaZulu government exclusively, or if it included the IFP as a political party.

Thrashed out

Although it is understood that most of the arrangements for the all-party talks have been thrashed out in meetings between the Government and the ANC, they will only be finalised by the steering committee.

ANC and Government sources characterised Friday's meeting as something of a formality. By contrast, PAC sources suggested that they saw the meeting — their first official encounter with the Government — as a chance to negotiate arrangements from scratch. This has led to uncertainty about the length of the meeting. "It could last a morning or a few days," one source said.

Important issues were still unresolved before last night's ANC-Government meeting. One was whether the Government should send a separate delegation to the multiparty talks, distinct from that of the NP.

The Government feels that separate representation is necessary to deal with practical governmental matters, such as transitional arrangements. Such a delegation would have no voting rights.

Another outstanding issue is whether organisations such as Cosatu, which are not political parties or movements, should be included.

November 29 and 30 are still regarded as the most likely dates for the start of the all-party conference, with December 9 as an alternative date.

The first meeting of the all-party conference is expected to take place in a non-Government, neutral venue somewhere between Pretoria and Johannesburg.

Balancing the scales of power

Star 13/11/91

304A



Allister Sparks

AS THE major political contestants move rapidly towards the negotiating table, there has suddenly been a critical shift in the balance of power between them.

For more than a year and a half, from when President de Klerk made his epochal speech on February 2 1990, the National Party held the initiative, taking one pace-setting step after another that kept the African National Congress and its allies in a constantly reactive phase, struggling to adjust to the changes the Government was initiating.

Steadily the ANC saw the positions of strength it had built up, and which had forced the Government to make this dramatic change of course, being eroded: its dominant influence on international opinion; the pressure of sanctions; its ability to keep South Africa isolated in virtually every field; its mobilisation of mass action in the townships.

President de Klerk was in the spotlight and a relieved world, eager to reward him, was lifting sanctions and inviting him for State visits. Internally the NP began making inroads into the coloured, Indian and white liberal communities.

As outgoing secretary-general Alfred Nzo noted at the ANC's national conference in June, the NP had "succeeded in creating an image of being winners", while the ANC was giving an impression of disunity and lack of direction. People kept asking derisively when the ANC was going to get its act together.

For President de Klerk this augured well for the negotiations. The balance of forces was strongly in his favour, which meant he would be well placed to force the ANC into accepting compromises much closer to his opening positions than its own.

That is why he looked so relaxed and confident.

Now the situation has changed. The turnaround began with the Inkatha slush funds scandal in July, which seriously tarnished President de Klerk's new image. Doubts arose about the role of the police in the ongoing township violence.

For its part, the ANC did indeed get its act together at its Durban conference, with the election of a better integrated and more effective leadership.

The election of Dr Allan Boesak as Western Cape leader began to recover lost ground among the coloured people. South Africa's return to international sport demonstrated that the ANC, not President de Klerk, held the key to readmission.

But most important of all was the forging of the Patriotic Front alliance in Durban two weeks ago, followed by last week's spectacularly successful protest strike against VAT.

The first turned the long Nationalist strategy of divide-and-rule on its head. Everything the Government has done since unbanning the ANC was aimed at trying to split it, so that the NP could forge an alliance with the supposed moderates that would keep out the "extremists".

But the ANC, for all its diversity, proved more cohesive than these strategists realised.

What the Nats overlooked is that it is the only liberation movement that never split in exile.

Instead, it has now expanded its alliances to present a widened front of black unity, while it is Afrikaner nationalism that may soon present a picture of deepening disunity when the forthcoming Virginia and Potchefstroom by-elections are held.

The strike, meanwhile, has demonstrated the black alliance's ability to mobilise formidable economic pressure.

Analysts have been taking it for granted that the ANC no longer had a revolutionary option open to it: now it has shown it has an even more potent option, which is the ability to cripple the economy if it chooses.

These two factors together greatly increase the bargaining strength of the ANC and its allies.

They do so, moreover, as the negotiations are about to begin. It seems certain that agreement will be reached before the end of this week for the multiparty conference to start on November 29, convened by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice John Corbett, and presided over by the Rev Johan Heyns of the Dutch Reformed Church and Bishop Stanley Magoba of the South African Council of Churches.

That is why the NP is no longer so relaxed and confident.

The shrill note that came out of the Transvaal congress last Thursday, the sudden reversion to old-style bluster and threats by President de Klerk, are reflections of a new anxiety and tension.

The Nationalists have been shaken by the realisation that they are not going to be able to call the shots in these negotiations the way they thought they were.

All negotiations are a projection of the real strengths the competing parties possess outside the conference room. A trade union that does not have the capacity to call a strike will gain little at a wage negotiation with a powerful employer.

So, too, with these negotiations. Both sides go into them with opening positions: the ANC demanding an interim government to run the country while one-person-one-vote elections are held for a constituent assembly to draft the new constitution; the Government insisting that it must continue to govern and that the new constitution must be negotiated by all parties equally, regardless of size.

Beyond that are the opening positions on the constitution itself: the ANC demanding a Westminster-style "winner takes all" constitution with a Bill of Rights to protect minorities; the NP proposing a complex "loser keeps all" formula in which consensus requirements and minority vetoes would entrench as much of the status quo as possible.

Where the compromise agreements are reached, these opening bids will depend on the bargaining power each side brings to the table.

The danger in all such situations arises if there is an imbalance of power — if one side is able to dominate the process and force the other to accept compromises too great for its constituency to accept.

If that happens, the deal will not survive. The negotiating party that has been forced to yield too much will be discredited in its own constituency, which will turn in frustration and disgust to more radical leaders promising a more militant approach. That is the road to anarchy and ruin.

It is the road that the disproportionate strength of the NP and its aggressive approach to the negotiating process threatened to put us on.

Now, fortunately, there has been a redressing of that imbalance. The two sides are more evenly matched.

The Nationalists are upset that they won't have it all their own way, but it means South Africa may get proper compromises, which, it is hoped, can stick. □

Relations with Italy 'to enter new phase'

Star 13/11/91

304A

South Africa and Italy were on the threshold of a new phase in their relationship, Deputy Foreign Minister Renier Schoeman said in Pretoria yesterday.

After extensive talks with his Italian counterpart Andrea Borruso, who is on an official visit to South Africa, Mr Schoeman said positive implications would flow from the strengthening of the relationship between the two countries.

He regarded the visit by the high-powered delegation as very important.

"This is an indication of the importance we attach to our bilateral relationships with Italy and the future important role we see Italy playing in southern Africa," Mr Schoeman said.

Mr Borruso indicated that the extensive talks held between the two governments could lead to the establishment of formal structures.

The presence of the high-powered delegation showed the special attention Italy was giving to the ongoing evolution in South Africa, he said.

Mr Borruso described the meeting as amicable, frank and constructive. — Sapa.

113(Continued)

YOU ARE REQUIRED TO -

describe the audit procedures which should be carried out with respect to the following:

(a) Statutory aspects relating to the minutes (11)
(b) The fixed sales contract (5)
(c) The claim against the company (4)
(d) Purchase of shares in Sunny (Pty) Ltd (4)
(e) Overseas debts (4)
(f) The problem with Triangle (Pty)Ltd (12)
(g) Fixed assets referred to above. (5)

(F.Q.E.1986 Q.4)

New S Africa will help US - Dinkins

Sowetan 13/11/91

304A

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE United States would also benefit from a free South Africa, the mayor of New York, Mr David Dinkins, said yesterday.

He was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after his arrival for a four-day visit. He is accompanied by a delegation of more than 30 educationists and business people.

The trip, at the invitation of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, is designed to develop ties between New York and a future post-apartheid South Africa.

Asked how his visit would help South Africa, Dinkins said because New York was rich and a gateway to America its people had the capacity and expertise to assist in this country's housing, health care and education problems.

He described Mandela as his hero and role model.

"I am amazed that Mandela emerged from 27 years' imprisonment without bitterness or anger.

"Who among us could undergo the same degradation and physical punishment and then sit down to negotiate with one's captors in good faith and goodwill," he said.

Mandela said Dinkins' visit came at a significant period when preparations were under way for an all-party conference.

Talks pose question: Which side are you on?

DO some or all of the major players in South African politics really have a double agenda?

This question comes to the fore as the prospect of multiparty or multilateral talks becomes real.

The ANC is already talking to the Government, the PAC is ready to talk and the Government talks about talking.

Representatives of the Patriotic Front meet with Government delegates this weekend to prepare for multiparty talks scheduled for November 29.

Special note should be taken that multiparty is used here for convenience of language and is not intended to take a side in this debate.

What is now pertinent is the position of homeland and tricameral parliament leaders. Are they hunting with the hounds and running with the hares?

Secondly, how far will the ANC and the PAC succeed in getting the Government to stop being player, referee, linesman and selector for all teams? Lastly, do the ANC and the PAC have agendas of their own?

At its Durban conference from October 25 to 27, the PF resolved to work towards an all-party conference or pre-constituent assembly conference which would include the Government and all interested parties.

The PF also said the Government was illegal and agreed on the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up the country's constitution. The Front also agreed that an interim government or transitional authority was needed for the transitionary phase.

Significant is that homeland and tricameral parliament leaders - notably Mr Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa and the Rev Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party - have endorsed these calls.

FOCUS

By THEMBA MOLEFE
Political Staff

Although welcome at the PF, Ramodike, Hendrickse and others of their ilk were accused by some Front participants of having a double agenda: maintaining an allegiance to the Government while at the same time trying to be with the people.

The Azanian Students Convention, a major Azapo formation, put it thus: "The double agenda pursued by these bantustan people is obvious for everyone to see. We cannot dare to reject something in winter and embrace it in summer."

Two weeks later homeland leaders vindicated allegations against them when, in a meeting at Union Buildings called by State President FW de Klerk, they endorsed Constitutional Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen as their negotiator.

As the Government has rejected most PF resolutions, for which these selfsame leaders voted in Durban, it blows the mind to understand their logic.

In negotiations between the Government and the PF, which hat will they be wearing?

More confusing still, Ramodike at the weekend launched his United People's Front and committed it to the principles of the PF. He also said his organisation strove for a united South Africa and was not a bantustan extension.



MR NELSON RAMODIKE



REV ALLAN HENDRICKSE

Also at the Union Buildings meeting, homeland leaders decided that besides Inkatha, two parties from the homelands and the tricameral parliament should be included in pre-multiparty conference talks with De Klerk.

This was done to thwart Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's status as chief supporter of De Klerk's multiparty conference ideal.

PF spokesmen had previously argued that homeland leaders' relationship with the Government did not preclude them from joining the Front.

The PF's brief is clear, its spokesmen say, and that is to engage the Government in talks on the modalities of transferring power to the majority.

To achieve this, re-incorporation of homelands must be agreed upon. Homeland leaders in the PF agree to this.

On Friday, when the PF meets the Government, it could be the beginning of the end for soap-box politics and breast-beating.

This is due to the fact that the PF - especially the PAC, which joins the ANC at the negotiating table for the first time on Friday - is acting on consensus from 90-plus organisations: to negotiate the National Party Government out of power.

Secondly, the Government is aware of the odds against it with regard to the PF's brief.

Is De Klerk therefore ready to negotiate the NP out of 48 years of power? Or is he about to begin negotiating how to remain in power?

From his latest stances it is obvious he is not about to negotiate himself out of power. Also, as the man paying the salaries of these homeland leaders, he is now going to expect more loyalty from the Ramodikes.

With the PF not likely to tolerate double agendas any more, homeland leaders may soon have a hard choice to make.

Renewal of DP tensions?

Political Staff (304A) CT 13/11/91

CONFLICTING proposals about the roles of an elected constitutional conference and the all-party talks could renew tensions within the Democratic Party when its national congress meets in Cape Town this week.

Another resolution, put forward by the Western Cape regional youth, ruling out alliances and election pacts and co-operative arrangements without the approval of the DP's national congress could also cause tensions.

The Groote Schuur constituency has proposed a resolution which says it was undesirable that the all-party conference/-multi-party conference should constitute itself as a final negotiation forum and that a constitutional conference should be one of the stages of negotiation.

However, the Yeoville constituency believes a multi-party conference of leaders of all political parties should seek consensus on the principles of a new constitution and then detail a draft which should be submitted to a referendum.

The Simon's Town constituency says the all-party/multi-party conference should have the responsibility for negotiating a new constitution, but if this failed a constitutional conference should be elected.

Cohen to assess US role in negotiations

SIMON BARBER

US ASSISTANT Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen arrives in SA on Sunday — just ahead of the multiparty conference — to assess what role the US may play in pushing negotiations ahead.

He plans to meet President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela during his four-day stay, and will also address the American Chamber of Commerce's Thanksgiving celebration.

"We are looking at ways in which we could be useful," a US official said, adding that Washington still expected multiparty talks to get under way on November 29.

The visit is Cohen's first since April, when he attended an Aspen Insitute Conference in Cape Town. B|day 13/11/91

He is to be accompanied by Walter Kahsteiner, the national security council official responsible for SA, and Robert Cabelly, former special assistant to Cohen's predecessor, Chester Crocker, and currently the SA specialist in the state department policy planning office. 304A

Sources in Washington say that after months of concentrating on the Middle East peace process, Secretary of State James Baker wants to give SA a higher priority and senses opportunities for a more active diplomatic role. 837

Cohen and his team are expected to lay out options for Baker on their return.

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Cohen B|day 13/11/91

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837 304A

Renewed SA access to IMF loan facilities is expected to be a major agenda item, with Pretoria seeking further clarification of Cohen's statement last month that the US executive director at the IMF could be in a position to vote in favour of an SA loan application by the middle of next year.

Also likely to be discussed is SA adherence to the missile technology control regime, a code of conduct developed between the US and its major allies to stem the spread of ballistic missile technology.

The key issue is whether SA can adhere to the regime and at the same time maintain a peaceful space launch programme.

The transfer of major missile components between Israel and SA earlier this year triggered a sanctions law and required the administration to place a new, if redundant, two-year embargo on Armscor.

Unionists hit back at De Klerk

304A

Sowetan 14/11/91

THE National Union of Mineworkers and Cosatu have lashed back at President FW de Klerk, who on Tuesday accused the two organisations of being responsible for violence at Welkom's President Steyn Mine.

It was an act of "extreme cynicism" for De Klerk to sit in Israel and pass judgment on a situation which was the direct result of intransigence by the Government and employers - and to reach conclusions before his own commission of inquiry had investigated the causes of the conflict, the NUM said.

It said this violated the spirit of the Peace Accord which De Klerk himself had signed.

The NUM further accused De Klerk of trying to make political capital out of the tragedy - which claimed up to 76 miners' lives since the first outbreak.

"The State President should make the effort to inform himself properly about what steps we had taken to resolve the conflict on the mines, as well as the conduct of management.

"Maybe then he would not have been so quick to judge," the NUM said.

De Klerk referred on Tuesday to "a trade union movement which had unilaterally called a strike ... which had brought about widespread intimidation".

A step to real talks as main players meet

Sowetan 14/11/91

(4179) (3049)

Political Correspondent

THE main players in the political scene take steps towards real negotiations when a steering committee, of representatives of the Government, the Patriotic Front and other parties meet for preliminary talks tomorrow.

A complete list of political parties which will attend is still being kept secret, but sources have indicated that at least seven of the main players will attend the talks.

It is also uncertain whether Inkatha Freedom Party will attend. IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi agreed last week the Government would represent his movement.

Tomorrow's meeting is particularly significant in that it will be the first time that the PAC will engage the Government in formal (and public) talks of any kind.

Consensus

However, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim yesterday warned that the PAC's involvement in Friday's session was not a change in policy, or a shift in its basic call for elections for a constituent assembly.

"We are not entering into constitutional negotiations. Friday's meeting should be seen as an administrative meeting, rather than a policy one," Ebrahim said.

The meeting will also seek consensus on a neutral venue, an independent convener and a date on which to hold what the PAC regards as "pre-constituent assembly talks, not the multiparty conference which (President FW) de Klerk has suggested," Ebrahim explained.

The PAC's position on the "pre-constituent assembly talks" is that they will not touch on the constitutional future of the country.

The PAC has constantly refused to enter into talks with the Government.

Enough is enough, set our people free now

Sowetan 14/11/91

~~UFDA~~ 304A

THE die is cast. Our people want freedom. They reject unilateral minority rule.

That is the message that millions of workers, small businessmen, unemployed, women, children - you and I - sent to this illegitimate Government on 4 and 5 November.

The people have unreservedly endorsed our programme for change. They have overwhelmingly rejected the agenda the National Party seeks to impose on the people. Only the blindness of racist arrogance will not see the writing on the wall.

We have had enough of apartheid rule, of the sickening cycle of violence, of the endless destruction of our economy and natural resources which have characterised this white monopoly of economic and political power.

It is a tragi-comedy for the National Party to now present itself as the party of the future. No amount of chemistry is going to cleanse the soul of a party whose policies so systematically stripped our people of their human rights and dignity and brutalised millions throughout the sub-continent.

The old attitudes still pervades the "newspeak" of the NP as they regurgitate the policies of apartheid. Their notion of a multiparty government where a minority party can demand the same right to rule as a majority party is an insult to our intelligence.

The current crisis has only one solution. We want our freedom and we want it now.

The people rejected dictatorships in the past, and they will do so in the present and the future. No government is going to rule without the consent of people. Cosatu vows, together with other democratic formations, to ensure that accountability and open governments is firmly ingrained in the future fabric of society.

FOCUS

This is an edited version of a speech by Mr JAY NAIDOO, general secretary of Cosatu, when he accepted the *Indicator* Newsmaker of the Year Award on behalf of the federation last Friday, and in which he responds to attacks levelled at Cosatu by the National Party.

It is unfortunately necessary for us to publicly respond to last Thursday's attack on Cosatu and the ANC. There are four comments we must make:

First, we should not look to Naidoo and noses, but to Barend and his bungling if we want to find the cause of the general strike. Du Plessis' ill-considered implementation of VAT, his unilateral and *ad hoc* responses, and his inability to understand the need for negotiations are to blame.

Secondly, we note with concern that De Klerk has called on employers to discipline workers and to show unionists who is the boss. We urge employers not to allow De Klerk to lead them by the nose. Jumping into bed with the NP will only bring more trouble to our land. It will be about as profitable as a cruise on the Oceanos.

Thirdly, we believe De Klerk is being dishonest. On the one hand he tells his supporters that "the National Party is not prepared to allow the ANC or any other party or movement to take over power". On the other hand, he tells us and the world he is ready to usher in a democratic dispensation.

Which is to be, Mr de Klerk? Either you are lying to us and the world or you are lying to the white electorate who are increasingly rejecting you.

Democracy means universal franchise, free and fair elections, and all participants accepting the outcome - or do you have something else in mind if the voting goes against you?

Finally, we are concerned to hear threats of a clampdown against the union movement. Why, when you hear a mighty roar from the people, do you respond with kragdadigheid instead of listening?

Perhaps the Government should clarify what it has in mind. Will it be another new labour law? If so, then read the history books, Mr de Klerk.

Will it be arrests and detentions and show trials? We have coped with these in the past and we will endure them again if need be.

Or will it be more assassinations, death squads and bombings? Whatever De Klerk has in mind he should know that we will not be bullied into relinquishing our democratic right to peaceful protest.

What can we say to De Klerk after his childish attack? We say to him we want democracy, not revenge. We are prepared to be generous.

Despite everything this white minority Government has done, we continue to espouse the cause of nonracialism. We continue to say that South Africa belongs to all who live in it - black and white. There is a place for everyone, even for him.

We ask him and his NP to recognise the misery and suffering their economic and political policies have caused. Acknowledge that your NP is not God's gift to South Africa. Accept that it cannot be the referee, the main player and, in the words of our great leader Walter Sisulu, also the scorekeeper.

We call on the NP to have humility as this is not a weakness but a strength. Accept that the only way forward is to step down in favour of a government of national unity.

On the side of the democratic movement our doors are open for genuine negotiations. But we will not allow the Government to unilaterally restructure the economy or dictate the political agenda.

Let me turn now to the issue of the economy. On one point we are all agreed - the economy is in a mess. We need to take urgent steps to jointly restructure it.

This is the real issue thrown up by the general strike. Socio-economic restructuring needs all major actors - unions, employers, major political players and the State - to sit down and negotiate a way out of the mess.

We cannot understand why the Government is resisting our proposal to establish a socio-economic negotiating forum. We cannot wait for political democracy before addressing the need for socio-economic development.

We are stretching out a hand to employers and the State on this matter. Up to now they refuse to take it. The Government appears more concerned in blaming others for our country's economic crisis and to whip up mass media hysteria against the union movement.

Cape Times, Thursday, November 14 1991

All-party talks this month

(304A)

Viljoen chastises CT 14/11/91

Mandela over date

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government, the ANC and other political organisations are set to sit down together at the end of this month for a preparatory meeting, expected to lead to full-scale constitutional negotiations early next year.

The meeting is set for November 29 and 30, and will be held at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

It is being called a Convention for a Democratic Future, avoiding both the government's term "multiparty conference" and the ANC's term "all-party conference".

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela confirmed the dates yesterday after meeting Italian deputy foreign minister Mr Andrea Borruso. He told reporters the first meeting would be on November 29, but refused to divulge further details.

Constitutional Development Minister (and acting President) Dr Gerrit Viljoen last night criticised Mr Mandela's announcement, saying he found it strange and presumptuous.

"His announcement is an improper attempt to create the impression that he or the ANC are unilaterally arranging matters with regard to the multiparty conference."

Dr Viljoen said the date had still to be finalised.

The ANC and government met again last night, in another of a series of meetings to iron out finer details for tommorrow's steering committee meeting at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg.

It is understood that leaders from about eight political organisations would be attending the committee meeting, to finalise the arrangements for the convention. These include the ANC, NP, Inkatha, the SACP, the DP and the Labour Party. The CP and Azapo have also been invited, but it is not known whether they will attend.

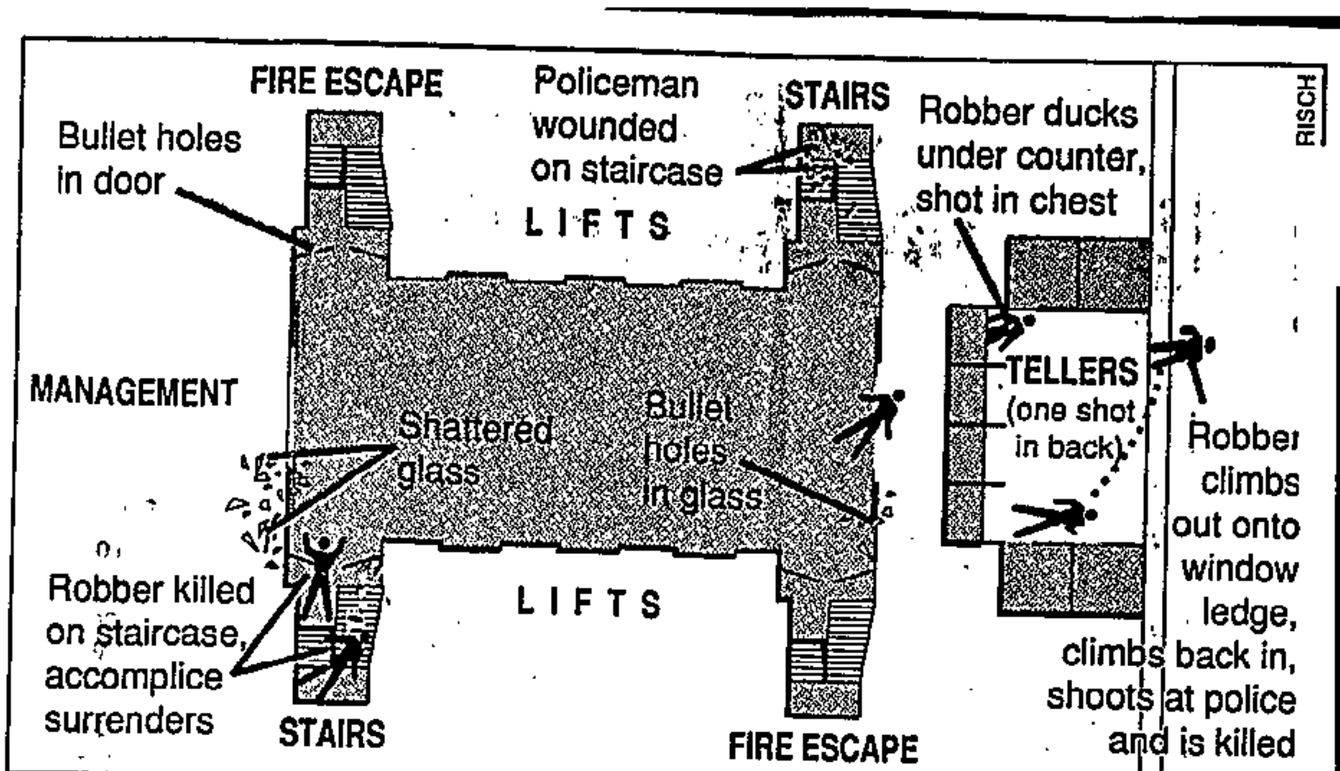
Sources close to the talks said yesterday the November 29 Convention would begin with speeches by the leaders of all parties, followed by the establishment of working groups to deal with the detailed constitutional principles. It would end with a major positive statement of intent.

It is expected that the parties would leave the talks with a clear expression of consensus on broad constitutional proposals, and a sense of momentum.

● The PAC-aligned Azanian National Youth Unity organisation yesterday rejected the exploratory talks between the PAC, ANC and government scheduled for tommorrow.

● The Azanian Youth Organisation yesterday saluted the decision taken by the PAC student wing in rejecting tommorrow's talks.

● British government sources yesterday welcomed the news that Mr Mandela expected the conference to be held on November 29, saying it was encouraging that the different parties remained committed to negotiation despite continued outbreaks of violence. — Own Correspondent and Sapa



Mandela confirms November date

Stage is set for start of all-party talks

B/Day 14/11/91

304A 304A

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and other political organisations will sit down together at the end of the month for a preparatory meeting expected to lead to full-scale constitutional negotiations early next year.

The meeting is set for November 29 and 30 and will be held at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

It is being called a Convention for a Democratic Future.

Government and the ANC have been calling for a meeting before the end of the year to show the nation and the world that negotiations are finally under way.

ANC president Nelson Mandela confirmed the dates yesterday after meeting Italian Deputy Foreign Minister Andrea Borruso. He said the first meeting would be on November 29, but refused to divulge details of the venue, agenda or framework.

JONATHON REES reports Constitutional Development Minister (and Acting President) Gerrit Viljoen last night criticised Mandela's announcement, calling it strange and presumptuous.

"His announcement is an improper attempt to create the impression that he or the ANC are unilaterally arranging matters with regard to the multiparty conference." Viljoen said the date had still to be finalised.

Mandela said: "The all-party conference is set down for November 29 and 30," adding that arrangements were well in hand.

But ANC spokeman Gill Marcus told Sapa that November 29 was not "absolutely" the date, but a tentative date proposed by the ANC. "From our side we would like November 29," Marcus said.

The ANC and government/NP met again last night to iron out finer details for Friday's steering committee meeting at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg.

In terms of agreements between the parties discussing the preparations, no details should be divulged until after the steering committee meeting.

It is understood that leaders from about eight political organisations will attend the committee meeting set up to finalise the arrangements for the convention. These include the ANC, NP, Inkatha, the SACP, the DP and the Labour Party. The CP and Azapo have also been invited but it is not known if they will attend.

Sources said yesterday the first multiparty meeting on November 29 would be low-key in terms of getting down to the nitty-gritty of real negotiations.

The convention is expected to start with speeches by all the parties' leaders, then working groups to deal with the detailed constitutional principles will be set up. It will end with a statement of intent.

Other issues that might be dealt with are the setting up of a credentials committee, the agenda for constitutional negotiations and the procedures to be followed. A full-

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time secretariat and financial arrangements to support the negotiations will also form a central part of the meeting.

The credentials committee would judge organisations' support, their constituencies and whether they should be members of the multiparty negotiations. This would resolve decisions on, for instance, whether Cosatu, Sacob or other special interest bodies should be present and whether government would attend as a separate entity.

Procedures that still need to be resolved are who the rotating chairmen will be, how working groups will be set up and how decisions will be made, either through consensus or majority voting.

The agenda has largely been agreed upon and will consist of the following:

- ☐ Creating a political climate for stability by reducing violence;
- ☐ Interim government or transitional arrangements;
- ☐ Constitution-making mechanisms such as a constituent assembly;
- ☐ The reincorporation of the TBVC states into SA; and
- ☐ The role of the international community and sanctions in particular.

Apparently all known political organisations would be invited to the talks, including homeland and TBVC states leaders.

It has also been agreed that the convention would be convened by the Chief Justice Mr Justice Michael Corbett and two religious leaders, Johan Heyns and Methodist president Stanley Magoba.

FW: Russia 'next month'

304A CT 14/11/91

MOSCOW — President F W de Klerk will visit Moscow next month, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official said yesterday, but he could not confirm reports that the visit was intended to restore diplomatic relations.

There is "an agreement in principle" for Mr De Klerk to stop in Moscow before or after an Asian trip, said Mr Yuri Cherny, head of the South Africa group in the Foreign Ministry.

He said the duration of the visit, whom Mr De Klerk would meet and what he would do were still under discussion.

In Pretoria a spokesman for Mr De Klerk's office said he could not confirm the report because all the people with the relevant information were touring Israel with the president.

However, it is understood that Mr De Klerk wants to visit the Soviet Union and meet President Mikhail Gorbachev and would like to fit this in during another trip in December, depending on his itinerary.

The ANC's deputy head of mission, Mr Themba Thabethe, said the Soviet Foreign Ministry had informed him of Mr De Klerk's stopover and of the possibility of a cultural exchange agreement between the two countries.

The ANC is still regarded as the official representative of SA in Moscow.

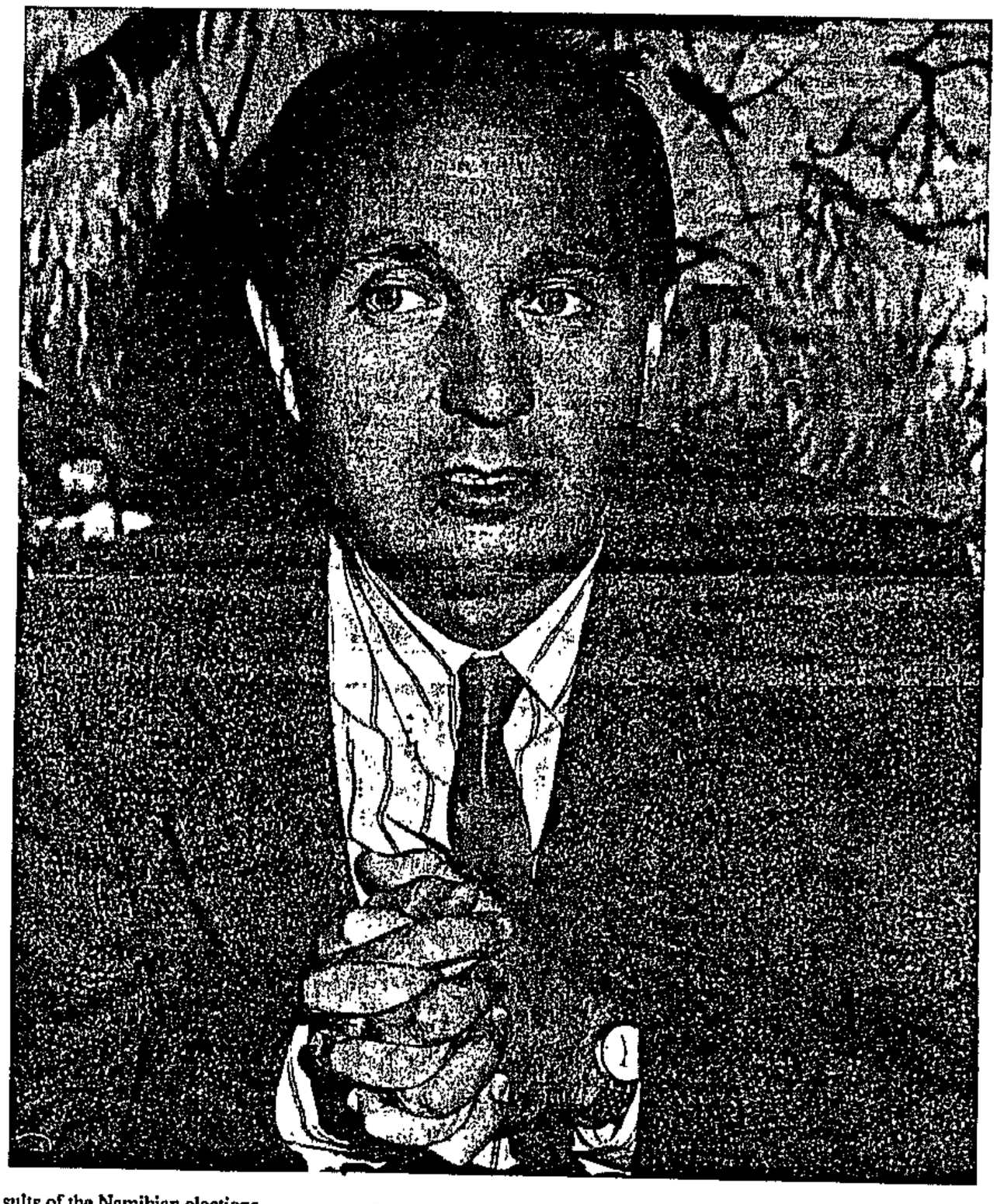
Mr Thabethe said the ANC felt Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's recent visit was premature.

Mr De Klerk left Israel yesterday after a four-day visit, clearly pleased at the renewal of commercial and cultural ties between the two countries, but adamant that no secret military relationship exists. — Sapa-AP, UPI

Revealed: a covert plot to destabilise the National Party's opponents

FW– chief commander of 'third force' to maintain white rule

A former major in the South African Defence Force and part-time member of military intelligence, **NICO BASSON**, below, disclosed the SA government's attempts to destabilise Namibia last year. This week, writing in the journal, Work in Progress, he charged that president FW de Klerk is personally repeating the strategy in South Africa:



MY VIEW of the state president's involvement in the government's double agenda, based on my extensive involvement close to centres of power, is quite simple. He is not only aware of secret strategies and projects aimed at destabilising opposition to the Nationalist government — he is behind a sinister plan to maintain white minority rule.

President De Klerk is not the angel everybody thinks he is.

He is an Afrikaner who passionately puts the cause of the Afrikaner first. In the context of the murderous violence that has unfolded over the past year, he is becoming a modern-day Hitler and his collection of Goebbels-like aides form an inner circle of brilliant people operating in secret task groups.

My story starts in Namibia in 1989. Our president was then only a member of the cabinet and Swapo was the target for massive destabilisation.

I was a part-time major in military intelligence and at the same time running my own communications company. I was called to Namibia in 1989 and given the task of planning the communications strategy for "Operation Agree".

My sources close to the cabinet informed me it took a decision, in late 1988 or early 1989, that different state departments should make sure all anti-Swapo parties were assisted, to ensure Swapo did not obtain the required two-thirds majority in the elections.

"OPERATION AGREE" was a massive operation executed in different areas. The thrust was funding, personnel and infrastructure assistance to all political parties opposed to Swapo, the use of hit squads, distortion of foreign radio broadcasts and broadcasting propaganda programmes by the SABC into Namibia, infiltration of the United Nations Task Group (Untag), the use of agents and front organisations and the involvement of the Administrator General in Namibia and other state departments which sided with anti-Swapo parties.

A classic double agenda: To the world, an international treaty was signed in which the government promised to pull out of Namibia and leave local political parties to sort out their future. In secret, the government embarked on a destabilisation programme.

During that operation I was in charge of media and received orders to report to my handler on a daily basis. He was Brigadier Ferdie van Wyk of military intelligence in Pretoria.

Van Wyk reported directly to the chief of the army and the chief of the defence force and they reported directly to the cabinet.

I was aware the cabinet was briefed in detail, on a daily basis, on the development of the campaign in Namibia.

A special visit was organised for De Klerk in 1989, just before the November elections, to visit Namibia for first-hand experience on the execution of "Operation Agree".

There was a deliberate effort to inform him about the double strategies to prepare him for what was still to come in South Africa.

Before the end of that year De Klerk became the state president. The results of the Namibian elections were out and the National Party sent a high-level delegation of MP's to investigate the election. They reported back to the cabinet in 1989.

After this post-mortem session the cabinet went into a bush summit in January 1990. They discussed the results of the Namibian elections.

Factors such as the crumbling of communism and the mounting economic pressure against South Africa were also taken into account. The result was a strategy for a new South Africa.

SO THE ERA of reform was born. On the one hand, the plan was to openly dismantle the so-called pillars of apartheid, negotiate with political enemies, unban illegal organisations and release political prisoners.

However, reform itself, while designed to avert the threat of economic collapse, cannot ensure survival for the Afrikaner. Instead, it raised the possibility of a loss of power.

This brought about a supplementary strategy on another level to walk the tightrope between the twin threats of economic collapse and loss of power.

The secret part of the strategy is the destabilisation of the National Party's political opposition, using the security forces, vigilantes and hit squads to create and sustain violence, as well as creating negative propaganda.

> "De Klerk – the same man who was briefed in detail in Namibia in 1989 on the secret Operation Agree – is running South Africa today, based on the same double agenda."

It is a strategy rehearsed in Namibia, and the cabinet decided to adopt it for the new South Africa.

There are amazing similarities between the operation in Namibia and what is happening in South Africa. The same man briefed in detail in Namibia in 1989 on the secret "Operation Agree" is running the country today, based on the same double agenda.

Some of the similarities are:

- The DTA was a grouping of political parties and together with all moderate parties was funded and assisted by the government. In South Africa today the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is funded together with other moderate political groupings.
- The same front organisations and agents used in Namibia are being utilised in South Africa. An example is a communications company, whose name I have, controlling various smaller front companies with secret military funds who are the driving force behind Fida and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope. They also produce various propaganda videos for the SABC.
- The same special forces of the defence force and the police that operated in Namibia to intimidate, are managing the violence in South Africa. Five Reconnaissance and Koevoet are but two of these groups.

In our country the cabinet is constitutionally the highest coordinating entity in the government hierachy, with control over all government actions.

ITS COMPOSITION allows four cabinet committees — constitutional, economic, welfare and security matters — each headed by a senior minister, and assists the cabinet in policy-making activities.

The state president chairs cabinet sessions when committees report on different issues.

The security committee designs policies on the government's "total war" plan and this is part of the destabilisation programme to neutralise the government's opposition.

Violence and the funding of possible political allies are the most overt manifestations of the secret strategy.

The cabinet committees have powers to recommend and finalise, within their respective areas of jurisdiction, different policies and strategies, but always subject to confirmation by the cabinet.

The state president is thus always aware of all decisions taken and is informed on all progress reports.

Some argue only "hard" documentary evidence will convince a doubting public De Klerk is an active participant in the township carnage.

For those who doubt my story and my conclusions, consider the following:

- There are close to 6 000 foreign mercenaries in the special forces in the defence force. They are all part of 5 Reconnaissance Regiment and 32 Battalion. What are they doing? Why can they not be demobilised and sent back to their countries of origin? Why can they not testify at the commission for intimidation?
- What is the defence force doing with the huge communication and propaganda departments it has? These people are all part of "Comops" which is completely separate from the perfectly legitimate public relations department.
- Where is the secret defence budget of R4,1 billion going and what is happening to all the secret projects in the defence force and other state departments?

Anybody who rejects my theory on De Klerk must answer these questions before they prove me wrong.

If De Klerk claims he is unaware of the existence of a third force in the government, why had his intelligence services in the military, police and national intelligence not received orders to investigate and produce answers?

The bottom line is that he is in charge of the country and therefore responsible for the violence and destabilisation.

De Klerk is the chief commander of the third force in the government.

We need an interim government to stop him using state resources to manipulate the political process, using a highly professional third force and propaganda structures.

A SADF spokesperson replied:

"The standing commission on violence and intimidation has been appointed to investigate the claims and allegations Mr Basson is making.

"Mr Basson's latest round of 'revelations' falls into the same category as his previous claims and the Defence Force suggests that Mr Basson place his evidence, if he has any, before Mr Justice R J Goldstone rather than trying to focus attention on himself."

Moss's win 'major setback for the DP'

B1 Daily 14/11/91

JONATHON REES

INDEPENDENT candidate Sam Moss last night beat the DP's Geoff Klass by 680 votes in the Ward 16 (Houghton, Killarney and Oaklands) municipal by-election.

DP MP for Houghton Tony Leon said the defeat was a major setback for the DP. He attributed the result to voter dissatisfaction with an "ANC tendency" in the party. (304A)

Moss, a former councillor, beat antique dealer Klass in a 36% poll with 1 227 votes to Klass's 547.

Leon said the DP would have to take note of the "significant setback in the heart of a DP constituency", adding that the matter would be discussed at the DP's national congress which starts in Cape Town today.

He said the election defeat also indicated voters were dissatisfied with the image of Johannesburg's DP-led local government.

Johannesburg City Council DP leader Ian Davidson said voters were sensitive to high municipal rates.

De Klerk 'set to visit Moscow next month'

(304A) Bl Day 14/11/91

MOSCOW — President F W de Klerk would visit Moscow next month, a Soviet foreign ministry official said yesterday.

However, he could not confirm reports that the visit was intended to restore diplomatic relations.

There was "an agreement in principle" for De Klerk to stop in Moscow before or after an Asian trip, Sapa-AP reports Yuri Cherny, head of the SA group in the foreign ministry, as saying.

He said details of the visit were still under discussion.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that a spokesman for De Klerk's office said he could not confirm the report because all the people with the relevant information were touring Israel with the President.

However, it is understood that De Klerk wants to visit the Soviet Union and meet President Mikhail Gorbachev, and would like to fit this visit in during another trip in December.

It is believed that Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who visited the Soviet Union last week, arranged the meeting and the timing in principle.

Botha visited Kiev, St Petersburg and Moscow before joining De Klerk in Tel Aviv at the weekend.

The visit was called private, but he met officials of the central government and the Ukraine and Russian republics.

Soviet news agency Tass and newspaper Nezavisamaya Gazeta quoted sources yesterday as saying that when Botha returned in December with De Klerk, diplomatic relations could be established. Cherny said he had "no such information".

The Soviet Union broke diplomatic relations with SA in the mid-1950s in protest

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De Klerk

Bl Day 14/11/91

(304A)

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against apartheid.

ANC deputy head of mission Themba Thabethe said the Soviet foreign ministry had informed him of De Klerk's stopover and of the possibility of a cultural exchange agreement between the two countries.

The ANC is still regarded as the official representative of SA in Moscow. Thabethe said the ANC felt the visit was premature.

Sapa-AP reports from Tel Aviv that De Klerk wound up his visit to Israel yesterday and headed for Taiwan. Foreign Minister David Levy saw him off at the airport.

Earlier President Chaim Herzog hosted a farewell ceremony for the SA President at his residence in Jerusalem.

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FW woos potential Chinese investors

Star 15/11/91

304A

By Alan Dunn
Political Staff

TAIPEI — The new South Africa would be a stable country, President de Klerk said yesterday in an assurance aimed specifically at potential investors from the Republic of China.

"Their investments and business will be safe and will continue to render a fair return," he added at National Chengchi University where he received an honorary law doctorate.

Mr de Klerk spelt out some elements of the Government's bottom line in negotiations, and said this was why he had offered the assurance.

The Government was not prepared to agree to a constitution that did not include an independent judiciary; freedom of speech, expression and of the press; freedom of religion and worship; sound social structures to improve the quality of life for all; and a sound economy founded on the principles of private initiative, private enterprise, a free market and property ownership.

"This is what we intend achieving through the impending constitutional negotiations, but not at any price," he said.

The Government was not prepared to accept a constitution which may result in unsuccessful and obsolete ideologies that had failed elsewhere.

Mr de Klerk said it would also not agree to any indulgence in economic experiments that had led to collapse, poverty and suffering in the world.

Foreign Minister Fredrick Chien said that Mr de Klerk had demonstrated wisdom and farsightedness in his career. The doctorate was testimony to his academic and political achievements. It was also a token of affinity and friendship between the two countries.

"It is my firm conviction that this present visit by State President de Klerk will lead our two countries into a new era in our academic and cultural exchanges," he said.

Earlier in the day, Mr de Klerk arrived in Taipei to a 21-gun salute, a guard of honour and the key to the capital.

Welcomed at the airport by President Lee Teng-Hui, he inspected the guard, met numerous officials and waved to hundreds of cheering children.

Last night, at a state banquet hosted by Mr Lee, President de Klerk said Africa was lagging being the current global economic realignment and still lacked a sense of common destiny.

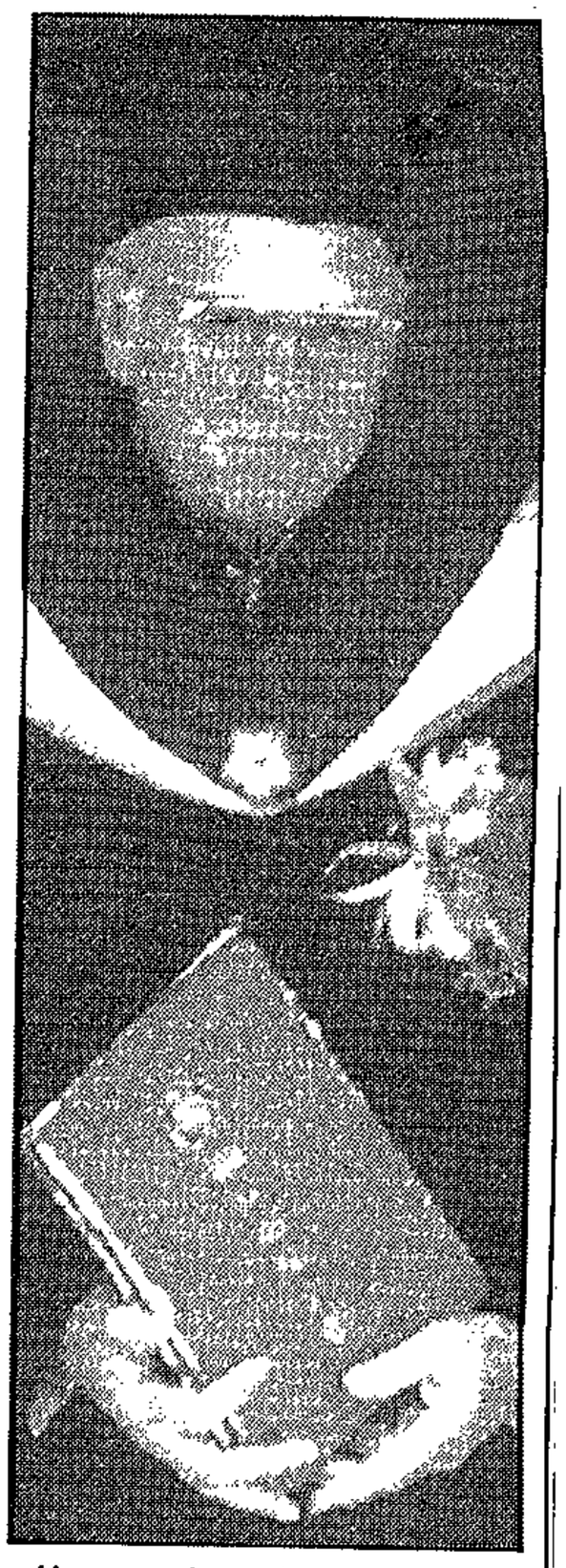
Reflecting on the changes occurring internationally, he said communism and Marxist socialism were disappearing and new power blocs emerging.

An economically unified Europe was around the corner, Central and North America were already responding with their own version of "Europe 1992", and east Asia was becoming a self-sustained entity.

"I am sorry that Africa has been slow to respond," he said.

There were, fortunately, those in Africa who were beginning to realise what was at stake. Economic co-operation and interaction were already growing.

If this continued, southern Africa would soon be rewarded with unprecedented economic opportunities and growth.



Honoured . . . President de Klerk receives an honorary degree. Picture: AFP

Flags and anthems are emotional quicksands says **Graham Linscott**

It's wiser to drain the swamp first

Star 15/11/91

NOW what is it that rings so familiar about the National Olympic Committee choosing "Ode to Joy" from Beethoven's Ninth as South Africa's anthem for the Barcelona Olympics?

Of course, that's it. Ian Smith chose precisely that piece of music as Rhodesia's national anthem in 1974. "Ode to Joy" — just as the country began to slide into its ghastly civil war.

I am not suggesting any parallels or that the National Olympic Committee ought to rethink. I mention it merely to illustrate what treacherous quicksand we can get into with flags, anthems and symbolism.

In fact, surely it's better to stay out of the quicksand areas until we've drained the swamp.

The cricket tour to India is a minor channel in a swamp-draining exercise. The Olympics in Barcelona will probably be a more important channel. The major swamp-draining attempt comes with the multiparty conference, likely to begin later this month.

Yet the importance of India and Barcelona should not be minimised. South Africans — white South Africans especially — need the warmth of international acceptance if they are to embark on a process of genuine reform and renewal.

That is why it would be a pity to be drawn into the quicksands of symbolism. Beethoven's Ninth and the hastily cobbled together Olympic flag are possibly the best compromise at the moment.

To expect black athletes to parade beneath the Oranje Blanke Blou of Afrikaner Nationalism (not to mention the small inset Union Jack of British imperialism) is perhaps to expect too much. Would Afrikaner athletes be prepared to parade at Barcelona beneath the ANC colours?

The point is that the priority is to get people out there on the track. A final decision on the bunting and the music can be made later. Sport can be a great unifier.

And all this is, of course, an analogy for the great swamp-drainer, political negotiations.

Just as in sport, it is more important to get the team out there on the field and playing than to decide what the national anthem should be or what the design of the flag should be. Such things tend to decide themselves in the end.

Anyone who doubts the divisiveness of flags and anthems within a plural society ought to read Harry Saker's "The South African Flag Controversy, 1925-1928".

This deals with the designing of the current flag, which caused national uproar within the "white man's politics" of the day. It threatened to cause Natal's secession from the Union (if the Union Jack were not incorporated) and it caused ructions within the Labour Party, then junior partner in a coalition government with the Nats.

Flags and anthems are emotional quicksand. Constitutional negotiations surely need rather to be steered on the steadiest course toward meeting the country's real, practical needs. Better to be out on the field playing than arguing about the design of the blazers and badges. □

Talks obstacles can be resolved

Star 15/11/91.

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

The Government, ANC and other political players are confident they can resolve the disagreements which led to the cancellation of today's crucial meeting of a steering committee to prepare for multiparty negotiations.

The meeting fell apart late on Wednesday because of disputes among the parties about who should take part in the steering committee — and because of Inkatha Freedom Party anger at feeling sidelined in preliminary arrangements.

The delay in convening the steering committee has raised serious concerns about the chances of the Convention on a Democratic Future — which signals the start of "real" negotiations — starting on November 29 as planned.

It is hoped that the postponed steering committee meeting can be held next week — possibly on Tuesday.

In a tense week of behind-the-scenes negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen rebuffed ANC president Nelson Mandela for having let slip the planned date for the convention, and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned that his party might scupper the talks if it were treated as subservient to bilateral ANC-Government decisions.

Strange

Yesterday ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Dr Viljoen "completely overreacted" by labelling Mr Mandela's remarks "strange and presumptuous".

Mr Niehaus said there was nothing wrong in Mr Mandela's public statement that November 29 was the ANC's target date for starting formal all-party negotiations.

Complicating matters was the IFP's insistence yesterday that it had never even agreed to today's meeting — despite confirmation from the Government and ANC that the meeting had been scheduled but called off.

IFP executive member Walter Felgate said the IFP had only been asked on Wednesday to attend today's meeting. This was too short notice to convene its negotiating team.

Yesterday Dr Viljoen said: "Speculation and premature announcements, such as those about supposed dates for the first meeting of a multiparty conference or for preparatory meetings with a view to calling an MPC, have had a retarding effect on negotiations."

Government, ANC and IFP sources agreed yesterday that intense negotiations would continue over the next few days. They were confident that differences could be patched up.

SOWETAN BUSINESS

Peace key to development

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

URBAN Foundation chairman Mr Mike Rosholt yesterday said the declining economy and high levels of violence had negative effects on South Africa's development.

Addressing the UF's annual meeting, he said all international signs showed that the chances of success were better if economic growth was high and violence low, preferably non-existent.

However, he was optimistic that "positive features would emerge after it had been realised that agreements had to be negotiated and accepted by many parties if the national challenges were to be met."

He said: "These negotiations are far-reaching, ranging from those between a rural village and an organisation able to assist with providing drinkable water for the first time, to the negotiations about a new constitution."

Indeed, he said, "the idea of a need for voluntary, negotiated accords - such as the National Peace Accord - is moving all our lives."

Rosholt said the basic reality was that people must develop themselves and, through co-operation, develop their own communities.

No-one could, he said, "develop" someone who simply remained passive, waiting to be developed.

"Another reality is that development is necessary in many fields: health, housing, business, education and others. This, in turn, means that people have to acquire the skills and learning that will assist them technically in meeting specific requirements."

He said in South Africa, three types of institutions exist to help people with development: private, Government, and those created specifically to assist in development.

He was impressed that among developments taking place in South Africa was the formation of a national negotiating forum on housing and the hostels.

"And one hears that talks have begun on the possibility of an education forum too. Hopefully such forums will in due course provide an agreement on how to develop a democratic society and this will be confirmed later by constitutional agreement," he said.

The UF believed that reactionary legislation inhibiting development must be removed and replaced with policies encouraging development. It also believed it necessary to establish and support new institutions motivating skilled people into development.

However, there were people who held other views, he said. Too few politicians devoted anything but lip-service to development.

"Their concentration appears to be entirely focused on political and power issues."

'All not lost as ...'

Talks stall

Sowetan 15/11/91. 304A

DIFFERENCES between political parties have sunk today's talks on an all-party conference between the Government, its allies and the Patriotic Front.

The curt message yesterday from the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Government was: "It's off."

An ANC source did, however, stress that all was not lost and that negotiations were proceeding to try and rescue the talks.

"The feeling here is that this was one of those little sticklers that can be overcome," the source said.

Disagreement

On behalf of the Government, acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in a statement yesterday that diverse opinions given over the past few days had had "a retarding effect on negotiations".

Viljoen was referring to a statement by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Wednesday when he told journalists that a multiparty conference was scheduled for November 29.

By ISMAIL LARGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

He said Mandela had acted against the spirit created by negotiations over the past 18 months where statements were made only after the different parties had reached agreement.

However, two sources from different parties close to the centre of the deliberations last night confirmed that the biggest problem was disagreement on many issues with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The sources said the IFP was specifically against the number of participants in today's aborted talks - it preferred to talk only to the Government and ANC.

Other parties also objected to their exclusion and the ANC echoed this by saying that the three parties were not the only main players.

The ANC wanted as many as 11 parties to attend the talks, including the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party and the Azanian Peoples

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Talks sunk 304A Sowetan 15/11/91

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Organisation.

The IFP was also angered by suggestions this week that the Government and ANC had between them concluded most of the arrangements for the multiparty conference.

This included an apparent agreement that it should be called the "Convention for a Democratic Future".

The PAC yesterday also confirmed the postponement but would not elaborate.

The PAC also had its differences with the rest of parties over exactly what today's meeting and the tentative meeting which was mooted for November 29 would discuss.

Taiwan red carpet for De Klerk

(304A) Sowetan 15/11/91

AROUND THE WORLD

TAIPEI — Taiwan rolled out the red carpet yesterday for President FW de Klerk, the first major leader to visit the diplomatically-isolated island in decades.

De Klerk was given a 21-gun salute and reviewed a guard of honour as he arrived at Taipei's military airport, where he was met by President Lee Teng-hui and other senior government officials.

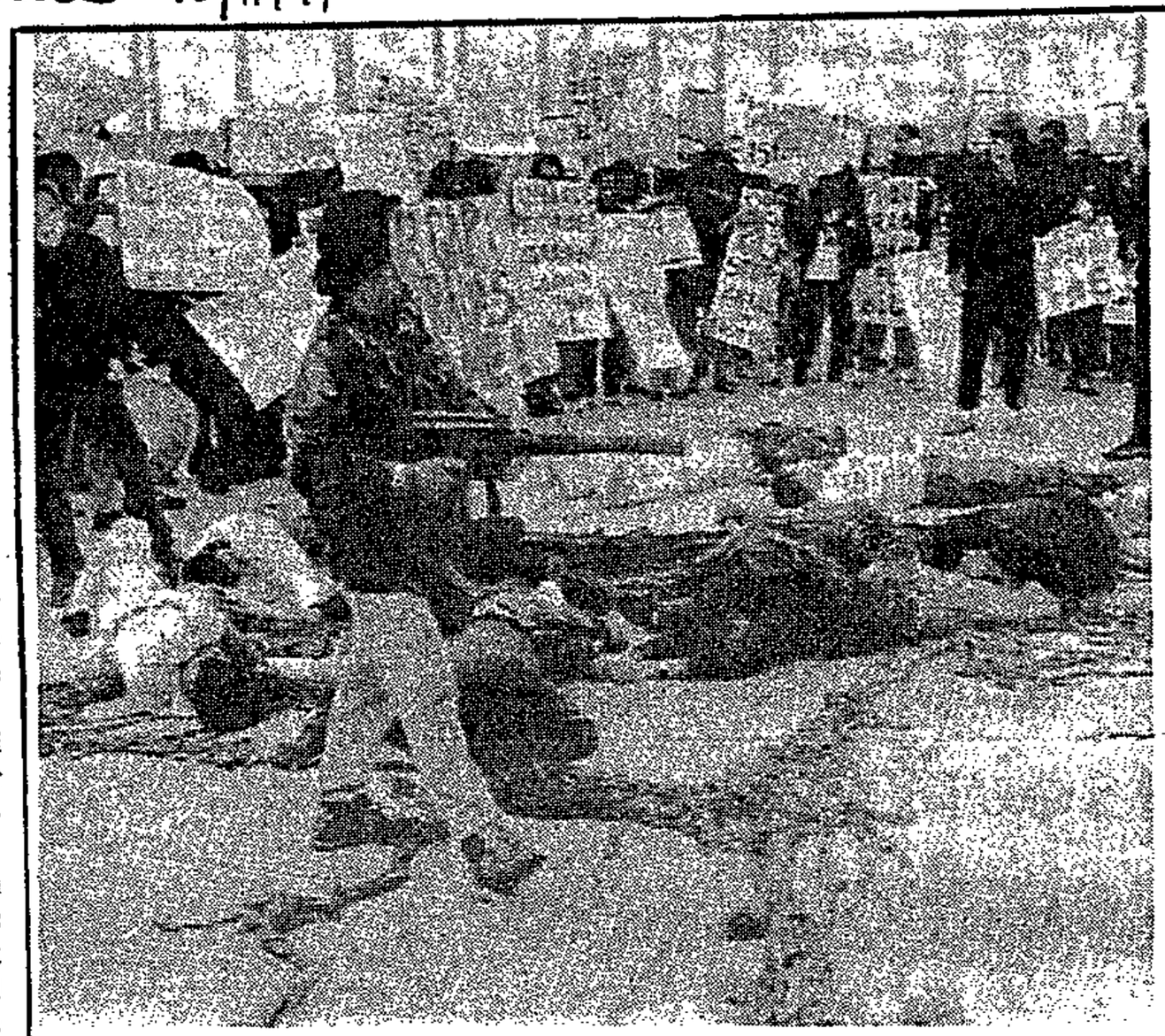
South Africa, shunned until recently by most countries for its racial policies, is one of only 29 states which recognise Taiwan. The island is isolated because of its diplomatic rivalry with China, which views it as a renegade province.

During De Klerk's visit, Taiwan will sign a communique, an investment co-operation pact and an agreement to expand air links with South Africa.

De Klerk, who arrived from Israel with an entourage of 100, including Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, told reporters he attached great importance to ties with Taiwan.

His statement was aimed at allaying worries over South Africa's growing relations with China.

A delegation of South African business leaders made their first public visit to China last month and South African newspapers reported that Botha secretly visited Beijing recently. - *SA Press Association-Reuter*



East Timorese demonstrators armed with plastic machineguns and lying prone on the ground hold placards protesting the massacre of more than 50 people on Tuesday. Troops fired on a crowd attending a funeral service and protests have been made around the world.

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Can oppressors liberate the oppressed?

3048
CT 15/11/91



Political Survey
BY GERALD SHAW

THE Democratic Party congress this weekend is facing key decisions which will determine its role in the multi-party negotiations which are about to begin.

As argued in this column last week, the country needs a strong liberal voice in the transition. The whole process could be be swept off course by ethnic passions, the intensity of the rivalry between Afrikaner and African nationalism, and recurrent relapses into violence.

There will need to be an alert political force acting independently in the negotiations to make sure that civil liberties and the rule of law do not go by the board. And so there is a good case for the Democrats to avoid alliances with either of the major groupings, at least until the negotiations are complete, retaining their power to influence the outcome.

Once a new constitution is in place there will be time enough to decide whether an electoral alliance offers the best option for the promotion of the humane and liberal values the DP stands for, and, if so, what sort of alliance it should be.

Any attempt to force the pace, driving the party into a premature coalition with either of the major groupings now, could split the DP wide open, with some MPs going one way or the other and the rest opting out entirely.

Critical role

The case against moving closer to the Nationalists is overwhelming. As things now stand, with the violence raging on and the NP government having failed to re-structure the police force to operate effectively and impartially, the DP has a critical role to play — which would be stifled in an alliance with the NP.

The case against going in the other direction is likewise persuasive, for the time being certainly. An alliance would limit the DP's freedom of movement, restricting its essential purpose as a watchdog of individual liberties, economic and otherwise.

Looking ahead to the successful completion of the negotiations, the first election under a new constitution seems likely to produce a victory for the ANC and its allies over the NP and its allies by a comfortable margin.

The ANC by then would have disentangled itself from its inappropriate alliance with the SACP, we may hope, and the SACP will be paddling its own political canoe, looking for support in much the same black working class constituency which provides the bulk of the ANC's backing. The ANC and the SACP will be political competitors, in fact, with the latter a marginal grouping, hardly a political threat to the ANC or anyone else.

After that first election it is surely inevitable that the need for stability and rapid economic growth will convince all concerned that the country should have a government of national unity, with Cabinet representation going to all parties with significant representation in the legislature, for a period at least.

As the largest grouping, the ANC will no doubt be the leading force in the new government but the presence of NP ministers in some key portfolios would provide the continuity essential in building confidence in the country and its future. If it has played its independent role with finesse, the DP could also be represented in the first Cabinet of a non-racial South African democracy.

The DP could by then have established itself as a small but influential force for convergence in South African politics, helping to drive the heavy-handed securocrats on the right and the ideological zealots on the left to the margins of politics.

And the NP? The Nationalists would do well not to raise the expectations of their supporters too high. They have no chance of beating the ANC at the polls. Any notion that the NP could be the driving force leading this country to non-racial democracy is idle. As Mr Gorbachev and the Communist Party did in Russia, Mr De Klerk and the National Party could initiate a process of reform. But they are hardly the people to carry it through to a successful conclusion.

Expectations

As Mr Colin Eglin asked in an important article in the October issue of *Reality*, which appeared in part in these columns on Wednesday, can people who have been oppressed be liberated by their former oppressors?

Must the oppressed people themselves not become the driving force that is necessary to take the liberating process to its conclusion?

What Mr Eglin had to say about the Communist Party and the Soviet Union applies with equal force to South Africa and the National Party.

Can a political party which for generations has been the advocate of a repressive ideology, and the administrator of an authoritarian regime, itself be the agent for ensuring that fundamental reform is followed through to its logical conclusion?

Whatever the future of the National Party — and it is changing fast — it may be the Democratic Party's lot to merge its identity in time with a larger political grouping.

Let the DP not disappear, however, until it has seen its 30 years of liberal advocacy vindicated and its values entrenched in a non-racial democratic constitution.

DILSHAAD BREY
LIBRARIAN

DP tension after Rand seat is lost

(3544) ET 15/11/91

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

TENSIONS re-emerged in the Democratic Party yesterday on the eve of its national congress today after the MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, blamed the party's chief whip, Mr David Dalling, for a shock by-election defeat in Johannesburg.

The latest conflict has developed despite a public plea yesterday morning to DP MPs by the party's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, to end their "regrettable and debilitating" quarrelling about their political friends.

The DP's heavy defeat in the Houghton/Killarney municipal ward, which is located in the safe DP constituencies of Houghton and Parktown, is a serious setback for the party and the ruling National Party/DP alliance in Johannesburg.

The independent candidate, Mr Sam Moss, at one time leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the Johannesburg city council, beat the DP's Mr Geoff Klass by 1 227 votes to 547 in a 32% poll.

Mr Leon and the chairman of the Johannesburg city council's management committee, Mr Ian Davidson, blamed the defeat on Mr Dalling, the MP for Sandton, and his perceived closeness to the ANC.

Dr De Beer did not refer directly to Mr Leon's statement at a press conference yesterday morning, but he implicitly distanced himself from it by saying Mr Moss had fought a shrewd campaign by steering clear of national issues and concentrating on municipal issues.

Although he congratulated Mr Moss on his victory, he said the result was "a matter of very considerable distress to us".

Even in these affluent areas there was considerable confusion and fear among white voters and in Johannesburg the white voters regarded the DP as part of the ruling establishment.

Although Mr Dalling raised the matter at a meeting of the DP's National Council yesterday, he refused to comment apart from dismissing Mr Leon as "merely a junior MP".

However, the open tension between the two wings of the party has been highlighted by the two MPs involved in the latest conflict as both clearly represent different groupings within the DP.

Dr De Beer admitted that "it seems inseparable from anything we do that we have quarrelling sections.

"Something which many seem to regard as an embarrassment for me concerns the publicity given to some of our members who have connections with the ANC and others who are critical of those who are said, for want of a better word, to be pro-ANC."

Political friendships were a natural result of inter-party interaction to which the DP was committed.

"During this process, should some of our people fall in love with the National Party and some with the ANC, that is the risk we run."

HNP lays charge against Ramsamy over the flag

Star 15/11/91

3044

Political Staff

As the furore over South African sports emblems continues, right-wing stalwart Jaap Marais yesterday asked the police to investigate criminal charges against National Olympic Committee of SA chairman Sam Ramsamy.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party leader said Mr Ramsamy had shown contempt for the country's national flag. This, he said, contravened the country's constitution and he had laid a charge against Mr Ramsamy at the Central police station in Pretoria.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said no emblem better personified the credo of the Olympic movement: "Faster, higher, further" than the Springbok.

About 100 students of the University of Stellenbosch yesterday marched through the town in support of the retention of the Springbok.

The ANC said last night that it agreed the flag and national anthem should be submitted to a referendum.

● The IFP today demanded the immediate scrapping of the Olympic symbols adopted by Nocsa.

IFP spokesperson Suzanne Vos said: "We object to this high-handed, dictatorial approach. This one-sided approach to sensitive issues should not be tolerated."

Meanwhile, Azapo said the old symbols were associated with all the degradation and humiliation blacks had to suffer as a result of apartheid over the years and had to go.

Thw PAC said it was important that bodies like Nocsa were "freed from obvious political partisanship", while the New Unity Movement dismissed the controversy as trivial.

Patrick Laurence analyses an important change in NP thinking on the multiparty talks

Separating party and state

Star 15/11/91 (304A) (11A)

PRESIDENT de Klerk's National Party has been the governing party for so long that even seasoned politicians forget there is a distinction between it and the Government.

They will be reminded of the distinction at the pending meeting of the steering committee to prepare for the way the multiparty convention on South Africa's future.

One of the first issues before it will be a proposal that the NP and the Government should be represented separately at the multiparty convention or, as the ANC calls it, the all-party congress. The proposal emanates from the Government, in apparent contradiction of its own idea of a multi*party* conference, a notion that strongly implies that representation should be confined to political parties.

On first sight the proposition has the hallmarks of a Machiavellian ploy to double the strength of the NP-Government delegation at the negotiating table.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer admits to feeling "negative" about it. He does not see why one party should have double representation. But he does not feel strongly enough to raise it to a make-or-break issue. As he understands it, decisions at the multiparty conference will not be taken by voting but by seeking consensus. "It is not as if the Nats are getting more votes," he remarks.

The ANC-SACP has similarly moved from a position of initial scepticism to one of acceptance, sources say. It has no major objection to the NP and the Government splitting its representatives into NP and Government delegations provided that it does not give the NP-Government camp additional voting muscle. If, the ANC-SACP bloc reckons, the NP and the Government want to split their representatives into two delegations, that is their business. It shares Dr de Beer's anticipation that, in the earlier stages of the all-party talks at any rate, decisions will be taken by consensus rather than majority vote.

The ANC and its allies have, The Star understands, adopted a pragmatic stance: if separate representation for the NP and the Government is necessary to accelerate the negotiations process, it should be accepted. The ANC-SACP alliance sees the virtue of locking the Government into the all-party congress, alias the multiparty convention; if the NP alone is represented, the Government is theoretically not bound by any decision the NP might take.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is approaching the multiparty conference with a flexible or open mind on procedural matters, including the question of representation, The Star understands. It is therefore unlikely to object to a Government request for separate representation.

These developments pose an important question: why has the Government changed tack from its earlier insistence that the round-table talks should be between political parties?

At one level the answer is simple: the Government cannot be bound by the NP; at another level, however, that explanation is facile. Mr de Klerk and his confidant, former Broederbond chief and Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen, are no slouches when it comes to strategic thinking.

They must have anticipated that the NP could not bind the Government when they first mooted the multiparty conference. The probabilities are that it did not worry them because the NP would not take any decisions which they did not approve of.

One answer for their new approach is that the Government is anxious to project the NP as a separate and viable force with a bright future. It is looking beyond the negotiating process to the first nonracial elections, in which the NP of the 1990s, with its racially open membership and its colour-blind philosophy, will be seeking the vote, directly or indirectly, of people across the entire racial spectrum.

The appointment of former Cabinet Minister Stoffel van der Merwe to the full-time post of secretary-general of the NP serves as a significant pointer. The title itself is symptomatic of NP thinking: until Dr van der Merwe assumed his new post, each of the NP's four provincial branches had a chief secretary; now, like the ANC, it has a secretary-general.

The NP, one can conclude, is putting itself on an election footing and wants to extract maximum mileage for itself during the negotiating process. It wants, its behaviour suggests, to spruce itself up to woo the black, coloured and Indian voters whom it previously ignored.

Agreement to allow the NP and Government to sit as two delegations may invite argument that place should be found at the negotiating table for, say, the KwaZulu Government as well as the IFP or the Qwaqwa Government as well as Dikwankwetla Party. It also may provide trade unions with an opening to claim places for themselves at the table. If the round-table talks are not restricted to bona fide political parties, the trade unions will be able to argue that they, too, have a right to be present.

One answer is that there are powerful reasons for making an exception for the central Government. The round-table talks are about a new constitution for the whole of South Africa; it could be contended that, unlike the central Government, regional governments and trade unions do not have necessary *locus standi*.

These issues lead inexorably to another: if the intention is to create a new constitution for the whole of South Africa — that is, as it existed before the establishment of the nominally independent states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — should those states not be represented at the talks? If so, by whom? Their governments or military juntas, their governing parties, the central government — or, in the case of Transkei, the ANC — or a combination of all these options?

The principle underlying the round-table talks is that they should be as inclusive as possible. A line will, however, have to drawn somewhere. The question is where and according to what criteria.

Discussion at the preparatory meeting should be as fascinating as it is complex. □

Inkatha move sets back all-party talks

BILLY PADDOCK and TIM COHEN

THE negotiation process suffered a serious setback yesterday when it emerged that Inkatha had forced the delay of today's planned steering committee meeting at the Carlton Hotel, sources said.

They said Inkatha was insisting that a troika — the ANC, government/NP and itself — should be the only members of the steering committee to manage the whole process of negotiations.

The ANC objected to this and argued that if a core group of the main organisations was not acceptable, then all parties should be invited to send representatives to the steering committee.

After recent negotiations, Inkatha was prepared to allow the PAC and the DP to be included on the committee. Government objected to the ANC's counter-proposal which would also include Azapo.

At an Inkatha central committee meeting at the weekend, the party decided that unless the committee was satisfied that management of the multiparty conference would be sound, it would refer the matter to its constituency and defer a final decision on participating.

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said yesterday there had to be consensus on all relevant issues before the steering committee could meet. The committee would be the driving force behind the whole process and prior agreement was necessary on who would chair the negotiations, the

☐ To Page 2

Inkatha

☐ From Page 1

voting procedure, the role of the chairmen and who should be invited to negotiations.

Documents emanating from bilateral talks between government and the ANC, which Business Day has seen, state "there was broad agreement by all parties that the all-party conference would take place on November 29 and 30", with the steering committee meeting taking place today.

ANC spokeman Gill Marcus said last night there was firm agreement between the ANC and government on the dates for both the steering committee and the all-party conference. The ANC was briefing the PAC and other allies while government was briefing Inkatha and other parties.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said agreement had not yet been reached on a date or agenda for a preparatory meeting, or for all-party talks.

A tentative alternative date for the steering committee meeting has been set for Tuesday, with a possible fallback date for the multiparty conference on December 9. The fallback date was a problem for the ANC because president Nelson Mandela would return from the US only on December 8.

Government will meet the ANC today to try to resolve the impasse.

New plan calls for all-race poll

Nats debate forum to draft constitution

B/Day 15/11/91

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

THE NP is considering the option of a "constitutional forum" elected by all races to finalise the terms of a new constitution once basic principles have been agreed on at the all-party conference, say senior NP negotiators.

This forum apparently would have a similar structure and function to the ANC's proposed constituent assembly.

The ANC has agreed that constitutional principles be determined by an all-party conference, before a proposed constitution is finalised at a constituent assembly. If the NP adopted the new strategy, this would create a workable compromise between it and the ANC over appropriate forums for constitution-making.

A referendum would probably be held to test public opinion on agreed constitutional principles, senior NP sources said.

The strategy is similar to one the DP has been looking at for the past few months.

Once the all-party conference had reached substantial agreement on guidelines and parameters for a new constitution, these could be put to a referendum of all races, one senior source said.

This referendum could be used to determine white support as well, something President F W de Klerk has promised.

Once the parameters got the go-ahead, SA would have its first nonracial election of representatives to the constitutional forum. Representation would be determined by party lists and party support.

The forum would have the mandate to finalise details, within agreed guidelines.

A sovereign Parliament would continue to pass legislation within the bounds of interim arrangements also to be devised by the all-party conference. This could include an agreement that no legislation be put to Parliament without prior approval by the all-party conference.

Proposed amendments to the Referendum Act published in the Government Gazette last week would be an important part of the NP strategy. The proposals provide for all people over the age of 18 to vote on the basis of universal franchise.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last month government was prepared to change the constitution if the all-party conference decided this was necessary. A referendum would be required if changes were substantial.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw indicated yesterday that De Klerk was being empowered to call multiple referendums on the same or a variety of issues.

A senior government source said yesterday once the constitution in its final form had been drafted, it would probably be put to another referendum. He said all parties agreed Parliament could not be the only body to endorse the constitution.

DP federal chairman Colin Eglin said there was no way that the present Parliament, which had no clear mandate and was clearly unrepresentative, could sanction a new constitution. If the constitutional forum was an elected body it would have credibility and the constitution stood a far better chance of widespread acceptance.

Eglin said Parliament could enact a law which gave power to the all-party conference legally to accept the new constitution with the proviso that this had first been given the go-ahead through a referendum.

DP election defeat fuels party tension

CAPE TOWN — Tensions re-emerged in the DP on the eve of its national congress today after MP for Houghton Tony Leon blamed the party's chief whip, David Dalling, for a shock by-election defeat in Johannesburg.

The latest conflict developed despite a public plea yesterday to DP MPs by the party's leader, Zach de Beer, to end their "regrettable and debilitating" quarrelling about their political friends.

The DP's heavy defeat in the Houghton /Killarney municipal ward is a serious setback for the party and the ruling DP-NP alliance in Johannesburg.

Independent candidate Sam Moss, at one time leader of the PFP in the council, beat the DP's Geoff Klass by 1 227 votes to 547 in a 32% poll.

Leon and Johannesburg City Council management committee chairman Ian Davidson blamed the defeat on Dalling.

De Beer implicitly distanced himself from Leon's statements by saying Moss fought a shrewd campaign by steering clear of national issues and concentrating on municipal issues.

Even in affluent areas, there was confusion and fear among white voters and in Johannesburg the DP was regarded as part of the ruling establishment, De Beer said.

Political Staff

Dalling refused to comment apart from dismissing Leon as "merely a junior MP".

The open tension between the two wings of the party was highlighted by the two MPs involved in the latest conflict.

The DP had deliberately placed itself in a position equidistant from the ANC and the NP in order to best influence both sides, De Beer said.

Convergence was still a DP strategy and the party could claim at least a measure of the credit for the convergence that had occurred in SA since February 1990, he said.

THEO RAWANA reports Moss said yesterday the DP lost the Houghton/Killarney municipal seat because the residents were fed up with the Johannesburg management committee's autocratic and dictatorial form of government.

He said ratepayers were unhappy with the management committee's expenditure on overseas trips, which had 'so far amounted to R800 000. Moss said that in his fight against crime he would, together with MP Tony Leon, press government to open a police station in Houghton.

● Comment: Page 8

DET, committee 'agree on education group'

DAVE LOURENS

THE Department of Education and Training (DET) and the Soweto Education Crisis Committee (SECC) have agreed to establish a working group to bring about a standing joint committee on black education before schools open for the 1992 academic year, SECC chairman David Maepa announced yesterday.

"One would hesitate to call it a breakthrough. An agreement has been reached in principle, but we are sceptical of the government's willingness to carry it through to its logical conclusion," Maepa said.

The agreement was reached at a meeting between the SECC, DET director-general Bernhard Louw and members of the Consultative Business Movement.

Maepa said the announcement was against Louw's wishes, but that the SECC "takes orders only from our constituency and reserves the right to speak to anyone, any time and to give ... our own analysis."

DET liaison officer Corrie Rademeyer said the DET could not comment before Louw had reported to Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer.

Maepa said the SECC had sought an unqualified undertaking from the DET that it would accept the recommendations of the Standing Joint Committee. The DET wanted the committee to function as a purely advisory body, but the SECC felt this would curtail its effectiveness and the government would continue to "call the tune" as before.

"We need a body which has legitimacy among the community to restore order. Legitimacy cannot go hand in hand with a toothless advisory committee."

The working group's tasks will be to formulate an election procedure, convene a meeting of relevant parties and determine their representation.

BY-ELECTIONS FM 15/11/91

Harmless bones 304A

It is unlikely there will ever be another whites-only general election. Even though President F W de Klerk has promised to test white opinion before agreeing to major constitutional change, this will probably take the form of a referendum.

So the coming by-elections in Virginia (November 28) and Potchefstroom (early next year) will not be invested with their traditional function of indicating the outcome of a later countrywide poll. Though the results will be sifted by the NP, for what they reveal about the mood of the rural electorate, the Nats are prepared to write off both seats. But it is possible that some CP voters, having lost hope of ever taking power, may stay away.

In 1989 Louis le Grange held Potchef-

cont-d



Le Grange

stroom against the CP by 1 583 votes. This was a surprise: in the rest of the Transvaal platteland there was a clear swing to the CP, and in 1987 Le Grange had won by only 558 votes. No other Nat MP in a rural Transvaal seat increased his majority in 1989, let alone by more than a 1 000 votes.

Local factors were clearly at work and, therefore, the by-election is unpredictable.

The low Nat majority in 1987 can perhaps be explained by the presence of an unusually strong CP candidate, Pieter Mulder. Son of the late Connie Mulder, Pieter is now CP MP for Schweizer-Reneke.

In contrast to many other rural Transvaal seats, the presence of a university in Potchefstroom may mean that the Nat vote will hold firm. It is not clear to what extent their support in 1989 was based on Le Grange's personal appeal. Known for his dignified bearing, he had represented the seat since 1966, and there was the prestige of being Speaker towards the end. But, historically, South Africans vote by party rather than personality, and the Nats' strong showing in 1989 means they must have a chance of retaining the seat.

The same cannot be said about Virginia. Piet Clase, whose recent retirement as MP and "white" Education & Culture Minister forced the by-election, scraped in by only 88 votes in 1989. Only two years earlier this former headmaster had retained the seat by more than 3 000 votes. Clase's *verkrampte* image might have stood him in good stead in 1987 but many voters evidently decided in 1989 that they could no longer accept the policies of his party.

If the Nats retain Potchefstroom, even by a small majority, and are not humiliated in Virgina, they will not be unhappy. Analysts would then agree that electoral strength of the Right had just about peaked. ■

NATIONAL PARTY FM 15/11/91

A touch of nerves 304A

The National Party completed its quantum leap into the politics of the Nineties when the fourth of its provincial congresses adopted the party's new constitutional proposals.

The venue for the Transvaal congress, ironically, was Pretoria City Hall, a favourite gathering place for the faithful in the confident years of white exclusivity.

The new look, new vocabulary and new vision were captured in some vivid cameos: the first black South African got up to speak as a party delegate; a telegram was received from Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Moscow (read to delegates by "total onslaught" architect Magnus Malan); and, borrowing from John F Kennedy, "coloured" MP Jac Rabie proudly proclaimed: "Ich bin ein Afrikaner."

This remarkable display of intellectual adapt-or-die, backed by the adoption of a well-packaged constitutional framework, should have provided a firm footing for a confident Cabinet performance. Minister Gerrit Viljoen's blueprint has rescued the party from a two-year constitutional wilderness and clearly revitalised it.

But the old *kragdadigheid* still surfaced. Setting the tone on Thursday night, State President F W de Klerk launched a vitriolic and scathing attack on the ANC, on Cosatu for its hand in the economically crippling two-day strike, on the National Olympic Committee and on Sam Ramsamy.

He went too far. The attack on Ramsamy was spurred by the discarding of *Die Stem* and the Springbok emblem in favour of neutral symbols when we return to the Olympics next year. This was an unedifying attack; the Nats should realise that they cannot preach change while clinging to divisive symbols of an old era.

One would have thought that the green light given by the provincial congresses to the new constitutional framework would have bolstered confidence. After all, party leaders took a risk steering the party in a new direction. Or are the Nats under the impression that nothing will really change?

De Klerk's choice of words was unworthy of him; the resentful bluster of Ministers responding in the same vein was an unwelcome reminder of old-style Nat politics at its worst.

But then electioneering has never made the Nats look their best. On the one hand they are preparing for the launch of all-party talks before the month's end; on the other, there are two uncomfortable House of Assemby by-elections in the next three months. In both Virginia and Potchefstroom, the Conservative Party is doing its best to demonstrate a shift to the Right in the white electorate.



President De Klerk ... *unworthy lapse into the past*

Even taking into account Nat secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe's defence of the hardball approach — that the by-elections would be the first parliamentary contest for the Nats since placing their new plans on the table — the rage and threats revealed a lack of political nerve.

Van der Merwe justified the approach, claiming that two fields were being played on at the same time: formal negotiations and the inevitable first poll against the ANC. But the Nats would be wise to remember that playing the ball and not the man shows greater skill and confidence — on any field.

While De Klerk, Viljoen and other Ministers referred to the constitutional blueprint in glowing terms, the emotional rhetoric did not display the same confidence. Instead of claiming the intellectual and moral high ground by using its constitutional proposals as its ammunition, party leaders indulged in war talk.

Interestingly, questions from the floor did not reveal the same kind of paranoia. Even party veterans got up to support the new apartheid-free political thinking. As Koos Potgieter (88) from Brits said: "Forced apartheid has passed away and I am not sad about it."

While the Cabinet appeared suddenly to have lost its nerve, what the party faithful were really concerned about was spiralling crime and economic hardship. But neither Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel nor Finance Minister Barend du Plessis could offer solace. Shooting from the hip, Kriel and Du Plessis chose to back De Klerk's negative opening bid and failed to display leadership with vision.

There are surely enough real issues on which to tackle the ANC and leftwing political foes without bothering about the Olympics.

The fire and brimstone over the past week will have done little to help the party sell its "framework for a new democratic SA" to an insecure white electorate. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (304A)

FM 15|11|91 (304A)

Unity for now FM 15|11|91

The Democratic Party will try to form a united front at its national congress in Cape Town this weekend but deep divisions have developed behind the scenes.

Last week's caucus clash over contact with the ANC heightened tensions that had been building for some time. A motion of no confidence in veteran MP and chief whip Dave Dalling, by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle, was withdrawn after intervention by DP leader Zach de Beer, but it highlighted the problems which the party faces.

Carlisle and a group of liberal "purists" are unhappy with increasing contact between the ANC and some DP members, including Dalling, whose wife, Zelda, is an ANC office bearer in Stellenbosch.

Dalling, in his capacity as Zelda's spouse, recently attended an ANC fund-raising function in Stellenbosch where ANC president Nelson Mandela was guest of honour.

He also went to an ANC cocktail party in the town. It was held in a house owned by the DP MP for Simon's Town, Jannie Momberg, who also attended. Two of Momberg's sons are ANC members. Momberg also attended a cocktail party and fund-raising function at a Stellenbosch restaurant in which he has a share.

Other DP MPs with close ANC ties include Jan van Eck, of Claremont, Pierre Cronje, of Greytown and Rob Haswell, of Maritzburg South.

After heated debate at last week's caucus meeting in Johannesburg, it was agreed that MPs would excercise "discipline" in their dealings with other political organisations — in particular the ANC — and at all times adhere to DP policies and principles.

Some MPs believe Carlisle's motion of no confidence in Dalling would have failed anyway and was simply a symbolic gesture to show deep dissatisfaction at the direction in which some caucus members were drifting.

There was also a feeling that it was petty squabbling and reflected badly on the party at a time when it is attempting to position itself as a bridge-builder between the ANC and NP. It is understood that this was the essence of De Beer's argument.

Neither side is repentant. Dalling says he will continue to accompany his wife to ANC functions, just as she accompanies him to DP functions. Carlisle says De Beer's statement after the meeting strongly reaffirmed the independent role of the DP.

Within days of the caucus meeting, Momberg confirmed that ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki had accepted an invitation to speak at a DP public meeting in Simon's Town early next year.

The degree to which the row over contact with the ANC influences proceedings at the congress might severely test the leadership's ability to keep delegates in line.

David Welsh, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, says his gut feeling is that there is still considerable disagreement within the party and that the caucus meeting simply "papered over the cracks."

He does not expect the caucus row or contact with the ANC to develop into a major congress issue. Though it will probably be a main topic of informal conversation among delegates, the party leadership is likely to regard it as something that has been dealt with and which does not need to be discussed further.

Welsh does not see the congress as a crossroads for the DP. He believes most of the party faithful — including MPs — want to maintain the party as an independent force, at least for the transitional period which is likely to last for about two years.

Though the DP is relatively small and white-based, it has significant potential to play a catalytic role in SA's transition to democracy, which is the direction it has chosen for itself, observes Welsh.

The party will probably reach a crossroad only after the transition phase when many supporters might choose between the ANC and NP. Welsh believes there might be sufficient latent support within the potential electorate to give the DP 10%-12% of the vote in a proportional representation election.

He also does not believe the caucus will split for the time being. If any MPs want to join the ANC, they will probably be required (by the ANC) to quit parliament first — which is unlikely, considering the salaries and perks available to them.

Momberg this week denied he was considering joining the ANC and said if he did, he would resign his seat in parliament.

The congress will focus on key issues facing the new SA: the economy, the transition, violence, constitutional proposals, broadcasting policy, metropolitan government, women's rights, the alleviation of poverty, hunger and unemployment, care of the aged and the disabled.



Dalling



Carlisle

A new chairman must be elected to succeed Tiaan van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, who was killed in a motor accident. The most likely choice is Gardens MP Ken Andrew. ■

Cont →

Moss won election on local issues, says DP

Star 15/11/91 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party claims that its huge defeat in a Houghton/Killarney city council by-election on Wednesday was largely a local problem which it would attend to at that level.

Independent candidate Sam Moss won the seat by 680 votes in the heart of the DP's stronghold, winning 1 227 votes to the 547 of DP candidate Geoff Klass.

Responding to remarks by Houghton MP Tony Leon that the election defeat had "national implications", DP southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soal said the Houghton/Killarney by-election had been fought "purely on local issues".

"Mr Moss won a credible election and we congratulate him. He put his finger on local problems and we will address those problems. We are aware of them."

Mr Soal said the problems would be addressed at the next Transvaal regional council meeting.

Meanwhile DP sources have disclosed that the row between Houghton MP Tony Leon and Sandton MP Dave Dalling over the by-election result was resolved at a meeting of the DP national council in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Leon told The Star on Wednesday that he blamed Mr Dalling and his ANC connections for the defeat.

After total onslaught, total confrontation . . .

3044
ARG 16/11/91

The confrontational style that has developed over the last four months between the nationalists and the liberationists gives reason for great concern — especially if we take into consideration the poor and deteriorating state of the South African economy, writes PROFESSOR SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE of the University of Stellenbosch.

OVER the last two decades, enormous and irreparable harm was done to the economy by the policies and strategies employed by *both* the nationalists and the liberationists.

It is very unfortunate that the economy was used — and that it is still being used — as an important bargaining chip in the relentless power struggle between the nationalists and the liberationists to decide who will govern South Africa in the future and what political system will be applicable.

The stakes in this power struggle are very high and have always been. At times, the power struggle took the form of a "war" of low intensity. It is to be applauded that the Nationalist government has unbanned the liberation organisations and that their leaders were set free and that the liberationists have suspended the armed struggle.

We will, however, be deceiving ourselves if we do not acknowledge that the struggle for power has lately regained something of its previous war-like character. During the last four months open hostility, mud slinging and character assassination has become part of the "verbal war" between the Nationalists and the liberationists.

The liberationists have never contested the point that it has been (and still is) a deliberate part of their strategy to harm the economy to force the government to relinquish power. Their armed struggle strategy, their calls for sanctions, their disinvestment policy and the mass strike of last week have undoubtedly done enormous harm to the economy.

That the liberationists have for many years employed — and continue to employ — strategies and policies harmful to the economy must be deplored in the strongest terms possible. The time for them to replace war-war by jaw-jaw is long overdue — especially from an economic point of view.

If there is one thing about which the Nationalist pot cannot call the liberationist kettle black — and vice versa — then it is the contribution *both* have made over many years towards the sorry state of the South African economy.

Successive NP-governments clung to the immoral apartheid policy and to its illegitimate white monopoly of political power in spite of their firsthand knowledge of the harmful effects the international isolation — provoked by the policy of apartheid — was exerting on the South African economy. On top of this, the NP-governments spent billions of rands on "Total Strategy" to counteract the alleged "Total Onslaught". The high defence spending was justified in terms of a threat that was deliberately blown out of proportion. It will not be possible to undo the enormous harm of this misallocation of very scarce resources.

Several cabinet ministers have lately acknowledged that harm was done towards blacks by the apartheid policies, but they claim this harm was the unfortunate and unintended result of a policy that now belongs to the past. This is a half-truth applied in a doubtful way to produce a feeble excuse.

It is not true that the apartheid policy and the white monopoly of political power — something that should be regarded as the core element of the apartheid system — can be declared as already belonging to the past. Although statutory apartheid may almost have been abolished its ugly remnants, its skew fiscal spending pattern and its white-orientated power structures, are still very much in place.

It is also not justifiable to claim — as President De Klerk has done recently in an interview with *Der Spiegel* — that it was not the intention of NP governments to do harm towards blacks with the apartheid policies. This is too simple an attempt by the NP to escape from its undeniable obligation towards restitution and reparation.

On behalf of the highly needed reconciliation, the Nationalists should acknowledge not only the truth about the deliberate exploitative nature of apartheid, but also the truth about the selfishness inherent in deliberate monopolisation of political power. The deliberate removal of the coloureds from the common voters role in 1956 must never be forgotten and should not be pardoned before an adequate confession of guilt has been made by the NP.

In a speech at Stellenbosch on October 7, President De Klerk said stability and "the sound value system in line with the successful democracies and economies of the world is not negotiable". He threatened to retard a settlement if the liberationists are not prepared to accept this unspecified "sound value system".

What is the "sound value system" President De Klerk had in mind and to which successful democracies and economies did he refer? It cannot be the Asian countries, other than Japan. These countries have been the world's fastest-growing economies over the last 25 years.

If President De Klerk was referring to the economically successful Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, he should take note that one of the core values on which the democracies of these countries are based is that the governing party and/or coalition of parties are always prepared to become part of the opposition when losing one of the regularly held elections. Is President De Klerk prepared to accept this democratic value typical of the political system in all the OECD countries?

In his speech at the Transvaal congress of the NP on November 7, President De Klerk stated that the NP was not prepared to hand over power. President De Klerk has clearly manoeuvred himself into a position which contradicts democracy: In Stellenbosch he threatened to wreck the negotiation process if the unspecified "sound value system" of successful democracies and economies is not accepted. In Pretoria he rejected — even before negotiations commenced — one of the fundamental values on which the political system of the successful democracies and economies of the world is based.

It seems as if the Nationalists and the liberationists have, over the last four months, locked themselves into a rather dangerous stalemate situation by intensifying the power struggle. This stalemate is destined to cause a further deterioration of the already sorry state of the economy.

The Nationalists should get part of the blame if the economic situation deteriorates further. As long as they are not prepared to show remorse for apartheid, as long as they cling to their white monopoly of political power and as long as they are making contradictory remarks about democracy, the power struggle will continue and the economy will deteriorate.

The liberationists should also get part of the blame for a worsening of the economic situation. As long as they remain committed to sanctions, to mass actions and to radical reform rhetoric, the power struggle will continue and the economic situation will deteriorate.

It is important that the blame — or the relative portions of the blame — for the ongoing deterioration of the economic situation should be squarely placed where it belongs. Perhaps this will make the politicans wake up to the fact that an equitable constitutional solution — and the reconciliation on which it should be based — can only be achieved in circumstances conducive to economic growth and stability.

DP proposal

Constitution 'should be drawn up by elected body'

All must have say in future

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

THE Democratic Party's dramatic shift to an elected body to draw up the new constitution has boosted chances for a negotiation compromise.

The DP will be effectively offering its model to the all-party conference as the basis for a compromise between the ANC and the National Party.

Disagreement on the mechanism for drawing up the new constitution has been one of the most critical issues of dispute in constitutional talks so far.

The ANC wants a sovereign constituent assembly to draw up the constitution, while the NP believes the all-party conference should have this task.

However, elements in both the ANC and NP have begun to consider a compromise.

Indications are that some senior NP members favour a constitutional forum of sorts, while constitutional experts in the ANC are understood to be prepared to consider alternatives to a simple constituent assembly.

In this shifting terrain — and with a talks breakthrough imminent — observers believe the DP's model could prove the pioneer in a process of drawing the major parties to agreement on a workable and more acceptable constitution-making body.

The DP has made it clear that an elected body is necessary to give a new constitution legitimacy.

Conflicting resolutions before the DP's annual congress in Sea Point yesterday gave delegates a choice between a constituent assembly, an all-party conference or a combination of the two as the best way to draw up a constitution.

But, averting a potentially divisive debate — which some feared could have widened the fissure between progressive and liberal factions — veteran democrat and MP for Sea Point Mr Colin Eglin won support from most of the 400 delegates with a compromise proposal for a constitutional conference bound by principles agreed by an all-party conference.

Not everybody supported his line of thinking.

MPs Mr Roger Hulley (Constantia), Mr Douglas Gibson (Hillbrow) and Mr Tony Leon (Houghton) feared the DP would be too small to win a place in an elected constitutional conference.

Mr Eglin was backed by MPs Ms Dene Smuts (Groote Schuur), Mr Peter Gastrow (Durban Central) and Mr Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga).

Mr Eglin said an elected constitutional conference would allow all South Africans to identify their parties and leaders.

He warned that if people did not feel part of creating a new constitution, violence would continue.

Mr Eglin acknowledged there were risks in his proposal, but added: "There is no reason why we should not have faith in the people of South Africa. Violence is there because there are obstacles to the democratic process.

"Given the opportunity to take part in a democratic process, there's a greater risk of peace breaking out, than of violence continuing."

THE Democratic Party suggests that South Africa's new constitution should be drawn up by a 200-member conference.

The DP believes this constitutional conference should be elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage in a system of proportional representation, with a cut-off of one percent.

Other key elements of the model are that the constitutional conference will:

- **Be bound by constitutional principles agreed by an all-party conference;**
- **Sit only as long as it takes to draw up a new constitution, or for two years, whichever is the shorter period, and then be dissolved (if the new constitution has not been finalised within two years, there will be fresh elections for a new constitutional conference);**
- **Submit the new constitution to the people in a referendum, after which the conference will automatically dissolve;**
- **Be convened by the person or persons agreed to by the all-party conference;**
- **Be empowered to determine its own procedures, including the right to hold all or any part of its sessions in committee — so long as it adheres to the principles agreed by the all-party conference; and**
- **Seek to take decisions on the basis of consensus. Where this is not possible, it may take decisions with the positive vote of 70 percent of the total number of members, providing that both the majority party in the constitutional conference, and the majority party in parliament (which would also be represented in the conference) agree.**

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Attacks: DP MPs warned

CT 16/11/91

3044A

BY BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, yesterday cracked the whip on MPs who attacked each other publicly and warned them he would take stronger action against them if they persisted.

He said his re-election as party leader yesterday would be treated "as a mandate to deal more harshly than I have hitherto done with people who do these things".

Dr De Beer said when he opened the DP's national congress in Sea Point that the issue gave him pain.

"The principal difficulty that I, and other leaders of this party, have had to face throughout this year is the persistent tendency of a minority of our Members of Parliament to take public attitudes strongly favourable to the ANC and the Nats, and to do so in the press.

"At worst, we have even had our MPs attacking each other through the press.

"And our caucus has leaked like a sieve."

DP congress sticks with 'chairman' title

AN attempt to amend the Democratic Party's constitution by replacing the word "chairman" with the non-sexist "chairperson" was defeated yesterday.

The move was initiated by the DP Youth chairman in the Western Cape Mr Brian Berkman, who said at its national congress in Sea Point that the party should set a non-sexist example.

But the majority of delegates backed the member of Parliament for Yeoville, Mr Douglas Gibson, who defended the use of the traditional "chairman".

Dr De Beer said he previously invited MPs who felt that their primary loyality was to another party or organisation to leave the DP.

"Nobody went, and I suppose this constitutes some sort of statement that all our members are in fact loyal to the DP.

"Here I repeat the invitation in public: Anyone whose first loyalty isn't to the DP, in heaven's name, go."

Earlier, Dr De Beer welcomed delegates to "a party which, 30 years ago, put forward a set of constitutional proposals which have not only stood the test of time, but have now been very widely copied by other, major South African parties — and now, to a large extent, confirmed by the report of the Law Commission".

He also said the situation in South Africa was fairly described as one of crisis and special measures were called for.

"Surely this is the time for a government of national unity?

"Surely President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela should be working together to bring constitutional settlement and stability and investment and growth and jobs, instead of hurling insults at each other?"

Each of these leaders should put aside his private agenda and concentrate on the formation of a government of national unity.

● The MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, was elected the party's national chairman to replace the late Mr Tian van der Merwe. He defeated Mr Jannie Momberg in a secret ballot.

DP wants constitutional conference for SA

304A

CT 16/11/91

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party yesterday opted for an elected constitutional conference to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

The constitution, to be drawn up at the conference, would then have to be approved by the people of South Africa in a referendum, the party decided by an overwhelming majority at its national congress in Sea Point.

However, as a first step the DP said an all/multi-party conference (APC/MPC) attended by representatives of all political bodies should be convened to reach agreement on issues, including the principles on which the new constitution should be based.

The party adopted the resolution after the chairman of its parliamentary caucus, Mr Colin Eglin, said the APC/MPC was not the body to draw up a new constitution.

"The APC/MPC is important in a different sense. It is part of the peace process. It is a body for the warring parties to make peace and reach agreement on procedures and principles for a new constitution," Mr Eglin said.

The APC/MPC would represent the parties of the past and would not be fully representative of the people of South Africa.

The proposed constitutional conference was not an interim conference nor would it be sovereign, but the elections for it would enable the people of South Africa to identify their parties and leaders, Mr Eglin said.

Proposed Bill of Rights 'perpetuates apartheid'

Star 16/11/91

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

THE ANC yesterday sharply criticised the recently released Law Commission's proposals on a Bill for Human Rights, saying it perpetuated apartheid.

"As it stands, the Law Commission's Bill of Rights is a Bill of Rights for the haves, who are largely big corporations and whites. It offers very little to the have-nots, who are largely poor and black," the ANC's department of information and publicity (DIP) said in a detailed, long-awaited response to the Law Commission's proposals.

The ANC said there was a large measure of agreement between itself and the Law Commission on civil and political rights. However, it differed sharply on "second-generation" rights, including social, educational, economic and welfare rights.

The Law Commission argued that these rights could not be enforced, while the ANC believed affirmative action programmes should be implemented to "rid our country of racism ... and the massive disparities created by apartheid".

The ANC said it rejected the commission's watered-down version of affirmative action. Affirmative action could be applied effectively to land, housing, training, education, employmen and business.

"The notion that affirmative action is retribution, as the Law Commission implies, is mean-spirited. If it is not undertaken, the unequal power relations established by racism and apartheid will be perpetuated.

"It is only dictators who pose a choice between bread and freedom. The ANC says the people of South Africa deserve both bread and freedom."

However, the Law Commission's proposals were much more advanced than its preliminary report and "appropriate some of the language of democracy and of the democratic movement".

The ANC said the commission had only addressed the relationship between the State and the individual and not relations between citizens.

The effect of this approach was that huge areas of racial practice would be left untouched in private spheres. This meant the privatisation of apartheid.

It concluded: "Sadly, the Law Commission has not fulfilled the mission it set itself. The Bill of Rights it proposes will entrench the individual rights and preserve the interests of the rich and powerful at the expense of the large majority.

"A Bill of Rights must enshrine rights which will ensure that the substance as well as the form of apartheid will be removed from our society."

FW tells Taiwan he'll hold off marxism

Sfeur 16/11/91

304A

PIERRE CLAASSEN and ALAN DUNN

TAIPEI — The Government would block any constitution that could not ensure security and stability or which introduced obsolete ideologies, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing his Taiwanese counterpart at a state banquet held in honour of President Lee Teng-hui, he said sound political and economic principles would continue to prevail in South Africa.

Continuing on a theme that has characterised his six-day, back-to-back state visits to Israel and Taiwan, the South African president reassured businessmen and investors that the Government had the situation under control and that investment in South Africa would be rewarding.

"You may rest assured that my Government has taken the necessary steps to combat and curtail the violence and that it has the situation well in hand," he said.

"My Government will not permit the implementation of a new constitution unable to safeguard security and stability.

"Nor will it agree to any new constitution that will permit the introduction in South Africa of obsolete and rejected ideologies that have failed so dramatically elsewhere in the world — not to speak of experiments that have brought nothing but poverty and retrogression under marxist socialism in the Eastern bloc, most of Africa and other parts of the world."

The violence and apparent instability in South Africa were passing phenomena, said Mr de Klerk. They were inevitable in any country undergoing far-reaching change, he said.

"It is a temporary, transitional phase South Africa simply has to weather if it is to succeed in implementing peace, progress and prosperity in a free-enterprise democracy," he said.

South African businessmen were keen to do business with the Republic of China, Mr de Klerk added.

Wonderful opportunities were opening up, in turn, for foreign investors

● TO PAGE 2.

De Klerk

● FROM PAGE 1.

in South Africa now that international sanctions, boycotts and disinvestment campaigns were crumbling.

"We believe it is both desirable and necessary for businessmen from the Republic of China to make use of these opportunities and become involved in them."

This involved a concerted effort by Taiwanese businessmen to acquaint themselves with the new opportunities becoming available to them in South Africa: "The time to become involved is now," he said.

Mr de Klerk said he fully understood that many investors and entrepreneurs were uncertain about committing themselves in South Africa right now.

South Africans did not expect charity, he said, only the chance to prove themselves.

Earlier Foreign Ministers Pik Botha and Fredrick Chien formally amended an air link agreement allowing airlines other than the national carriers, SA Airways and China Airlines, to operate between their countries.

They also signed an accord aimed at promoting South African/Taiwanese investments. They agreed to "take all measures possible" to maintain and improve their respective investment climates. 304A

16/11/91

A bilateral working committee will meet, in terms of the agreement, to explore closer co-operation and areas of technology transfer.

A communique signed by Mr de Klerk and Mr Lee said the governments had also agreed to establish projects to promote agricultural and technical co-operation for the benefit of the southern African region.

Sfeur

At an earlier news conference, Mr de Klerk acknowledged that South Africa would be looking to trade with other countries on the Pacific Rim.

"We will not allow those ties to endanger relations with Taiwan," he said.

South Africa would continue to try expanding trade with those countries. "We will trade with whoever we can trade," he said.

"I'm not afraid of any negative effect," he said, when asked how any new trade with "mainland" China would affect relations with Taiwan.

NP's Tshabalala pushes on despite death threats

Star 16/11/91

304A

MUSA MAPISA

DEATH threats or not, Joseph Tshabalala is determined to take his constituency with him to the National Party camp.

"There is no place in South Africa for small insignificant structures. We all have to join mainstream politics", said the former leader of the now defunct United People's Forum (UPF).

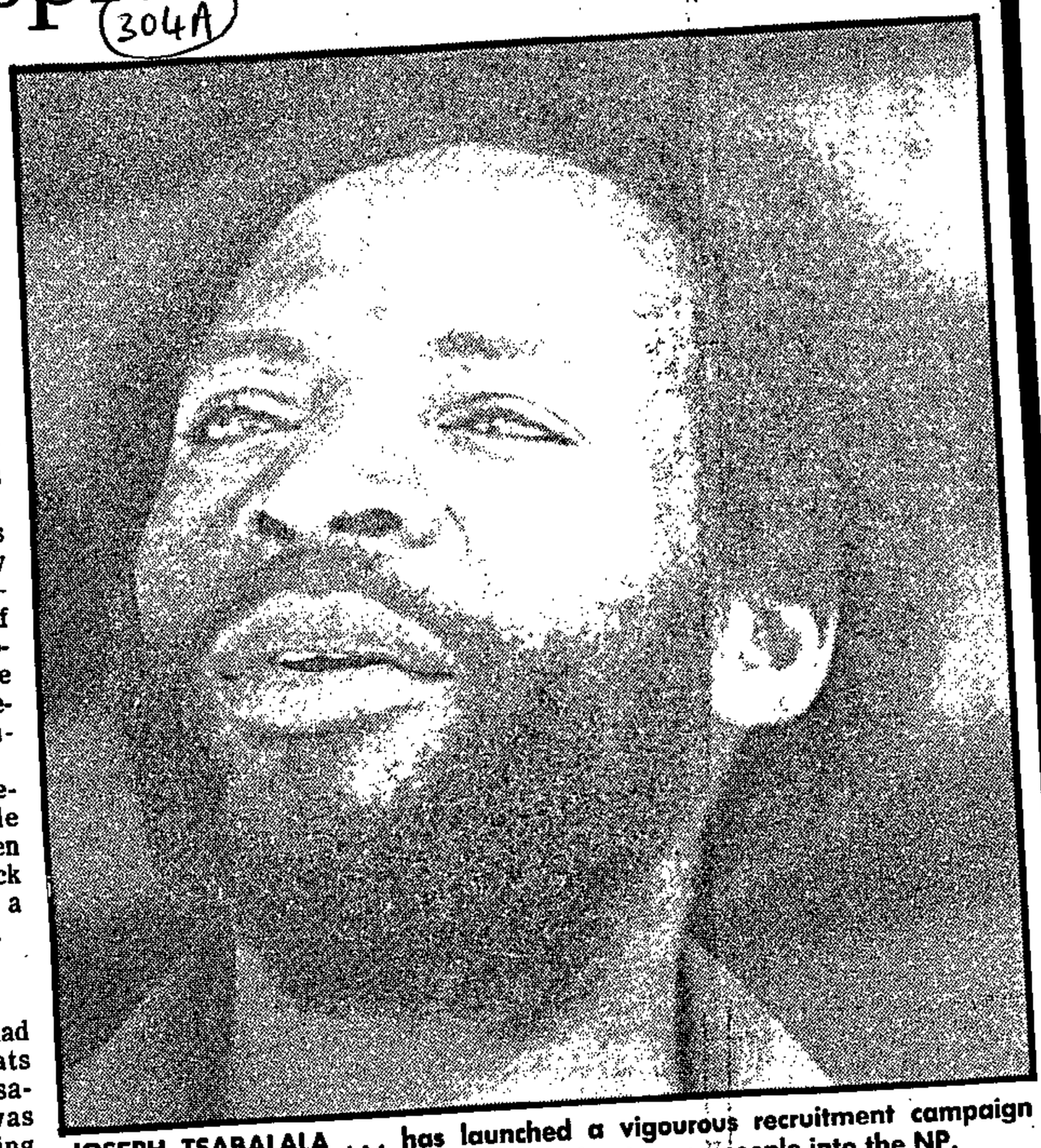
Mr Tshabalala was once allegedly hired by the KwaNdebele government at a reported fee of R34 300 a month "to motivate the Ndebele people to look forward to the realisation of independence".

A former Atteridgeville mayor, he made headlines recently when he became the first black person to address a Transvaal NP congress.

Dealt with

Later he alleged he had received death threats from certain organisations because "he was successfully recruiting thousands of Atteridgeville residents to join the NP".

He alleged that a member of Atteridgeville/Saulville Residents Organisation (Asro) recently told a gathering at the local church that he (Tshabalala) was "back on the scene" and should be dealt with accordingly for recruiting people for the NP. The Asro member denied the allegation.



JOSEPH TSABALALA ... has launched a vigourous recruitment campaign since the beginning of the year, trying to woo people into the NP.

It had been earlier reported that Mr Tshabalala was ready to lead about 6 000 residents to the NP.

However, he told the Saturday Star this week that he had registered about 400 people at the local branch of which he is chairman.

"We had 6 000 registered members at UPF in Atteridgeville, many of whom were willing to join the NP after we decided to dissolve the organisation in January," he said.

Asked how he managed to register as many as 400 people in the township, Mr Tshabalala said a vigorous recruitment campaign since the beginning of the year generated a lot of interest.

Mr Tshabalala, who offically joined the NP in February last year, said he had, in reality, always "been there."

"I've worked in the system. I was groomed in the Government. All my experience of politics comes from there", he said.

Poll plan brings party close to ANC

DP in crucial shift on constitution





AT ODDS: Colin Eglin (left) and Tony Leon (right) took different stands on the conference proposal.

Star 16/11/91 (304A)

BEN MacLENNAN and MARTIN CHALLENOR

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has come out firmly in favour of an elected constitutional conference as the mechanism for drawing up a new constitution.

This puts the party's thinking broadly in line with the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, which have long held that only an elected body would have the necessary legitimacy to draw up a constitution acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

And there are indications that even some senior people in the National Party are beginning to see merit in an elected body drawing up the new constitution.

Up to now the NP has firmly maintained that parties taking part in the all-party talks should draw up the new constitution.

A policy document adopted at the DP's national congress at Sea Point in Cape Town yesterday proposes that the conference, of about 200 members, be elected by universal adult franchise on a basis of proportional party representation.

Veteran DP campaigner Colin Eglin, in what one delegate described as his best political speech yet, swung the delegates in favour of the elected constitutional conference idea.

Mr Eglin was backed by MPs Dene Smuts (Groote Schuur), Peter Gastrow (Durban Central) and Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga).

They were opposed by MPs Douglas Gibson (Hillbrow), Roger Hulley (Constantia) and Tony Leon (Houghton), who argued that the DP was too small to win a place in an elected constitutional conference.

Crucial

But an overwhelming majority of delegates backed Mr Eglin in what many said was the most crucial decision taken by the DP this year.

The document says the DP wants to see a multi-party conference (MPC) or all-party conference established as the principal agent for managing the transition to a new government.

The MPC would agree on the principles on which a new constitution should be based, and the constitutional conference would be bound to adhere to these. The final con-

● TO PAGE 2.

DP plan (304A)

● FROM PAGE 1.

stitution would have to be accepted in a national referendum.

Addressing the congress on the proposals, Mr Eglin said a constitutional conference would give the people of South Africa an opportunity to identify their parties and leaders in free and fair elections, which they had not yet had the chance to do.

There was an element of risk in this process, but after the experience of democratic elections in Namibia and Zambia "we should have faith in the maturity of South Africa's people".

"Given that opportunity, I believe there's a greater risk of peace breaking out than of violence continuing."

Mr Eglin said the constitutional conference would not be a government-in-waiting but would go out of office as soon as it had performed its task.

The policy document proposes that a transitional government be established as the product of "agreement" by the MPC.

Its objectives would include promoting even-handed and impartial stewardship of key government functions, the broadcast media and the security forces. It would also help to contain violence.

Mrs Smuts said that in view of South Africa's "devious past constitutional record" there should be a clean break with the past.

Having a constitution drawn up by a constitutional conference, rather than by an MPC, would provide this.

"We do not ask for saints, but we do say that an MPC comprising all sorts of tricameral and homeland parties, representing not so much shades of opinion as shady opinion — I refer to the percentage polls — is not sufficiently worthy to create the true South Africa."

Squabbling between the ANC and the NP would make this worse, she added.

The constitution agreed upon would have to go before the country in a referendum.

● The congress also resolved to establish commissions to explore ways of compensating those who had lost land or property as a result of apartheid injustice, and of effecting affirmative action in the civil service.



Saddle paddle

Startled motorists could not believe their eyes when they drove past Greyville race course yesterday. There in front of them was lovely Melanie Burger, the most unusual horsewoman they had ever seen. Dressed in her best wet gear, she and her trusty steed (by courtesy of Harry Thomas Saddlery) waded through a wet Royal Durban golf course, transformed into a water wonderland by heavy rains which swept Natal yesterday. But even the rainy conditions did not dampen her spirits as she celebrated being named Dancer of the Year by the Natal Technikon where she completed a drama diploma.

● Photograph: PETER DUFFY

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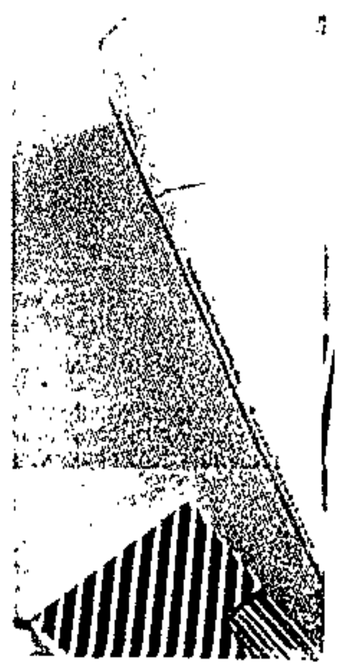


Zach is back — hits at DP squabbling

Star 16/11/91 (304A)

PETER FABRICIUS: Political Correspondent

DR Zach de Beer was re-elected leader of the Democratic Party yesterday with a strong mandate to discipline his feuding MPs and maintain the party's independent identity.

Dr de Beer, sending a clear warning mainly to ANC sympathisers, told the DP national congress that any members who felt a primary loyalty to another party should "in heaven's name, go".

He was loudly applauded then and again when he asked for a mandate to "maintain the identity, the integrity and the independence of the Democratic Party".

Dr de Beer was elected unopposed, with a standing ovation from about 300 delegates in a Sea Point hotel.

The pro-ANC camp suffered another set-back when its candidate, Simom's Town MP Jannie Momberg, was defeated by Gardens MP Ken Andrew — a "true-blue Prog" — in the election for the position of national chairman.

However it scored a partial victory when the congress made a substantial change to DP policy by adopting the idea of an elected constitutional conference to write a new constitution — essentially an ANC position.

Dr de Beer lashed out at the "tendency of a minority of our Members of Parliament to take up public attitudes strongly favourable to the ANC or the Nats, and to run to the press with these.



ZACH DE BEER: Elected unopposed.

"At worst, we have even had our MPs attacking each other through the press and our caucus has leaked like a sieve."

He insisted that DP members would not be allowed to make "public demonstrations of their

● TO PAGE 2.

De Beer

● FROM PAGE 1.

affection for other, competing organisations" or "air the party's dirty linen in public".

If they did, he would deal with them "more harshly" than in the past, he warned.

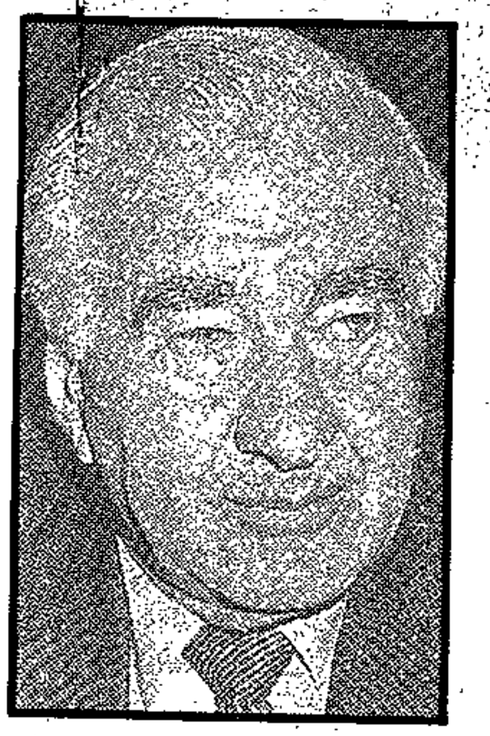
Dr de Beer urged the DP to take courage from recent polls which showed it was gaining support in black areas and could become the third largest political force in SA, holding the balance of power between the NP and the ANC. (304A)

Despite the bubbling tensions in the party over recent weeks, the first day of the congress was relatively uneventful. Star 16/11/91

However several resolutions to be debated today could ignite fireworks, including one from the Western Cape youth branch forbidding the party from forming alliances or associating with any party linked to the SA Communist Party.

Council set for shake-up in wake of DP's Houghton mauling

Star 16/11/91 (304A)



Sam Moss ... back as councillor after a long break.

SHIRLEY WOODGATE

HAS the Johannesburg Democratic Party done a "Randburg"? That is the question flitting through municipal corridors after Wednesday's by-election setback for the DP in its Ward 16 stronghold where a 300 majority in 1990 was turned into a 660 loss by former stalwart Sam Moss.

The "Randburg" phrase alludes to events following the 1982 Progressive Federal Party municipal election victory when Bill Sewell, Pat van Rensburg and their supporters swept the National Party out of office and took over the Randburg management committee in a blaze of glory.

Less than two years later they watched power revert to the Nats, the result of PFP caucus in-fighting, the ill-timing of a survey on race relations, and poor public relations.

Now speculation is rife that the Johannesburg City Council will never be the same again after the Houghton rout by an independent.

Several scenarios are being painted, none of them depicting the three DP members of the management committee, which rules the city in coalition with two Nats and one independent, as the heroes.

● **SCENARIO 1:** The return of former PFP council leader Sam Moss to the Civic Centre, which puts the composition of the 51-man council at 22 Nats, the DP on 17, four Conservatives and eight independents.

It is now possible for the independents (probably excluding Eddy Magid on management committee) to oust the CP as the official opposition through numerical superiority and line up in a loose non-political ratepayer representative alliance under Mr Moss.

Independents who were canvassed did not rule out the possibility of a push for power, but none was keen to be quoted — at this stage.

● **SCENARIO 2:** The DP has steadily lost voter support since concluding a convenient coalition to share the management committee with the NP.

It is openly speculated that certain rank-and-file members of the NP — now the clear majority party in the coalition — are increasingly irritated by being forced to be the dog wagged by the minority DP tail.

The NP top hierarchy is believed to have indicated that nobody should rock the boat, and speculation is that an independent alliance could attract dissident Nats.

● **SCENARIO 3:** There are unhappy members in the DP ranks — councillors who resent the autocratic management style of their own party colleagues, who object to the ANC or NP connection and who are concerned about the negative impact that the lack of strong opposition is having on council affairs.

They may also be keen to have a good look at the alliance.

Nothing is cut and dried, but the phones are buzzing and initial developments may be expected within weeks, say some of the players.

'Obsolete ideologies unacceptable'

GOVERNMENT would block any constitution which could not ensure security and stability or which introduced obsolete ideologies, President FW de Klerk said in Taipei on Friday. (304A)

He told Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui that sound political and economic principles would prevail in South Africa. Government had taken steps to curtail violence and had the situation "well in hand", he said. The two governments signed agreements on investment promotion and international air links. Teng-Hui accepted an invitation to visit South Africa in 1992.

Cape Times 19/11/94

Elect conference, says DP

CIPRES 17/11/91

THE Democratic Party has come out firmly in favour of an elected constitutional conference as the mechanism for drawing up a new constitution.

A policy document, adopted this week at the party's national congress at Sea Point in Cape Town, proposes that the conference of about 200 members be elected by universal adult franchise on the basis of proportional party representation.

The document says the DP wants to see a multi-party or all-party conference established as the principal agent for the management of transition to a new government.

The MPC would agree on the principles on which a new constitution should be based and the constitutional conference would be bound to adhere to these. The final constitution would be accepted in a national referendum.

Addressing the congress on the proposals, Sea Point DP MP Colin Eglin said electing members of the constitutional conference would give the people an opportunity to identify their parties and leaders in free and fair elections, which they had not yet had the opportunity to do.

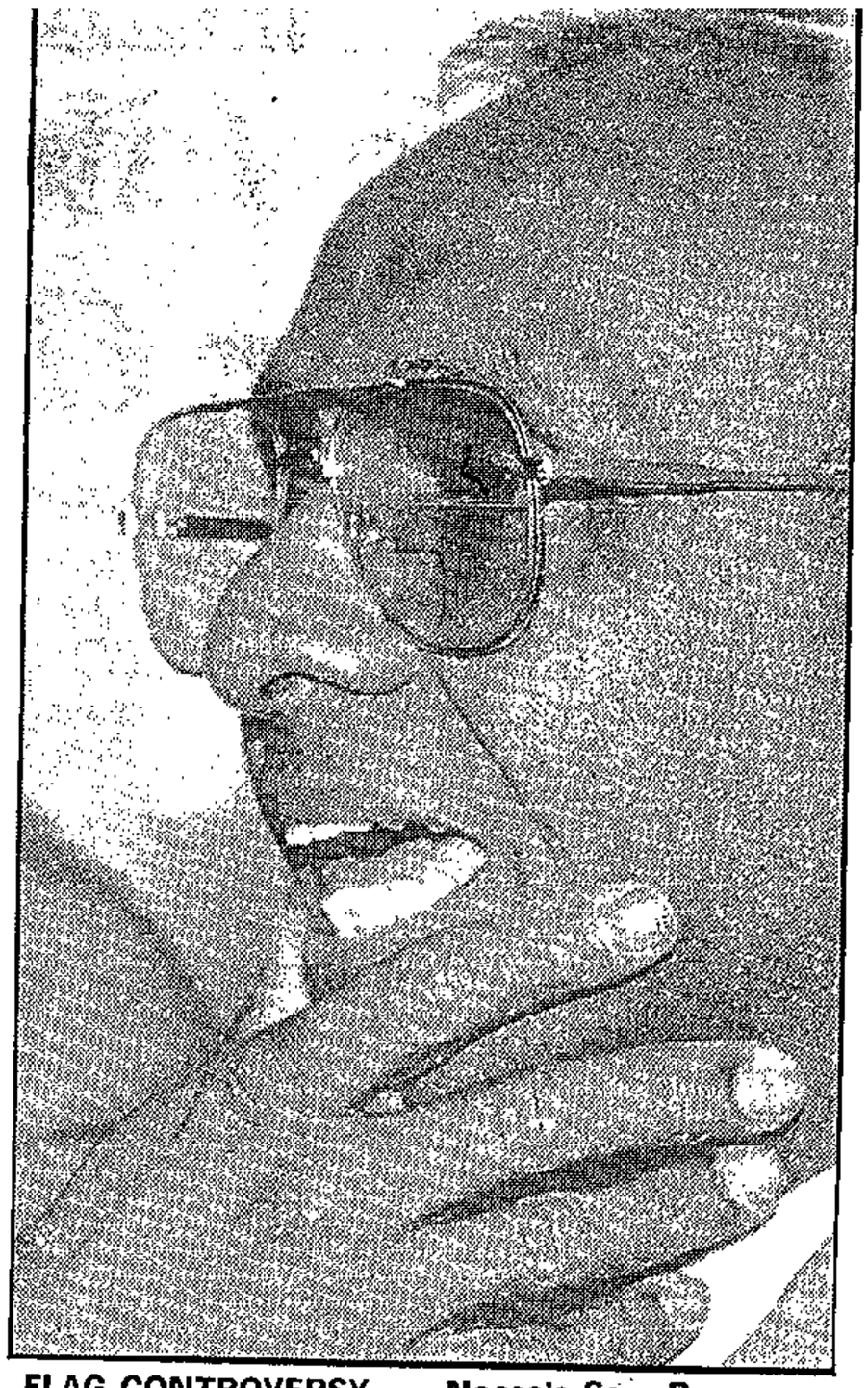
"I believe that given that opportunity there's a greater risk of peace breaking out than of violence continuing."

Eglin said the constitutional conference would go out of office as soon as it had performed its task.

The policy document proposes that a transitional government be established as the product of "agreement" by the MPC. (30pA)

Its objectives would include promoting even-handed and impartial stewardship of key government functions, the broadcast media and of the security forces.

The congress also decided to establish commissions to explore ways of redressing apartheid injustices to those who had lost land or property and of effecting affirmative action in the civil service. — Sapa



FLAG CONTROVERSY ... Nocsa's Sam Ramsamy

NP change of heart a sham

S/Times 17/11/91 (3049)

THE National Party's reaction to Nocsa's interim Olympic flag and anthem has shattered the hopes of millions of South Africans who were duped into believing the NP had indeed changed.

It was simply a matter of time before the NP reverted to type. Its reaction has confirmed that its supposed change of heart since February 1990 was a sham.

First, the present flag is not the flag of all South Africans. The issue of the flag was debated by whites in an all-white parliament between 1925-8 and was designed, chosen and accepted exclusively by a white minority.

Second, the present anthem is not the anthem of all South Africans. In 1957 an all-white parliament decided to replace *God Save the Queen* with *Die Stem. Die Stem* is the anthem of the white minority.

Third, it is true that the Springbok emblem was in use before apartheid, but it was always a "white" emblem, conferred upon "white" South African sportsmen by "white" sporting bodies.

Of all people, the Afrikaners should know how blacks feel about the flag and anthem. Afrikaners trekked from the Cape Province in the 1830s because English was forced down their throats, yet they imposed Afrikaans on the African schools in 1976.

In the 1900s Afrikaners refused to accept the Union Jack, yet they forced the present flag on the disfranchised majority.

Afrikaners refused to accept and sing *God Save the Queen*, yet they shoved *Die Stem* down the throats of 30-million black South Africans.

Now they are aggrieved and appear incredulous when the oppressed majority react in the same way they reacted against British oppression and domination. Don't Afrikaners study history? — **R DU PRE, Jeppestown.**

Keep calm over national symbols

ST Times 17/11/91 (304A)

LIVE LETTERS

Box 1090 Johannesburg 2000

THE debate around national symbols — the flag, the anthem, emblems, colours, not to mention a national flower, bird, and so on — calls for calm, cool heads, careful consideration and a willingness to compromise for the sake of achieving a new, democratic South Africa, as, inevitably, the debate will be an emotional one.

Vituperation is, to say the least, unhelpful.

On the other hand, it is also a dangerous game to tinker arbitrarily with deep-seated loyalties and entrenched affiliations which are part of the very fabric of our society. These matters must be thoroughly debated.

This dual approach, namely a willingness to compromise, even to make sacrifices, coupled with a warning against arbitrary decisions on such important and complex issues represents the spirit in which the National Party approaches the question of national symbols.

This was made clear at the party's congress last weekend. Delegates signalled a determination to treat this most delicate issue regarding our time-honoured national symbols with utmost care in order to help build an inclusive, fully democratic South African nation.

President FW de Klerk indicated that he personally was as attached to the Springbok emblem as Ken Owen (Sunday Times, November 10) professes to be.

But that is not the point. He also said in his speech that, looking to the future, sport has to be a unifying factor in the process of nation building. He appealed to everyone involved to be sensible. That is the point.

A few things need to be said about the Nat-baiting in the Sunday Times last weekend. The green and gold and the Springbok emblem had been for many decades worn with pride, long before apartheid appeared on the scene. They were not a Nat invention. Die Stem was not an Afrikaner plot. It was our national anthem long before 1948.

The flag was also introduced long before apartheid became an issue. It was adopted shortly after the Union of South Africa was formed and represents a compromise between the components of the Union.

Being sensible and circumspect about these issues was the State President's approach and delegates at the NP congress reflected the party's willingness to debate the issue in a calm manner with those concerned, in a spirit of compromise, in order to build a united nation. — **DR STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE MP, secretary-general of the National Party.**

DE KLERK WANTS TAPE

Former President demands tape of his meeting with Mandela

S/Times 17/11/91

304A

By DE WET POTGIETER and MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK is heading for a row with former President PW Botha over a crucial tape-recording of his historic first meeting with ANC leader Nelson Mandela in July 1989.

Mr Botha asked for the tape to help him write his memoirs, but was told it had been destroyed. According to a reliable source, Mr Botha wants to use the tape to dispel suggestions that he set the course of reform which President De Klerk has followed.

On Tuesday Dr Niel Barnard, Director-General of National Intelligence, visited Mr Botha at his Wilderness home to smooth things over.

There, sources told the Sunday Times, he was met by an angry Mr Botha, who insisted that Dr Barnard certify as correct the minutes he had taken at the time of the meeting between Mr Botha and the imprisoned Mr Mandela at Tuynhuys.

Claim

President De Klerk confirmed yesterday from Mauritius that he had received a request from Mr Botha regarding the record of the conversation with Mr Mandela, and that he had arranged for Dr Barnard to discuss the matter with the former president.

He refused to comment further until he had had a report back on developments.

Sources told the Sunday Times, however, that Mr Botha is insisting on the tape of the meeting, as he claims it is his property.

He needs it to prove that during his secret July 1989 meeting with Mr Mandela he had made it clear that the ANC would not be unbanned until it unequivocally renounced violence and cut its links with the SA Communist Party.

Mr Botha is apparently anxious to dispel the suggestion, floated by senior National Party members to placate conservatives in their ranks, that Mr Botha would have sanctioned all the liberalisation measures introduced by Mr De Klerk since February 2 1991.

Centre

Mr Botha's former aide, Commander Ters Ehlers, this week confirmed that he had handed the tape and other security-related material to the National Intelligence Service after Mr Botha stepped down.

It is that tape that is now the centre of a row with possibly wide political implications.

When Dr Barnard arrived at Mr Botha's Wilderness home of Die Anker this week, Mr Botha produced the minutes of the Botha-Mandela meeting as taken down by Dr Barnard at the time and asked him to read them through.

Dr Barnard was requested to initial every page and sign the document as being an authentic

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

Talks go ahead in spite of setbacks

S/Times 17/11/91. 304A

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE preliminary talks before the multi-party conference are on track.

A dozen political organisations will meet in Johannesburg on Wednesday to set up a steering committee for the talks.

The meeting, which was to have begun on Friday, was postponed after conflict about the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the discussions.

Government officials will meet Inkatha tomorrow and the ANC on Tuesday to discuss details of the preliminary meeting which is likely to be held at the Carlton Hotel.

Other parties expected to take part include the NP, the PAC, the SA Communist Party, the DP, the Labour Party, Solidarity, and some homeland parties.

It is not known if approaches will be made to other parties, including the Conservative Party.

Irritation

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen fired a broadside at ANC president Nelson Mandela for revealing that the first multi-party talks would begin on November 29 and last for two days.

He said such "premature announcements . . have a retarding effect on negotiations."

Even before the first steps to national reconciliation were due to begin, irritation was the strongest element emerging from all sides.

The ANC and PAC were said to have wanted Inkatha to take part on the government's side — an idea opposed by Inkatha.

The ANC denied this and said it saw "no sides, nor should there be major and minor players.

Actors

Inkatha said it wanted to operate separately as part of either a "powerful group of three or five" (with the ANC and the government, and possibly the PAC and the DP) which would determine who would take part in multi-party talks.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi gave an indication of this when he addressed the European Parliament on Thursday.

He said the NP, Inkatha and the ANC were being thrust together "as the major actors in the process of change. If we do not have a genuine three-way division of interests and if there is not a three-way division of the South African electorate, there will be no real democracy."

However, even as he spoke conflict was brewing, with accusations by all sides that the others had hidden agendas for not wanting the talks to begin.

This week's brouhaha began after Inkatha leaders Frank Mdlalose and Walter Felgate met with Dr Viljoen, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and key government negotiations facilitator Fanie van der Merwe in Pretoria a week ago.

Dr Mdlalose passed on Inkatha central committee recommendations that the best chairman for initial talks would be the Chief Justice, and that Inkatha felt it best that they, the government, the ANC and perhaps the PAC and DP should first look into how a steering committee could be formed before talks took place.

On Tuesday, the ANC apparently rejected these suggestions. The following day, reports cast doubt on whether Inkatha would take part in steering committee talks.

A strong feeling emerged in some quarters that the government was using Inkatha to mask its own unwillingness to enter talks.

Among the issues to be discussed are a neutral venue, the convener of the all-party conference, who should chair proceedings until an overseer of the electoral process was appointed, the financing and administrative methods of an election, the role of the homelands' voters rolls in a future election and the form and type of interim or transitional government during the talks.

DP gets tough with rebels

S/Times 14/11/91

304A

De Beer: Don't hang out our dirty linen in public

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party yesterday voted overwhelmingly to retain its independence as a political party despite factions within its caucus that have been urging it to forge closer links with the ANC or the NP.

The party's national congress in Cape Town this weekend saw the papering-over of cracks between divergent factions threatening to destroy the party.

Re-elected leader Zach de Beer warned that factions within the party that stepped out of line would be dealt with harshly.

He said: "I must insist that people who are loyal to the DP may not make public demonstrations of their affection for other competing organisations — and they may not air the party's dirty linen in public."

A potentially divisive resolution before the congress called for the DP not to form any alliance with, or be associated with, any party linked to the SACP.

An amendment to this resolution called on the ANC to purge all communists from its structures.

Pinelands MP Jasper Walsh said by endorsing the original resolution, the DP ran the risk of elevating the SACP to a status it did not deserve.

Claremont MP Jan van Eck suggested in an amendment that the DP should not form an alliance with any party which pursued contrary objectives.

The amended resolution defused possible conflict between the different factions and was adopted after lengthy debate.

The DP also endorsed a resolution stating that any co-operative arrangement between it and another organisation should not restrict the DP's right to compete with or criticise that organisation.

Any alliance decision could be taken by the national council, but it had to be confirmed at a national congress.

Constantia MP Roger Hulley said the two resolutions, which came from youth structures, were a cry of frustration at the direction and activities of the party.

It was an appeal for the DP to draw the line to its left and to be allowed to criticise those to the left with the same persistence that it did to the right.

The DP's intended role as a party in the centre playing a mediating role between the NP and the ANC was highlighted — with the endorsement of a compromise proposal for a constituent assembly.

The proposal, by Sea Point MP Colin Eglin, is a position that has been mooted in some NP circles recently.

Franchise

It favours the election of a constitutional conference to draw up a new constitution based on broad principles agreed to at all-party talks.

The DP says the conference should be elected by universal adult franchise on the basis of proportional representation with a cut-off at one percent.

Conference decisions would be by a two-thirds majority, although they would be bound to adhere to the constitutional principles established during all-party talks.

The majority party in Parliament — the NP — and that at the constitutional conference — probably the ANC — would have to agree and the new constitution would have to be ratified in a referendum.

Initial resolutions gave delegates a choice between an all-party conference, a constituent assembly or a mixture of the two to draw up a new constitution.

Israel and Taiwan worried about SA's return to world community

5 Times 17/11/91

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, who is travelling the world in his mission to finally end South Africa's pariah status, leaves behind two worried countries.

Israel and Taiwan frequently raised one question on his visit there: Would South Africa's international reacceptance threaten their long-standing relationships with his country?

Speaking after take-off from Muscat in Oman this week, Mr De Klerk confirmed that diplomatic contact between South Africa and Arab states was growing.

Earlier, answering questions in Israel, he reassured the Israelis that contact with the Arabs would not affect South Africa's links with Israel, forged in a period of isolation.

But facts are facts — the Arab nations' total trade with the rest of the world amounts to more than R400-billion, an enormous market to which South Africa, because of its policies, has hitherto been denied access.

Tapping into this market will require a shift in South African foreign policy from its pro-Israeli stance to a more neutral position on Middle Eastern affairs.

The same concerns, albeit in a different context, were raised in Taiwan.

Its leaders were concerned that if South Africa developed diplomatic links with mainland China, Beijing authorities could, upon receiving recognition, claim the more than 300 Taiwanese industrial concerns in South Africa as their own.

But Mr de Klerk was placatory in his speech at a sumptuous Taipei banquet.

He said his government "would not permit the introduction in South Africa of obsolete and rejected ideologies that have failed so dramatically elsewhere in the world, not to speak of economic experiments that have brought nothing but poverty and retrogression under Marxist socialism in the Eastern Bloc, most of Africa and other parts of the world".

Earlier, at a press conference, Mr De Klerk was inundated with questions from Taiwanese reporters wanting to know what effect South Africa's emerging links with mainland China would have on relations with their country.

He said: "We believe old friendships are important and we won't turn our backs on old friends even though things might be changing fast for us."

But again, facts are facts. Mainland China represents an enormous potential market for South Africa — which is precisely why Foreign Minister Pik Botha recently stopped over in Beijing.

Mr De Klerk and his host, President Lee Teng-hui, eventually signed a communique which acknowledged the traditional close relations between the two countries and committed their governments to establishing projects to "promote agricultural and technical co-operation for the benefit of the southern African region".

The communique added that other feasible programmes were being explored and would be undertaken in future.

In his banquet speeeh, the final one he made in Taiwan before departing for Mauritius, Mr De Klerk sought to assure guests, including top Chinese businessmen, that any potential investment in South Africa would be safe.

But there is no doubt that South Africa is actively pushing to enlarge its cramped horizons.

Speaking to the Sunday Times this week, Mr Botha listed various countries on South Africa's agenda. In Africa they are Kenya, Egypt and Nigeria. In South America — Argentina. The Soviet Union is also high on the list.

The signing of formal diplomatic links with the latter could spark a massive increase in bilateral trade with South Africa, he added.

Interviewed on board SAA's Magaliesberg en route to the Republic of China, Mr Botha said he rejected the view that the Soviet Union was an "empty shell" which did not hold any potential for increased trade.

"I know there has been an assumption in many quarters in South Africa that they have a retarded technology ... that the Soviet Union is old-fashioned and unattractive where trade is concerned.

"I disagree. Coming from Africa and knowing the needs of Africa and South Africa, I say there are institutions within the Soviet Union, factories with technology which we can share, buy, use and import — just as there are opportunities for our private sector to export.

"I think there is vast potential."

ANC, NP 'have same goals for their people'

C/Press 19/11/91 (304A)

PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

THERE can be no political settlement in South Africa if it is not backed by the country's most important "nationalistic" organisations, the NP and the ANC, *Rapport* said this week.

"That is why it is completely disturbing that the relationship between the two seems to be deterioating daily," the Sunday paper said in an editorial.

"President FW de Klerk interpreted the feelings of most whites when he said this week that the ANC could not be trusted in its present form.

"In the immediate past there has been a flow of radical ideas and economic absurdities from the ANC. And there is no indication of a wilingness to give and take.

"From the side of the ANC, one hears how it would wipe its opponents from the board once it gets control of the army and police.

"And the sadder communism looks worldwide, the clearer it seems as if the SACP is hollowing the ANC's soul from the inside like termites. The statesman have gone mum while the voices of hotheads and radicals sound louder and louder.

"The ANC has to realise clearly what options the country is facing: either we accommodate each other and grant one another living space, or we are heading for an almighty conflict.

"If the ANC thinks that the Afrikaner will give up 350 years of self-determination in favour of a black dictatorship, then it can surely think again.

"The NP and ANC are in many ways the reverse and mirror images of each other. Through the years both have desired exactly the same goals for their followers. Both have been supported for years by farm people, workers and teachers.

"And, both draw their power from moral values. Reconciliation is possible. But only if the ANC purifies its soul of hot-headedness and communism," the editorial said.

□□□□

Star
18/11/91

Top-level German visit

German Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Helmut Schaefer will arrive in South Africa today and will meet, among others, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

This is the first official visit of a representative from the German Foreign Office at ministerial level since 1978.

Mr Schaefer, a member of the Free Democratic Party and the German Bundestag, is a specialist in international politics.

He will also meet Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman, officials from various parties and opposition groups and will visit various townships. — Pretoria Bureau.

Top German visits S Africa

Sowetan 18/11/91

Political Correspondent

304A

GERMAN deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Helmut Schafer will visit South Africa for a week starting today and is expected to meet with State President FW de Klerk and African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He is also scheduled to meet other senior Government officials and representatives of political parties.

His itinerary also includes visits to social and self-help projects in Mamelodi, Langa and Khayelitsha, talks with students at the universities of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch.

Schafer is a member of the German Bundestag (parliament) and of that country's liberal party, the Free Democratic Party.

(3044) ARGT 18/1/91

NIS says it destroyed tape of Mandela-PW talks



Mr De Klerk



Mr PW Botha

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE National Intelligence Service has destroyed a tape recording of a meeting between former President P W Botha and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The NIS said today the tape was of no security value and keeping it would have been an "embarrassment".

It was learnt today that Mr Botha wrote to Mr De Klerk some months ago asking for a full transcript of the tape.

Instead of the full transcript of the meeting, Mr Botha had been given a shortened version.

Speaking for the first time about the tape row, Mr Botha today indicated he was pursuing his efforts to obtain a full version of what he and Mr Mandela talked about at their historic meeting in July 1989.

It appears Mr Botha's main goal is to present the transcript to the Institute of Contemporary History at the Free State University, Bloemfontein. Other documents in his possession have been given to the institute.

Sources close to Mr Botha today discounted suggestions that there was a renewed political row between Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha. There is some speculation that Mr Botha wanted to use the tape to dispel suggestions he set the reform path Mr De Klerk is following.

Speaking from his home in Wilderness today, Mr Botha declined to comment on this aspect. He said he had not spoken to Mr De Klerk for months.

He confirmed that Dr Niel Barnard, head of NIS, had recently visited him.

He said he had given all his political documents to the institute and was trying to obtain all other relevant documents.

This was a reference to the transcript of his talk with Mr Mandela.

Mr Botha said that Dr Daan Prinsloo, an official seconded from the president's office to handle his papers, and members of the institute were compiling a book. This had reached an advanced stage.

Mr De Klerk said yesterday he was not hiding behind his predecessor to justify what he was doing. He was doing what he was doing because he believed it was right for South Africa.

He had not embarked on the reforms because he had felt compelled by any of Mr Botha's actions.

Mr Mandela shrugged off the row. He said the matter was between Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha and he was "not prepared to express any opinion or point of dispute" on the issue.

In a statement today, the NIS said the recording had been made by Mr Botha's personal staff.

After Mr Botha retired in August 1989 his personal staff handed the tape to the head of the NIS. It was destroyed soon afterwards.

The recording had no "decisive security-related value". But it had historical and political meaning.

In the Press statement after the meeting it was made clear no policy matters were debated or negotiations conducted.

The only value the recording had was probably to cover the former president if a dispute had arisen over this historic but contentious meeting.

By the time the recording was handed over to the NIS the meeting was already relegated to the past "owing to various sensational developments".

The NIS decided the retention or application of the recording could only be an embarrassment and would serve no future purpose.

A spokesman at the president's office in Pretoria said today it was not clear whether any version of the meeting could be made public at this stage.

Groups want new code on SA trade

Sowetan 18/11/91

THE South African Council of Churches, the South African Bishops Conference, Kagiso Trust and the Institute for Contextual Theology are planning a consultation to work out a code of investment for South Africa.

In a statement on Saturday, the SACC said the consultation - meeting under the theme "Towards a Code of Investment: Ethics for South Africa's International Economic Relations" - would be held in February in Broederstroom.

"This will bring together representatives of trade unions, business, political organisations, as well as experts on economics, into a reflective interaction with church leaders and theologians.

"The objective of this exercise is formulated against the background of the debates on sanctions and the reality that, despite calls for financial sanctions against South Africa to be maintained until some form of a transitional government is installed, more and more overseas companies are beginning to either invest in South Africa or are busy with preparations to do so." - *South African Press Association.*

Green export to Zim

Sowetan 18/11/91

A DURBAN company is to export what it says is an "environment-friendly" chemical to Zimbabwe.

According to a statement released yesterday the chemical, hydrogen peroxide, was "rapidly gaining popularity as the preferred oxidant in the textile, paper, chemical and water treatment industries".

The chemical is to be distributed by Zimbabwe Petroleum. - *Sapa.*

DP's new plan for airwaves

THE Democratic Party has accepted a policy document on broadcasting based on the principles that freedom of speech should be enshrined in the new constitution and that the airwaves are public resources. (304A)

DP spokesman for broadcasting Mr Peter Soal said at the party's congress in Cape Town on Saturday that many proposals in the document had been accepted by the task group on broadcasting.

The document provides for the establishment of an independent communications authority to regulate the broadcasting spectrum and promote an efficient communications system. Sowetan 18/11/91.

Provision is made for both public and private broadcasters, but restrictions are placed on the number of radio and television stations operated by any organisation.

The DP said local radio stations, rather than television, were the means of broadcast communication best suited for the country's needs. - *Sapa.*

Appeal refused

THE Appeal Court in Bloemfontein has refused an application by Thapelo Matthews Mokoena of Mofolo, Soweto, for leave to appeal against convictions for murder and attempted robbery.

The victim was Mr Daniel Marthinus Joubert who was shot in Soweto on July 14 1988.

Mr Acting Justice D O Vermooten, in the Rand Supreme Court on November 21 1990, imprisoned Mokoena for 19 years. - Sapa.

IERN AFRICA

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'Prepare for battle' says DP leader

(South 3041)

ARG 18/11/91

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zach de Beer closed his party's two-day annual congress with a command to branches to prepare for political battle stations.

Matching the resolute tone of his opening address, Dr De Beer warned delegates that the party's strength depended on the size of its support base.

If it was to be an influential factor in negotiating a democratic future, the DP would have to recruit new members in all sectors of the population.

Dr De Beer said: "In bringing the congress to an end, I stress the unexciting and altogether ineluctable fact that what we can achieve will bear much relation to the power we have.

"It is necessary to have enough votes to influence history significantly, but we cannot do that without structures and members.

"That is something that can only be achieved at local level. The head office cannot do more than offer leadership and advice. It is the branches throughout the country which must do the work to make the DP a decisive factor in the future of South Africa."

He reminded MPs of his warning on Saturday that he would not tolerate public bickering between them, when he said: "I am confident I have the full support of congress in calling on MPs to stop quarrelling in public and to stop using the media in pursuit of their own aims." Delegates applauded this sentiment.

The DP, he said, had a "unique" contribution to make in efforts to achieve peace and economic recovery because the party "comes closer than any other substantial political group to achieving trust to the left and to the right".

But he added: "We must be strong to do it."

The congress, he said, had equipped the DP with a "better portfolio of policies than we have ever had before or than any other party has to offer".

Bruised DP closes ranks, emerges intact

Political Staff (304M) AMG 18/11/91

THE bruised Democratic Party closed ranks at its national congress and emerged intact, committed to staying independent and expanding its black support base.

But it was close. Houghton MP Tony Leon nearly walked out of the party after a clash with Sandton MP Dave Dalling at the weekend, sources said.

The cause was a report which said Mr Leon had blamed Mr Dalling's ANC links for the DP's loss of a municipal by-election in Houghton.

Although the row was patched up at an angry national council meeting before the congress, it is not completely over.

Party insiders said the closed national council meeting was the most acrimonious they had experienced in many years.

But they said it had helped to clear the air after the damaging in-fighting in recent weeks between pro-ANC and anti-ANC MPs which had damaged the party's image.

Ordinary congress delegates also said they were fed up with the caucus feuding.

Independent DP confident it will grow

(304A) CT 18/11/91

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has emerged from its two-day national congress convinced that it should remain an independent political force, that it has a vital role in the transition process, and that it will grow next year.

This surprising mood of confidence was underlined by the party's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, in his closing address to the party's congress in Sea Point.

"The DP comes closer than any other substantial political group to being able to achieve trust to the left and to the right," he told delegates. "Here lies the unique nature of our contribution to peace and to recovery . . . 1992 is going to be the year of growth."

Delegates made it clear that they had had enough of the public conflicts between MPs and that they rejected alliances or coalitions with other political groupings at this stage.

The group of Democratic Party MPs opposed to closer links between the party and the ANC suffered a setback at the congress.

The MPs, spearheaded by the MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley, the MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, and the MP for Hillbrow, Mr Lester Fuchs, tried to get the DP to adopt positions closer to those of the National Party.

They argued, for instance, that the all- or multi-party conference should be the structure for drawing up a new constitution, but the congress voted by an overwhelming majority for an elected constitutional conference.

Mr Fuchs and Mr Hulley also spoke in support of a resolution which said the DP would not enter any alliances or be associated with the SACP.

But the congress voted overwhelmingly for an amendment moved by the MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, one of the MPs who favours closer ties with the ANC, which rejected alliances with any organisation "pursuing objectives contrary to those of the DP".

Mr Van Eck said the original resolution was aimed at preventing negotiations between the DP and the ANC.

Mr Hulley also said it was significant that the resolutions on the SACP and on the independence of the DP came from the party's youth.

Although the DP had had admirable courage in drawing the line to the right that distinguished it from people who were not liberal democrats, he did not believe the party had shown the same courage in drawing the line to left.

The congress unanimously committed itself to negotiations.

FW speaks on PW's 'Nelson tape'

304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk yesterday denied that he was "hiding" behind his former leader Mr P W Botha in justifying his unbanning of the ANC and release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr De Klerk was commenting on a weekend report that Mr Botha wanted tape recordings of a meeting he held with Mr Mandela in order to dispel rumours that he would have approved of Mr De Klerk's reforms.

Mr Mandela was still imprisoned at the time.

FW WANTS TALKS ASAP

See PAGE 2

"Inasmuch as it might be the impression that I'm hiding behind my predecessor to justify what I'm doing, I say that I'm doing what I'm doing because I believe it is the right thing for South Africa, and it is the logical consequence of what my predecessor initiated. But then he (Mr Botha) is entitled to differ on that opinion," said Mr De Klerk.

Other global developments during the latter half of 1989 and throughout 1990 showed that the government had taken the right decisions, he added.

And in East London last night Mr Mandela said he did not want to get involved in an argument between Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha.

Mr Mandela added that the ANC and the NP had reached an important stage on the current "peace process" and he was not prepared to say anything that might affect it.

He said he and Mr Botha had released a press statement when they met three years ago which had mainly stated

From page 1

their commitment to peace in the country.

Speaking at a press conference on his return from a week-long trip to Israel, Oman, Taiwan and Mauritius, Mr De Klerk also played down claims that his personal relationship with Mr Mandela was souring.

He said there was still mutual respect and good rapport between them, but that the focus in their relationship had shifted to political and policy differences.

He said Mr Mandela's recent labelling him as a "deceitful" man who had "little regard for the lives of black people" was indicative that Mr Mandela was having problems in dealing with the current situation and was attacking personalities instead of political strategies.

"I don't play the man, I play the ball, and if Mr Mandela resorts to these tactics then it shows he has a problem playing the ball," said Mr De Klerk.

Cohen arrives in SA on 'routine' visit

3044
ST 8/11/91

JOHANNESBURG. — US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen arrived in South Africa yesterday afternoon for what he called a routine visit.

Mr Cohen said he would address the American Chamber of Commerce, which is holding a banquet in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

He flew from the Zambia, where he held talks with the country's new president, Mr Frederick Chiluba. Mr Cohen said he was impressed with the democratic ideas that were emerging in that country.

● The German Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Helmut Schafer, is expected to arrive in South Africa today for a week-long visit. — Sapa

CT 18/11/91 (304A)

Govt wants talks soon

JOHANNESBURG. — The government remained committed to holding the All Party Conference (APC) as soon as possible, President F W de Klerk said here yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from an official visit to Israel, Taiwan and Mauritius, he said he hoped the APC would still be held before the end of the year, but the exact date was still under discussion.

He said the fact that ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela had unilaterally announced a specific date on which the APC would be held had complicated the issue.

The government was playing a "constructive role" in resolving the logistical problems which had arisen in this regard, he said.

Mr De Klerk expressed confidence that a broad consensus on a new constitution would be reached during negotiations, despite obvious differences which had recently surfaced between the different parties.

However, he reiterated the government would stand firm on certain minimum requirements for a new constitution.

"We are not prepared to say yes to a constitution in which the winner takes all. We are not prepared to abdicate power to assist the ANC or anybody else to misuse power and suppress minorities.

"I am confident that in negotiations we will reach a broad consensus. We will then, as the government, implement and abide by the new constitution."



FAREWELL . . . President F W de Klerk says goodbye to Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui. Picture: AP

Mr De Klerk said the government and the ANC continued to have a good relationship in negotiating "the rules of the game", despite having entered a phase in which each party was expressing its point of view on political and policy differences.

"But unlesss the ANC finds a new path with regard to economic policy and certain important aspects of constitutional policy we are natural political opponents, because we don't share the same policies."

It was time for the ANC to stop pointing fingers at the government and to get its supporters to refrain from violence, he said.

Scientific analysis of the violence had shown the ANC often proved to be the common denominator in "black-on-black" violence, he said.

● Earlier this weekend Mauritius became the latest of a group of southern African states to express keen interest in the formation of a regional economic bloc.

Sources at talks between President De Klerk and Prime Minister Sir Aneerood Jugnauth said the Mauritian delegation was "enthusiastic" about the prospect.

Sources said the talks started under a cloud but Sir Aneerood promptly assured his visitors that they were very welcome and said they had issues to discuss.

There had been reports in Mauritian newspapers that the South African delegation was unwelcome, and a planned protest by a militant socialist organisation was barred by a local magistrate.

Sources said the Mauritians wanted to join the 11 or 12 countries who have signalled interest in a regional market. The Mauritians said also that they wanted to become part of a southern African fishing zone stretching from Angola in the west to the Comores in the east.

The Mauritian delegation apparently also inquired about being granted "most preferred trading nation" status from South Africa, pointing out they had already granted this to South Africa.

The South Africans are believed to have said that this form of recognition is only given to countries which have full diplomatic relations with South Africa.

Mauritius insists it will only establish such links once a new democratically established government is in place. At present South Africa has a trade mission in Port Louis.

The island also expressed a desire to restart a medical programme under which heart patients would be treated in South Africa. — Sapa and Political Staff

DP delegates allege ANC intimidation

B1 Dan 18/11/91

CAPE TOWN — ANC supporters had burnt down houses belonging to black DP members, attacked them and prevented them writing exams in Transvaal and Free State townships, delegates to the DP's national congress said at the weekend.

Despite the public tensions within the party over some MPs' links with the ANC, the DP emerged from its two-day national congress convinced that it should remain an independent force and that it would grow next year.

Political Staff

Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs said he had seen how DP members were prevented from writing exams at Mashasheng near Lydenburg because they belonged to the DP. Also, the DP chairman's house had been burnt down.

Welkom delegate Rhett Kahn said DP members had been attacked in Thabong in Welkom and the houses of two members'

☐ To Page 2

DP delegates

B1 Dan 18/11/91

☐ From Page 1

had been burnt down in another township nearby.

The group of MPs strongly opposed to closer links between the party and the ANC suffered a setback at the congress.

Although the congress discussions were free of blatant tension, it was clear that these MPs had little support.

Delegates made it clear they had had enough of the public conflicts between MPs and that they rejected alliances or coalitions with other political groupings at this stage.

On Saturday morning Fuchs threatened to bring caucus tensions out into the open.

Fuchs said he was "most perturbed" by his colleagues' statements that "the aim of the DP should be to take our membership into the ANC, that the DP should be in alliance with the ANC, that DP members should be at liberty to accompany their spouses or children to ANC functions and that the DP should join the ANC in asking the US to threaten to reimpose sanctions."

DP leader Zach de Beer said in his closing address: "The DP comes closer than any other substantial political group to being able to achieve trust to the left and to the right. Here lies the unique nature of our contribution to peace and to recovery." Delegates gave him a standing ovation.

DP avoids split, vows to expand

Star 18/11/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent (3041)

The bruised Democratic Party closed ranks at its national congress at the weekend and emerged intact and committed to remaining independent and expanding its black support base.

But it was a close thing. Houghton MP Tony Leon nearly walked out of the party after a clash with Sandton MP Dave Dalling, say party sources.

The cause was a report which said Mr Leon had blamed Mr Dalling's ANC connections for the DP's loss of a municipal by-election in Houghton.

Although this row was patched up at an angry national council meeting before the congress, it is by no means dead.

Party insiders said the closed national council meeting was the most acrimonious they had experienced in many years.

Cracked

But they said it helped to clear the air after the damaging in-fighting in recent weeks between pro-ANC and anti-ANC MPs, which had damaged the party's image.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer cracked the whip at the opening of the congress and kept the party together.

Feuding factions heeded his warning that he would deal "harshly" with members who "aired the party's dirty linen in public" or publicly demonstrated "affection" for other parties.

Ordinary congress delegates made it clear too that they were fed up with caucus feuding.

Observers found it difficult to decide which camp had "won" the congress, but most favoured the party's left wing.

It scored important victories:

● The DP shifted its policy towards the ANC's by adopting the idea of an elected "constitutional conference" to write a new constitution.

● Left-wing Umhlanga MP Kobus Jordaan ousted conservative Berea MP and former party co-leader Denis Worrall from the deputy chairmanship of the national council.

● Several anti-ANC resolutions were substantially toned down.

One was a resolution from the eastern Transvaal youth branch urging the DP not to form alliances or associate with any organisation linked to the SA Communist Party.

The congress accepted an amendment by left-wing Claremont MP Jan van Eck which deleted the reference to the SACP and only ruled out alliances with parties "pursuing objectives contrary to those of the DP".

Congress also diluted a resolution from the branch of conservative Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs which urged the DP to encourage the abandonment of mass action campaigns.

The congress accepted an amendment which contained no reference to ANC/SACP/Cosatu campaigns.

But members of the centre-right faction also claimed some victories, including Dr de Beer's strong call for the party to remain independent — which they believed to be directed mainly at ANC sympathisers. They also pointed to the overwhelming victory of Gardens MP Ken Andrews — a traditional liberal — over left-wing Simon's Town MP Jannie Momberg in the election of the national chairman.

The DP emerged from the congress with renewed commitment to expand its power base — especially among blacks — to ensure it was properly represented in the coming negotiations.

Dr de Beer quoted from a Gallup/Markinor poll of blacks and whites in September which showed that the DP could become the third-largest party after the NP and the ANC.

He closed the congress by reminding it that in the proportional representation system that would probably be used in future elections, every vote would count.

Govt 'remains committed to all-party talks'

3044

Star 18/11/91

The Government remained committed to holding an all-party conference (APC) as soon as possible, President de Klerk said yesterday evening.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from official visits to Israel, the Republic of China and Mauritius, he said he hoped the APC would still be held before the end of the year, but the exact date was still under discussion.

He said the fact that ANC president Nelson Mandela had unilaterally announced a specific date on which the APC would be held had complicated the issue.

Confident

The Government was playing a "constructive role" in resolving the logistical problems which had arisen in this regard, he said.

Mr de Klerk was confident that a broad consensus on a new constitution would be reached during negotiations, despite obvious differences which had recently surfaced between the different parties. However, he reiterated that the Government would stand firm on certain minimum requirements for a new constitution.

"We are not prepared to say yes to a constitution in which the winner takes all. We are not prepared to abdicate power to assist the ANC or anybody else to misuse power and suppress minorites."

The Government would not accept a system which would experiment with Marxism or socialism.

"I am confident that in negotiations we will reach a broad consensus. We will then, as the Government, implement and abide by the new constitution."

Mr de Klerk said the Government and the ANC continued to have a good relationship in negotiating "the rules of the game", despite having entered a phase in which each party was expressing its point of view on political and policy differences.

"But unless the ANC finds a new path with regard to economic policy and certain important aspects of constitutional policy, we are natural political opponents, because we don't share the same policies."

On the issue of violence, he said the Government was doing everything "humanly possible" to curb it.

It was time for the ANC to stop pointing fingers at the Government and to get its supporters to refrain from violence, he said. He said there was no doubt the violence was related to the positioning of power blocs among blacks.

Scientific analysis of the violence had proved that the ANC often proved to be the common denominator in "black-on-black" violence.

Mr de Klerk said there was realisation abroad that South Africa was "a part of the solution" to Africa's problems.

"There is an acceptance that South Africa is irreversibly on the road of solving its problems," he said.

It had also been accepted that South Africa did not need or want international intervention in solving its internal problems, he claimed. — Sapa.

● **Talks committee meets this week — Page 3**

Committee on talks to meet this week

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The "steering committee" preparing for the all-party conference was scheduled to meet in Johannesburg on Wednesday and Thursday, sources close to the negotiation process confirmed yesterday.

The committee was supposed to have met on Friday last week but the meeting was cancelled after Inkatha Freedom Party objections to the delicate pre-negotiations talks.

The IFP was said to have objected strongly to a perception that decisions were being taken by the Government and the ANC to its exclusion.

Matters were complicated further when ANC president Nelson Mandela last week unilaterally announced that the Convention for a Democratic Future would start on November 29.

Although this date was agreed upon between the main political groupings, the Government and the IFP felt that Mr Mandela's unexpected announcement was an ANC attempt to create the impression that it dictated the pace of negotiations. The ANC dismissed this allegation as an "overreaction".

Sources said the Government and the IFP were scheduled to meet tonight to discuss the complications.

PW initiated reform process, says De Klerk

304A

Star 18/11/91

The current reform process was a logical consequence of initiatives taken by the country's previous leader, P W Botha, President de Klerk said yesterday evening.

He was speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from an official visit to Israel, Taiwan and Mauritius, which also included an unofficial stop-over in Oman.

Mr de Klerk said he was doing what he thought was right for SA and was not hiding behind his predecessor to justify his actions.

He was reacting to a Sunday news report which claimed Mr Botha had requested that a tape recording of his historic first meeting in July 1989 with ANC president Nelson Mandela be given to him to dispel suggestions that he had set the course for reform which was now being followed.

"I believe that what I am doing is the logical consequence of what he (Mr Botha) has initiated. But he is entitled to differ on that.

"What we are doing now ... we believe is right for South Africa and we are not justifying that on any discussion my predecessor had with Mr Mandela," President de Klerk said. — Sapa.

● Govt remains committed to all-party talks — Page 2

Women should be part of talks teams – DP

Star 18/11/91

304A

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Political groups which will soon sit down to negotiate the future for South Africans should use this historic opportunity to address gender discrimination by including women in their negotiating teams, the Democratic Party has said.

In a discussion document on the status of women, DP MPs Dene Smuts and Carole Charlewood said the minimum mechanism to ensure female participation in negotiations was a transitional commission on women's status, consisting of women only, to advise the Convention on a Democratic Future and transitional-government structures on gender issues.

However, if other sectors of society such as churches and business were to be included in multiparty constitutional talks, women's groups could argue that they too should be represented.

The MPs commented: "The issue of gender discrimination has until now suffered consistent neglect and even trivialisation in South Africa because it was overshadowed by the evils and effects of racial discrimination. To neglect the one while rectifying the other would be to deny democracy."

Ms Smuts and Ms Charlewood made some far-reaching proposals to address gender inequality in South Africa.

They proposed the appointment of an ombudsman to investigate all complaints concerning equal opportunities.

Affirmative-action legislation should compel all listed companies, Government departments and statutory bodies to report annually to the ombudsman on progress made in removing discrimination in the workplace and instituting training and career advancement programmes for women.

Each Government department should have a women's desk, and policy and legislative proposals by that department should be accompanied by a study on its impact on women.

The MPs further proposed a system of obligatory paid maternity leave for three months, with job security.

Noting the rate of teenage pregnancy, they proposed that sex education should be included in the curriculum in schools and that contraception be available for minors without parental consent but with counselling.

Political Reporter Star 18/11/91

Thumbs-down for 'neutral' flag, anthem

(3044) (245)

The ongoing controversy over the replacement of the anthem and flag for next year's Olympic Games gained new momentum yesterday when two nationwide newspapers published opinion polls showing that their readers had given the new "neutral" emblem and anthem a resounding thumbs-down.

The Sunday Times found that a majority of the 9 000 readers canvassed during a telephone poll last week had voted to stay out of the Barcelona Games rather than compete under the National Olympic Committee's emblem and anthem.

A total of 7 452 readers (82,8 percent) voted to withdraw from the Games and 1 553 voted to compete under the Nocsa emblem and Beethoven's "Ode to Joy".

The Afrikaans newspaper Rapport said 79 percent of "thousands" of readers who had phoned in were opposed to the new emblem and wanted South African athletes to return to international sports wearing the Springbok. And 74 percent of readers preferred the South African flag to Nocsa's.

A total of 77 percent of Rapport readers wanted the national anthem to be played at the Games.

The Star's sister newspaper the Sowetan responded quickly to the surveys by pointing out in an unusual front-page editorial today that these SA symbols had excited far greater emotion in white hearts than in black.

"In fact the very purpose of apartheid was to exclude blacks from these 'national symbols'. Nobody can now expect blacks to stand and weep as these symbols are removed."

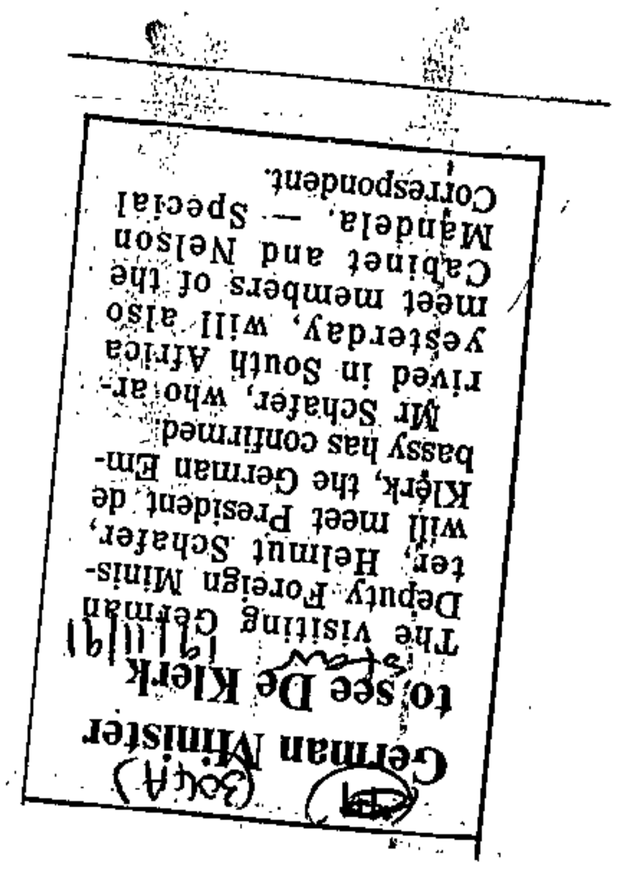
The Sowetan urged whites to accept that change could not come while "things somehow stay the same".

The Sowetan said Nocsa leader Sam Ramsamy had not asked the South African team to travel to Barcelona under the flag of one of the liberation movements or under the anthem Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

ACCOUNTING I

APRIL 1990 TEST

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS


German Minister
to see De Klerk
The visiting German
Deputy Foreign Minis-
ter, Helmut Schafer,
will meet President de
Klerk, the German Em-
bassy has confirmed.
Mr Schafer, who ar-
rived in South Africa
yesterday, will also
meet members of the
Cabinet and Nelson
Mandela, — Special
Correspondent.

Don't smear us warns Cosatu

Sowetan 19/11/91

304A

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has warned the Government to stop its "unwarranted smear attacks" on the organisation.

Cosatu said at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday that it would not allow itself and the "vast majority of people" to be marginalised in the process of transition to a new South Africa.

"The vast majority of people on November 4 and 5 decisively passed a vote of no confidence in the disastrous economic and political policies of the National Party..

The result of that referendum cannot be ignored," Cosatu said.

"The Cosatu executive reiterates that the basic demands of our people must be dealt with in a bona fide negotiations process, that is the right to one-person-one-vote, the right to proper housing, education, health, the right to a job at a living wage."

It condemned De Klerk's statement in Israel, saying he had passed judgment on the union federation about violence in the country, particularly on the mines.

Cosatu reiterated its demand for a forum to discuss economic policy. - Sapa.

Friendship of necessity with Israel seems to be fading as

SA sheds its old rightwing skin

Sowetan 19/11/91

JERUSALEM - As South Africa abandons the policies that made it an international pariah, the need for its controversial links with an entrenched rightwing government in Israel may be fading.

"We should not connect the problems of the Middle East with the problems of South and Southern Africa," State President FW de Klerk said repeatedly during the first visit by a South African leader in 16 years.

"The two problems will have to solve themselves."

Throughout a three-day official visit last week that spent far more time on tourism than discussions, De Klerk emphasised the reforms and changed attitudes among South Africa's white rulers that are ending its isolation.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha joined De Klerk in Israel after establishing consular relations in Moscow and the whole delegation flew on to Taiwan.

Such world travel, least of all to what were once communist capitals, was unheard of during the world-wide campaign against South Africa's apartheid policy of racial separation.

It was in that period of ostracism that close ties developed between two states that felt under attack in international bodies.

Although the 140 000-strong Jewish community of South Africa is strongly pro-Zionist, Israel and South Africa did not even have full diplomatic relations until 1975. But a sense of shared isolation was a powerful spur to contacts - especially shadowy military ties that began the previous decade.

Media reports appeared in 1979 saying that South Africa, apparently with Israeli help, had detonated a nuclear bomb over the south Atlantic.

Later reports told of Israeli-South Africa tests of intermediate-range missiles in 1989 and 1990.

The *Washington Post* said last month a company connected to Israel's government had shipped missile components to South Africa in the past year.

Western military analysts have estimated the value of the arms trade between South Africa and Israel at hundreds of millions of dollars annually - rivalling their acknowledged trade of some R750 million.

Israeli sources in South Africa have also reported a number of Israeli military scientists are working in South Africa on weapons projects.

South Africa has consistently denied missile and nuclear co-operation. Israel, despite details of its nuclear facilities published abroad, does not even admit to having nuclear weapons.

US. pressure forced Israel in 1987 to impose economic, military and cultural sanctions against South Africa because of its racial policies. Those sanctions - except on military ties - were lifted in July.

However, the sanctions against military ties affected only new contracts. Contracts that existed in 1987, which remain secret, have been honoured throughout and will probably continue.

Botha convinced few listeners when he asserted during his visit that "the military aspect plays no role whatsoever" in relations with Israel.

But the effort to move the focus away from military links with Israel did reflect South Africa's drive to end an isolation far more extreme than Israel has experienced and re-enter the mainstream of world politics.

De Klerk has pledged to negotiate a nonracial future for South Africa, producing dividends in renewed diplomatic and sporting ties around the world.

The new attitude also led to South Africa's decision this year to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty, which means its nuclear facilities will be open to inspection - a step pointedly rejected by Israel.

"South Africa was isolated all these years, now it is the other way around," said Dr Daphna Golan, who teaches on South Africa at Hebrew University, warning that close ties with Israel could become a liability for Pretoria.

In contrast to changes initiated in South Africa, Israel under Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has moved further to the right. Positions have hardened.

Although pressured by the United States to enter peace talks with Palestinians and other Arabs, Israel has shown little enthusiasm and no readiness to compromise on the key issue of withdrawing from occupied land.

Shamir, after meeting De Klerk, drew parallels between the Israeli and South African situations, saying he had asked the president if he would tolerate US and European peacemaking efforts inside South Africa.

The next day De Klerk said the countries shared a problem of competing ethnic groups and a history of forced isolation - but there were major differences.

"We should not make the mistake to connect the two issues as if. . . South Africa must pay a price if Israel's problem isn't solved or Israel must pay a price if South Africa's problem isn't solved," he said.

"I think that is a wrong direction to go in and should be avoided at all costs because the two situations are not interconnected." - *SA Press Association-Reuter.*



It was all smiles at the Radio Metro/National Sorghum Breweries Birthday competition celebration. Lenah Sedise of Orlando West (second from left) won R5 000 and Ananias Tema of Moletsane (right) won R500. With the two prizewinners are Simon Mahlangu, group general manager for the Breweries and Sinphiwe Mewana from Radio Metro.

The Democratic party regains its confidence

Sowetan 19/11/91.

304A

AFTER last year's Democratic Party congress in Johannesburg, its Members of Parliament were saying openly: "We give this party three years."

After this year's congress in Cape Town, many DP MPs and most members are saying: "We're on the up. Things are getting better for us."

The question is: Why this reversal of spirits and gathering confidence?

Part of the answer lies in how the DP's political rivals have fared in the past 12 months, MPs in the DP have said.

Last year many DP MPs, most DP supporters and nearly all their voters were mesmerised by President de Klerk. In the past 12 months though, in the eyes of DP people, his shares have dipped.

The Government's secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party that happened during De Klerk's reign burst the bubble for DP people.

FOCUS

Political Correspondent

Since then they have begun to ask how a man so committed to reform could still allow the Government to buy up land to consolidate the homelands and was making no progress in ending the nightmare of homeland governments, be it the four independent ones or the six almost-independent ones.

The indecent bleating by the National Party over the sporting symbols to be used at the Olympic Games did not impress many Democratic Partt people, who thought the most important issue was to have a team on the field, not what colours they wore.

DP people are beginning to remember that for decades they stood for reform for moral reasons, and not for enlightened self-interest.

Also the lure of the African National Congress has faded a little in the face of continuing political violence, some of which at least can be attributed to acts by ANC members.

Few people in the DP want to get violent about their politics.

The ANC has recently begun attacking DP people in the Eastern Transvaal. Indeed these assaults formed the basis of a motion put before congress by the Northern and Eastern Transvaal youth wings that the DP should not form alliances with any organisation linked to the South African Communist Party.

They argued that people joining the DP were falling victim to intimidation and assaults by the ANC, so how could the DP form an alliance with the ANC/SACP?

Another reason for the newfound confidence in the DP is the tougher stand taken by the leader, Dr Zach de Beer. De Beer was slow to take a firm stand against his squabbling MPs.

But he has let them argue and argue among themselves and get nowhere, and has now said "enough".

De Beer's personal political fortunes have increased in recent months as he has appeared as something of an elder statesman in the journey to the new South Africa, preaching good reason and compromise, trying not to be petty, and trying not to look for delays or score points against his rivals.

Lastly, the kind of members the DP is attracting now gives it reason to feel good about itself. The NP can point to its catches from the House of Representatives, and sit back and watch them, as professional politicians, pontificate at conferences.

Tape row: PW sends secret letter to De Klerk

304A

ARG 19/11/91

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE row over a tape recording of the July 1989 meeting between former president Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela flared again today and Mr Botha has approached President De Klerk.

Mr Botha has said he is determined to continue to try to obtain a transcript of the tape in spite of the National Intelligence Service announcement that it has been destroyed.

Mr Botha has instead been provided with a shorter version.

Speaking from his home at the Wilderness today, Mr Botha said he had written to President De Klerk. He did not want to disclose the contents of the letter at this stage.

Mr Botha has expressed his dissatisfaction about an explanation given by NIS head Dr Niel Barnard for the destruction of the tape.

He has threatened to release a recording of a conversation he had with Dr Barnard at the Wilderness last Tuesday, when Dr Barnard signed each page of the stortened transcript of the meeting with Mr Mandela.

Mr Botha said he regarded in a serious light the destruction of the tape of the conversation he, as head of state, had with Mr Mandela. He found the refusal to provide him with a transcript "very strange" and could not understand why such an important document should have been destroyed without his knowledge or permission.

He wants to hand the document to the Institute for Contemporary History at the Free State University in Bloemfontein, which has the rest of his collection of documents.

Mr Botha has declined to comment on speculation that he wants the tape to dispel suggestions that he set the reform path Mr De Klerk is following.

A spokesman for Dr Barnard's office said the recording of Dr Barnard's conversation with Mr Botha last week was not the property of the NIS and Mr Botha was free to make it available to the Press.

In a statement yesterday the NIS said the tape was destroyed because it had "no decisive security-related value." The NIS had decided its retention could be an embarrassment and could serve no future purpose.

It had been made by Mr Botha's staff and while they had it no transcription was made.

304A ARG 19/11/91

DP now well equipped for its independent role

THE Democratic Party has emerged from its two-day annual congress in Cape Town in probably the best shape it has ever been. Personal differences remain between some MPs, but the party is more determined and better equipped to exert an influence from the liberal centre in South African politics. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

THERE was nervous laughter from delegates when leader Dr Zac de Beer opened the congress with the doughty avowal of Marshal Foch..."My centre is collapsing, my right flank is in disarray, my left in retreat: I attack."

It must have had irksome overtones for a party that has often seemed to be tearing itself apart.

But far from being solitary in his liberal assault, Dr Zac de Beer has a force equipped and avowedly willing as it has never been before.

The next 12 months will be the most critical for the Democratic Party, but the weekend congress has provided it with an enviably sturdy foundation.

Two factors contributed to this: workable, innovative policy papers that place the DP in the forefront of political-solution seeking, and delegates - MPs and rank and file party workers - committed to settling disputes over policy, by compromise if necessary, in order to ensure a unity of purpose.

There were arguments, of course, out in the open too. (Anything less, from democrats, would have been disappointing.) But they were not the bitter, intractably factional rivalries of the past.

There were sharp exchanges on what the DP's attitude to mass action should be, and also on its position regarding alliances and dealings with Communist Party-linked organisations.

Delegates had their say and they made no bones about it, but in each case compromise amendments were adopted which were sufficiently acceptable to most delegates.

Some felt this left the DP with rather wishy-washy positions on these issues. Arguably, however, mass action and alliance-forming are among the murkiest of political topics at this juncture and the party might well have been unwise to have struck a rigid position on either.

Placed as it is at the centre, a higher degree of flexibility on issues like these is bound to empower rather than disarm the DP.

However, vacillation on constitutional proposals would have been disastrous and, on the strength of the agenda (there were several sharply conflicting resolutions), a dithering, inconclusive debate seemed inevitable.

In the absence of an imaginative alternative, the debate could have proved nastily divisive.

But a master-stroke from veteran MP Mr Colin Eglin won the day.

His amendment - setting out an elected constitutional conference to draw up the new constitution - effectively shifts the DP to the forefront of the constitutional debate.

Other similarly innovative and provocative position papers on transition measures, local government, violence, women's rights and broadcasting were adopted by the congress.

Whether the DP lives up to the goals it has set itself depend on two things: MPs publicly maintaining the unity of purpose established during the congress, and party workers redoubling their efforts to extend the party's support base.

Dr De Beer pointed out forcefully in his closing address that the party could only be as influential as its support, its votes, allowed.

It is only consistent politicking and hard work at branch level that will achieve that.

Recruitment of new members, particularly in the black, coloured and Indian communities has been singled out as a priority.

Former University of the Western Cape rector Dr Richard van der Ross and trade unionist Mr Normal Daniels are leading a fresh recruitment drive in the Cape. Both have been elected to the national council.

Also in the party's chief governing body is Mr Etienne Phoofolo from the Eastern Transvaal where black recruitment has been remarkably successful.

A growing pocket of DP support in the OFS goldfields has even yielded a former member of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Convicted and jailed for sabotage and possession of explosives in 1989, he was indemnified in April this year. He joined the DP in part because of disillusionment with ANC strategies.

A sore point at the congress was the public sniping by MPs over one another's apparent connections with the ANC or the National Party.

Dr De Beer won several rounds of applause with a tough warning that he would tolerate this no more.

Progressive MPs who recognised this was directed in large measure at them said they were at peace with their leader.

His strong statement was no surprise to them - this was the line he had been taking in recent caucus meetings.

And one said: "The important thing to realise is that he had to do it. There is no ill feeling."

Some commentators have judged the congress in terms of the balance of power between the old-style liberals and the progressives in the DP, declaring the progressives the victors in several key debates.

But one delegate said: "It was not a question of choosing one way or the other. Congress has been very firm about establishing the way it wants to go, in terms of policy, and has sent a powerful signal to the caucus to follow it.

"I think the party has put aside its divisions and the congress has shown that the differences were based not on ideological policy issues, but on petty personal rivalries.

"There was an adultness about the debate and the party is now equipped to play an independent role effectively."

A year ago, the Democratic Party survived a fractious annual congress, containing, rather than resolving differences.

This year, the party has re-established a firm ideological basis for an important and influential role in the still-evolving milieu of non-racial politics.

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De Klerk warns: Many options still open

3044
ARG 19/11/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President De Klerk does not believe he will be the last white head-of-state in South Africa — and has warned that if the country becomes "ungovernable .. we (the government) have got a lot of options left (to reverse this) .. Unfortunately, they are not attractive ones."

In a wide-ranging and hard-hitting interview just published in the influential German political magazine Der Spiegel, Mr De Klerk did not rule out the possibility of a reimposition of a state of emergency if political talks failed to "achieve the desired ends".

Mr De Klerk insisted that "whites will play a critical role in any (future) government, no matter under what constitution".

He said he hoped that performance, and not skin colour, would determine a person's role in the new South Africa, but said "at the government level we are looking for a system that practically enforces government by coalition".

"All major players must be represented in government and we need a rotational presidency."

He said the "Westminster system, in which a group with 51 percent of the vote has all the power, is unsuitable for South Africa .. For example we need a second parliamentary chamber to look after regional and minority interests."

Mr De Klerk rejected a suggestion that his vision entailed "replacing political apartheid with cultural apartheid".

"I am against apartheid in any form, but I find it essential that everybody is taught in their own language. There are Afrikaners and Zulus in South Africa, but at the same time we are all South Africans. Such a double identity is a security system. I don't think much of the American melting-pot system."

Mr De Klerk expressed the hope that the new society could be brought about "perhaps earlier than most people expect", but had harsh words for what he characterised as ANC "delaying tactics".

Asked whether there was "enough time left" for a solution, he said: "We are in a rush and we had hoped to achieve more. However, I am not losing hope and we should have a multiparty conference before the end of the year."

He said there would be "trouble" if a new system led to "the suppression of minority rights and violation of property rights. If, however, we grant all South Africans equal political and economic opportunities, and if we manage to avoid a repeat of the conditions in other African countries, then this country has a great future."

Tape row: PW 'will write' to FW

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

FORMER President P W Botha said yesterday that he would be writing to President F W de Klerk about the National Intelligence Service (NIS) statement that it had destroyed a tape recording of the 1989 meeting between him and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

NIS said the tape was destroyed after it had decided that "the retention or application of the recording could only be an embarassment and serve no future purpose".

Mr Botha said from his home in Wilderness that the NIS statement had been brought to his notice and he would be writing to Mr De Klerk about it.

"The point is that I am out of party politics. I don't want to make any further comment."

It was, however, "correct" to say that he was pursuing his efforts to obtain a full version of what he and Mr Mandela talked about in July 1989 when the ANC leader was still in jail.

Mr Botha has refused to comment on reports that he wanted to use the tape to dispel suggestions he set the reform path Mr De Klerk is following.

Mr Mandela has refused to be involved in the row.

NIS said in its statement it was statutorily obliged to retain or destroy any available information at its discretion.

The tape was handed to NIS by Mr Botha's personal staff after his retirement on August 15, 1989, and the tape recording was destroyed soon afterwards.

It was destroyed because it had "no decisive security related value" although it was of historical and political meaning.

Hopes for November 29 talks fading

Own Correspondent 30/11

DURBAN. — Hopes for a November 29 start to multi-party talks are fading, with a number of contested issues apparently still to be thrashed out by key players.

ANC sources yesterday indicated that a meeting of a steering committee scheduled for tomorrow to finalise arrangements for the talks was now unlikely. CT 19/11/91

The meeting was to have taken place on Friday last week, but was called off because of disagreements between the Inkatha Freedom Party and other parties.

Central to these was a dispute over who should attend the steering committee meeting. The IFP felt that it, the ANC and the National Party should attend and form the preparatory committee for the talks.

The ANC has flatly rejected this on the grounds that there are other major players. It initially said the PAC and the Democratic Party should also be in on the meeting.

However, this was unacceptable to the IFP, and the ANC has now demanded that if Inkatha attends so should other homeland leaders.

There are now suggestions that a total of 22 organisations could be on the preparatory committee. They would include the major parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groupings as well as leaders of the independent and non-independent homelands.

Talks designed to facilitate the meeting were held yesterday. The government and the IFP met but no statement was issued.

The postponement of last week's scheduled steering committee meeting and continuing doubts over the process make it increasingly unlikely that November 29 will mark the first meeting of the all-party talks — which will probably be called the "Convention for a Democratic Future".

22 parties may be invited to arrange talks

PATRICK BULGER

UP TO 22 parties and homeland governments could be involved in arranging all-party talks due later this month.

Senior PAC and DP sources said yesterday all parties that would take part in the scheduled talks would be involved in preparatory arrangements.

Government and Inkatha met yesterday to try to reach a compromise that would include all parties in arrangements leading up to the talks.

The meeting followed last week's postponement of a preparatory committee meeting which was to have decided on a venue, convener and agenda for the talks.

Neither government nor Inkatha released a statement after yesterday's meeting. A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's office said discussions were continuing but would not disclose who government was meeting.

However, Business Day understands that government is trying to persuade Inkatha to abandon its idea of a troika — the NP, ANC and Inkatha — making up the preparatory committee.

A senior PAC source said yesterday parties due to take part in the talks had faced three options. The first option — a troika — was opposed by the ANC and PAC because it elevated the status of Inkatha above other homeland parties. The second option — the three principal parties being joined by the DP and the PAC in preparatory arrangements — was rejected by Inkatha.

Subsequently the ANC proposed all parties due to be represented at talks should have a hand in convening them.

Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday his government would insist on being part of the talks from the beginning.

In a reference to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Holomisa said: "If other homeland leaders are attending, Transkei will be there."

I'm not last white head of state, says De Klerk

Star 19/11/91.

By Shaun Johnson and Sven Lünsche (3049)

President F W de Klerk does not believe he will be the last white head of state in South Africa — and has warned that if the country becomes "ungovernable ... we (the Government) have got a lot of options left (to reverse this) ... Unfortunately, they are not attractive ones".

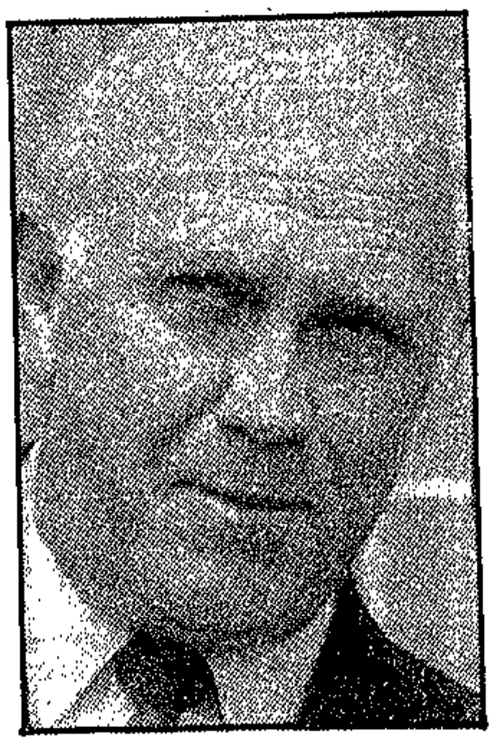
In a wide-ranging interview just published in the influential German political magazine Der Spiegel, Mr de Klerk did not rule out the possibility of a reimposition of a state of emergency if political talks failed to "achieve the desired ends".

Mr de Klerk insisted that "whites will play a critical role in any (future) government, no matter under what constitution".

He said he hoped that performance would determine a person's role in the new South Africa, but said: "At the government level we are looking for a system that practically enforces government by coalition.

"All major players must be represented in government and we need a rotational presidency."

He said the "Westminster system, in which a group with 51 percent of the vote has all the power, is unsuitable for SA ... For example we need a second parliamentary chamber to look after minority interests".



De Klerk . . . plenty of options left.

Mr de Klerk expressed the hope that the new society could be brought about "perhaps earlier than most people expect", but had harsh words for what he called ANC "delaying tactics".

Asked whether there was "enough time left" for a solution, he said: "We ... had hoped to achieve more. However, I am not losing hope and we should have a multi-party conference before the end of the year."

He said there would be "trouble" if a new system led to "the suppression of minority rights and violation of property rights. If, however, we grant all South Africans equal political and economic opportunities, and if we manage to avoid a repeat of the conditions in other African countries, then this country has a great future."

Mr de Klerk conceded that imbalances in wealth constituted the country's "biggest problem ... However, this must be (addressed) in an economically sensible way. If we prevent the free-market system from developing, we won't have economic growth, and no government — not even an ANC-dominated one — will be able to manage the problem.'

Asked whether special measures would not be needed to "achieve a redistribution of wealth, such as compensation for the land lost by blacks," Mr de Klerk responded sharply: "I don't like your choice of words. To penalise past wrongs is the worst we could do in SA. "There are no landowners in SA who did not pay for their property. Legitimate landowners have a right to protection."

TEL STAR

Win a week for 2 at the Wild Coast Su

DP draws blacks in Free State

(3064)

Star 19/11/91

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — More black people than white people belonged to the Democratic Party in the Free State, Dr Rhett Kahn, one of the party's leaders in the OFS, has said.

Some of the black members were at the DP's congress in Cape Town at the weekend.

Among them was Lucas Mene (23) from the Thabong township near Welkom. He had been a member of the ANC since 1983, and as a political activist helped organise school and consumer boycotts.

Mr Mene said he decided to join the DP because the ANC was always talking about democracy, yet the way it operated was not democratic, and it displayed



Rhett Kahn . . . more blacks belong to DP.

"a lot of intimidation towards other organisations".

The ANC would not consult other organisations about campaigns and boycotts, but just act, he said.

When people went against the campaigns, the ANC would "try intimidation, telling them they would hit their houses, and kill them. I do not believe in such things."

Mr Mene said he felt the DP was honest in what they were talking about, and worked within democratic guidelines.

Sam Leseme (20) also from Thabong, joined the DP because he agreed with its policies.

He had been a member of the Congress of South African Students since 1985 and was in detention during 1986 and 1987. He was arrested in 1989, having operated inside the country "in communication with Umkhonto we Sizwe".

Mr Leseme was jailed last year for sabotage for 2½ years, but received indemnity on April 12. After that "I decided to join the DP".

Steering committee meeting delayed

Star 20/11/91 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius and Jacqueline Myburgh

The first meeting of a steering committee to set up all-party talks on a new constitution has again been delayed and seems unlikely to take place today as earlier scheduled.

Sources involved in the negotiations said a meeting today was "logistically impossible" because of complications and disagreements.

The meeting was scheduled to take place at 8 pm at a Johannesburg hotel.

It is not clear when the meeting will take place now or even if it will be this week.

This means the target date of November 29 for the multiparty conference to start looks increasingly unlikely.

On Monday night, the Government met the Inkatha Freedom Party to try to resolve differences and yesterday an ANC delegation met the Government.

The parties involved in negotiations about the steering committee have been wrangling mainly about which parties should serve on the committee.

The meeting was originally scheduled for last Friday.

Despite the delays, President de Klerk yesterday expressed confidence that the multiparty conference would still take place this year.

"Yes, there have been hitches, but the multiparty conference will take place before the end of this year," he said when addressing the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg.

But Mr de Klerk said he would "not make the same mistake" as ANC president Nelson Mandela by tying himself to dates.

"But things are basically on track — dates are not important. What is important is that time is of the essence.

"The start of the multiparty conference is fundamental to the curbing of violence and bringing it to an end."

It was important that leaders should be seen to be conversing amiably and peacefully, he said.

Sources said yesterday speculation that 22 parties would attend the steering committee meeting was premature.

The ANC, PAC and other parties want as many as 18 or 19 parties to attend the talks, including many parties from the self-governing territories.

The IFP, on the other hand, has all along favoured a much smaller group — at one stage proposing just itself, the Government and the ANC.

Sources close to the talks said yesterday that a PAC demand for the all-party conference to take place outside South Africa was not an ultimatum.

They were responding to a statement from a PAC conference at the weekend that the PAC would pull out of negotiations if the all-party conference was held inside South Africa.

Mandela to open Idasa conference

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is to open a three-day conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa titled "Democracy: A Vision for the Future".

The conference starts in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Mandela will address questions on the prospects for democracy in a society "as divided and violent" as South Africa's as well as prospects for the future and other important issues, Idasa said in a statement this week.

Nigerian political scientist Dr Claude Ake will discuss democracy in Africa.

Issues relating to education, civil society, nationalism and nation-building will be addressed by various panels of specialists including Mr Aggrey Klaaste, Editor of *Sowetan*; Dr Pallo Jordan, ANC head of information and publicity; Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party general secretary; and Mr Wynand Malan, former Democratic Party leader. - *Sapa*.

All-party talks collapse again

Soweten 20/11/91

304A

Political Correspondent

TODAY'S preliminary talks between political organisations on the convening of a multiparty conference are off.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg last night, the African National Congress said there would be no convening meeting, but bilateral talks between the various organisations were under way to resuscitate the endeavour.

No clarity emerged last night on the reasons for the postponement - the second after last Friday's aborted meeting - but a source close to the groups indicated it was "the same issue" that



DE KLERK

scuttled last week's proposed talks.

Last week's proposed meeting collapsed after objections by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party about the status it was given for the conference as an ordinary member.

The main issue the IFP objected to last week was



BUTHELEZI

that it would be one of many parties. It felt that it, together with the Goverment and ANC, had to plan a multiparty conference.

Objected

The IFP felt it needed a bigger say in the discussions, an ANC source said yesterday.

The ANC objected to giving the IFP "honorary status" in a political troika with the Government and itself, but instead wanted every political organisation in the preliminary stage to have an equal say and representation.

Alarm

On the other hand, a key figure in the talks said last night that there was no cause for alarm and that discussions were well under way.

A confident President FW de Klerk yesterday also told *Sowetan* that the present problems were not insurmountable.

He said he was confident that a multiparty conference would be held before the end of the year.



20/11/91
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Mystery

TOS WENTZEL,
Political Staff,
reports . . .

MYSTERY surrounds the decision of the National Intelligence Service to destroy a tape recording of the historic meeting between former president Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela in July 1989.

By all accounts that meeting was a low-key occasion, more meant to let the two men get to know each other. The idea seemed to be that there would be further meetings, but Mr Botha stepped down before this could happen.

It was nevertheless a historic meeting of which a full record should exist. The NIS instead decided that retention of the tape could be an embarrassment and that this could serve no purpose.

It now continues to defend this decision with one source saying this week that, if the situation arose again, the tape would again be destroyed

The historic meeting, on July 5 1989, is again in the limelight following the row about the tape recording.

The former president, Mr P W Botha is furious because the NIS has presented him with only a shortened version of the talks that day. He demands that what he regards as an important historic document be returned to him.

The meeting that day took place on a Wednesday but it was only announced on the Saturday, July 8.

Mr Mandela was brought to Tuynhuys from the Victor Verster prison in Paarl where he was being held in a house in the grounds.

It followed a number of meetings he had had with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, since 1986.

It also came more than four years after Mr Botha's offer, at the opening of the 1985 session of Parliament, to consider Mr Mandela's release, provided he unconditionally rejected violence as a political instrument.

Mr Mandela did not take up the offer. By the time he met Mr Botha in 1989 the government's emphasis on abandoning violence had shifted. It was now more on the acceptance of peaceful solutions. The government felt that this amounted to the same thing and ANC leaders could agree to this.

The meeting took place in the president's office at Tuynhuys and it lasted for 45 minutes. Others present were Mr Coetsee, Dr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service and Lieutenant-General W H Willemse, Commissioner of Correctional Services

A statement issued by Mr Coetsee on April 5 said:

"President Botha met Mr Mandela informally in Tuynhuys on April 5 when the latter paid a courtesy visit to the State President. No policy matters were discussed and no negotiations conducted.

"President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa.

"Their conversation took place in a pleasant spirit.

"The possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed."

Mr Mandela confirmed Mr Coetsee's version of the meeting as accurate.

In a unprecedented move the government allowed him to release a statement on July 12 in which he said the meeting had constituted "no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years, namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement and in particular with the ANC, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country.

"I make this statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President.

"I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the Press as a means of conducting possible further discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development.

"I would also like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage as implied in the original statement.

ARG 20/11/91 (304A)

und of silence

surrounds NIS move to spike PW-Mandela tape





MANDELA and Botha — their meeting has been described as low key. But why did the NIS destroy the tape former President Botha wants back as a valuable historical record?.

"I would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa."

Later, after his release, Mr Mandela confirmed that the meeting had been an amiable one and that he was pleasantly surprised by the reception he had from Mr Botha.

Mr Coetsee said afterwards that preparations for the meeting had taken place over a long period and particular attention had been paid to the safety of the visitor rather than secrecy.

Overseas the meeting was widely welcomed.

Later on Mr Coetsee said the meeting was dignified with nothing notably emotional or dramatic about the two men's 45 minutes together.

He has declined to give further detail as has Mr Mandela. Earlier this week Mr Mandela shrugged off the row saying it was a matter between Mr Botha and the NIS.

The men did not meet again. On December 12 1989 Mr Mandela had his first meeting with Mr F W de Klerk who had become president in the meantime.

The statements after the Botha-Mandela meeting had created the impression that it had been a low-key occasion.

Mr Botha keeps maintaining that the tape was very important as far as he was concerned and that he regarded its destruction in a very serious light.

He in turn made a tape recording a meeting he had last week with Dr Niel Barnard, the head of NIS and he has threatened to release this.

Having started to ask for a full transcript of the tape two years ago, Mr Botha has now again written to Mr De Klerk demanding this. Mr De Klerk has replied in a letter which is apparently meant to mollify Mr Botha.

A spokesman at the president's office in Pretoria said that the office did not have any version of the 1989 tape and he referred to the NIS statement that the tape had been destroyed.

He also said that it was not standard practice for Mr De Klerk to make tape recordings of his conversations with people.

The PW Tapes



Sound of silence — page 15

304A
ARCT 20/11/91

Head of Archives studying legality of destruction

Political Staff

THE Director of Archives, Dr J H Snyman, has disclosed that he is investigating the legality of the NIS destroying a tape recording of former President P W Botha's 1989 meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela.

Under the Archives Act it is an offence to destroy archival material such as the contentious tape recording, unless this is authorised by another law.

Tos Wentzel of The Argus political staff reports that President De Klerk has replied to a letter from Mr Botha expressing dissatisfaction about the destruction of the tape.

Mr De Klerk confirmed this today but declined to divulge the contents.

He yesterday received a faxed letter from Mr Botha in the Wilderness.

Mr Botha has indicated that he has asked Mr De Klerk for permission to release correspondence between them over the destruction of the tape by the National Intelligence Service.

He first wrote to Mr De Klerk asking for the tape two years ago.

Mr Botha has also threatened to release a transcript of the tape-recorded conversation he had with the head of the NIS, Dr Niel Barnard, at the Wilderness last week. He said he believed the whole controversy could be cleared up if this second tape was released.

The NIS has said that keeping the tape could only be an embarrassment and serve no purpose.

According to Mr Botha he regards the destruction of the tape of the conversation he had with Mr Mandela in his capacity as president in a serious light.

He wants the transcript to add it to the collection of documents he has presented to the Institute for Contemporary History at the Free State University in Bloemfontein.

The Argus correspondent in Pretoria reports that Dr Snyman said he was investigating whether the NIS had destroyed the tape recording in terms of another law.

If not, it could be illegal, he said. An NIS spokesman said yesterday the tape had been destroyed in terms of section four of the Protection of Information Act and section four of the Bureau for State Security Act, which established the agency that the NIS succeeded.

The spokesman said these sections gave the head of NIS the right to destroy or retain information relating to State security.

Answering Press inquiries after an address to the Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr De Klerk said he had not known about the tapes when they were made, but was later told about them by the NIS.

"Personally I don't like playing around with tapes. I prefer minutes to be taken by hand. I'm not the secretive type," he said.

New hitch in setting up all-party conference

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent and Political Staff

PROGRESS was made today between the major parties negotiating the finer details of the first meeting of the all-party conference, political sources said.

Though the initial meeting of the steering committee to set up the all-party talks was delayed again and seemed unlikely today, the sources said discussions were continuing.

They said a meeting today was "logistically impossible" because of complications and disagreements.

It is not clear when the meeting will take place and the target date of November 29 for a multi-party conference looks increasingly unlikely.

All parties are proceeding with great caution and are loath to speculate given the delicacy of the talks and the sensitivities of those involved.

On Monday night the government met the Inkatha Freedom Party to try to resolve differences and met an ANC delegation yesterday.

The wrangling is about which parties should serve on the steering committee.

In spite of the delay, President De Klerk said when addressing the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg yesterday: "There have been hitches, but the multiparty conference will take place before the end of this year."

He would "not make the same mistake" as Mr Nelson Mandela by tying himself to dates.

All-party meeting may be restricted

By BARRY STREEK

THE first round of the all- or multi-party conference, still expected to be held next week on Friday, November 29, may be restricted to formalities because of problems in arranging a meeting of the pre-talks steering committee.

The committee was to have met on Friday and yesterday, but no meeting took place yesterday.

Provisional preparations were made for the committee to meet tonight, but the ANC said the steering committee would not meet today.

Provisional arrangements for the committee to meet tomorrow have also been made, but not confirmed.

Despite the problems of convening the steering committee, mainly caused by differences between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the other groups about who should be represented, there is growing consensus that the APC/MPC talks should be held on November 29 even if they are restricted to formalities in order to get the negotiations going.

A second round of the APC/MPC could then be held on about December 10 before the working committees are appointed to discuss key issues.

The December date is problematic as ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela will be in the United States between December 1 and December 8, ruling out a resumption of the talks on December 9.

President F W de Klerk is expected to leave South Africa shortly after that on another overseas trip, and this will leave only a short period when the talks could be reconvened.

It has apparently now been agreed that the steering committee will not be confined to only three groups — the NP, the ANC and the IFP — but it has not been resolved which of the other 20 bigger groups should be represented on the committee.

Visiting US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Hank Cohen, who met ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday, said he had a feeling the "negotiation process is on track" and "we should see considerable movement towards a solution in 1992".

PAC demands neutral venue

UMTATA. — The Butterworth branch of the Pan Africanist Congress has resolved to call on its national body to pull out of talks if there is no agreement with the African National Congress on a neutral venue for the all-party conference.

Transkeian PAC publicity secretary Mr Zingisa Mkabile said the meeting resolved that the pre-constituent assembly meeting or the all-party conference had to be held outside South Africa under an independent convenor such as the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations or the Commonwealth. — Sapa

CT 20/11/91

Negotiations on course, says Mandela

(30(A)

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday the search for a non-racial system of government in South Africa was on course, but he criticised the "current rhetoric between actors in the negotiation process".

Mr Mandela made the remarks after meeting US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen. Mr Mandela briefed Mr Cohen on the latest position in the negotiation process.

His comment comes a few days after a row over his announcement that crucial all-party talks would be held on November 29 and 30. The government swiftly replied that the ANC leader was "presumptuous".

"Our discussions were very fruitful," Mr Mandela said of his meeting with Mr Cohen.

Mr Cohen said he had a feeling the negotiation process was on track and "we should see considerable movement towards a solution in 1992".

But Mr Mandela, apparently referring to sharp words from the government over his announcement of the all-party talks dates, took issue with "the rhetoric that is going on at the moment".

In addition, a meeting of the committee laying the ground for the talks failed to take place on Friday, amid squabbling over who should attend.

Mr Mandela said "in the interests of blacks and whites" it was imperative that political leaders press ahead with the negotiation process. — Sapa

FW stresses 'critical role' for whites

CT 20/11/91 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has again moved to allay white fears by promising to protect minority and property rights and insisting that whites would play "a critical role" in any future government.

In a hard-hitting interview published in the German political magazine Der Spiegel and at an address to the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg yesterday, he also promised to preserve stability and hinted that a state of emergency could be re-imposed if the country threatened to become ungovernable.

Mr De Klerk told Der Spiegel that he did not believe he would be the last white head-of-state in South Africa and insisted that whites would continue to play an important role in any future government "no matter under what constitution".

There would be "trouble" if a new system led to suppression of minority rights and the violation of property rights.

Mr De Klerk warned in the interview that the government had a lot of options left — "unfortunately they are not attractive ones" — if the country became ungovernable.

In yesterday's address, Mr De Klerk said the new South Africa would not succeed unless the country had a constitution which was able to handle the stresses and strains of a complex society by offering full democratic rights to all citizens, while giving protection to small political parties, cultural groups and languages.

● The ANC yesterday issued a statement rejecting recent claims by Mr De Klerk that it was responsible for widespread violence, labelling such accusations as "reckless and groundless".

The ANC charged that Mr De Klerk's attacks on the organisation appeared to vary in accordance with the proximity of white parliamentary by-elections and showed little regard for the national interest.

A by-election will be held in Virginia on November 28, and the date for the Potchefstroom by-election is still to be announced.

FW pushing for regional conference

Star 29/11/91

By Jacqueline Myburgh

President de Klerk is in favour of "multilateral regional talks" among southern African countries "similar to those of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe".

In an address to the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr de Klerk said he looked forward to a southern African economic association in which SA would play a constructive role.

He noted that the Organisation of African Unity — which SA would "inevitably" join — was looking at the eventual establishment of an African Economic Community.

Speaking to reporters after his address, Mr de Klerk said it was important to identify all the areas in which the region could benefit through co-operation, and this would have to be achieved through multilateral discussions. "The European Community did not fall out of the air — it materialised through negotiations," he said.

Mr de Klerk said existing structures such as the Customs Union and the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) should be incorporated to give an "African community" a sound foundation. He added that SA already had resident representation in 13 independent African states, and would soon open offices in Luanda, Nairobi and Lusaka.

This year "no fewer than 65 official delegations from African states, other than the SADCC countries, visited SA for talks with me or the Minister of Foreign Affairs," he said.

Trade with Africa, excluding members of the SA Customs Union, increased by nearly 25 percent to more than R5 billion. Trade with Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi increased by 13,4 percent to more than R3 billion.

However, SA did not have the resources to cater for the whole of southern Africa, let alone the rest of Africa.

"I wish to impress upon the countries of southern Africa the urgency of joining us in such a project, as further delays will do nothing but aggravate the economic plight of the region," he said.

Destruction by NIS may have been illegal

New turn in PW tape row

(304A)
Star 20/11/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The P W Botha/Nelson Mandela tapes row took a dramatic new turn yesterday when the Director of Archives disclosed that he was investigating the legality of the National Intelligence Service's destruction of the tapes.

The NIS has confirmed that it destroyed the recording of a conversation between then State President Botha and ANC leader Nelson Mandela in July 1989.

Although Mr Botha has not confirmed or denied this, it is understood he wants the controversial tape to dispel impressions created by the National Party that Mr de Klerk's reforms are a logical consequence of Mr Botha's policies.

It is believed that the tapes would reveal that Mr Botha told Mr Mandela he would not unban the ANC until it renounced violence and cut its links with the SA Communist Party.

Offence

Under the Archives Act it is an offence to destroy archival material such as the recording unless this is authorised by another law.

Director of Archives Dr J H Snyman said yesterday he was investigating whether the NIS had destroyed the tape recording in terms of another law. If not, it could be illegal, he said.

An NIS spokesman said the tape had been destroyed in terms of section 4 of the Prohibition of Information Act and section 4 of the Bureau for State Security Act.

But Democratic Party constitutional law expert Professor Nic Olivier said yesterday he could find no such authority.

Mr Botha seems poised to release another recording — of his conversation with NIS director Dr Niel Barnard.

Mr Botha told The Star yesterday that he believed the whole controversy would be cleared up once this second tape was released.

Faxed

He would release the tape only when President de Klerk had replied to a letter faxed to him on Monday.

Answering press inquiries in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr de Klerk said that he had not known about the tapes at the time they were made, but was informed later by the NIS.

"Personally, I don't like playing around with tapes, I prefer minutes to be taken by hand. I'm not the secretive type," said Mr de Klerk.

Mr Botha was quoted in the Afrikaans press yesterday as saying he wanted the recording of the Mandela meeting to be kept by the Institute for Contemporary History at the University of the Free State.

The institute and an official in the State President's Office, Dr Daan Prinsloo, were to write a book about his life, Mr Botha said.



Wasteland . . . some remaining inhabitants of the destroyed Croatian city of Vukovar leave their homes, escorted by a member of the Serbian-led forces. Defiant Croatian national guardsmen are making a last stand in the fallen city. Report — Page 4. Picture: AFP

Necklacing 'a threat to unity'

Star 20/11/91

The Patriotic Front would be in jeopardy unless the ANC was seen to take strong action against its members who allegedly necklaced a PAC supporter in Munsieville last week, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday.

He spoke at a media briefing after a senior PAC delegation had toured the township for two hours, following the murder on Friday of PAC member Abner Mongwagelwa. He was stabbed with a garden fork, then set alight.

The delegation included publicity secretary Barney Desai, West Rand chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya and secretary of religious affairs Mike Matsobane.

Mr Moseneke said the Patriotic Front had been formed to achieve unity among blacks and to practise political tolerance.

However, the PAC would not sacrifice human lives for the sake of preserving the Patriotic Front.

PAC supporters had shown restraint simply because the PAC did not want to attack fellow oppressed Africans, but would not continue to do so if there were further attacks.

"The PAC will not allow such behaviour from ANC members any more. We urge the ANC to take strong actions against the culprits," he said.

The murdered man's father, Ramothi Mongwagelwa, told the delegation that he knew the identity of the man who had led the group of attackers.

Mr Moseneke told journalists the same group had on Monday threatened to kill the family if they proceeded with funeral arrangements. — Staff Reporter.

Split over 'rape threat' clothes

NEW YORK — Is a teenage girl more likely to be sexually assaulted if she is wearing revealing clothing? Most psychiatrists say yes, a study shows, although experts say attire is insignificant in sex crimes.

Two researchers report that most of the American psychiatrists they questioned believed that the clothes women wear may send signals to men that increase the risk of sex crimes.

"This is a wake-up call for girls and their parents," said one of the authors, Dr Nicholas Rizzo. "And for clothing designers."

But in interviews this week, specialists who treat sexual offenders questioned the conclusions reported in the Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology.

"Dress is quite an insignificant factor in such attacks," said Phillip Resnick, a forensic psychiatry professor at Case Western Reserve Medical School in Cleveland.

"Rapists say that they decide they're going to rape that night, and they select their victim largely based on opportunity. Is the woman alone? Is it a dark street?"

He and another specialist said that while sexy clothing unquestionably gives rise to wolf-whistles and possibly to unwanted sexual advances, there is a difference between verbal harassment and physical assault.

"The aggressive side of rape has nothing to do with what a victim looks like or is wearing," said a forensic psychiatrist. "Rape is a crime of violence, not of sexual passion." — Sapa-AP.

Runaway train kills 80

MEXICO CITY — A speeding runaway train abandoned by its crew jumped tracks at a curve outside the Mexican town of Tehuacan yesterday and hurtled across a highway, killing up to 80 people as it slammed into cars and buses.

Children from a nearby school were among the dead, and more than 100 people were injured, said officials.

"It was chaos, twisted iron and confusion," said a reporter on the scene, 300 km south-east of Mexico City.

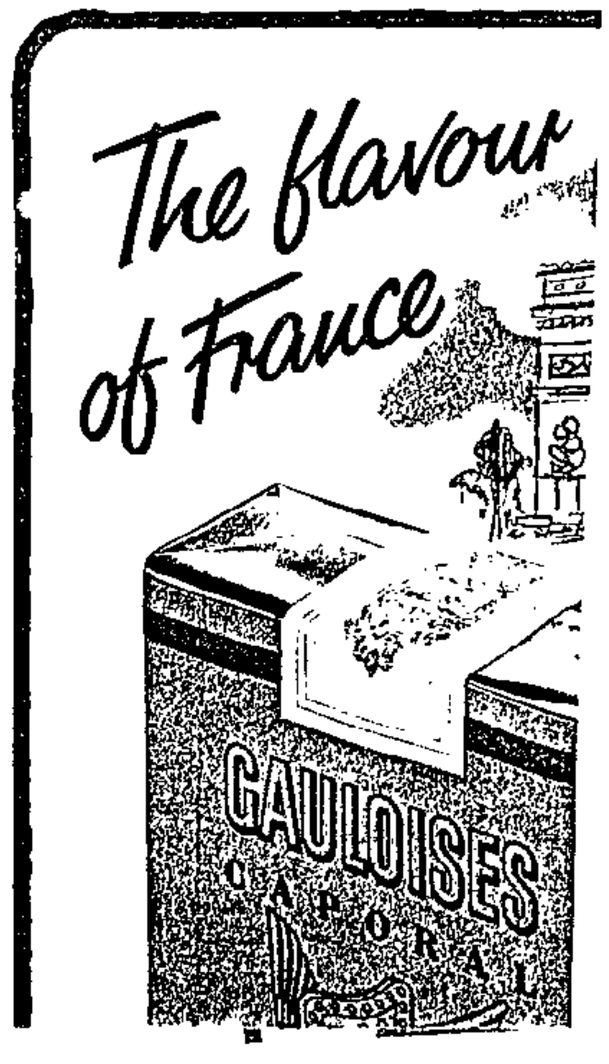
"Cars were crushed, a bus was flattened. There was blood dripping down into a nearby drain," he said.

Mexican TV said it was the worst rail disaster in the country's history. — Sapa-Reuter.

Fisherman's 2 days in a box

BEAUFORT (South Carolina) — A man who floated in a box for two days after his fishing boat sank was rescued yesterday from the Atlantic Ocean, the Coast Guard said.

Lamar Campbell (24) is in a stable condition. He suffered dehydration and hypothermia. — Sapa-AP.



Agreement on talks steering committee

BDay 20/11/91

PATRICK BULGER

304A

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha have agreed on a preparatory committee of 22 parties to draw up final arrangements for all-party talks on a new constitution.

The agreement was reached at a meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose in Durban on Monday night.

Political sources agreed yesterday all-party talks aimed at devising a constitution were rapidly taking shape and might still begin by the end of this month.

A spokesman for Viljoen said yesterday: "We are in the process of finalising arrangements."

The ANC said bilateral discussions were taking place in preparation for the talks.

An ANC source said a meeting of the preparatory committee would take place shortly. He said the talks had been delayed because government was waiting for an assurance from Inkatha that the 22 parties to take part in the talks would be part of the preparatory meeting. This assurance had now been obtained.

Mdlalose said yesterday Inkatha and government had agreed on the composition of the steering committee but would not provide more details. But, he said, November 29 was just one date for the talks and a range of dates between then and December 9 were possible.

Business Day understands the issue of who will chair the first meeting is still under discussion.

TIM COHEN reports President F W de Klerk said yesterday the negotiations process was "basically on track" and he was confident multiparty negotiations would take place before the end of the year.

De Klerk told journalists he did not want to tie himself to dates, but he had reason to believe "things are moving in the right direction".

Industrialised nations 'must help'

FW calls for pact with SA neighbours

B/Day 20/11/91

TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk made an urgent appeal yesterday for a southern African regional conference to foster economic growth and security.

Addressing the SA International Institute of International Affairs, De Klerk said he looked forward to a southern African economic association or community in which SA would play a constructive, but not dominating, role.

"I wish to impress upon the countries of southern African the urgency of joining us in such a project as further delays will do nothing but aggravate the economic plight of the region," he said.

De Klerk said during the first 10 months of this year SA had hosted 65 official delegations from African states outside the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) countries.

Last year trade with Africa, excluding the Southern African Customs Union countries, increased by 24,4% to more than R5bn. Trade with Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi increased by 13,4% to just more than R3bn, he said.

Thought should be given to the idea of multilateral regional talks to foster confidence, economic growth and security along lines similar to those of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

But De Klerk warned that industrialised countries would have to assist regional development as SA did not have the financial or skilled manpower resources to cater for the whole region.

He also warned that SA should not become a "refuge for the masses of unemployed" from neighbouring and more distant countries and that the havoc uncontrolled population movements had caused throughout the continent should be avoided.

He told journalists after his address there was a need to identify the areas in which the countries of the region could co-operate, but because two established regional groupings already existed — the SADCC and the customs union — much of the legwork had already been done.

In his speech, De Klerk reviewed SA's position in the international arena and concluded that there was cause for optimism. "It is in the interests of every South African, black or white, rich or poor, leftist or right-wing, that our country should gain the full benefits of normal international relations without any further delay."

But relations with the Commonwealth remained problematic, because, among other things, of its adherence to certain remaining sanctions. Although the decision to lift people-to-people sanctions was welcome, until it also addressed these other sanctions it could not claim to be impartial, he said.

The area that required SA's special attention was the Far East which offered enormous trade potential, he said.

The recent lifting of restrictions by Japan was most important and should help facilitate trade with other countries in the region.

● See Page 3

Apartheid still in place — Dinkins

NEW YORK — New York mayor David Dinkins, just back from an eight-day trip to SA, said on Monday that, despite recent progress, apartheid remained prevalent.

"It is not yet a new SA," the mayor said, while noting efforts by the government to give blacks more power. (304ft)

As examples, he charged the government with continuing to hold political prisoners and said he was concerned about the "apparent implication" of the government in continued violence between rival black political factions. BLDay 20/11/91

"The scaffolding may be down, but the structure (of apartheid) stands," he said at a news conference at Kennedy International Airport.

Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, said that just before leaving on Monday he met Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

"Logic was on my side," Dinkins said.

"I told him apartheid is immoral and he agreed." — Sapa-AP.

Conservatives wrecking the 'liberal' opposition must be exposed, writes **Allister Spar**

Yes, it still means the whole ho

Star 20/11/91.

(304A)

IT IS LIKE watching an old movie. The sight of Democratic Party conservatives launching a guerilla war against more progressive elements in their party who are trying to move with changing times has a depressing familiarity about it. The same happened 30-odd years ago when Douglas Mitchell, Vause Raw, Louis Steenkamp and other United Party old guarders gunned for the UP progressives who recognised the independence movement sweeping down Africa as a historical watershed requiring adaptation.

The UP *verkramptes* accused them of losing white votes with their liberal ideas. They kept up their harassment until they drove the progressives out — leaving the UP, trapped in its own obsolescence, to fade into extinction, freeze-dried like some laboratory specimen at a final congress on the Carlton Ice Rink.

Now we have another watershed in our political evolution, with the imminent ending of whites-only politics and the start of universal enfranchisement — and again there are conservatives in the supposedly liberal opposition sniping at the progressives who are trying to adapt to the arrival here at last of Harold Macmillan's winds of change.

It began with Harry Schwarz's jibe at last year's DP congress that those who wanted to form a pact with the ANC on issues where the two organisations shared common ground were advocating a "Warsaw Pact".

Like the UP conservatives before him, Mr Schwarz is now serving the NP Government. The sniping has reached a new intensity in recent weeks. First there was Robin Carlisle's motion of no confidence in David Dalling as DP Chief Whip on the grounds that Mr Dalling was leaning too close to the ANC, then Tony Leon's attempt to blame the DP's loss of the Houghton-Killarney municipal by-election on "the ANC tendencies of the party".

Mr Leon's charge is rich. In two years he and the cohorts he once led in the Johannesburg City Council have managed to reduce Helen Suzman's old constituency to losing ground. No mean achievement.

Having accomplished it, they are looking for scapegoats. And with the scurrility of old *swart gevaar* campaigners they are targeting those DP members who want to build bridges to the ANC, saying they scared off the doughty voters of Houghton.

It seems unbelievable that in this day and age, after the Nationalists have renounced apartheid and as South Africa prepares for one-person-one vote elections, we can have this kind of recidivist politics, a reincarnation of the Raws and Mitchells of 1959 who want the party to pander to white prejudices by turning their backs on the country's most representative black leaders.

The analogy comes to mind because of the recent publication of a book giving fresh insights into the events that led to the death of the UP and the birth of the Progressive Party, written by one of the founding group of breakaway Prog MPs. Boris Wilson, who was MP for Hospital, was a stormy petrel of both the UP and the PP: a man driven by an unusual mixture of personal ambition and public concern whose combative style plunged him into many conflicts.

In an astonishingly varied life, however, he was, among other things, a part-time journalist who has done a meticulous reporting job on the momentous years of Hendrik Verwoerd's rise and the UP's terminal decline.

The book, "A Time of Innocence", has several facets. At one level it is the autobiography of one of the most remarkable personalities to have appeared on our public stage; at another it is a detailed record of the political events of his time; and at yet another an analysis of where South Africa stands today and whether its white liberals will do any better in facing up to the challenges of the future than in the past.

The personal story is fascinating in itself, a vignette of early Johannesburg and the personalities of its cosmopolitan immigrant population. It is the story of a child growing up in a desperately poor home, who began work at the age of eight helping his domineering Russian-Jewish father run a fruit stall at the Newtown Market, who put himself through school and university, and who became almost simultaneously a medical doctor, a pioneer industrialist, an MP, a magazine publisher, a part-time journalist — and an amateur painter to boot.

But it is the political account that is of particular interest to those who, like myself, watched the rise of apartheid and the crisis of opposition to it and are fascinated by the lessons to be drawn from that phase of our history.

For me, as for Boris Wilson, it is the pusillanimousness of those whites who professed to oppose apartheid but refused to face up to its alternative who are the most exasperating and ultimately the most contemptible of the *dramatis personae*.

Thirty years ago Laurence Gandar, then editor of the Rand Daily Mail and my own mentor and progenitor, wrote a column headlined "Yes, It Does Mean the Whole Hog". It created outrage at the time, but it remains true today.

Majority rule, which means black majority rule since blacks are the overwhelming majority, is the only realistic alternative to apartheid. If we are lucky it will be a nonracial, democratic form of majority rule, meaning it will be launched in a spirit of reconciliation rather than retribution.

The only logical role, indeed the historic mission, of white liberals is to build bridges to what is obviously the dominant black political organisation in order to achieve that nonracial goal. Yet here are these spoilers trying to stop it.

Wilson has part of the explanation. "Our South African brand of progressive liberalism failed largely because most times we were long on principle and short on practice," he writes in his closing chapter. "We stood for the rights of man, but we did not, or could not, do enough directly about men, women and children who were deprived of those rights, except to talk about them in the abstract in the cosy confines of our homes, our meeting places and in the Nationalist-controlled political institutions."

He ends his book on a pessimistic note, doubting whether South Africa can overcome its depths of racial prejudice. I am more optimistic. One reason is that the conservatives of the DP are not winning the way the UP *verkramptes* pyrrhically did. As the key decisions at last week's congress showed, the tide is against them. But they must be exposed for what they are. Wreckers. □

DP to discuss poll defeat

Star 30/11/91

By Louise Burgers
Municipal Reporter

Democratic Party city councillors in Johannesburg have been called to a special caucus meeting tonight to assess the party's shock performance in last week's Houghton/Killarney municipal by-election.

The seat, in the DP's heartland, was lost to independent Sam Moss by a large majority.

City council management committee chairman Ian Davidson (DP) admitted last night that his party had to take a "long, hard look" at itself.

"We will take an introspective look at ourselves, plan strategies and look at the whole question of where we are going from here."

Mr Davidson said he recognised what the voters were saying and would introduce new strategies. He said that, when turning a company such as the city council around, rough, hard decisions had to be taken.

The DP's defeat has been attributed to voters' dissatisfaction with the council's handling of local issues.

'PR is the best system for South Africa'

South 21/11 - 27/11/91 (304A)

The major theme of the South African struggle — votes for all — overshadowed other constitutional issues, like whether the country should adopt a proportional representation or a constituency voting system. The first, preferred by visiting Jagger scholar at the University of Cape Town, ANDREW REYNOLDS, means parties have MPs in proportion to the percentage of votes they receive. KEITH GOTTSCHALK, of the University of the Western Cape argues for a constituency system.

A CRUCIAL decision in South Africa's looming constitutional negotiations is which electoral system to use when electing a parliament.

With South Africa's historical tensions in mind, the choice of electoral system might be crucial in determining:

- How many parties are represented in parliament.
- Who takes part in executive decisions.
- Whether the political system adopts a "confrontational" or "conciliatory" nature.

There are many electoral systems but the choice is really between "plurality" systems (the present South African "Westminster" system being an example) and "proportional representation" (PR) systems.

In plurality systems on a "winner takes all" basis, the candidate with most votes in a constituency wins the seat even if more votes were cast against him/her. This often creates major inconsistencies when it comes to popular representation in Parliament. Problems with plurality (Westminster) systems are:

- Governments are often elected on a minority of votes, bringing into doubt their representativeness and legitimacy.
- Occasionally plurality systems award more seats to the losing party and thus give "losers" a parliamentary majority. This happened in South Africa in 1948 when Malan's Nationalist/Afrikaner coalition came to power after gaining fewer votes than Smuts' United/Labour Party coalition.

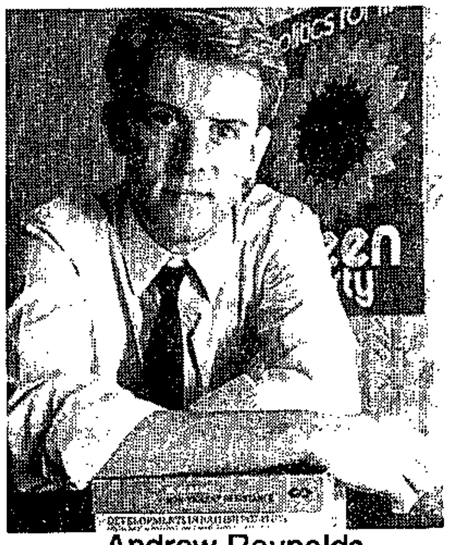
With 42 percent of the popular vote (as opposed to 52 percent for Smuts) the Nationalists gained 79 of the 150 seats in parliament.

- Plurality will also discriminate against minority groupings in the new South Africa. It is likely under plurality that the PAC, Azapo, Democratic Party, Conservative Party and Labour Party could fail to win a seat, despite gaining as much as 10 percent of the vote.
- Finally, plurality would work against the development of a multi-party system and towards a two-party system, which will not allow for diverging opinions in South Africa to be adequately represented in parliament. The "winner takes all" nature of plurality forces parties to be overtly confrontational in their actions. There is little room for "nation building" and reconciliation.

The pitfalls of plurality, specially in a South African context, are widespread and overwhelming and thus the system has not been seriously proposed for a new constitution in South Africa.

What has been proposed, by the ANC and Nationalists, is a form of proportional representation. This means votes are cast for parties and seats are awarded to each in proportion to their percentage vote polled. If parliament consisted of 400 members and the ANC won 60 percent of the national vote they would be awarded 240 seats. Likewise the DP would win 20 seats if they polled five percent of the national vote. Individual candidates elected would be chosen by political parties themselves. The advantages of PR to South Africa are:

- Parliament will represent the entire population, not just the largest blocks of opinion.
- PR means that, unlike plurality, all votes are of equal value, wherever they are cast. Not only does the vast majority of votes cast lead to the election of candidates but this is a strong incentive for minorities to vote, even in areas where another group will clearly be the majority.
- PR avoids the contradictions of a party coming to power on a minority of votes or actually winning with fewer votes than its main opponent.



Andrew Reynolds

- The introduction of PR to South Africa would largely avoid arguments on the arrangement of constituency boundaries. The drawing of these boundaries may be a contentious aspect of the new electoral system.

However, the ANC's adoption of PR has been criticised by people who argue it will lead to weak government unable to redress past and present imbalances in South African society. It has been claimed allowing minority parties into parliament encourages weakness through factionalism. But examples from Western Europe seem to dispel this fear. Almost all continental European countries use PR and most have strong economies led by coherent coalition governments

Even Italy, often held up as a classic example of instability through PR, has a higher economic growth rate than Britain and has parliaments lasting longer than most multi-party democracies. It could be argued South Africa would be far more ungovernable if minorities were not in parliament.

The ANC says "participation by groups which have significant followings is far more satisfactory than forcing political or subversive activity outside parliament."

Futhermore, the introduction of PR would not necessarily mean legislation on behalf of the majority would be vetoed by the minority. The very point of PR is that a government can only govern with support of the majority. If the ANC received 60 percent of the national vote they could form a government or cabinet alone as they would have 60 percent of parliamentary seats. However, if they only had 45 percent they would have to align themselves with another group in parliament to build majority national support for their policies. PR might make compromises in legislation but this may be a good thing as it would stop any government ruling without broad support.

It is true any new government in South Africa will need the power to redress the ills of apartheid but that strength will only come through unity of purpose among South Africans.

If anything, the lessons of the last 43 years have taught us that legislation passed by a government with minority support flounders when it comes to implementation.

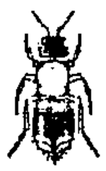
WHILE MOST analysts agree PR is the best system for South Africa, there have been criticisms of the particular form of PR the ANC advocates. The ANC's plan would leave the choice of individuals to be elected to the parties themselves, not the voters. Furthermore, there are no constituencies so "geographical accountability" (the link between a local MP and constituency) is lost. Under the ANC's proposal a bad candidate could be elected on the coat-tails of the party's popularity without submission to voter approval.

The way round these problems is to build a constituency basis into the system while maintaining proportionality in parliament. Under a new proposal 300 MPs would be elected from 30 multi-member constituencies thoughout South Africa.

Seats would still be awarded to parties in proportion to their percentage vote but voters would be able to choose individual candidates on the ballot paper. Additional members (from a pool of 100) would be allotted to each party to bring parliamentary representation to the level of their national vote. This proposal would provide a constituency link and ensure MP accountability while maintaining proportionality. It would also allow regional parties and popular independents to win seats.

It should be remembered no electoral system is a panacea for all ills and our task is to find the potentially most powerful system for the voters of South Africa. The issue of "one person-one vote" seems to be settled, as is the choice of PR but now we must design the best system to give democratic power to all the people of South Africa. — *Andrew Reynolds*

A ballot paper for a 'new South Africa'?

Chris Hani ANC and SACP		ANC		**Zach de Beer** Democratic Party		DP	
Gerrit Viljoen National Party		NP		**Benny Alexander** PAC			
Mangosuthu Buthelezi Inkatha		INKATHA		**Alan Hendrickse** Labour Party			

'The costs will far outweigh the advantages'

South 21/11 - 27/11/91. (306A)

THE ANC IS moving to adopt a proportional representation (PR) electoral system, with little or no discussion among its members on the merits and costs.

The costs of PR outweigh the advantages. A democratic South Africa needs a future parliament elected mainly by constituencies, with a smaller PR element.

● First, the PR system encourages factions to break from existing parties and compete on their own. PR always weakens the largest parties. It strengthens small, minority parties.

The result is that in all too many countries with PR elections, no one party, nor even a two-party coalition, gets a majority of votes in parliament.

This system was adopted in post-war Italy to ensure the Communist Party never came to power. Virtually all governments in countries like Italy and Portugal are multi-party coalitions that can only agree on one or two issues.

They are so unstable that governments collapse every year, sometimes every few months.

Changing governments 45 times in 45 years destabilises democracy.

Dictators such as Salazar and Mussolini used this to ridicule democracy as "weak", and justify fascism. Collapsing government coalitions mean not power to the people, but power to party oligarchies.

For where governments do not change through elections, but by deals, people cannot assert their power directly.

Power is wheeled and dealed in smoke-filled rooms by suit-and-BMW party elites making and breaking coalitions. The role of grassroots leaders and the rank and file is minimised.

Endlessly making and breaking coalitions means party elites trade-off compromises and shape and re-shape party programmes every few months, as coalitions come and go.

PR can lead to paralysis of great legislative programmes of reform, and the blocking of even minor reforms for decades.

As people see the lessening resemblance between policies they voted for, and the policies of the ruling coalition, they become bitter at the system, and politically demobilised.

In South Africa, PR might smuggle in a minority veto through the back door. Every time a government appeals to a tiny party to help make up its 51 percent of parliament, the minority might agree only on condition there is no land redistribution or affirmative action.

● Second, the parliamentary opposition is also fragmented into many parties. This means any alternative government coalition also falls apart soon.

So the ruling party need not fear growing corruption, dictatorial style, or policy changes will make it lose power. If it loses an election, it need only wait months before the new government coalition in turn falls apart.

● Third, while PR may paralyse a parliament, it does not paralyse the bureaucracy, military and police from action. It does not paralyse giant oligopolies and other companies from taking action.

In South Africa, institutions like the bureaucracy, military, police and companies are controlled by those hostile to the ANC and the majority and will take time to be transformed.

Democratic control needs strong parliamentary control to prevent people's power being subverted by the president or prime minister, military, bureaucracy and the boardroom.

● Fourth, PR means every electoral appeal must be nation-wide.

This favours the wealthiest parties able to pay for TV and radio advertisements costing millions of rands.

A constituency system means a party of the poor can concentrate volunteer canvassers in the most touch-and-go constituencies.

It is logical that the NP wants PR to ensure future ANC and other majority rule governments are as weak as possible. It is self-crippling for the ANC to agree.

Our major struggle, to get votes for all, has overshadowed other issues.

Israel, Italy and Portugal have proportional representation systems.

Botswana and India have constituency systems, with equal numbers of voters in electoral districts or constituencies. Whoever gets the most votes is elected.

The German parliament is elected half by constituency and half by PR. In effect, every voter has two votes.

— *Keith Gottschalk*

Hoping against hope

3064 Sowetan 21/11/91

AFRICAN countries are so hopeful the new South Africa will help them that any explanation that this country will be busy with its own problems is met with disbelief.

So says Erich Leistner, director of the African Institute.

Writing in the latest issue of the institute's publication, *Africa Insight*, Leistner says African countries, starved of Western aid, are nursing frantic hopes that South Africa with its supposedly unbounded wealth will step into the breach to help them.

He says South African businessmen, diplomats and scholars visiting African countries regularly have to contend with these expectations.

"Their attempts to explain South Africa's actual position are often met with polite disbelief," he says.

"The visual impact of South Africa's bustling metropoles with their fleets of late-model cars, their gleaming high-rise buildings, functioning telephones, and luxurious suburban villas is greater than mere statistics on unemployment, housing, education and the like."

Leistner says even "sobering words" from people like the ANC's Thabo Mbeki - who has argued that a future South African government may in fact pursue policies harmful to its neighbours by reducing the number of foreign workers in order to ease unemployment in South Africa - have made no impression.

"If South Africa's rapidly normalising relationship with the rest of sub-Saharan Africa is not to get off on a wrong foot, it is imperative that its partners be familiarised with the country's structural social and economic realities," Leistner says. - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

CP hope it will show Nat deceit

MICHAEL MORRIS
and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

SPECULATION that a book on P W Botha's turbulent presidency might be published is sending waves of expectation and some apprehension through the world of politics.

Unpublished documents, interviews and reminiscences of the former President are being compiled in manuscript form.

However, while it is understood some publishers have expressed an interest in the manuscript, sources say there are no firm plans yet for a book.

It has been pointed out that while the already extensive accounts of P W Botha's tenure leave little scope for startling revelations, it is believed a book could provide some so far unrecorded insights.

Speaking from his Wilderness home, Die Ankers, Mr Botha confirmed speculation that a record of his presidency was being compiled.

The confirmation came in the wake of the row which blew up this week over the National Intelligence Service's admission that it had destroyed the tape recording of a meeting between Mr Botha, then State President and imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Tuynhuys, Cape Town on July 5, 1989.

NIS said after Mr Botha retired on August 15, 1989, his personal staff had handed the tape recording to the Head of NIS.

It had been destroyed shortly aferwards.

Mr Botha stated earlier this week that he wanted the tape recording to complete the documentation of his life and presidency which is being collected by the Institute for Contemporty History at the University of the Free State.

This week Mr Botha said the Institute and an official in the State President's Office, Dr Daan Prinsloo, were organising the material to write a book about his life.

He said Dr Prinsloo had been appointed by the State specifically to arrange his documentation.

Mr Botha said that his documents at the Institute for Contemporary History were open for public inspection.

Democratic Party Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal said this week that the publication of the memoirs would be "a case of the crocodile snaps back."

"The NP must be afraid he'll tell the truth about all the illiberal statements they made over the years.

"I hope he'll tell us who stopped him from making the Rubicon speech he intended to make.

Conservative Party sources believe that Mr Botha's memoirs will reveal that the NP under Mr de Klerk had decided before the 1989 general election to unban the ANC and release Mr Mandela.

This revelation would prove the NP had deceived the electorate.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday that "obviously such a person having been in that position can shed light on a lot of happenings which people have so far only been able to speculate about.

"But there is a question whether the Official Secrets Act won't preclude him from saying some things."

PW Botha book

Post AUG 30th 1991

FW may need to disband NP to survive, says Zach

SOUTH CT 21/11/91

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk might have to disband the National Party to stand a chance of saving his political skin, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

"His adherence to the NP and its leadership thoroughly undermines his credibility and trustworthiness among a great many of the black people whose votes he is eager to win in the new South Africa," he said.

Delivering the keynote address at the SA Institute of International Affairs banquet in Cape Town, Dr De Beer said the lesson from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev suggested that Mr De Klerk would save his future career if he now disbanded the NP and formed a non-racial party in its place.

Dr De Beer said he would like to see both Mr Gorbachev and Mr De Klerk survive, but he wondered if, in their pursuit of personal political survival, each should stick to their parties.

He acknowledged that "on the face of it" one could not expect either of them to sacrifice a loyal following built up over a lifetime.

Each had, however, completely overthrown the substance of the party from which he came, while preserving its name and appearance.

Election: ANC 'unlikely' to win over 57%

CT 21/11/91 (3044)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE National Party could never win a non-racial election — and the African National Congress was unlikely to capture more than 57% of the vote, the University of the Western Cape's Dr Vincent Maphai said yesterday.

A landslide victory in a free election was not likely and, initially at least, the ANC would rely on alliances with both black and white parties.

"These alliances may strengthen or weaken the ANC in the long run," Dr Maphai, head of political studies at UWC, said at a South African Institute of International Affairs seminar in Cape Town.

A one-party system was neither desirable nor feasible in South Africa in the immediate future, he said.

South Africa was the most urbanised and industrialised state in Africa, exceeding the 57% urbanisation of Algeria and 53% of Egypt.

"The myriad of organisations from business chambers to trade unions, from hunting societies to animal-rights leagues ... have conflicting aims which are unable to be contained within one political party.

"If they were within one political party, attempts to mediate the conflict of interests amongst those constituencies would paralyse the political party, preventing it from making policy on any issue."

Dr Maphai said a negotiation process was an implicit recognition of a multi-party system.

The strongest participants, the NP and the ANC, were trying to rally the support of a broad spectrum of South Africans.

"In fact, the ANC has embarked on a vigorous campaign to establish branches in traditionally white liberal areas.

"The price for winning over these groups is the abandonment of any prospect of a one-party system."

However, a multi-party system did not rule out other forms of authoritarianism, Dr Maphai said.

Although there were obstacles to genuine democracy, these difficulties were not insurmountable, he added.

Party talks: Hopes rising

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Hopes are once again rising that the obstacles to multi-party talks will be removed within the next few days.

Sources close to on-going discussions between the various parties are confident the issues can be resolved within the next few days, and believe that a date for the first multi-party meeting will be disclosed soon.

However, the PAC's insistence on full constitutional talks being held outside the country have cast some doubt on its participation, only weeks after it agreed to talks with the government.

This follows mounting resistance from various organisations, including the IFP, to what they perceive as the striking of deals between the NP and ANC without broader consultation.

Related

Among the issues already bedevilled by this perception is the date on which the talks will start and the venue. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement that the first session was scheduled for November 29 sparked an angry response from the IFP.

The PAC's position on the venue was, according to executive publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai, directly related to reports that the ANC and NP had agreed on a venue and chairmanship.

A major boost to the process was the consensus this week that 22 parties and homeland governments should form the preparatory committee. The ANC, IFP and NP all agreed to this.

All-party talks still on track despite delay

Star 21/11/91

By Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatsumba

South Africans will probably have to wait a little longer for the start of the all-party talks — but both the ANC and the Government have moved to reassure the public that the negotiation process is still on solid ground.

Sources told The Star last night that the target date of November 29 for the beginning of multi-party constitutional talks seemed to be slipping away in the face of differences over preparatory arrangements, but said any delay was likely to be "in the order of days or weeks, not months".

Speaking after his meeting with German Deputy Foreign Minister Helmut Schaefer in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela said he believed that despite snarl-ups in convening the "steering committee" for all-party talks, he was confident the peace process was still on track and would succeed.

The ANC had initiated the process, he said, and would do everything in its power to see it was given momentum.

This followed remarks in a similar vein by President de Klerk on Tuesday. He said then: "Yes, there have been hitches, but the multiparty conference will take place before the end of this year."

Though complex disagreements have led to repeated postponements of the convening of a crucial steering committee to finalise arrangements, it is understood that an important obstacle was overcome this week when the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed on who should be represented on the committee.

It is now likely that 20 or more parties will serve on the committee, including all the homeland parties and even the TBVC states. (304A)

Sources close to the talks said the steering committee would probably not meet this week, but they expected it to meet "soon".

This made it unlikely that the all-party conference could be organised in time for the target date of November 29. A "fall-back" date of December 9 has been mentioned.

The steering committee meeting was originally scheduled for last Friday and was then provisionally set down for yesterday.

Shaun Johnson and **Peter Fabricius** on signs of a new mood in the DP

Peering over the parapet again

Star 21/11/91

304A

AS HAS become usual, the Democratic Party went into its annual congress blocking its ears to a cacophony of predictions about splits and imminent demise. And, as usual, it emerged to fight another day.

This DP conclave differed from what went before, however, and not just because delegates came out in a slightly more cheerful and coherent frame of mind.

There are signs that the DP is beginning to believe in its own propaganda — that there really is a role, long-term and meaningful, for a party of principle which accepts it has no prospect of challenging for majority political power.

Dr Zach de Beer — who remains among the nicest men in South African politics and has paid the price for his civilised approach — felt sufficiently emboldened about the DP regaining self-respect and direction to slap down loose-mouthed MPs. He invited them to leave if they were unable to curtail their public intra-party feuds, judging that there was enough of a rump of DP support to survive a peeling-off of waverers to the NP or the ANC.

Early signs are that the strategy was correct, and this has much to do with a sophisticated reading of the fluidity of the political situation. A year ago the DP was still mesmerised by President de Klerk's reforms, secretly fearing that they would render the party irrelevant. Dr de Beer described the DP's main task then as building bridges between the ANC and the Government, but in that honeymoon period an obvious question arose: who needs bridge-builders when the two parties have already crossed the chasm?

The situation is very different today. After a year of vituperative wrangling between ANC and NP, positions have hardened into hostility and the space between has widened. Setting oneself up as a custodian of immutable liberal principles, a go-between and think-tank-cum-pathfinder no longer seems so rarefied and self-indulgent. There is a role for a political "third force" — or, indeed, several of them — and it can be a practical one.

Veteran Sea Point MP Colin Eglin defined it at last week's congress: "When both main parties are taking hard positions which tend to put each other off, the DP can put forward models illustrative of how to resolve the impasses."

His point was both specific (he was selling his notion of an elected "constitutional conference") and general. Precisely because the DP is not locked into the constricting parameters that bind the NP and ANC, and because it has no hope of harnessing a majority of voters in an election, it is free to be innovative and principled.

There have been many other examples, both within and outside the congress, of the DP playing this role successfully. The party's position paper on violence, drawn up in June, provided the inspiration for much that appeared in the National Peace Accord. It was the DP that first mooted the idea of an independent broadcasting authority. The DP has been an arch-proponent of a Bill of Rights, and MPs have put time and fresh intellect into questions such as voting systems to avoid "ethnic" results. The melting pot of new ideas in South Africa, lamentably empty, has in significant part been filled by the DP. Houghton MP Tony Leon talks of the party becoming a "merchant of ideas and forerunner of change", and independence from either of the major power blocs is a necessary condition for this.

None of this is to suggest that DP factionalism has been cured — far from it — or that the party will fulfil the role it is sketching out for itself without making some important changes to its composition. It remains probable that individual MPs will at some point throw in their lot with either the NP or ANC.

Much more importantly, it cannot become a plausible bastion of liberalism as long as all the senior spokesmen of that cause are white. The DP simply has to attract a considerable number of committed black liberals into its leadership corps — and to its voting ranks — to offset an exodus of white fair-weather liberals. This task is complicated by the pressure — even intimidation — faced by putative DP members in the townships.

In addition it is dangerous to found a strategy on the behaviour of other parties: the NP and ANC are spitting at each other now. The challenge to the DP is to have established sufficient solid support for itself by the time that changes, if it does. Politically, the DP has to aim at best for a role similar to that of the German Free Democrats. If in the new South Africa it is strong enough to be represented in government, and taken seriously, its future is secure. At worst, it should look at the history of the British Liberals; the party has survived on its own merits.

There is a sense in which the DP (or a liberal party under another name; the DP is commendably unconcerned about "traditional" political iconography) could prove to be the litmus test of "multipartyism" in the new South Africa. The existence of thriving, principled smaller parties in the shadow of the great monoliths makes for real, rather than merely formal, democratic political practice. It seems likely that many of the DP's ideas will find their way, albeit in modified form, into the new South Africa. The test of the party's political nous will lie in whether it can persuade enough voters to give it credit for this. □

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FW must get rid of NP, says Zach

B10 au 21/11/91 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk might have to disband the National Party to stand a chance of saving his political skin, DP leader Zach de Beer said last night.

"His adherence to the NP and its leadership thoroughly undermined his credibility and trustworthiness among a great many of the black people whose votes he is eager to win in the new SA," he said.

De Beer, delivering the keynote address at the SA Institute of International Affairs banquet in Cape Town, said the lesson from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev suggested that De Klerk would save his future career if he now disbanded the NP to form a non-racial party in its place.

Failed

He would like to see both Gorbachev and De Klerk survive, but he wondered if, in their pursuit of personal political survival, they should stick to their parties. He acknowledged that one could not expect either to sacrifice a loyal following built up over a lifetime.

Each, however, had completely overthrown the substance of the party from which he came.

Although Gorbachev had belatedly moved against the party after the coup, it was highly doubtful whether this was enough to regain for him any significant support from the Soviet masses. "We have seen how Gorbachev failed; what shall we see with De Klerk?"

Certainly De Klerk's decision so far to stick with his party — with the NP's history — undermined his credi-

Political Staff

bility among blacks whose votes he was eager to win in an election.

"Particularly when, in the past couple of months, he climbed on Nat party congress platforms and lambasted the ANC, as though it was his opponent in a by-election at Wakkerstroom, he won himself a great many enemies among people he may need.

"Would De Klerk save his future career if he now disbanded the NP to form a non-racial political party in its place? One cannot really know, but the lesson from Gorbachev suggests that this may well be so."

De Beer said De Klerk had committed himself to changes which implied that black people would dominate the government of SA. But he always managed to argue that he and the NP would be part of a ruling coalition, and that they would somehow call the shots.

"On the face of it, given the demographic facts, this is extremely unlikely," said De Beer.

"I am tempted sometimes to believe that the President knows perfectly well that he is not going to run the new SA and is simply handing out this line to prevent what is left of his following from running off.

"But then, again, I look at this man in action, observe his confidence, and I think that he really believes that he can pull off a political miracle by persuading milions of blacks, who have personally experienced oppression at the hands of his party, to vote for him against the organisation which mostly gets the credit for liberating people from the Nationalists," De Beer said.

Govt says SA's role vital in establishing regional pact

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The SA government could play an invaluable co-ordinating role in negotiating with developed countries for a better deal for the southern African region, Foreign Affairs deputy director John Sterban said at a SA Institute of International Affairs seminar yesterday.

Sterban said the economic resources of SA were limited but it had the potential to assist in the restructuring of the region.

"The SA government is willing to meet other governments on the continent to discuss regional co-operation and development strategies with a view to drawing up structurally sound master plans which could receive the support of industrialised countries and ensure investment in the region," Sterban said.

He added that government believed SA's infrastructure and expertise, together with the resources and opportunities of southern Africa and the financial strength of industrialised countries, would provide the best prospect for successful future development.

However securing foreign investment would require an end to regional instability and violence.

Suffer

Sterban said government's foreign policy towards southern Africa was to create a regional bloc of sovereign nations.

He stressed that, in the face of a single European market in 1992, southern African countries had to group together or they would suffer a severe disadvantage in world trade.

"The future well-being of the entire continent will depend on how effectively the resources in the various regions can be jointly harnessed to increase economic performance in an increasingly competitive world," Sterban said.

Already there was substantial regional co-operation, Sterban said, though political sensitivies had meant this had been given little, if any, publicity.

For instance the SA transport system provided the only reliable link with efficient ports for Botswana, Lesotho Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Zaire.

During 1989 over 10 500 South African wagons and 50 locomotives were in service outside SA at any given time.

"SA's trade with other countries in Africa has shown healthy growth over the past years and is now estimated to exceed R10bn per annum," Sterban said.

He said co-operation also existed in the fields of medicine, veterinary services and agriculture.

Business must act decisively to help shape the new SA

LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

IN THE apartheid era, business was seldom directly penalised; rather it was constrained, regulated and its operating terrain eroded. Bewildering forms of administrative manipulation, regulation, taxation and political experimentation distorted its internal economics and its markets.

Through the labour movement it became increasingly subject to the stress of resistance politics. It steadily adapted to narrowing opportunity. It was finally subjected to the humiliation of being used for public relations purposes in P W Botha's Carlton conferences.

The present phase is somewhat of a respite. The *stated* policies of government have turned in favour of business and investment. However, even now the practice contradicts the principle. Government expenditure is still growing and few people believe that effective taxation will be meaningfully reduced.

Massive special expenditure on projects aimed at poverty alleviation, while understandable, is planned and implemented apparently without proper consideration of the effects on interest rates, inflation and entrepreneurial opportunity. The Reserve Bank often appears to be the sole bulwark against well-meaning and unplanned profligacy.

Even prominent businessmen, driven by anxiety, or perhaps scenario forecasts, propose massive socio-economic reparation without much evidence of having considered all the unintended economic effects or the effective political return in a society in which the not-so-poor are often more militant than the very poor.

Most businessmen realise their operating conditions could become much worse. The plethora of policy documents emanating from the ANC shows the way the wind is blowing. It is not so much the detailed pronouncements which are of concern. Nationalisation on any meaningful scale is far-fetched, and the detailed prescriptions will change. The real concern is the assumption that the role of government is not merely good housekeeping — it is that of architect, quantity surveyor, contractor and landlord too.

The question is whether business can do something about securing conditions for its own future well-being and simultaneously for renewed investment, growth and employment creation. Its record in SA is not reassuring.

For example, after the 1976 Soweto protests, business leaders realised that the educational system for blacks would be a source of endless woe, economic inefficiency and destabilisation. Since then, business-funded organisations have been continuously agonising over the education issue. Yet, today — 15 years later — there is still no well-founded, coherent and concerted business lobby on educational reform.

Compared with the muscular reactions in other social institutions, business is fragmented and at times limp in its reaction to events. Many of the reasons for this are obvious.

Firstly, business is an activity, not an organisation. Its reason for being is the pursuit of individual or company objectives. Companies must and do compete with each other.

Individual businessmen everywhere tend to be ideologically divided. Businessmen are social democrats, liberals of an American colour, core liberals, conservatives and reactionaries. This is why the SACP's Joe Slovo was able to write with confidence in 1988: "Use all means, including dialogue, to weaken the unity of the ruling class."

Furthermore, business — in a social context — has "no arms and legs". Its executive functions are purely internal. Outside the doors of the factory or head office, a traffic warden or a postal official has more direct public leverage than a captain of industry.

In, for example, the US, Germany, Japan or Taiwan, business has immense social and political influence. In the US the political system is responsive to public opinion, civil society and organised lobbies; in part because all operate within the same value system. In Germany the state, business and labour aspects of civil society are all drawn into a pervasive system of social contracts. In Japan and Taiwan, business leaders, politicians and top bureaucrats are linked in complex corporatist networks. In SA, as in some other parts of the Third World, business does not have this kind of access.

The treaty of Vereeniging secured what is in effect a form of "truce" between corporate capital and the Afrikaner communal political movements, after which business adapted to apartheid, to its eventual cost. Since then, however, business lobbies and financial power have never had much purchase on SA's "blueprint" politics.

For business in general, prospects in the new SA are far from reassuring. The danger is not nationalisation, the dismemberment of conglomerates, the confiscation of property or sudden, dramatic penalisation of wealth. If these steps are taken they will be largely token in nature and the adverse lessons will be very quickly manifest.

The real danger is well-meaning regulation, prescribed assets, creeping rises in taxation, lack of fiscal discipline, rhetoric which frightens off investment, insistence on affirmative action which encourages elaborate tokenism in business practices, unions using twin-track strategies (labour-bargaining combined with leverage through the political system), subsidies which drive up prices, other short-term populist measures which stimulate inflation, and a host of lesser distortions of the market. Because all of it will be well meant, and much of it supported by the media, business will once again begin to adapt to creeping constraints and narrowing opportunity.

What might business consider as a strategy? Many business leaders have been pro-active in establishing channels for organised debate between politicians and businessmen. Some of this has been useful and has produced some convergence of views.

The debate, however, must not delay a more fundamental strategy, one illustration of which has been the uncertain but promising achievements of Saccola in the manpower field. This is the development by organised business of "institutional capacity" in the socio-political and policy sphere.

This institutional "extension" of organised business should:

- ☐ Allow business to respond quickly and firmly, but sympathetically, to a diverse range of relevant policy prescriptions by politicians, in a way that is sufficiently telling and sophisticated to command at least some intellectual respect;
- ☐ Make calculations and assessments of the possible consequences and achievable effects of all the various schemes for "kickstarts", poverty alleviation, political "pacification" and the like; and
- ☐ Most important, however, it should take the much bandied-about phrase, "social contract" or "compact", seriously and develop the skills and the accountability to its business constituency to seek negotiation. It should seek an input in the constitutional negotiations, not at the level of the political parties but certainly in the more specialised forums that will be created. It should seek the right to have proposals referred to it for comment. This, after all, is no more than what Cosatu is attempting to achieve in its proposed economic forum.

All of this will have less than optimal leverage unless business has some independent access to political constituencies. It should, therefore, at least have its own media organs and even consider establishing, with communities, vocational adult education initiatives to improve the skills base of the population. In a very muscular political environment something along these lines is arguably what business requires to develop "arms and legs".

☐ This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition of the SA Foundation's newsletter. Schlemmer is director of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies.

Idasa to hold Jo'burg conference

304A

Political Staff Star 21/11/91

A number of politicians and political analysts will discuss the prospects for democracy in South Africa at a three-day conference which starts in Johannesburg today.

The conference, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), will be attended by several well-known politicians and political analysts.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Nigerian academic Dr Claude Ake will open the conference at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg.

An Idasa spokesman said the conference would examine "critical questions surrounding the potential for peace and democracy in the new South Africa".

Tomorrow's speakers are Professor Johan Degenaar of Stellenbosch University, Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste, ANC information and publicity head Dr Pallo Jordan, Professor Apollon Davidson of the Soviet Union's Academy of Sciences and Professor Amy Gutmann of Princeton University.

Reasons for DP defeat don't include ANC links

Sfear 21/11/91

304A

The DP will be making a grave mistake if they believe that their recent defeat in the municipal by-election was caused by the "ANC tendencies in the party" as Mr Tony Leon apparently told your reporter after the result was announced, or that "to survive, the DP has to arrest that image."

The reason for the DP defeat in a constituency that elected Helen Suzman as its member for 34 years and in a ward that the DP or its predecessors had held continuously since 1972 are far more basic and have nothing to do with Dave Dalling attending an ANC fund-raising dinner in Stellenbosch or Jan van Eck siding with the ANC view as to the causes of the violence in the township.

The truth is that the voters see the DP on a national level as being too woolly, reluctant to take a firm stand on issues for fear of offending certain groups of voters and a different viewpoint on policy being expressed by various members of the party.

The party is becoming a bit too reminiscent of the old United Party to expect to gain support in a liberal constituency as politically aware as Houghton.





Tony Leon MP and Clr Davidson should resign their respective seats and test the reasons for voter anger, says a reader who doesn't believe either would be re-elected.

On a municipal level the party is seen as being inept, wasteful in expenditure seemingly unconcerned with the economic problems that most citizens of Johannesburg are experiencing while they themselves seem to be coasting along.

Voters, and certainly Houghton voters, have difficulty in understanding how the DP representative agreed without so much as a public explanation to spend millions of taxpayers' money on an investigation into the abuse of authority by municipal officials when the end result was a rap over the knuckles and a golden handshake in figures that most Johannesburg citizens could never in a whole lifetime ever hope to achieve.

In addition, at a time when the townships are on fire and many people are struggling to make ends meet, the DP Council in Johannesburg decided to unveil its legacy to posterity in the form of a monstrosity known as the civic spine, again at the cost of millions.

And on crime in the city? The subtlety of waiting till two days before the by-election before calling a meeting on this subject, was not lost on the electorate.

The DP should have at that stage known that they were in deep trouble in that constituency.

In Ward 16, voters showed their complete dissatisfaction with the DP and particularly with the DP control of the city council, and making a few members of the caucas the whipping boys will in no way remove this discontent.

Perhaps Mr Leon and Mr Davidson should both resign their seats and test the actual reasons for voter anger and the anti-DP vote. I think they would find that neither would be re-elected against any credible candidate whether independent or Nat.

One can only hope that now that Mr Moss has been elected on an anti-DP vote he will keep to his undertaking to expose wastefulness and malpractices as and when they occur and not to be drawn into a web of unconcerned affluence.

A Walt

Riviera,
Johannesburg

Historians see red over destruction of 'PW tapes'

By Peter Davies

Historians have condemned the destruction of the tapes recording former State President P W Botha's historic first meeting with Nelson Mandela.

Professor Peter Delius of Wits University's history department said he was shocked to hear the State was destroying material which should be in the archives.

"The tapes are part of the historical record, and an important one at that. I'm sure any historian of any perspective would be astonished at this destruction."

Mr Botha first met Mr Mandela, who was still in prison, in July 1989. Recently, Mr Botha asked for the tapes to help him write his memoirs, but was told the National Intelligence Service had destroyed them.

Vernon Woods, a sports and political chronicler for over 50 years, said he was "strongly against the destruction of any evidence".

"The destruction of those tapes was a shocking thing."

Dr Louis Grundlingh, professor of history at Rand Afrikaans University, is livid that such a significant slice of South African history was destroyed.

"I'm very upset ... we also need to take note of contemporary history. It makes you wonder what will happen to information in the archives of the South African Police — which have been under lock and key since 1910. Perhaps these files will also be destroyed before a new government comes to power.

"If we had previously had access to such documentation, a whole new picture of this country's history may have emerged."

Pienaar allays Afrikaans fears on language proposals

Star 22/11/91

Political Reporter (3047)

The Committee of Heads of Education Departments' proposals on a new education system did not reflect government policy, National Education Minister Louis Pienaar said yesterday in response to the "understandable sensitivity" about the position of Afrikaans.

He said in a statement that the curriculum discussion document was being criticised because it was seen to give a lesser status to the official languages, Afrikaans and English.

Afrikaans cultural organisations, represented by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenegings, are reported to have rejected a curriculum in which Afrikaans was abandoned at high school level.

Mr Pienaar assured them that the document contained proposals for comment only.

He said the primary status of Afrikaans and English as national languages was acknowledged and favoured above other indigenous languages. What was affected was the status of the two languages as compulsory second languages.

"The proposals are meant to moderate the emphasis on language instruction to the benefit of other subjects, especially the natural sciences. The implementation of any amended curriculum is not expected before 1995 or later," he said.

Races differ over anthem and emblem

Star 22/11/91.

30419

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Most whites in South Africa are opposed to the new emblem and anthem launched by the National Olympic Committee of SA (Nocsa) to be used at the Olympic Games in Barcelona — but most blacks are in favour of them, a Human Sciences Research Council survey has shown.

The telephone survey was conducted last week among urban residents.

Of the 772 white respondents, 81 percent disapproved of the new emblem and anthem while 52,5 percent of the 762 black respondents said they approved.

There were significant differences between white English and Afrikaans-speaking respondents: 89 percent of Afrikaans as against 71 percent of English respondents indicated disapproval of the emblem.

On the "Ode to Joy" anthem, 91 percent of Afrikaans and 68 percent of English interviewees expressed opposition.

Among the black respondents, 60 percent approved of the emblem and 45 percent approved of the anthem.

Of these, 26 percent disapproved of the emblem and 31 percent disapproved of the anthem. Others were uncertain in both cases.

The overwhelming majority of whites (92 percent) were in favour of using the Springbok emblem in future. Although the majority of black respondents (51 percent) were opposed to the Springbok, a significant 32 percent indicated support for its use and 17 percent were uncertain.

The survey found there were great differences between white and black respondents in respect of their knowledge of the Nocsa announcement.

A high 93 percent of 772 whites knew of Nocsa's decision on the new emblem and anthem, whereas only 49 percent of 762 urban blacks were aware of it.

Among the black respondents, gender was a salient factor. Many more men (70 percent) than women (37 percent) knew of the announcement.

Star 22/11/91

Romania, SA to establish diplomatic ties

Romania and South Africa will upgrade their relations to diplomatic level within the next week.

This emerged at a press conference held at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after the arrival of Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastasa, who was met by his South African counterpart Pik Botha.

Mr Botha said they would be discussing various forms of co-operation between the two countries during Mr Nastasa's three-day visit.

Mr Nastasa said he was convinced the visit would positively influence the relationship between the two countries.

He said he would be discussing recent developments that had taken place in Romania and South Africa.

Mr Botha hinted at possible air links between the two countries.

A rugby team from either country might visit the other soon, Mr Botha added. — Sapa.

The man behind the memoirs

(3041)

Star 22/11/91

DR DAAN Prinsloo, who is writing the official biography of P W Botha, is a former academic with a doctorate in political science from Rand Afrikaans University and the Australian National University who has held posts at the University of Pretoria and RAU.

He has been a civil servant since 1965 in the departments of Justice, Foreign Affairs and Information.

In 1983 he moved to then prime minister P W Botha's department as a consultant/adviser, and in 1984 assumed the post of assistant secretary-general for political affairs in the office of the state president.

When Mr Botha retired in 1989, Dr Prinsloo was seconded to him to organise his documents. Dr Prinsloo said that because he had been officially seconded, he had access to all of Mr Botha's documents at the Institute for Contemporary History, and believed he was the first researcher to have been given this.

He would try to bring out Mr Botha's philosophy and views. Although he was sticking to the facts, it was difficult to avoid making his own judgments.

Dr Prinsloo said the manuscript would have to be finished by the end of next year, when his secondment ends.

Would it deal with the many controversies of Mr Botha's presidency? "I think it will be interesting," he said. □

W Mail 22/11 – 28/11/91

Negotiating for the status quo

304A

THERE seem to be two National Parties out there right now. The one is so unwilling to compromise that it is whipping up a storm because the team which is being sent to the Olympics (despite the fact that the black athletes still can't vote) won't compete under the symbols which whites prefer.

The other is so open to compromise that it is reportedly willing to consider an elected forum to draft a new constitution — a major concession to the demand for a constituent assembly.

So which is the real NP? Well, both are.

NP high-ups know they need a settlement because it is impossible to run the country without the "liberation movements" in general and the African National Congress in particular. They know that the movements may not settle for less than an elected constitutional assembly.

If a concession on this issue is needed to achieve a settlement, the NP might make it.

But the NP doesn't want just any settlement.

It is determined to remain an important part of the new system. Some Nat strategists go further: they insist that they are not negotiating in order to abolish the existing political system, but to include in it those who have been excluded.

For example, some Nat leaders suggest that everyone, including former guerrillas, is welcome to join the South African Police. But they insist the SAP will not make way for a new force: it will simply absorb those who have been outside the system. If they are to persuade their opponents to accept this, they need to make radical changes.

But they must also show that they are strong enough to set the limits of change. That may be why attacks on "liberation movements" are escalating as progress is made towards constitutional talks. The nearer we move to real bargaining, the more eager is the NP to show it is no push-over.

The row over emblems may be particularly interesting because it shows the same concern to include the excluded in what already exists, not to negotiate something entirely new: everyone can become a Springbok, but the animal itself is not up for grabs.

All this implies that NP leaders see themselves as Great Reformers in the mould of, say, Britain's Disraeli, who managed the inclusion of the working classes in the system: not simply as a party which is negotiating the terms of a new order. To bring that off, Disraeli needed skill. The Nats would need even more, since the system in which they want to include others is far less legitimate than last century's Britain.

The Springbok issue suggests that the Nats don't have that skill. Their insistence, backed by many whites, on their emblems signals to their opponents that they want to dictate rather than compromise. Their negotiating partners will, therefore, dig in. When agreement is reached on symbols, the Nats may land up with less than they would have got had they not made a fuss.

And, by making an issue of it, they (and those papers who have been feverishly "proving" widespread support for the symbols) will be seen to be backing down. Their attempt to appear strong will make them seem weak.

The problem may lie less with the Nats' strategic skill than with the impossibility of what they seem to be trying to achieve.

The Nats are probably realistic when they assume that they will be part of a new government. They are giving way to fantasy when they assume that they will persuade their opponents simply to enter their system under their symbols.

Until they adjust their sights, we may continue to see Nat flexibility on the negotiation process mixed with a fairly rigid stance on demands which seek to create a new system. That will ensure that progress at the negotiating table will not be matched by similar movement in the country. It may also ensure that the Nats continue to weaken their bargaining position by setting their sights unrealistically high.

A settlement which reflects the balance of power will be a compromise, on symbols and substance. If our future is to work, it may look not like the Springbok or ANC flag, but much like the neutral symbols cobbled together by the Olympic Committee. When Nat strategy adjusts to that reality, negotiations may really begin making progress.

bne

● Next week: Ameen Akhalwaya

Date set for all-party talks

Sowetan 22/11/91.

304A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN and Sapa

THE Government, African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday an all-party congress could take place on December 20 and 21.

The Pan Africanist Congress has confirmed that it is prepared to attend such multiparty talks if the venue is outside South Africa and if a neutral conciliator is chosen to oversee the meeting.

Such a person would come from either the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations or the Commonwealth "in that order", PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander

● To page 2

Dates for parties talks set

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● From page 1

said yesterday.

In similar statements to *Sapa*, the Government, ANC and IFP said a preparatory meeting for an all-party congress would be held on November 29 "with a view to discussing arrangements for an all-party congress envisaged for 20 and 21 December 1991".

Clarified

"Parties are being consulted on their possible participation in such a preparatory meeting and certain further aspects still have to be clarified and agreed upon.

"No final decision on a venue for the preparatory meeting has been taken yet," the statements said.

The IFP statement was signed by Dr Frank Mdlalose, Inkatha's national chairman.

Alexander said the PAC had discussed the issue of a preparatory meeting with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and had agreed to it in principle.

"But that is all behind us now and the next step is for us to actually sit down," he said.

LP pips Nats in 4,4% poll

22/11/91

Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party narrowly beat the National Party in the Athlone management committee by-election this week.

The LP's Mr John Miranda received 860 votes to the 792 of the NP's Mrs Brenda Mathews in a 4,4% poll. There were 29 spoilt papers.

The LP defeat of the NP followed similar close victories over the ruling party in mancom elections on the Cape West Coast and in Klerksdorp. (SOWA)

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Black-white split over symbols

304A
CT 22/11/91

Staff Reporter

MOST black people don't want the Springbok to be the country's national sporting emblem — and almost all whites are in favour of it.

According to a telephone survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council, 51% of black people oppose the Bok and 92% of white people support it.

The survey tested 772 white people and 762 black people in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand area and in the Peninsula.

The survey also showed that 89% of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents and 71% of the English-speaking respondents disapproved of the new Nocsa emblem.

When it came to the Nocsa's new anthem, "Ode to Joy," 45% of blacks approved of it and 31% disapproved (with 23% uncertain).

Of the white respondents 91% of Afrikaans speakers and 68% of English speakers indicated their disapproval of the new anthem.

The researchers, under Dr Johann Mouton of Pretoria, reported that by far the greatest percentage of whites were opposed to the new emblem and to the new team anthem under which South African sports teams will participate in the Olympic Games in Barcelona next year. Black respondents showed a sharp contrast.

Another result was that 93% of whites knew of Nocsa's announcement of the changes and only 49% of blacks were aware of it. Gender, however, appeared to play a significant part among blacks, with 70% of the men indicating awareness and only 37% of women.

Mandela: Time for national healing

304A CT 22/11/91

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday made a strong plea for national reconciliation, democracy and peace in a speech to an Idasa conference.

Mr Mandela, delivering the keynote address at the conference, warned, however, that South Africa stood at the crossroads.

"Will it be forward to freedom and democracy or a throwback into disaster and permanent strife? The pendulum could swing either way unless we take it upon ourselves as South Africans to secure our common future.

"The time to begin sowing the seeds of national healing and reconciliation is now. The alternative is anarchy, chaos and more violence."

Without accusing any party or organisation, Mr Mandela also warned that attempts were being made to maintain and prolong apartheid.

"It (apartheid) seeks to adapt itself rather than yield to the overwhelming need for fundamental change. If this were to succeed the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate."

Sacred rule

South Africans had to hold on to a vision based on the fundamental need for national reconciliation.

"This vision we must embrace is that of national healing and renewal. Only such a path can guide the transition process to an outcome which reflects and respects the democratic will of the widest possible cross-section of the South African people."

The new South Africa had to be be "constructed on the sacred rule of the fundamental worth of every human being, the sanctity and inviolability of human life and the inalienable right of every person to liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"Ours should be a democracy intrinsically informed by our own history and experiences — a democracy appreciative and, where necessary, assimilative of the finest outcomes of experiments with freedom and democracy the world over.

"In this regard, the vision of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa may, one day, come to be judged as the finest achievement of our struggle." — Sapa

Mandela is 'willing' to go even (304A) to Ulundi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela told millions of Radio Zulu listeners last night he was prepared to meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at any time and at any place — even in the KwaZulu capital.

"I am ready and prepared to meet Mr Buthelezi anywhere in KwaZulu, whether in Ulundi or KwaNongoma," Mr Mandela said in response to calls from listeners demanding to know why he seemed reluctant to meet Chief Buthelezi in the KwaZulu homeland.

In the past, efforts to set up a meeting between the two leaders have been delayed over the choice of venue.

"I have repeatedly telephoned Mr Buthelezi since I was released from jail in an attempt to set up a meeting between the two of us, but all in vain. Buthelezi has not telephoned me even once," Mr Mandela said during a phone-in interview broadcast here.

Mr Mandela told listeners that the current violence would not stop until the two leaders sat down and discussed all issues which caused misunderstanding between the two organisations.

Confronted on kangaroo courts, Mr Mandela said his organisation opposed such courts. He also denounced necklacing and urged the perpetrators to stop it.

● Chief Buthelezi could not be contacted for comment last night.

PH 21 2421 | PH 761 5701 | PH 24 1979 | FOUNDED 1876 | 488 491 | FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22

Dates are set for all-party talks

30/A CT 22/11/91

Political Staff

THE government and the ANC agreed to dates for the all-party conference — expected to mark the dawning of a new era in South African history — in an early morning breakthrough yesterday after several hours of talks in Johannesburg.

The meeting, headed by Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, finished at 2.30am.

There had apparently been considerable differences between the two organisations on the December 20 and 21 dates for the conference and when these should be made public. This was eventually resolved with both also agreeing to a preparatory meeting of all parties that will attend the talks on November 29.

Later in the morning Dr Viljoen consulted with IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, who gave his party's nod to the proposals.

The announcement on the historic talks was then made at 2pm yesterday with simultaneous statements from Dr Viljoen and Mr Ramaphosa.

They said the preparatory meeting next Friday would be convened "with a view to discussing arrangements" for the December 20-21 conference.

"No final decision on a venue for the preparatory meeting has been taken yet," both statements said.

An ANC source said this was indicative of "the number of issues that still have to be resolved" and there would be many behind-closed-doors meetings between the organisations on these.

Consensus has been reached between the government, the ANC and the IFP on who should attend the talks. Sources in the organisations indicated that a total of 22 parties and homeland governments will be invited.

But still to be resolved is the issue of who will chair the conference. The IFP has rejected a proposal — from the ANC and the government — that Chief Justice Peter Corbett chair the meeting assisted by clerics Bishop Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church and Professor Johan Heyns of the NGK.

Dr Mdlalose explained this week that the IFP saw no reason for the inclusion of the churchmen.

Yesterday the PAC said it would attend the preparatory meeting at a "neutral" venue inside South Africa.

However, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said the organisation would only attend the pre-constituent assembly talks — as it calls the conference — if they

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were held outside the country and if a neutral conciliator was chosen to oversee the meeting.

Such a person could come from either the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations or the Commonwealth "in that order", said Mr Alexander.

The government and IFP are extremely unlikely to agree to such conditions, which casts some doubt on the PAC's participation.

There are considerable differences of opinion on how long it will take to complete the negotiations process. However, ANC international relations head Mr Stanley Mabizela said at a Cape Town conference this week that it could take "between nine and 15 months at most".

Meanwhile Azapo, claiming the Patriotic Front has already fallen apart, has begun talks designed to create a "new patriotic front".

Azapo did not attend the recent Patriotic Front talks.

Publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said it planned a front that excluded all homeland governments and parties that had participated in the tricameral Parliament.

"The Labour Party and Democratic Party will not be in this," said Mr Moodley. "It will be a front of all those who have been involved in the fight against apartheid."

Carlisle warns DP alliance-seekers

304A
CT 22/11/91

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC PARTY members who sought open or secret alliances with other political groupings would in future be "turfed out of the party," warns the MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle.

Mr Carlisle's broadside against fellow party members who have favoured closer links with the ANC and the National Party was delivered at a report back meeting in his constituency this week.

"Alliances can only be entered into by sanction of congress and the party is committed to a vigorous recruitment programme, competing with all other political players," he said.

Inclusion of homeland governments a significant move

Date set for historic talks

(3041)
Star 22/11/91.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

After weeks of wrangling, South Africa's major parties have agreed to hold the much-delayed multi-party conference (MPC) on negotiations on December 20 and 21.

Yesterday's announcement of a date a week before Christmas means that the politicians have just managed to keep their promise to get the MPC going before the end of the year.

And the controversial twice-postponed preparatory committee meeting to make arrangements for the MPC has now also been scheduled — for November 29.

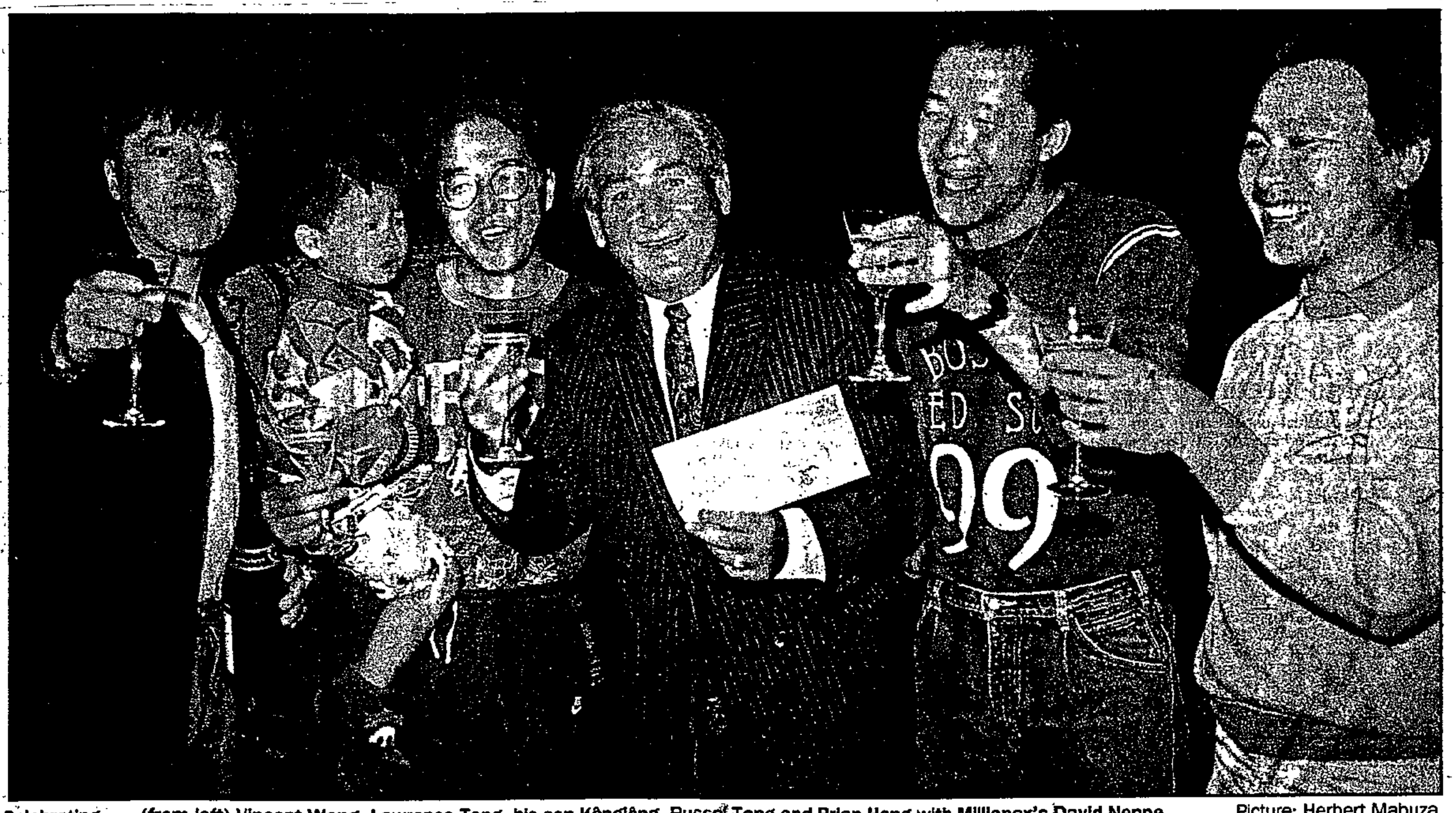
It will be attended by about 20 parties or governments, including the governments of the TBVC homelands and at least the governing parties of the six self-governing territories.

The inclusion of the TBVC governments is regarded as significant since it in a sense pre-empts the question of their reincorporation into South Africa.

Sources close to the negotiations said the dates had been agreed to after a very tough meeting between the ANC and the Government on Wednesday which lasted into the early hours of yesterday.

'Envisaged'

The announcements of the dates were made in separate but almost identical state-



Celebrating . . . (from left) Vincent Wong, Lawrence Tong, his son Kenglong, Russel Tong and Brian Hong with Millionex's David Neppe. Picture: Herbert Mabuza

By Paula Fray

'Joke' worth a million laughs to family

he was confused and elated at the same time.

Thousands of potential

on negotiations on December 20 and 21.

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'Envisaged'

The announcements of the dates were made in separate but almost identical statements by the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Although the statements said December 20 and 21 were the dates "envisaged", it is almost certain that this date will stick as it has been agreed to by most of the main players.

However, the politicking continued even with the announcement of dates, according to ANC sources.

They said the Government and ANC had agreed that the two of them should issue identical statements.

Then the IFP had issued one — to give the impression that the "troika" was convening the meeting, the ANC believed.

When the ANC heard this, it persuaded organisations such as the SA Communist Party and the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses also to issue statements.

Sources said the date for the MPC had to be so late because both President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela would be travelling abroad earlier in December.

Although the statements said no venue had been chosen for the preparatory committee meeting, most parties expect it will be the Carlton hotel in Johannesburg.

No venue has been chosen for the MPC either.

● To Page 2

Talks will start on December 20

Star 22/11/91

● From Page 1 (304)

Some parties believe the preparatory committee meeting will be little more than a formality to get wider approval for decisions largely agreed to in behind-the-scenes talks.

But others — especially smaller parties such as the PAC — regard it as a substantive meeting where arrangements for the MPC will be negotiated from scratch. They believe further preparatory meetings might be needed before the MPC.

The PAC has made it clear it will be pushing hard for the MPC to be convened on neutral ground outside South Africa, but this would not be a "make-or-break issue".

There is wide consensus that the agenda should include discussion about these questions regarding the MPC:

- Appointment of a convener.
- The date (already provisionally agreed).
- The venue.
- The agenda for the first meeting, and the overall agenda.
- The chairman.
- The administration of the conference.
- Who attends and the size of delegations.

The MPC is likely to be held at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport and be called the Convention for a Democratic Future.

THE SPEAKER FM 22/11/91

Order, order (304A)

During the illness of Speaker Louis le Grange in the recent parliamentary session, it was generally agreed that Helgard van Rensburg, MP for Mossel Bay, was a worthy replacement.

Many Democratic Party MPs, for instance, would not have been surprised if Van Rensburg had been the National Party's nomination for Speaker. But others maintain Van Rensburg lacked "presence." The same might be said of Manpower Minister Eli Louw, the NP's choice.

Perhaps all Speakers lack presence when they start in the job. It is an office that carries with it a long and honourable tradition, dating back many centuries. Grafted on to this country from Britain, its considerable prestige has survived, while other Westminster traditions have lapsed or been diluted.

The essence of the position is that the Speaker answers to Parliament, not to any party — even though he owes his election to the majority party. This means the Speaker must be a person of unusual quality, capable of rising above petty jealousies and old rivalries.

In Britain it is easier for the Speaker to be neutral because, once appointed, it is traditional not to oppose him in a general election. In SA this is not the case — as was seen when Le Grange had to defend his Potchefstroom seat in 1989.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer

cont —5

FM 22/11/91 (304A)

and its president, Nelson Mandela, obviously have an identical ambition. Such an outcome is inevitable.

But there is a race on: can De Klerk achieve normality for SA before he has to consider relinquishing power? If he does, the chances of retaining some of that power must be much greater.

De Klerk must be pleased with SA's progress towards full readmission to the world community. Surveying the "international road ahead for SA," he told a meeting of the Institute of International Affairs this week that co-operation with southern African countries is steadily evolving.

"This will lead, almost inevitably, to membership of the Organisation of African Unity," which has 10 specialised agencies in which SA will be able to play a role.

At present SA has resident representation in 13 African countries (excluding the TBVC states) and nonresident representation in three more.

SA will soon be opening offices in Luanda, Nairobi and Lusaka. Only a handful of African states refuse any contact at all with SA. This year no fewer than 65 official delegations from African states, other than the SADCC countries, visited SA. Trade with Africa, excluding members of the Customs Union, increased by 24,4% to more than R5bn in 1990.

Trade with Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi increased by 13,4% to more than R3bn.

More broadly, De Klerk observes that the roles of international organisations such as the IMF, World Bank, Gatt and the UN have been considerably enhanced, and it is important for SA once again to play its full part in them.

During the present session of the UN General Assembly, many delegates have displayed "perceptibly friendlier attitudes" towards SA. In view of recent worldwide moves to dismantle sanctions, "it is not unreasonable to expect similar moves from the General Assembly," says De Klerk, adding that this could occur during the debate on SA early next month. However, full normalisation of relations with the world body would take longer, though the UN Secretary General has acknowledged that negotiation is under way. De Klerk says he no longer finds any negative reaction to the statement that the process of change is irreversible.

Despite growing normalisation with international organisations, the Commonwealth is a different kettle of fish and the question of whether SA should rejoin it "is premature at this stage."

Relaxation of sanctions will have an impact on SA's relationships within Gatt, for instance, "with the result that we will have to open our markets further to worldwide competition." ■

Getting back in touch

FM 22/11/91

304A

Whatever the Democratic Party (DP) says, it must be rattled by the return of Sam Moss to the Johannesburg City Council. His surprising comeback is also a timely reminder to politicians that, however pressing the great national issues may be, grass roots must not be forgotten.

It is worth recalling the peculiar background to Moss's victory last week in a municipal by-election, in an affluent ward in the heart of Prog (that is, DP) country.

In March 1988, after a decade of leading the old Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in opposition to the National Party (NP) on the city council, Moss resigned from the PFP. In the October 1988 municipal elections, Moss, with a public profile built up over decades in local government, stood as an independent against an unknown 33-year-old PFP candidate, Carl Stein — and was beaten by 605 votes in a 41% poll. The party was more important than the man.

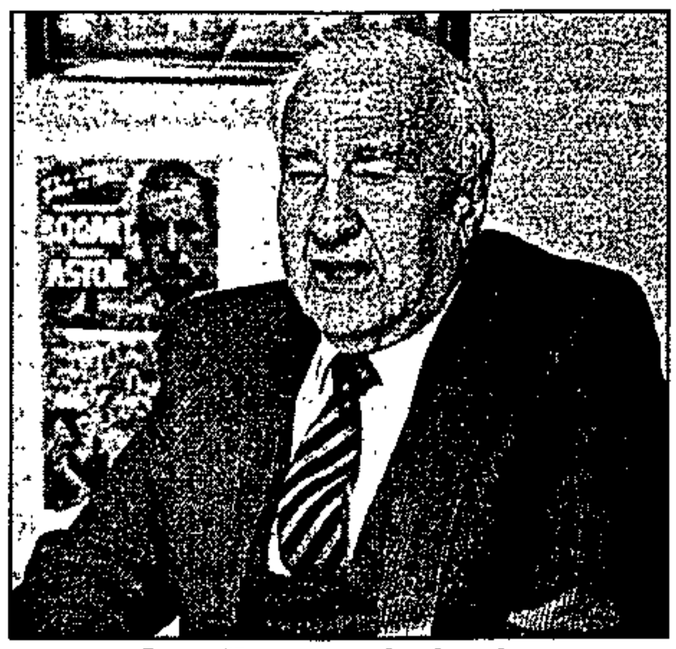
Three years later, when Stein's resignation forced a ward by-election, Moss stood again as an independent, this time against the DP (the PFP's heir). The result was a major reversal: a victory for Moss by 680 votes, in a 32% poll — on a very cold day and using an outdated voters' roll. Nearly 1 400 people who voted for the PFP in 1988 failed to vote for the DP this time.

Two important conclusions seem to be indicated by these figures:

☐ There is serious disenchantment with the way the DP-controlled management committee is running Johannesburg; and

☐ With a percentage poll almost unheard of for a municipal by-election, there is a new volatility — and new perceived interests — among affluent white voters.

Moss's victory cannot have been founded on his record or personal popularity, otherwise he would not have been defeated in 1988. In any case, he has been out of the public eye for three years, which cannot have helped his cause last week. Nor is there any evidence that his personal political philosophy has changed; he believes that any perceived links between the DP and the ANC were almost irrelevant.



Sam Moss ... *the local factor*

The lessons of Moss's victory lie in its local nature. He lives in Killarney, in the ward he represents. Some of the issues his campaign honed in on:

☐ Security of life and property;

☐ The "arrogant attitude of the management committee";

☐ Spending on overseas trips for councillors;

☐ "Golden handshakes for misconduct" among council officials;

☐ Dirty streets; and

☐ "Unjustifiably high" rates increases.

Moss also told voters that his predecessor had not attended a single council committee meeting this year and argued that, with the DP and Nats effectively in alliance on the council, there was little opposition.

The voters were obviously impressed. Whereas previously, they were evidently more interested in national political issues, now their horizons seem to have lowered.

Why did Moss resign from the old PFP? He had served for 29 years on the city council, including six years on the management committee when the United Party (UP) was in control. When the UP split up in 1975, Moss was a founder member of Harry Schwarz's Reform Party, whose merger with the Progressive Party finally resulted in the PFP.

One reason seemed to be his disenchantment with the party's national leadership. After years of service as member for Parktown in the Transvaal Provincial Council, he was keen to represent the constituency in parliament. But before the 1987 general election, he was prevailed upon to stand back for Marius Barnard. Another problem was his increasing distaste for the political style of the PFP's "young Turks" on the Johannesburg council: Tony Leon, Ian Davidson, Paul Asherson and their allies.

Colin Eglin, then national leader of the PFP, ascribed Moss's resignation to bitter personality clashes rather than any disagreement on national policy. Though the NP made political capital of the resignation, the suspicion that Moss was a closet Nationalist has always seemed flimsy. Now he is not a member of any party.

There are lessons in Moss's victory for the politicians of both the NP and the DP. While they may find local issues more boring than the great national debate, precisely the reverse may be the case for most liberal voters — especially now that apartheid is moribund.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY FM 22/11/91 (304A)

Cracks, not splits

From the bitter words and bruised egos of its national congress in Cape Town last weekend, the Democratic Party emerged more focused and united than many critics believed possible.

The party seems to be neither divided nor threatening to split. If anything, there's potential for half a dozen MPs to peel off towards either the ANC or the NP, though it's unlikely at this stage. And judging from the commitment of congress delegates to the DP's future, they would take very little grassroots support with them.

The party is convinced it has a significant independent role to play in SA's transition to democracy — and beyond — and is positioning itself accordingly.

It emerged clearly during lengthy, and at times, heated debate that supporters don't want to be swallowed up by either the ANC or the NP and are opposed to alliances with groups or parties whose policies conflict with their own. Though specific parties were not named in a resolution giving effect to this view, they clearly include the NP, ANC and SA Communist Party, which leaves the DP in its preferred place — the centre.

By endorsing the resolution, delegates effectively told MPs flirting with either the ANC or the NP that the party has no room for them and won't tolerate their actions.

Party leader Zach de Beer made his own attitude clear in his opening address. "I must insist that people who are loyal to the DP may not make public demonstrations of their affection for other, competing organisations and they may not air the party's dirty linen in public." He warned that in future, he would deal "harshly" with people who did so.

But this didn't stop sniping and bickering during the conference between factions of MPs — with little apparent support among delegates — regarded as being on the party's two extremes.

Some delegates regarded the squabbles as personal animosity rather than fundamental differences on issues of principle. They were not considered serious enough to adversely affect the party.

Suggestions last week by Houghton MP Tony Leon that the DP's defeat by independent candidate Sam Moss in the recent Johannesburg City Council by-election was due to Sandton MP Dave Dalling's flirtations with the ANC, were given little credence (See page 50).

The real reasons for defeat were seen as the DP's lacklustre governing of Johannesburg and Moss's personal popularity. The ANC bogyman, said one delegate, was swept out the door a long time ago, together with P W Botha's total onslaught propaganda.



Nevertheless, rival MPs slugged it out over allegations of partiality to political rivals. On balance, a conservative group including Leon, Constantia's Roger Hulley, Hillbrow's Lester Fuchs and Yeoville's Douglas Gibson, probably ended up more bruised than the leftist group of Dalling, Simon's Town's Jannie Momberg and Claremont's Jan van Eck.

Attention in the coming months will be focused on De Beer's reaction to MPs who test the outer limits of his tolerance. There's little doubt some will retain contact with the ANC and squabble about it in public. How far De Beer is prepared to go to stamp it out remains to be seen.

But of far greater immediate importance is the party's role in the transition. Even before the congress, its potential input was regarded as bigger than its relative size in SA's political equation. The policies adopted by the congress confirmed this.

These included a fundamental shift in approach to the all-party conference (APC) that will draw up the new constitution. Sea Point MP Colin Eglin won overwhelming support for an amendment to the transition policy, to provide for an elected body to draft a constitution based on principles agreed to by a preliminary, non-elected APC.

The change moves the DP closer to the mainstream of current thinking on an APC and is in line with recent reports that even the NP is considering a similar arrangement. DP support for an elected APC could make it easier for the Nats to adopt a similar view and sell it to white voters.

De Beer says the policies adopted by the congress are essential tools the party will use in its future role as "guardians of the new democracy."

In his rousing opening address to delegates, De Beer said: "Let no-one doubt me when I state my belief that this party with its values can be, must be, needs to be a permanent part of SA politics." Alliances with other groups and parties were possible, but the DP had to retain an independent identity.

The party has another important asset to protect. In SA political terms it is "clean" and needs to avoid being tainted by the somewhat tarnished reputations of the groups that some MPs are cosying up to. De Beer illustrated the point by stating that the DP (and its predecessors) had not only stuck to the same basic democratic principles for decades, but had also:

- ☐ Never been accused of using violence or intimidation for political ends and had never even considered operating hit squads;
- ☐ Never stolen taxpayers' money to use for its own ends, or to pay any other party to fight its opponents;
- ☐ Never conducted or advocated destabilisation of neighbouring states, nor flirted with the communists, nor embraced the Castros and Arafats of the world; and,
- ☐ Never supported interference in the economy either by wage, price, labour and investment controls like the NP, or by nationalisation, asset levies and debt repudiation like the ANC.

He said the party had been and remains the true, unflinching and consistent standard-bearer of civilised, democratic values, of equal rights, personal freedom and the rule of law.

It's a record the DP takes with it into both the transitionary phase and the "new SA" and is something its current supporters will surely have to consider very seriously before jumping into bed with rival groups whose own records are, in the main, best not spoken about. ■

MANPOWER (305)

Missing you, Eli

Did the vacancy caused by the death of Speaker Louis le Grange give Cabinet hardliners a chance to get Eli Louw away from Manpower? FM 22/11/91

That's roughly the theory over at Cosatu, where the view is that Louw was shafted as Manpower Minister by a securocrat clique said to be led by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. The reason why Louw was moved, the argument goes, is that he was just a little too flexible and "understood how the negotiation process should proceed with integrity."

cont →

'This is the real thing at last'

Key three set the date for negotiations

B|Days 22|11|91|

304A

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha yesterday signalled the start of negotiations for a new dispensation when they jointly announced a preparatory meeting for November 29 to arrange all-party constitutional talks which they said were envisaged for December 20 and 21.

The announcement — issued simultaneously by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose — follows months of wrangling over preliminaries and at least two delays in calling a preparatory meeting.

The meeting will launch SA into formal negotiations aimed at devising a new constitution and ultimately a new government. Political sources have speculated that its deliberations could continue until late 1993.

A DP source said: "This is the real thing at last."

The announcement came after what a senior ANC source described as a "long and intense meeting" between government and ANC delegations, which ended in the early hours of yesterday morning.

Government and the ANC — in its capacity as the leading party in the patriotic front — sent invitations yesterday to homeland governments and political organisations to send three representatives each to the meeting.

Yesterday's announcement read in part: "Parties are being consulted on their possible participation in such a preparatory meeting and certain further aspects still have to be clarified and agreed upon. No final decision on a venue for the preparatory meeting has been taken yet."

The ANC source said the organisation's delegation had put government under intense pressure to make the announcement, arguing that outstanding issues could be resolved at the preparatory meeting. Both government and the ANC have been accusing each other for months of delaying the start of talks.

The source said all 22 parties expected to take part in the full-blown talks would be involved in preparatory arrangements, a compromise that came after the three major parties failed to reach agreement on the composition of a preparatory committee. This means about 66 leaders will be seated around the table in discussion.

Political sources said Inkatha remained opposed to the proposal that two clerics — Methodist Church president Stanley Mogoba and former NGK moderator Johan Heyns — serve as conveners together with Chief Justice Michael Corbett. The issue would now be tackled at the preparatory meeting.

The meeting would also seek final agreement on a date, the chairmanship and an agenda. ANC and DP sources said there was already a large degree of consensus on an agenda. It would probably include: the reincorporation of the homelands, an interim authority, broad constitutional princi-

☐ To Page 2

Negotiations

B|Day 22|11|91

304A

☐ From Page 1

ples, a timeframe for the transition process, a mechanism for drawing up a new constitution and the role of the international community.

Political sources have speculated that an all-party conference could evolve into a body that would have some form of role in monitoring the coming session of Parliament and possibly even evolve into a constitution-making body.

Sapa reports that the PAC has confirmed it is prepared to attend multiparty talks if the venue is outside this country, and if a neutral conciliator is chosen to oversee the meeting.

Such a person would come from either the OAU, the UN or the Commonwealth "in that order", PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Alexander said the PAC had discussed the issue of a preparatory meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela and had agreed to it in principle. Such a meeting would once again have to be at a "neutral" venue, he emphasised, although it could take place within SA.

Towards the All Party Congress

New Nation (Learning Nation) 22/11 - 28/11/91. (304A)

The convocation of the All Party Congress ushers in a new era in South African politics. Considering that up to now the majority of South Africans have been excluded from determining their destiny, a meeting of different political parties to discuss ways of transforming South Africa from being an undemocratic country to a fully-fledged democracy is highly significant. The holding of the All Party Congress will be one point on a long road travelled by the oppressed in their quest for freedom. It is through the struggles of the oppressed that the regime was forced to consider entering into negotiations with the organisations of the oppressed.

The long road

Since the time they were dispossessed by colonialists, African people have continued to fight for what they consider to be their political rights. In fact the formation of the ANC in 1912 was a response to the establishemnt of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The laws and the National Conventions that led to the establishment of the union in 1910 denied the majority of South African people the right to vote. Organisations of the oppressed such as the ANC,as a response to the undemocratic National Convention, campaigned for a gathering in which a democratic constitution would be formulated. This they did up to 1960 through non-violent methods such as petitions, delegations, marches and stayaways. Even after its baning and after the turn to armed struggle, the ANC continued to call for a National Convention that would be different to the 1908 - 1910 one in terms of involving not only representatives of whites but organisations of oppressed people.

The call for a Constituent Assembly.

But unlike the National Convention which the ANC called for before 1985, the All Party Congress, according to the liberation organisations will not draw up the constitution. There is an agreement amongst a broad range of organisations that it is only an assembly of elected representatives that can write a new constitution. There is an awareness that those sitting in the All Party Congress would not have been elected and the support of their parties would not have been tested in open elections. There is therefore a commitment amongst organisations like the ANC, PAC, AZAPO, SACP, COSATU and NACTU to a Constituent Assembly. The role of the All Party Congress is to work out the mechanism of how to get to a new South Africa - which according to the liberation organisations can only be through the Consituent Assembly and Interim Government.

Soon, a meeting of different political parties such as the ANC,PAC, Inkatha and the National Party will be held. Such a gathering of political parties will mark a new phase in the process of negotiations. Political leaders representing the oppressed and the ruling class will be coming together for the first time to discuss ways and means of getting to a new South Africa. Learning Nation will discuss the significance of this event this week and next week.

This week we will try to place this important meeting in the context of the evolving strategy of negotiations. The fact that the ANC calls the gathering an All Party Congress (APC) and the PAC calls it the Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (PCAM), while the government prefers the name Mulilti-Party Conference (MPC) might be an indication of the different conceptions that exist on the role of this coming together by different political parties.

Harare Declaration

The Harare Declaration makes it quite clear that after the creation of a climate for negotiations, the liberation movement must enter into negotiations with the regime on the mechanism of getting to a new South Africa. We all know that the climate that exists now is not conducive to free political acitivites. There are still political prisoners on death row. The violence even after the signing of the National Peace Accord is continuing. What is clear is that there is no way that we can expect the present minority government to create the climate for free political activity. The experience in the phase of talks-about-talks is that the government and its agents such as the SADF and SAP are major stumbling blocks. It is for this reason that the ANC has decided that the most pressing task is the removal of the National Party government and the establishment of an Interim Government.

The big question is, how is this task going to be achieved? How is the convening of the All Party Congress going to assist in the march towards the Constituent Assembly and the Interim Governemnt?-

Recent experiences

One of the things that has emerged in the last few months is that the minority regime is not prepared to hand power to the majority. A look at the constititutional proposals at the National Party reveals the determination on the part of the present regime to protect minority interests.

The issue of violence and the involvement of the SADF and SAP in the destruction in the townships has confirmed the double agenda of the regime. The agenda of the ruling class is to introduce changes without threatening the interests of the minority capitalist class. The state and ruling class want changes that would give an impression that things have changed when nothing would have altered the conditions under which the majority live and work.

Challenge

The challenge that faces the mass movement is how, in the light of obvious plans to frustrate the struggle of the majority for genuine freedom, can the aims of the ruling class be defeated. As we enter the phase of real negotiations, the question of how we are to ensure that negotiations do lead to a total transfer of power becomes presssing. How can we ensure that our demands for a democratic Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government become a reality?

These are important questions in the light of some of the glaring weaknesses that have emerged within the mass movement. Despite the rhetoric about mass action, in the last few months, with the exception of the action around VAT, we have witnessed a drop in the involvement of the masses in struggle. This has been accompanied by a general weakening of organisational structures. Some of the pillars of struggle such as the underground component, the armed struggle and international solidarity also seem to have weakened.

Unless solutions are found to these problems, the possiblity of making negotiations a real site of struggle will not be realised.

Next week we will look at the different positions of some of the relevant political organisations.

REFERENDUMS (304A)

Creative test

The Referendums Amendment Bill published in Cape Town last week is symbolically important. It is the first legislative measure in SA's history to give, in principle, all adult citizens an equal say in how they are governed.

It's one-person one-vote, though under the manipulative control of a white minority government — for the time being.

The Bill provides for all citizens over 18 and in possession of a valid ID to vote in referendums called by government. It is expected to be approved by parliament next year and could be used to test public opinion on constitutional changes either late next year or early in 1993.

The Bill also gives government fairly wide powers to target referendums at specific segments of the population. However, domestic and international sentiment would probably not tolerate racially exclusive polls, so President F W de Klerk will have to use the measure creatively to honour his promise to test white opinion on a new constitution.

DP constitutional expert Nic Olivier believes De Klerk will try to skirt a showdown on a blatant race-based referendum by perhaps restricting it to voters registered on the roll for the House of Assembly — who all just happen to be white. He says it's also possible to use existing voters' rolls which record identity numbers to sort out the racial grouping of people who participate in a general referendum.

According to Olivier an interesting aspect of the Bill is the provision for "prior voting" to allow voters to participate in a referendum without having to go the polls on polling day — apparently to reduce the threat of intimidation, which could occur in rightwing strongholds as much as in some townships.

Though the CP is likely to oppose the Bill, Olivier sees no reason why it won't be passed during the coming parliamentary session. However, he believes the first referendum in terms of the new law will be only in 1993.

Home Affairs officials were unable to say this week how many South Africans already have IDs or to estimate the number of potential voters in the country.

According to the department's 1990 annual report, there were 3,2m registered white voters, 1,6m coloureds and 500 000 Indians. Olivier estimates there are 17m-19m blacks over the age of 18 in SA, including the TBVC states. ■

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THE PRESIDENCY

Sweet acceptance (304A)

President F W de Klerk intends SA to become a normal and unashamed member of the international community, without being hampered by diplomatic snubs or restricted by trade and financial sanctions. The ANC

Cont ...

FM 22/11/91 (304A)

describes Louw as "a perfectly nice man who may or may not make a good Speaker."

Louw's supporters say he befits the tradition of former Speakers and is looking forward to the job, for which he has the appropriate qualities: a legal background, wide respect, discipline and a sense of humour. He will, they add, be able to cool things down when debate overheats, without compromising the principles of parliament.

Though it's said he will miss being in the Cabinet, Louw (64) will now be able to devote a little more time to his Namaqualand constituency; while it has only 9 000 voters, it's the largest in the country.

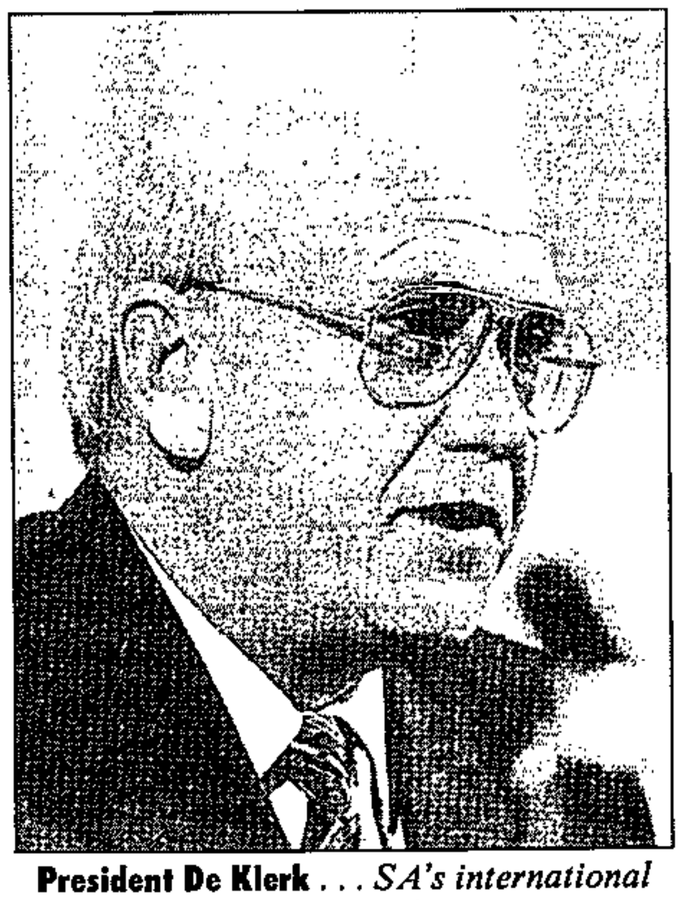
DP research chief Nic Olivier observes that the Speaker is not normally elected for a short time. The question, therefore, is how long this parliament is expected to last. It takes time, says Olivier, for the Speaker to become acquainted with parliamentary processes and to vest himself with the required authority of the office.

But nobody can predict the shape of the new parliament or what rules would emerge for electing the Speaker. ■

FM 22/11/91 (304A)

SA's importance to Africa's development and of "the need to create space for us and not to undermine the sovereignty of SA." That would not have encouraged the hopes of those who call for an international role in our negotiations.

"The world presents a very positive picture. But then, the ball is not with them but with us," De Klerk cautioned. "We have a role to play beyond our borders, a role as a regional power in the southern hemisphere, a special role in the world economy. Our future is bright, challenging, dynamic. But it depends on what we do in the next two years. We must ensure that the new SA is a stable country. Negotiation and moderation must ensure a successful economy on the basis of proven principles."



President De Klerk . . . *SA's international isolation ending*

More than once he referred to values and principles that had triumphed in the world — doubtless references to free enterprise and multiparty democracy, which the ruling party will of course press for at the talks.

De Klerk said he was "not involved in a power struggle" with anybody, but committed to a stable and prosperous SA, and to facing the challenges of backlogs and development.

"It is in the interests of every South African, black or white, rich or poor, leftist or rightwing, that our country should gain the full benefits of normal international relations without any further delay," De Klerk said. It is therefore difficult to comprehend, he added — clearly aiming at Nelson Mandela and the ANC — "how anyone who claims to have the interests of his people at heart, still seeks to resist this. The continuing advocacy of sanctions leads one to the almost inevitable conclusion that those involved are more concerned about their own ulterior motives than the wellbeing of their fellow South Africans."

But international isolation of SA is "crumbling." Sanctions advocates "may be able to delay the process, but they cannot stop it." ■

THE PRESIDENCY — 1 (304A)
FM 22/11/91

Talks and the violence

Signs are that the multiparty conference will indeed take place before the end of the year and government is "determined that nothing will prevent this," President F W de Klerk told an Institute of International Affairs lunch on Tuesday. His address was remarkably upbeat and in parts had the distinct ring of opening shots aimed at the all-party talks.

While De Klerk's topic was the international road ahead for SA — which looks rosy indeed — he emphasised the link between foreign acceptance and domestic stability. Continuing violence, he said, creates the perception abroad of an unstable country.

Though the Peace Accord and its structures will help to address this problem, "it will be solved only by the active participation of every political leader, party and organisation." He again appealed to all to assume their responsibilities and "spare no effort towards eliminating this threat to the negotiation process." It was important that people see their leaders talking about the future. The start of the conference, De Klerk added, was fundamental to curbing the violence.

"While the world is watching this process, possibly more closely than at any time in our history, my discussions with a variety of its leaders have convinced me that we may depend on a greater degree of goodwill and encouragement than we have had for many years."

His tone clearly indicated that foreign governments were more encouraging than he'd dared to expect on his recent foreign tours.

"There is almost a wish to see SA succeed," said De Klerk, departing from his prepared speech. There was realisation of

New Nation (learning Nation)

Negotiations — are they still a site of struggle?

304A

22/11/ - 28/11/91.

In 1989 the mass movement under the leadership of the ANC coined the phrase negotiations as a site of struggle.

What this means is that :

★ There was an understanding that although at the time conditions did not exist for the liberation movement to enter into negotiations with the regime, there was preparadness if there was a change in conditions to begin discussions with the regime with the aim of achieving the democratisation of South African society. At the time there was a lot of mistrust towards the regime which is why there was a demand for the governemnt to create a climate for free political activity by releasing politial prisoners and unbanning political organisations.

★ Entering negotiations with the regime would not lead to the abandonment of other forms of struggle which the mass movement has utilised in its campaigns against apartheid such as mass mobilisation, the rallying of international allies against apartheid, the strengthening of the internal underground and armed struggle. In fact there was an understanding that whatever outcome would emerge from the negotiating table was dependent on struggles waged on other fronts. The call was for these struggles to be intensified.

★ There had to be an appreciation of the key role of the masses in the whole process. As the involvement of the masses would be encouraged by intensifying strugge, there was a recognition of the need to ensure that the masses were not left behind and that no agreement was reached behind their backs. It was part of this recognition that objections were raised against secret talks and a call for a Constituent Assembly voiced. Only the people through their elected representatives could write a new constitution.

★ Negotiations had to be about the transfer of power from minority to the majority. Nothing less than majority rule was acceptable. That is why the demand for one-person one-vote in a unitary South Africa was central. In the same way as the struggle over the years has been about power, negotiations had to be about the transference of power.

Now with real negotiations about to begin and having gone through a phase of talks-about-talks, it is important to ask: Are negotiations still a site of struggle or have they become the only perceived path to power? This is important if we think about some of the experiences of the last twenty months.

The DP plays go-between

w\Mail 22/11/91 — 28/11/91 3044

The Democratic Party, through its proposal on a constitutional conference, may provide a solution to the impasse the ANC and NP are locked in.

By GAYE DAVIS

GETTING a line on the various players' ideas for the route South Africa should take in drawing up a new constitution is like trying to nail a blancmange to the ceiling.

But the Democratic Party's new proposal for a constitutional conference offers something altogether more substantial — and could lead the way for a compromise between the National Party and the African National Congress on the issue.

The new policy is contained in an amendment put before the DP's congress last weekend by Sea Point MP Colin Eglin, which was overwhelmingly adopted.

Essentially, it suggests that an all-party or multi-party conference first agree on basic constitutional principles. Having achieved that, the country would then go to the polls to elect a 200-member consitutional conference on the basis of universal franchise, through a system of proportional representation. Each member would represent parties with at least one percent of the vote — ensuring it is truly representative, and that smaller parties also get their say.

The constitutional conference would then sit as long as it takes to draw up a new constitution, with a cut-off point after two years, when there would have to be fresh elections. Once a draft constitution emerges and a government of national unity is in place, a referendum to ratify the new constitution would be held.

"An all-party conference would not be representative enough to draw up a new constitution," Eglin said. "None of the parties — extra-parliamentary, tricameral, bantustan — can claim to be elected representatives of today's South Africa.

"It's important they come together, to ring down the curtain on the current conflict, but they shouldn't be responsible for deciding on a new constitution."

By limiting the life of the constitutional conference, and avoiding according it absolute sovereignty in its decisions, there would be no danger of members voting themselves into office or disregarding the basic principles agreed to at the all-party conference, Eglin said.

"This is why the DP uses the term constitutional conference rather than constitutional assembly," Eglin said. "In Namibia, the constitutional assembly became the government."

In addition, provision has been made for three veto powers: to one-third of the members of the constitutional conference, to the majority party at the conference and to the NP.

According to Eglin, this triple veto is "more a method of achieving consensus, than blocking decisions.

"You need an overall majority, but must also take into account the attitudes of the two major players. The vetoes stress the importance of achieving consensus between the majority and the two major parties."

So how does the DP's proposal compare with those of other players? Much depends on how one interprets what they intend.

The NP has rejected the ANC's proposal of a constituent assembly out of hand. President FW de Klerk has, however, identified the need for the job to be done by a body that is fully representative, with proven support.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress are calling for a constituent assembly — but it's as yet unclear whether they intend it to act as a sovereign, interim government. If they see it instead as a body bound to comply with the basic principles agreed to during an all-party conference, with a limited life-span, then less ground has to be covered in reaching a compromise than many would have thought.

For this reason, the DP's proposal has as much to with strategy as policy.

"We're trying to look past the impasse the Nats and the ANC find themselves in at present to the common ground which lies beyond," Eglin said.

"We're not trying to dictate, but we think we could offer the possibility of consensus. If the Nats had produced this proposal, the ANC would have shot it down and vice versa. The DP is in a position to provide a possible solution."

As such, the proposal links in with DP leader Zach de Beer's belief that the party comes closer than any other substantial political grouping in the country to achieving "mutual trust to the left and the right".

According to Professor David Welsh, of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, the DP seems to be presenting viable possibilities for compromise on issues such as a constituent assembly, an interim government and other transitional arrangements — ensuring for itself a significant brokerage function in the power plays that lie ahead.

Zach's pack paints it black

w\Mail 22/11-28/11/91

Weekly Mail Reporter

One of the strongest things the Democratic Party has going for it is its liberal niceness. But its whiteness is still its Achilles heel. 3044

This is why people like Etienne Phoofolo are considered such bright stars in the DP firmament. An insurance broker in Katlehong, Phoofolo has displayed recruitment efforts which have elevated that region into one of the party's key growth areas.

Phoofolo joined the party in 1960 when, as the Progressive Party, it was "the only party allowing blacks to join".

As chairman of the party's Eastern Transvaal region, Phoofolo has recruited more than 1 000 new members among the communities of Katlehong, Thokoza, Nelspruit, Lydenburg and Barberton since he launched his campaign in February.

Those joining were people "who are disillusioned with the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"People like the DP's policies. They know about Helen Suzman and what she did for the black people, and they know about the DP's anti-apartheid history.

"Two or three people are joining every day — but in the Free State, membership is increasing even faster: at the DP's Free State regional congress, 150 of the 200 delegates were black," said Phoofolo.

Recruiting significant numbers of black people to its ranks is crucial for the DP's continued existence, given the extent to which its white support has eroded.

Zach de Beer, elected party leader for another term, urged delegates to get down to the serious business of signing on new members.

If it succeeds in making itself and its policies known in black areas, the DP will stand a fighting chance of realising the vision De Beer holds for it: a party capable of bridging "the gap of mutual distrust between the Nats and the ANC". It would remain a niche party but one whose significance far exceeded its actual size.

Awaiting the crocodile tales

Star 22/11/91



Cartoon: Liz Warder

P W Botha's memoirs are on their way and are bound to become a best-seller, write PETER FABRICIUS and SHAUN JOHNSON. But not everybody is pleased about the prospect. 304A

FORMER state president P W Botha yesterday ended months of anxious speculation in political circles by telling The Star that he was supervising the writing of the story of his life, including the rise and fall of his turbulent presidency.

The news has sent apprehensive shivers of expectancy through white politics, and the ranks of the National Party in particular.

The corridors of Parliament had been abuzz during this year's sitting with rumours of preparation of the "crocodile tales", but official confirmation has only now come about — as a spin-off of the "PW-Mandela tapes" row.

Controversy has raged this week over the National Intelligence Service's admission that it destroyed the tape recording of a meeting between Mr Botha, then state president, and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Tuynhuys, Cape Town, on July 5 1989. The NIS said that after Mr Botha retired on August 15 that year, his personal staff had handed the tape recording to the head of the NIS. It had been destroyed shortly afterwards.

Speaking from his Wilderness home, Die Anker, Mr Botha said it was true that his life story was in the process of being written.

He stated earlier this week that he wanted the tape recording to complete the documentation of his life and presidency, which is being collected and is to be kept at the Institute for Contemporary History at the University of the Orange Free State.

But, it emerged, the material was not only being organised and indexed for posterity — it is also serving as the basis of research for an approved biography of the famous, finger-wagging former Nationalist mandarin.

The work is being undertaken by academic Dr Daan Prinsloo who — as part of Mr Botha's "retirement package" — was appointed to and is paid by the state president's office for the specific task. He is being assisted by the university institute.

Dr Prinsloo was an adviser to Mr Botha during his term at Tuynhuys.

Mr Botha said his documents at the Institute for Contemporary History were open for public inspection. "They are open for the public. Anyone responsible can go there ... people responsible to me."

The news of the memoirs immediately created a frisson of excitement — and trepidation. Democratic Party MP Peter Soal said this week that the publication of the memoirs would be "a case of the crocodile snaps back".

Speculated

"The NP must be afraid he'll tell the truth about all the illiberal statements they made over the years. I hope, for instance, he'll tell us who stopped him from making the (reformist) Rubicon speech he intended to make." (It has been speculated that President de Klerk, then a Cabinet minister, was among those who urged Mr Botha to take the hard line that led to the collapse of the rand.)

Mr Soal added: "And we'd like to know who put pressure on him to repudiate Pik Botha when he said there could be a black president." President de Klerk's name has also been mentioned in this regard.

Conservative Party sources believe Mr Botha's memoirs will reveal that the NP under Mr de Klerk had decided before the 1989 general election to unban the ANC and release Mr Mandela. This revelation would prove that the NP had "deceived the electorate".

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has set out to temper the high expectations being raised about the book. "Obviously such a person, having been in that position, can shed light on a lot of happenings which people have so far only been able to speculate about," he said.

"But there is a question whether the Official Secrets Act won't preclude him from saying some things. I can imagine that the conversation with Mr Mandela could fall under this Act.

"If someone like Dr Jannie Roux (director-general in the state president's office), for instance, had talked about what happened at the meeting, he would certainly be hauled up — so I don't see why the same should not apply to a former state president.

"It's not as if we are sitting waiting for revelations or for bombs to explode."

Dr van der Merwe also referred to speculation that Mr Botha wanted the tapes of his Mandela meeting to dispel impressions created by the NP that Mr de Klerk's reforms were merely a continuation of Mr Botha's.

"Mr de Klerk has made it clear that he built on the foundations laid by Mr Botha, but he takes responsibility for his own acts.

"It is obvious that if Mr Botha had built on them, they would have looked different."

Commenting on reports that NP members were suggesting Mr Botha would have made the same moves as Mr de Klerk — unbanning organisations and freeing Mr Mandela — Dr van der Merwe said that as far as he knew that was not an official NP view.

"I suppose it may have been used by an MP as a throwaway line to a recalcitrant constituent," he said.

A senior NP MP, speaking on condition he would not be identified, conceded that "no one knows what to expect". But, he said, Nationalists were not unduly nervous. "I don't think he (Botha) can damage F W de Klerk's image. I think we've reached the stage where nothing from the past can make any difference.

Supported

"Everyone made different statements 10 years ago. We all supported apartheid. So does it mean much for P W Botha to say that F W agreed with him on this or that?"

And, he added tellingly, "If you know P W's style, did F W have much option but to agree?"

Neither Mr Botha nor Dr Prinsloo would be drawn on when the memoirs will be ready for publication — or on any further details regarding title, format or publisher. What is certain, however, is that the simmering row over the destroyed tapes has created a climate of interest and expectation which publishers dream of. This might be a spur to the biographical pen to speed up. □

Tony Leon, DP MP, counter-attacks 'smug line of political correctness'

Sparks takes a warped view of liberals' role

Star 22/11/91 (304A)

I READ Allister Sparks's attack on certain DP colleagues and myself (The Star, September 20) with a sense of wonderment. His use of extreme epithets and odious comparisons reinforces the intellectual flaccidity of his radicalism, which is dressed up as a species of ersatz liberalism.

Labels in politics are like parsley — decorative but never nourishing. His attempt to label the Johannesburg management committee and me as recycled, conservative United Party revanchists would be laughable were it not for the more sinister implications of the branding game, in which Sparks revels.

I take issue with his smug line of political correctness, his radical-chic view of the new South Africa. He envisages the appropriate posture for white liberals thus: lying prostrate before "the dominant black political organisation". Instead of recognising legitimate differences on this issue, Sparks — in true smear-by-association fashion — accuses me of "pandering to white prejudices" and of being a "reincarnation of Raw and Mitchell"! Quite rich, considering the pioneering role my Johannesburg colleagues and I played in breaking down segregation in public amenities and the role I continue to play with squatters and in challenging CP race hatred.

I wonder whether Sparks has any claim at all to pass judgment on other liberals as "wreckers". His selectivity and partiality is breathtaking. For example, he accuses certain decent and hard-working MPs and city councillors of being against the tide of a resurgent DP. Here, of course, Sparks reveals an intellectual sleight of hand — or is it simply a case of forgetfulness? On July 25 1990, writing in the (former) Daily Mail, Sparks told the DP to fold its tent as an independent liberal organisation and form an alliance with the ANC. Now that his real motive for his recent hatchet-job stands revealed, his other comments fall into perspective.

I was the first DP MP to respond to Sparks's suggestion — and to reject it. I stated that the party's major task was not to form an alliance with anyone, but to expand its membership and its appeal in black South Africa (see the Daily Mail July 26 1990). Since the DP congress overwhelmingly endorsed this approach last weekend, I can hardly be said to be on the losing side of the debate.

Unlike Sparks I have no quarrel with so-called "former UP conservatives" like Harry Schwarz nor, in substance, do I disagree with Mr Schwarz's former chief lieutenant in the UP, David Dalling. The DP is living proof that those of us who were once foot soldiers in Helen Suzman's epic election battles in Houghton can find common cause with the UP campaign managers who desperately tried to remove her as the sole Progressive in Parliament. Well, that's ancient history — a history that Sparks distorts.

I resent Sparks's inaccurate recollection of recent events in Johannesburg. He accuses my so-called "cohorts" in Johannesburg and me of having in two years made Mrs Suzman's old constituency "losing ground". What rubbish. In those two years I nearly doubled Mrs Suzaman's old majority; in 1988, while I was the leader of the PFP in the Johannesburg City Council, my "cohort" Cecil Bass and I succeeded in capturing back the lost municipal seat of Kew, Lyndhurst, also in the Houghton constituency, and I had the real pleasure of leading a revitalised PFP/DP to undreamed of election victories in Melville and Linden — victories in the heartland of Nat Johannesburg.

Sparks's observations about the "doughty Houghton voters" are asinine and inapt. If he had been on the spot, he would have heard the anger of the same voters on their way to the polls. As I remarked in an unpublished interview with a journalist, the white backlash was frightening. It also needs to be addressed when it comes from the most progressive enclave in SA. I do not, however, rejoice in this fact. How can I, since I have spent 20 years of my life fighting it?

Since this anger, and a perceived fuzziness in images of my party, were two of several factors influencing last week's municipal election, it was my duty to mention them. I believe that politician's first constituency is the facts. However, in Sparks's warped view on the new role and place of liberals in SA, such uncomfortable truths should go unmentioned — and voters' anxieties must remain unaddressed for fear of offending the new political masters. That to me is the greatest betrayal, and unworthy of my voters and the rich liberal tradition.

I have every confidence that the overwhelming majority of "doughty Houghton voters" prefer my realistic liberal vision to Sparks's white flag. □

Most SA parties invited to meeting

Star 22/7/91

Almost all political parties in South Africa have been invited to the preparatory meeting.

The main parties are the ANC, the NP, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the PAC, Azapo, the CP, the DP, the SA Communist Party, the AWB, the HNP, the LP, the National People's Party, Solidarity and a joint delegation from the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

Then there are the governing parties of KaNgwane (the Inyandza National Movement), Lebowa (the United People's Front), QwaQwa (the Dikwankwetla Party), Gazankulu (the Ximoko Progressive Party), and KwaNdebele (the Intando Yesizwe Party). (304A)

The governments of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei have also been invited.

Last night, several groups — including the Labour Party and the Transkei government — confirmed they would attend.

Azapo said it would not attend unless the Government stepped down.

The Boerestaat Party said it would not participate unless its claim to the historic Boer Republics was recognised.

The PAC said it would attend the preparatory meeting at a neutral venue inside SA.

'Kick in pants' forces DP to polish image

Star 22/11/91

By Louise Burgers
Municipal Reporter

The "kick in the pants" the Democratic Party received from ratepayers in Johannesburg has forced the party to immediately introduce steps to repair its tarnished image, Johannesburg management committee chairman Ian Davidson said yesterday.

At a crisis caucus meeting of DP councillors on Wednesday night, Mr Davidson was given a unanimous vote of confidence in his leadership of the party and as management committee chairman.

Mr Davidson said the party recognised that a serious lack of communication had led to the backlash against the DP in the Houghton/Killarney municipal by-election last week in which independent Sam Moss won the seat with an overwhelming majority.

Reasons given by ratepayers for their dissatisfaction with the management committee were escalating crime, rates increases, the John Pearce affair, the Civic Spine, and Civic Theatre expenditure.

To try to win back the "faith and trust" of residents, Mr Davidson has set up a committee to investigate methods to curb crime and has also promised better communication channels.

"Our image became tarnished because of a lack of communication. There is absolute agreement in the NP and DP caucuses in the council that what we are doing is right, but the how — our style — is wrong."

Mr Davidson said the party had to come up with initiatives to bring people back into the mainstream of government after the shock election defeat.

Security would be an absolute priority.

The DP had taken note of the clear message sent out by voters. "We did what we believed was necessary — possibly we were a little insensitive.

"When we took over the management committee, we were faced with raised expectations. What we inherited was an enormous mess and we realised we had to take a number of unpopular decisions.

"This is a typical mid-term situation where the governing party gets a kick in the pants. It's to our credit that we took our eye off the political ball and did the right thing, despite knowing that our decision would be resented," he said.



Ian Davidson . . . our style is wrong.

"We have come from a position where we were following, floundering, racked by acrimonious political debate — to a city which has taken the lead in local government. Now we must not be seen to falter."

'Flags, anthems not big issue'

Star 23/4/91

STAFF REPORTER

A SURVEY which found that the average black South African wants to keep "Die Stem" as the South African anthem and supports retaining the Springbok as the country's sporting emblem, has startled researchers.

"It seems that sporting and political symbols such as flags, anthems and sporting badges are just not the burning issue in the townships we thought they were," said Helen Tyson, research executive of Marketing and Media Research.

However, Ms Tyson stressed that the company had found there was an emormous amount of confusion about the terms used in the survey, such as "emblem" and "anthem".

The survey was carried out this week in 11 townships near Johannesburg and in the city centre.

A total of 387 people from all walks of life were asked if they knew that South Africa was competing in the Olympic Games. The 250 who replied in the affirmative became a core sample for further questions.

The first of these was: "Should the Springbok be South Africa's sporting emblem or not"?

In a major suprise for the rsearchers, 55,2 percent said it should.

Almost 27 percent said it should not, while more than 17 percent were undecided.

Shocks

More shocks awaited the researchers, however.

Asked if "Die Stem" should be retained as the national anthem, almost 52 percent said it should, while more than 45 percent were opposed.

The most popular alternative to "Die Stem" was "Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika", favoured by almost 37 percent of those who rejected "Die Stem".

One thing that people did not want to retain was the current flag. More than 57 percent favoured designing a new flag, as against 40,4 percent who were happy with the existing one.

Fifty-six percent of those polled said they supported the African National Congress, a figure Ms Tyson says is in line with other surveys conducted by the firm.

Ms Tyson defended the marketing methods used in the survey, stressing that it was not a telephone poll, which might have tested only better-off township dwellers. Ordinary people in all walks of life had been canvassed.

"The questionnaire was completed by respondents if they said they understood it, or was explained in the language of choice if it wasn't" said Ms Tyson.

What else has been destroyed in the 'national interest'?

(304A) ARG 23/11/91



Michael Morris



Dennis Cruywagen

A weekly analysis of the emergent new South Africa

THE simmering "tapes" dispute between former President P W Botha and his successor might seem to rank among South Africa's least pressing political developments in a nearly post-apartheid era.

But it isn't, in one important respect.

There is every reason for deep concern about the unashamedly frank admission by the National Intelligence Service that it destroyed the recording of the historic Tuynhuys meeting between Mr Botha and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Puzzlingly, the NIS justified its excessive action by saying its destruction was in the national interest and that keeping it might have caused "embarrassment".

Quite apart from the political arrogance of assuming responsibility for preventing politicians embarrassment, the recording, it now emerges, was the only full account of this historic encounter.

To claim that its loss serves the national interest is extraordinary.

(What else — evidence? — has been destroyed in the "national interest", one wonders?)

One thing this debacle highlights is the delicate nature of "national interest".

After all, what is the national interest? And who defines it?

In the case of the Botha/Mandela tape, the national interest was surely nothing more than the *National Party* interest.

The national interest in those years was no doubt determined largely by the securocratic elite of the NP, a cabal in which the NIS held considerable sway.

It is doubtful whether the NIS has ever been highly regarded by the broad South African community, but its handling of the Botha tape further tarnishes its reputation.

Quite apart from anything else, it emboldens a role model of political nefariousness and provides a measure of justification for exactly the same behaviour in the future.

As in Britain, South Africa should institute the practice of classifying sensitive information for future release — 10, 20, even 30 or 40 years hence.

The NIS would do well to consider Orwell's dictum (from *1984*) that "he who controls the present controls the past, and he who controls the past controls the future".

It will not be long before the control of the present shifts to a new power block.

AS the Democratic Party heads back on to the recruitment road in the hope of picking up support from the disenfranchised, it ought to pay close attention to the advice it has received from a party organiser who has had considerable experience in extending the Democratic influence into townships.

Our source tells us the biggest failing of the DP's campaign for black votes so far is that it simply hasn't spent enough money on it.

And this source adds that big business (or, at least, those who have loyally supported the liberal cause) should be persuaded to help.

Well, it will be interesting to keep an eye on developments in this arena.

Apartheid fragmentation, ironically, means that much of the recruitment focus in the Western Cape (as in the case of the ANC) will be on the coloured voter.

It is largely with this in mind that the DP will be deploying former UWC rector Dr Richard van der Ross and trade unionist Mr Norman Daniels — both of who were elected on to the party's national council last weekend.

There is nothing wrong with their credentials, but it's some time since they were last seen on public platforms in the coloured community.

Credibility, however much it has to do with the public's caprice, is vital and it is questionable how many people will remember their contribution to the fight against apartheid.

DEMOCRATIC Party Chief Whip Mr David Dalling — strongly criticised recently for what his critics describe as his ANC leanings — is also in trouble with some of his constituents.

It is not his links with the ANC — or even his wife Zelda's membership of the movement — that has provoked rebuke.

Colleagues speak highly of the veteran Sandton MP, but some of his voters don't, having discovered to their disgruntlement that he lives not in Sandton, but Stellenbosch.



□ **RIGHTWINGERS:** Part of the near-capacity crowd that listened to AWB leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche in the City Hall last night.

Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend Argus.

□ **LEADER:** Mr Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the AWB, addresses a near-capacity crowd in the City Hall last night, flanked by his elite Ystergarde guards.

Enter Terre'Blanche on recruiting campaign

(304) ARG 23/11/91

STEFAANS BRÜMMER
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE mood was belligerent, the atmosphere tense. The AWB was in town, in force.

It's not every day that the AWB top brass come to the Mother City. This time they were all here, right at the City Hall; come to enlist more fighters for the cause, and citizens for the Boerestaat.

Eugene Terre'Blanche, chief and newly chosen president of the movement, was the main attraction. At his side was secretary-general Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, former security policeman and former fugitive.

After the leader, flanked by armed Wenkommando and Ystergarde members, arrived in a near-full city hall to a standing ovation, the procedings got off to a slow start. Introductions, a short passage from the Bible, a prayer.

Then things started hotting up. Chief Commander Monty Markow of Northern Natal took to podium, backdropped by a red eagle clawing the triple-seven insignia.

"We need you," he said when he invited every man, every woman, every child to join the Wenkommando, the AWB's "action group".

"I do not want to create the impression that the AWB are a bunch of warmongers ... but if the price or our freedom is to be paid for in blood, by God, we will pay that price."

Next in line was Mr Rudolph. He declared the country was in a state of undeclared war. The cause, President F W de Klerk and the communists.

Then the moment that everyone had been waiting for. Mr Terre'Blanche took to the podium, and the City Hall shook. When the applause subsided, the leader, dressed in a roughly-sewn khaki leather jacket, started outlining the plight of the white man in Africa.

He lambasted the government for not realising the reality of Africa: "If you lose your political power, if you relinquish your political power, they crush you."

The loud applause was broken by a single voice of discord. The heckler was pounced on, roughed up and expelled.

Mr Terre'Blanche's final message: "The borders of the volkstaat will be drawn with the blood of every soldier."

For those that were wary of the impending war, he concluded with the message: "I have come to bring you a gift ... I have brought you the AWB, I have brought you victory, I have brought you Jesus Christ, I have brought you myself."

Outside on the street, the emerging crowd found the ashes of a burnt ANC flag.

South Africa's much-vaunted process of democratisation has given blacks the opportunity, for the first time, to join any party of their choice. But is it really as easy as all that? Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS considers this question.

The dangers of crossing over

ARG 23/11/91 (304A)

WHEN whites join the ANC, they invariably become the object of intrigue, of suspicion and, at worst, chastisement of one form or another.

It's, after all, a question of crossing the floor to the erstwhile enemy.

But for a black person, joining a "white party" is not just a question of crossing the floor. It is considered by many to be virtually a betrayal — almost like turning your back on your people.

Apartheid's stranglehold on politics has tended to tarnish "system" parties like the Nats and the Democrats who have been seen, to a greater or lesser extent, as "white parties".

There is a natural enmity in the black community towards any attempt to win them over to parties from which they were once barred by law.

Yet, now, it is black votes that will make all the difference for the NP and the DP. If they don't get enough support, they simply won't exert any meaningful influence.

Recruitment across traditional boundaries of support is imperative for the parties, but for blacks, it is hard and even dangerous to exercise a free choice.

Mr Sam Leseme is remarkably sanguine about a fellow DP member who had a pistol held against his head by over-zealous activists who didn't approve of his new party affiliation.

The man was rescued when, by good fortune, a senior ANC figure happened to pass by.

Another DP member of some years in Kutloanong township, Mr Isaac Thoabala, has had his car petrol-bombed because of his association with the liberal party.

Dr Rhett Kahn, chairman of the DP Goldfields Formation — spanning white and black branches in Welkom and Virginia — is frank about the difficulties.

"After the unbanning of the ANC, there was a big intimidation problem from the civics and from the ANC Youth.

"The ANC leadership understand our problems and are strongly against intimidation. The problem is the absence of control over youngsters," he says.

Dr Kahn believes it is vital the DP has a sound, co-operative relationship with the ANC to be able to co-exist with the liberation movement.

He counts Mr Patrick Terror Lekota, ANC national executive member and once a leading figure in the movement's Free State structure, as a personal friend, but acknowledges this sort of relationship has to permeate to the lower levels.

The DP has actually had striking success in recruiting blacks on the Free State goldfields and in the Eastern Transvaal.

Opinion polls generally show relatively low support for the DP in the townships, but Dr Kahn subscribes to the view that there is more sympathy for the party among the "silent" moderates in the black community than might be evident now.

However, even in Virginia's Meloding township — a settlement of 40 000 people among whom the DP believes it has the most support of all parties — the democratic cause is susceptible to the political tensions that have made recruitment elsewhere a dangerous exercise.

MK veteran who likes the Democratic style

304M ARG 23/11/94

Inconceivable though it may seem, the Democratic Party has won over a former member of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS spoke to him at last weekend's DP congress.

IN 1989 Mr Sam Leseme, then a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was jailed for two years in Kroonstad for sabotage and possessing explosives.

In April he was indemnified and released and in June he joined the Democratic Party.

Mr Leseme is one of a growing and somewhat embattled core of black members of the liberal opposition in the Free State goldfields.

He is, in large measure, a symbol of the DP's hope to play an increasingly influential role in shaping the politics of the new South Africa.

Recruiting people like Mr Leseme to the democratic cause was singled out as the priority for 1992 at the DP's annual congress in Sea Point at the weekend.

Mr Leseme, from Welkom's Thabong township, accompanied several other black delegates to the congress and, though he was an observer, this fresh recruit was acutely interested in the exchanges of his new political kin.

He joined the DP because of the party's strageties and policies.

"I support their policy and I believe in peaceful politics. I do not believe in mass action because our struggle has changed," he said in an interview.

"The trouble with mass action is that the people who call boycotts and stayaways often intimidate those who do not want to boycott.

"Some of our people do not know about politics. They do not know that democracy is freedom of choice and that it should be up to them whether to boycott or not."

At 20 Mr Leseme has had his fair share of the rough-and-tough of political activism.

In 1986, as a 15-year-old in Standard 5 and a Cosas member, he was arrested for sabotaging a school in Odendaalsrus. He was held for seven months under the emergency regulations and sentenced to seven strokes.

Two years later, in Johannesburg, he was arrested for having an MK pamphlet and held for three months. He was released after being given a warning by the court.

During this time he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, helped to harbour fellow-cadres and was trained to use weapons.

Then, in 1989, he was arrested for sabotaging a school in Thabong and for possessing explosives. He was held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for 11 months and then sentenced to 4½ years, two suspended.

But, within two months of his release from Kroonstad prison, Mr Leseme, a hardened activist, took a brave decision. He joined the DP.

"In my area I am well known. Members of the ANC know me well and they accept that I am a member of the DP," he said.

"But some members of the DP are intimidated. One man, who was accused of being a sell-out, had a gun pointed at his head."

Dr Rhett Kahn, chairman of the DP's Goldfields Formation — which includes hundreds of black members in Thabong, Kutloanong and Meloding — said black members had encountered many problems from ANC Youth and members of civics who did not heed their leaders' calls to cease intimidation.

Dr Kahn, a doctor at a mine hospital, said: "We have a good relationship with senior members of the ANC and we know they are dead against intimidation. But unfortunately, at lower levels, that isn't the attitude."

The DP's influence in the Free State goldfields goes back to 1987 when, as the Progressive Federal Party regional representative, Dr Kahn won some adherents in Virginia's Meloding township.

"The PFP and then the DP used to run political workshops and we became involved in pressing local issues such as housing. We earned a lot of credibility this way and people in the township began joining."

Dr Kahn believes the DP could easily win a majority of votes in the 40 000-strong settlement.

"We are the strongest presence there. The ANC acknowledges that.

"The people there more moderate than those in the townships of cities like Johannesburg or Cape Town. They like the style of the DP. We are known as the quiet party, Helen Suzman's quiet party. They like that.

"They don't like the demonstrative approach, toyi-toying and that sort of thing."

Dr Kahn says the DP has reasonable support in the Odendaalrus township of Kutloanong and that a branch is about to be formed in Welkom's Thabong township.

His reading of the voting share is that the ANC will win South Africa's first nonracial election.

"But I believe we will get more support in the black community than the National Party. The moment the NP is no longer the government there will be a dramatic swing to the DP and we will become the official opposition in the second election."

Dr Kahn said: "The only thing the NP has left is power — undoubtedly persuasive or attractive — but once that is gone it has nothing to sell. When that happens moderate whites and moderate blacks will flock to the DP."

ANC 'not playing ball'

304A CT 23/11/91

Political Correspondent

THE war of words between the ANC and the government hotted up yesterday as the National Party slated Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC for "stooping" to degrading personal attacks on President F W de Klerk.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe issued a statement in which he accused Mr Mandela and his colleagues of playing the man and not the ball.

After a series of acrimonious verbal sparring sessions between ANC and NP leaders in recent weeks, Dr Van der Merwe said last night that it was "most regrettable" that the ANC and its leader "have recently fallen into the style of making degrading attacks on the person of the leader of the NP" in apparent retaliation for criticisms by Mr De Klerk.

"The difference is that the State President criticised the ANC, its actions and policies. The ANC and Mr Mandela, however, find it necessary to stoop to personal attacks in most unbecoming language."

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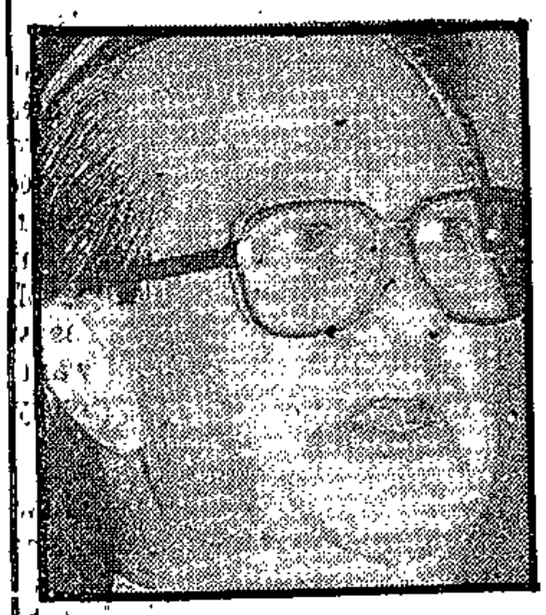
Stor 23/11/91 Page 4

As FW goe

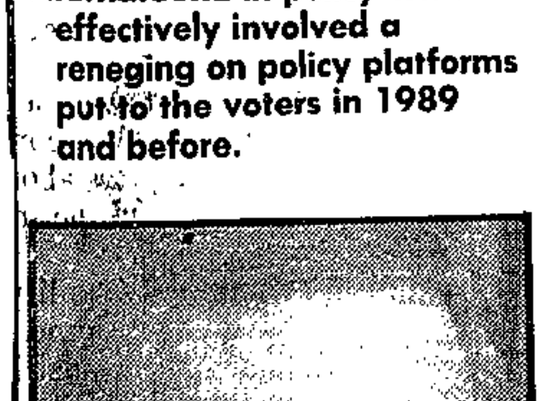
At first glance it may look like no more than a bit of entertaining political nonsense. But, argues Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON, the saga of PW and the secret tapes spotlights a crucial area of struggle between the Nationalists and the Conservatives.



SIMPLE ISSUE: How hard a political line did P W Botha take with Nelson Mandela when they met at Tuynhuys, and what implicit conditions did he set for his release from prison and the unshackling of banned political organisations?



RAW NERVE: Dr Andries Treurnicht touches a raw nerve when he characterises the watershed of February 2 1990 as a dramatic turnaround in policy which effectively involved a reneging on policy platforms put to the voters in 1989 and before.



CRUCIAL POINT: NP general secretary Dr Stoffel van der Merwe this week explained that "Mr de Klerk has made it clear that he built on the foundations laid down by Mr Botha". It is precisely this point that is disputed by PW and the CP.

THE P W Botha/Nelson Mandela "Tuynhuys Tapes" row has made for a rollicking read all week. All the elements were there.

It recalled a meeting which rocked the nation (who can forget reading, disbelievingly, the headline "PW has tea with Mandela") and altered its political course.

It brought back into the limelight the ever-intriguing Groot Krokodil, and promised a battle of wills between the incumbent president and his former boss. It also, crucially, contained the spy-story element of secret tape-recordings.

The saga rumbles on divertingly enough today, but a question is being asked with increasing persistence: Does it all really *mean* anything?

The answer, perhaps surprisingly, is yes. It does have an underlying political significance for the National Party and — indirectly — the negotiations process itself.

The argument over the contents of the tapes — leaving aside the matter of the right to destroy them, which I will return to — centres around a relatively simple issue: how hard a political line did P W Botha take with Mandela at the time, and what implicit conditions did he set for his release from prison and the unshackling of banned political organisations?

It is a matter of some importance to the disaffected and disgruntled Mr Botha that the history books should show that *he* did not envisage the subsequent, seminal steps taken by Mr de Klerk. He would like to prove beyond doubt, it appears, that in his otherwise all-smiles meeting with the former "chief terrorist", he made it finger-waggingly clear that the ANC would have to renounce violence and split with the Communist Party before he would have anything to do with it.

The ANC has of course done neither (the armed struggle is suspended, not renounced) and Mr Botha wants the volk to know just who has been doing the compromising around here. That deals with Mr Botha's primary motive in the affair.

More cynical observers also point to the timing of the brouhaha — shortly before two white by-elections in which the Nationalists seem to be on course for a hiding from the Conservatives — as an example of Mr Botha's still-intact expertise in the area of vengefulness.

Do not underestimate, they say, the satisfaction the spurned emperor might derive from making the lives of his courtiers-turned-putschists as

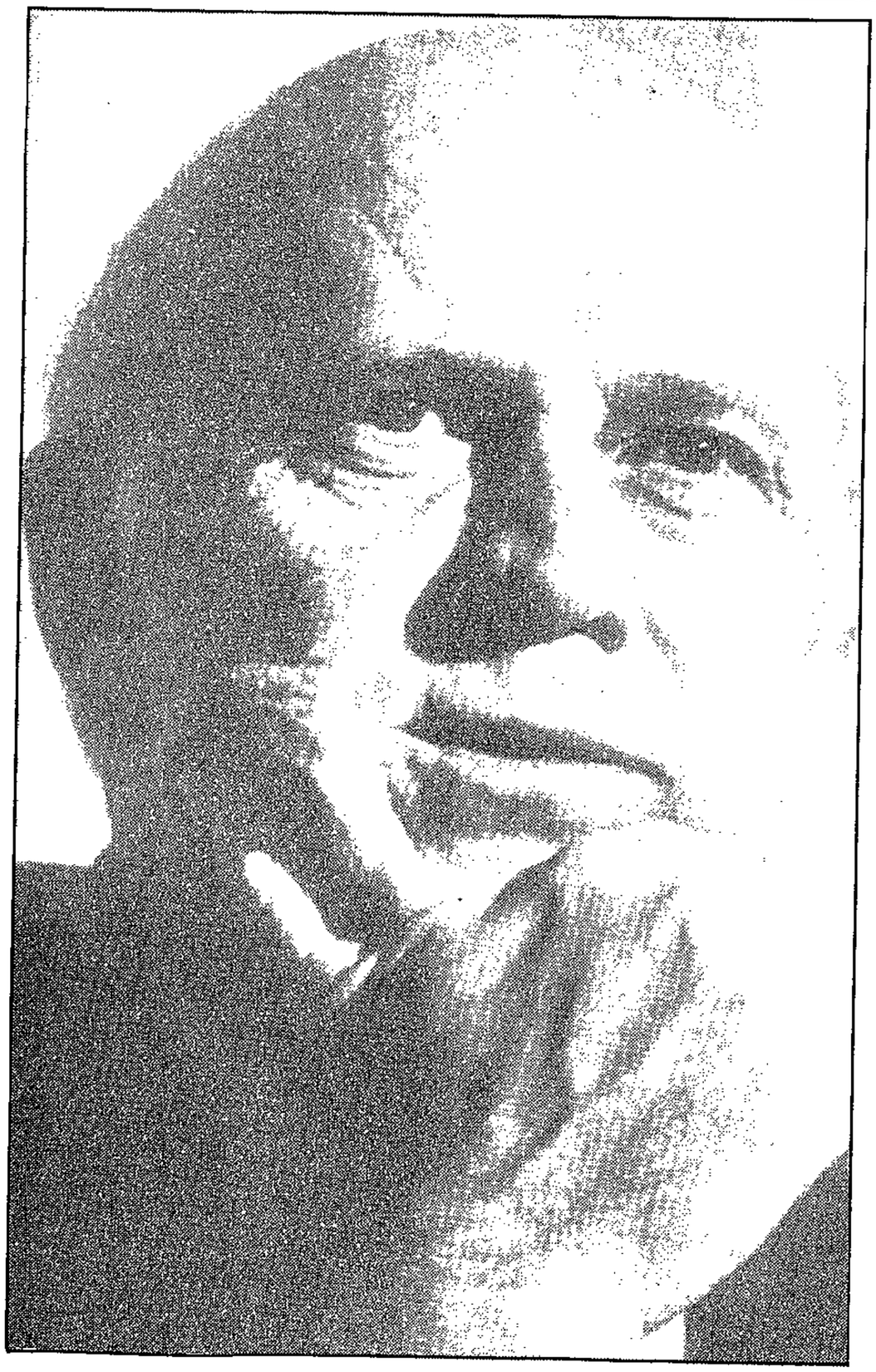
n the tale of the tapes

er 23|11|91. (204A) Hal

s fast forward with reform, PW whinges in the Wilderness



BACK IN THE LIMELIGHT: P W Botha's Tuynhuys Tapes promise a battle of wills between the incumbent president and his former boss, and the timing of the brouhaha — shortly before two by-elections against the CP — may make life unpleasant for the National Party.



TESTING TIME: F W de Klerk plans a crucial referendum for white endorsement of constitutional proposals. He must survive the test, but CP accusations that he has deceived the electorate and has no mandate for his reforms could make it extremely difficu

ANC realised that revolutionary takeover of the State was simply not possible in practice.

"This situation obliged the ANC to emerge from a position of stalemate to address, with the Government, the obstacles still in the way of negotiation. The release of Mr Nelson Mandela signified the end of a long chapter which had begun during the time of Mr P W Botha."

This is a breathtakingly audacious interpretation of history, claiming extraordinary powers of foresight and neatly shifting the burden of "change" on to the ANC. It should be obvious why such attempts to "rehabilitate" Mr Botha historically have instead made him mad as hell.

This context explains many other curious elements of current politics. Among them is Mr de Klerk's sensitivity about Mr Botha and his reluctance to apologise for apartheid — for such a move would give credence to the perception that he underwent a "Road to Damascus" experience at the beginning of 1990 without asking his constituents for permission to do so.

Dr van der Merwe conceded this week that individual NP MPs "might have used (the argument that Mr Botha would have followed the same course as Mr de Klerk) as a throwaway line to a recalcitrant constituent". Indeed — but it is open to question whether the practice is confined to the odd junior Nationalist, as implied.

The tapes row is, therefore, neither nonsensical nor irrelevant. It is the surface manifestation of a very important struggle within white politics.

It is worth noting also that the controversy has had another, incidental side-effect. It has brought to public attention the fact that the Government and its agencies are still behaving with breathtaking arrogance in many of the murkier areas of administration.

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an unequivocal condemnation of the ANC, its armed struggle and its communist allies.

One would have had to be possessed of a perverse mind to imagine, reading these documents in 1989, that the NP's policy would look like it does in 1991.

In place of these pamphlets, a considerable pile of revisionist documents has now emerged. Perhaps most revealing is the South African Profile booklet put out by the Bureau for Information (now called the South African Communication Services) at the beginning of this year. Its contorted attempt to slot the Botha era as a logical cog into the current situation is worth quoting at some length.

In a general historical review, a chapter appears under the heading "The importance of the PW Botha era":

"It is clear that the measures and steps taken in the 1970s and 1980s had helped to pave the way for negotiation," it runs. "That period was, in fact, an indispensable phase without which events after February 2 1990 could not have taken place.

"Thus it could be claimed with justification that the preliminary phase of negotiation had already commenced when the Government launched a number of reform measures during the late 1970s and 1980s.

"The developments initiated on February 2 would therefore not have been realised easily had the contribution of the P W Botha era not made them possible in this context. It was precisely because of the emphasis which the former state president had placed on the maintenance of national security, as well as law and order, that the

THAT the National Intelligence Service should regard it as its proper role to decide which historical documents should be destroyed, and which should not, would be bad enough in a situation in which the Government represented the majority of people in the country.

That the NIS, appointed and administered by the political representatives of a small section of society, should act in this way during a period of acknowledged political transition is scandalous.

To whom did the Tuynhuys tapes really "belong"? To Nelson Mandela as much as P W Botha, surely, but in fact to neither of the politicians. The tapes are part of the national history.

Out of all these rarefied struggles, though, one fact at least has emerged unequivocally: the Krokodil may be out of Tuynhuys, but he still has some teeth.

unpleasant as possible.

There has been persistent speculation that the source for odd bits of intelligence which have made their way to Dr Treurnicht's men in months past is to be found not a million miles distant from the George area.

Be this as it may, the "sleeping" presence of the Conservative Party in the tapes row is a key factor in explaining the more complicated side of the question — why the De Klerk Government should be at all concerned about the flailings of the Groot Krokodil.

NP general-secretary Dr Stoffel van der Merwe this week explained that. "Mr de Klerk has made it clear that he built on the foundations laid down by Mr Botha, but he takes responsibility for his own acts". That should, in itself, have been enough to take all the political

sting out of the current controversy. It has not, because it touches on a broader NP strategy.

It is of the utmost importance to the NP that the party is able to convince white supporters — and waverers — that the political situation today is the logical outcome of a strategy fashioned at a National Party congress as early as 1986, in P W Botha's time. Talk to any senior Nationalist for long enough, and this date will be trotted out.

The CP touches a dangerously raw nerve when it characterises the watershed of February 2 1990 as just that — a dramatic turnaround in policy which effectively involved a reneging on policy platforms put to the voters in 1989 and before.

The winning or losing of this argument has profound implications for the NP — not just in terms of the odd by-election,

but with an eye on the crucial bid for white endorsement of new constitutional proposals in a referendum.

Mr de Klerk simply must survive that test, and if the CP charges of deception stick, he will struggle to do so.

An early realisation of this among NP strategists has given rise to a subtle process in which the NP has taken to rewriting history, or at least reading it backwards. Since about the middle of last year, NP propaganda has sought to present a picture of coherence and consistency in policy, in order to still white jitters.

NP pamphlets distributed during the 1989 election are not now readily available from the party. There is good reason for this: they contain, among other embarrassing promises, assurances on the continuing racial purity of white schools — and

No vote for non-residents, urges mayor

Star 23/11/91

DURBAN — Durban mayor Gys Muller yesterday launched a stinging attack on foreign nationals who "reaped the profits" of living in SA but were not prepared to become citizens.

"I am 100 percent against giving these people the vote in municipal elections. Only South African citizens should get the vote," Mr Muller told delegates at the Natal Municipal Association's annual general meeting.

He was reacting to a call by

OWN CORRESPONDENT

municipalities in the Natal Midlands to allow non-South Africans to vote in municipal elections.

Howick mayor Keith Humphries disagreed with Mr Muller: "I believe in the principle 'he who pays, gets'. There are many people, in the Midlands especially, who are not South African citizens, but who pay rates (and) buy services. They have a right to a say in how their money is spent."

Rob Haswell, Martizburg city councillor and MP for Pietermaritzburg South agreed with Mr Humphries, but took a different tack when he argued that before the issue of foreign nationals being allowed to vote, it should be remembered that there were millions of black South African citizens who did not have the vote.



Once again, a flight into self-deception

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ST Times 24/11/91.

NOT SINCE a man called Odendaal drew a map of Namibia, with a tin shed at Tsumkwe meticulously marked as the capital of Bushmanland, has South African politics been so unreal. Once again, we are embarked like lemmings on a collective flight from reality.

The Odendaal map, solemnly produced and debated in Parliament, reduced the press gallery to helpless laughter. I remember Anthony Delius, a towering figure at a time when journalism still attracted literate practitioners, reeling along the corridor, hugging his sides with mirth.

History has proved the press gallery correct in its cynicism, which was bred of years of looking down on politicians, and the politicians have been shown to be deluded. Bushmanland was never more than a costly mirage, and the government that created it will be sitting down with its opponents on the eve of Christmas to undo its futile labours of the past four decades.

The Odendaal report, in retrospect, was not entirely useless. It served the international community as an instrument of the campaign, ultimately successful, to wrest South West Africa from South African control. Besides, Mr Pik Botha was compelled, as a member of a South African legal team, to try to defend the Odendaal fantasies and, being an honest man, was soon saying apartheid must go.

It's a pity that Delius is no longer alive to witness, and to inject some mocking good sense into the present flight from reality. It's more diffuse this time, less in lockstep, but no less funny. Take some random examples:

One academic, says a left-wing journal solemnly, has calculated that "reparations" for apartheid will cost R2 500-billion. That figure — to put it in perspective, it is 50 times as much as the foreign debt that broke our backs in 1985 — reminds me of the time a Middle Eastern potentate tried to sue me for R327-million. One fell about laughing.

Change has come so fast that old issues vanish before we have defined them, and new issues arise before we discern them. One can forgive a certain bewilderment as we storm empty windmills.

A great fuss goes on, for example, about the claims of black people to land, but in the middle of it all we learn from television that in the village of Standerton, famous as the place where Smuts was defeated in 1948, 30 black families have quietly bought homes in a middle-classy white suburb. The problem, it seems, is not to mollify angry landless blacks, but to mollify angry whites who can't bear to see black people among the middle classes.

Not even the government manages to keep pace. When Mr Louis Pienaar, the Undertaker of South West Africa, suddenly pops off about the flag and the anthem, as he did during the National Party congress, he is behaving irrationally. After all, he was one of the men who chose to unleash a new South Africanism, rather than fight another all-white election, and he surely expected a new nationalism would demand new symbols? But no, he's angry.

His inconsistency is delicious. He didn't complain of "treason" when Zola Pieterse competed in the Olympics under the British flag, against which his party had railed for so many years, or when Kepler Wessels played cricket for Australia. So why object to a different flag of convenience?

Instead, by letting off steam so intemperately, he not only plays into the hands of Conservatives, but denies his own party the credit for getting Mrs Pieterse to the Olympics without having to use her British passport. He rants when he should be boasting.

NO less curious is the behaviour of Mr Gene Louw, the least prepossessing cabinet minister I can recall since Frans Erasmus put our soldiers into Ruritanian uniforms and very nearly caused the army to die of embarrassment. He, too, has become irrational.

He berates the SABC for its decision — one of the few sensible decisions it has ever taken — to stop acting as the pork barrel from which a variety of film-makers, of varied talent, have been feeding for years. However skilled as film-makers, their singular talent is to lobby for concealed subsidies.

Like Mr Pienaar, Mr Louw seems to have forgotten — or not to have grasped — that he is likely soon to be handing control of the SABC to, say, Dr Pallo Jordan of the ANC. Dr Jordan is no less honest a man than Mr Louw, but he has his own following of little piggies who want to force their eager snouts into the trough.

If Mr Louw had a grain of realism in him, he would smash the trough, privatise the SABC, and reduce government regulation to a mere technical matter of allotting frequencies to rival broadcasters, thus encouraging them to make or buy films at the most competitive price. Instead, like Odendaal, he is setting up the instrument of his own mortification.

WE are dealing here with anachronism, that most dangerous of political traps — dangerous because it upsets the timing of even skilled politicians. The old South Africa is an empty shell, its trappings hanging useless, its authority gone, its privileges slipping away. But day-to-day life has a deceptive normality, which conceals the underlying truth.

This truth is that the Nationalist government, representing the whites, accepted change because it lost the capacity to govern. The most evil methods, under a ferocious leader, failed to restore order, or to keep the peace, or to protect life and property. The government could not calm the country without taking Nelson Mandela from jail to Tuynhuys, and dealing with him.

The new South Africa, though half-born, can already do things that the old could not: send a team to Delhi or Barcelona, trade freely, send its state president abroad on missions of goodwill, and look forward to economic recovery. But it's hard to face up to the loss of power, or to shake off the old habits of patronage and arrogance.

So the desperate search for escape from reality will continue, no doubt, in the talks that begin on the eve of Christmas, in the season of make-believe.

KEN OWEN

SPECIAL REPORT BY DE WET POTGIETER

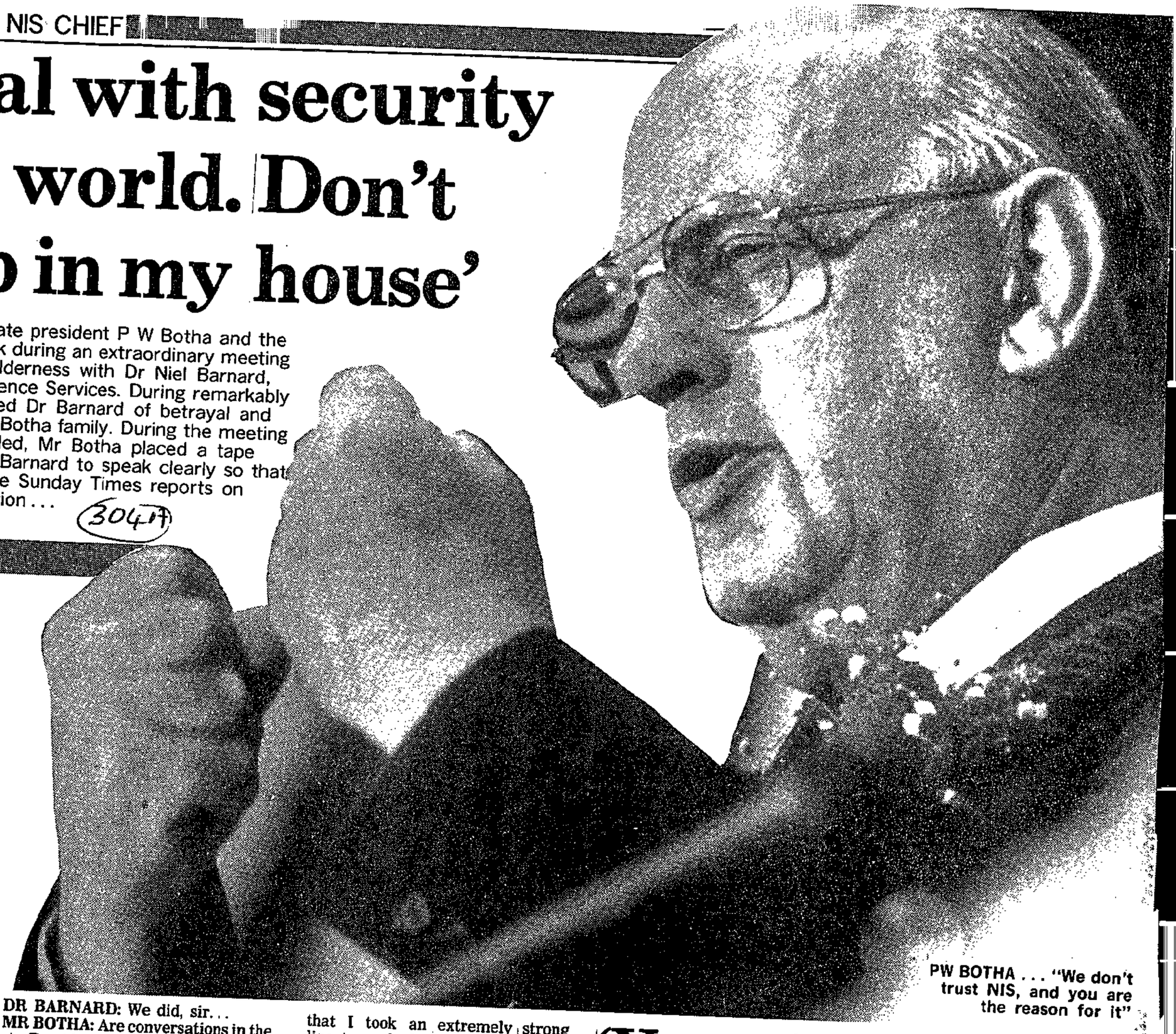
'Dr Barnard, you deal with security services all over the world. Don't come and play dumb in my house'

THE bitterness between former state president P W Botha and the government first surfaced last week during an extraordinary meeting at his home Die Anker at The Wilderness with Dr Niel Barnard, director-general of National Intelligence Services. During remarkably blunt exchanges, Mr Botha accused Dr Barnard of betrayal and claimed that his men spied on the Botha family. During the meeting which Mrs Elize Botha also attended, Mr Botha placed a tape recorder on the table and told Dr Barnard to speak clearly so that every word could be recorded. The Sunday Times reports on the detail of the heated conversation...

S/Times 24/11/91 (3040)



NIEL BARNARD ... denied that Botha phones were being tapped



PW BOTHA ... "We don't trust NIS, and you are the reason for it"

DR NIEL BARNARD's visit to Mr PW Botha on Tuesday, November 12, can hardly have led to the happiest conversation of his career.

The NIS chief had been sent to see the former president after the controversial destruction of a tape-recording of Mr Botha's historic first meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela in 1989.

Mr Botha began by claiming that the only reason Dr Barnard had travelled down to see him was because he had been forced to do so by President De Klerk. Dr Barnard denied this.

However, he admitted that he had not only destroyed the tape of the meeting but also the handwritten minutes he had taken.

This is an edited text of their exchange, released yesterday by Mr Botha:-

MR BOTHA: I have one desire and that is to have the tape or a proper transcript of the conversation between me and Mr Mandela. This is a vital part of my memoirs. You've sent me a summary of the minutes you say you kept, but I can get no copy. Your department consistently refuses to give me one. Now I want to know why.

DR BARNARD: The tape was handed to me by Geraldine Mostert, and when you telephoned me, the tape no longer existed, and I want you to accept that, sir. I gave instructions that the tape be destroyed because, in my opinion, the fact that such a tape existed could have had, could still have, a certain effect on negotiations politics.

MR BOTHA: You admit you received the tape. Did you make a copy of what was on it?

DR BARNARD: No, sir. We didn't — how do you say — transcribe it...

MR BOTHA: But what right did you have to destroy a document that belonged to me? You made no copy of an extremely important conversation that I had with Mandela?

DR BARNARD: I did not have a transcript made.

MR BOTHA: In other words, you were derelict in your duty towards me. Now I also want to know: was it not usual for you to have such important tapes transcribed?

DR BARNARD: Sir, we didn't transcribe all the conversations. But this was an important conversation and it could be the wrong approach...

MR BOTHA: It was *THE* most important conversation. For the first time in all the years that Mandela was in jail, this was the most important conversation. Is that true?

DR BARNARD: It was a very important conversation, sir.

MR BOTHA: Yet you neglected to keep the tape. You destroyed it without informing me. Without my knowledge, no transcript was made. Is that correct?

DR BARNARD: It is.

MR BOTHA: In other words, you ignored me, although it was my tape, and my document. Were you derelict?

DR BARNARD: I didn't tell you...

MR BOTHA: Right. You didn't tell me. Then you went and drew up a quick little minute, from memory.

DR BARNARD: No sir, could I just...

MR BOTHA: Yes, yes, speak up, there's a tape here.

DR BARNARD: I didn't write the minutes at that stage. I did so after your talks with Mandela. You will recall I took notes during the meeting, and that's the version I sent you.

MR BOTHA: Why did you destroy the tape?

DR BARNARD: Sir, at that stage I reasoned that a tape recording made without Mr Mandela's knowledge could have certain implications and, in the national interest, I decided it would not be good if the tape's existence became public knowledge.

MR BOTHA: Why didn't you come down here and inform me? You know where I live. You could have telephoned me and told me. You could have written me a note. Did you do any of these things?

DR BARNARD: No, I didn't.

MR BOTHA: You didn't. All right. You destroy the tape without telling me, you make no transcript. You leave me out. Why did you turn your back on me after all the years of trust between us? Look me straight in the eyes like a man and tell me.

DR BARNARD: Sir, I can honestly say, because I did not believe it would be in your interest for anyone to know a tape had been made without Mandela's knowledge...

MR BOTHA: He was a prisoner, Dr Barnard. I had the right to record a prisoner on tape. Didn't I?

DR BARNARD: I disagree, but...

MR BOTHA: Oh, now for the first time, you disagree. For the first time in all the years you helped to make tape recordings in my office. I ask you, did you know conversations in the State President's office were taped?

DR BARNARD: We did, sir...

MR BOTHA: Are conversations in the State President's office still taped?

DR BARNARD: No, I don't know about that.

MR BOTHA: But you know conversations between me and the opposition leader were taped?

DR BARNARD: Sir, can I just explain. We were responsible for installing taping equipment in your office, and other places. But about conversations and what conversations were recorded, we surely weren't...

MR BOTHA: Right. You were aware that I took an extremely strong line towards Mandela that day? I want to know.

DR BARNARD: Yes sir.

MR BOTHA: Doctor, you must speak up now, you must not speak softly. Were you aware that I told Mandela he had to renounce violence?

DR BARNARD: Yes sir, it's in the report I sent you...

MR BOTHA: Did I tell you after you sent the report that it was not a true reflection of how strong a stand I took?

'You all thought I was

then that's the letter you send me. And you destroy a tape that is my property. I was entitled to it. But I'll tell you, Dr Barnard, you all thought I was dying. But I did not die, and I'm still alive and I'm as healthy as ever, if not healthier.

But I'm not finished with you yet, Dr Barnard. When I think of the decent way we took leave of one another, of how my wife and I treated you and the department, and when I look you in the eye...

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dying, but I'm healthy as ever'

DR BARNARD: Sir, you sent me a letter in which you said, as I recall: I am under the impression that I made a far stronger case for the Afrikaner than would appear from your minutes.

MR BOTHA: That is correct. And didn't I? You were present, after all.

DR BARNARD: Sir, I didn't go into detail in my report about how strongly you made a case for the Afrikaner, but I did say you told him the Afrikaner must not be crushed in the political future of South Africa.

MR BOTHA: And that he must renounce violence.

DR BARNARD: That's right sir, and I said so in my report.

MR BOTHA: In passing, yes. Your report of the conversation was weak, but there were witnesses. Couldn't you, to satisfy me, have consulted Mr Kobie Coetsee, General Willemse, and sent me a certified record of what happened there? Why didn't you do so? All those years you had an obligation to me, not only as an official, but as a friend. You presented yourself as my friend. Were you a friend of mine?

Explained

DR BARNARD: I was, Mr Botha.

MR BOTHA: But you aren't any longer.

DR BARNARD: No sir, I don't agree with that, I don't agree with that at all.

MR BOTHA: What happened, Dr Barnard, for you not to meet your responsibility to me? I want to know that this morning.

DR BARNARD: Sir, I've just explained why I destroyed the tape. I did it because...

MR BOTHA: You destroyed it without consulting me. That is your friendship. You made no copy of it. Were you scared I would use it?

DR BARNARD: No sir, why would I be?

MR BOTHA: Dr Barnard, I know you are in a hurry, but I'm still going to give you tea as well. But you will answer my questions this morning on tape. Remember, Dr Barnard, you are a trained security man, you have been trained to deal with intelligence organisations throughout the world. Don't sit here in my house this morning and play dumb. Answer my questions. You sent me minutes you had personally written after my meeting with Mandela. You did not take minutes at that meeting.

DR BARNARD: I most certainly took notes while we were sitting there.

MR BOTHA: Right. Can I have a copy of the notes?

DR BARNARD: But that's what I sent you.

MR BOTHA: I said: can I have a copy of your notes?

DR BARNARD: Sir, I haven't got those notes any longer, I destroyed them after writing your report. Why would I keep them?

MR BOTHA: Then you wrote to me: I wish to point out that these minutes are subject to the Protection of Information Act 84 of 1982. Was it necessary to tell me that? After you were my official for how many years?

DR BARNARD: Nearly 10 years, sir.

MR BOTHA: Who appointed you?

DR BARNARD: You did, sir.

MR BOTHA: I appointed you. And 10 years you worked with me, and morning, the only conclusion I can come to is that you turned your back on me, and stabbed me in the back.

Since when does the National Intelligence Service destroy such important documents?

DR BARNARD: Sir, it is customary in the intelligence community to destroy documents that could embarrass the State.

MR BOTHA: Did that document embarrass you? I met Mandela at his request. He was a prisoner and he went back to jail. Did you inform him that a tape had been made?

DR BARNARD: No sir.

MR BOTHA: Oh, so you negotiate with him, but you don't tell him there is a record of our conversation. I don't mind if you do, because I'm not a coward. Do you understand?

DR BARNARD: I do.

MR BOTHA: And that's how you know me?

Listen

DR BARNARD: That's how I know you.

MR BOTHA: Now tell me, Dr Barnard, why are you spying on my family?

DR BARNARD: Sir, that's absolutely untrue.

MR BOTHA: Why do you allow NIS surveillance of my family? Do they listen to our telephone conversations? Are there instructions that our telephones should not be tapped?

DR BARNARD: We don't monitor your conversations. There is an instruction that not one of your calls should be tapped.

MR BOTHA: Where is the instruction? Can you let me have a copy of it?

DR BARNARD: No sir, we don't put instructions like that on paper. Do you really believe we are...

MR BOTHA: We don't trust the service, and you are the reason. I don't trust you because of your attitude towards me. But there is more to come, don't worry, doctor. You have kept your secrets, I have kept mine. Understand: I am far from finished.

When Nelson hoped the Nats would win general election

(3044)

S/ Times 24/11/91

By DE WET POTGIETER

THE gist of the historic first conversation between President PW Botha and ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been captured in minutes taken by Dr Niel Barnard, director of the National Intelligence Service.

The notes, currently part of a dispute between Mr Botha and the FW de Klerk administration, show how the two leaders laid the ground rules for the release of the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu in their secret meeting on July 5 1989.

It was a major step towards what later became a political revolution in South Africa under the De Klerk administration.

Mr Mandela, who requested the meeting, was taken to Tuynhuys on July 5 1989 and was immediately taken to President Botha's office.

Dr Barnard's notes show that the two men first inquired about each other's health. Casual discussions about their childhoods followed. They then talked about the South African War — particularly the role of Free State President Marthinus Steyn.

Mr Botha pointed out that Angola was a key issue in resolving the problems facing southern Africa, and that a peaceful solution to the Angolan problem would be to the benefit of Zambia and Zaire. According to Dr Barnard's minutes, the two leaders agreed that it was important that the Benguela railway line be opened. Mr Mandela suggested to Mr Botha that efforts should be made for better relationships between himself and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

Mr Botha recalled some of his trips to African nations, and said that after meeting African leaders he felt the whole continent could benefit from peace.

A peaceful Africa could open the doors of opportunity for many people, said Mr Botha. Africa needed peaceful progress, education, training, job creation and the exploitation of its natural riches to the benefit of all.

Mr Botha said he had told President Kaunda to come to an agreement with the Afrikaner for the benefit of the whole of southern Africa. There were too many outside interferences in the domestic affairs of South Africa, and a solution to this problem would have to be found.

Mr Mandela replied that he had a good perception of the situation, and that he had learnt a lot more about the Afrikaner inside prison.

Mr Mandela informed Mr Botha that he had told the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, that although the National Party stood for everything he opposed, he would like to see it win the forthcoming elections (September 1989).

Mr Botha observed that problems were there to be solved. Mr Mandela agreed, although he said certain problems might become bigger. The hope for a solution, however, always prevailed.

The president told Mr Mandela that since he had come to power in 1978 he had gone out of his way to oppose violence. His ideals were rather to work towards the total upliftment and development of the peoples of South Africa.

Mr Botha warned Mr Mandela that the ANC should not make the mistake of listening to everybody who claimed to be talking on behalf of South Africa and its people.

The ANC should re-evaluate its position. Mr Botha praised Mr Mandela for not seeing all those who had applied to visit him in prison for their own publicity reasons.

The two men then began discussing the possible release of the ageing and ailing ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Mandela said the release of Mr Sisulu would make his (Mr Mandela's) task much easier.

The ANC leader said that, if Mr Sisulu were to be released and he misused his release for ANC propaganda purposes, Mr Botha would have all the reasons in the world to mistrust his (Mr Mandela's) word.

At this point Mr Botha said that he had already decided to release Mr Sisulu, and he would expect Mr Sisulu not to start a new propaganda campaign.

Mr Mandela indicated to Mr Botha that the political developments in South Africa were favourable for negotiations.

He said such a climate could be created only once the government took note of the demands of the ANC, unbanned the organisation and lifted the state of emergency.

Mr Botha reminded Mr Mandela that he should not forget the contribution made by the Afrikaners to South Africa.

NP wants referendum soon to approve transitional government

SHARED RULE MONTHS AWAY

SI Times 24/11/91 (304A)

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

THE National Party wants a transitional goverr ment involving the ANC in place by the secon half of next year.

Proposals for profound constitutional changes which would have be approved by a referendum are expected to be put on the table the pre-Christmas multi-party talks.

National Party secretary-general Stoffel van der Merv confirmed this week that a referendum on transitional measures w a "serious option" for next year.

The timetable for negotiations has meanwhile speeded up:

● The National Party and ANC met at the weekend to pl strategies for the approaching preliminary meeting of 22 parties Friday.

● At this meeting the agenda is expected to be finalised for t December 20 and 21 multi-party talks, which will see constitution negotiations underway.

● National Party sources indicated that the first meeting of t multi-party conference would be used to unveil far-reaching pr posals on interim arrangements.

● Ministers told foreign diplomats that they wanted a transitional government in place soon.

The referendum envisaged by the NP will poll the views of all South Africans, but will also allow for enumeration of votes cast by whites.

This will give the white community an opportunity to express its views on the arrangements — something which the National Party has pledged to do, but which the ANC and others reject as "racial".

After the announcement of the dates for the multi-party talks, the strategies of the major parties are now becoming clearer.

Government is blamed by official inquiry Full details on Page 3

Lengthy

The National Party wants the talks to decide detailed constitutional principles and lock other parties into transitional arrangements that, while sharing power, will also achieve co-responsibility. It wants these agreements put to a referendum so as to fulfil its 1989 election undertaking.

It envisages the transitional arrangements remaining in place for a lengthy period, allowing for a more studied period of constitutional negotiation.

The ANC believes the all-party talks should agree on broad constitutional principles. Parliament should make the necessary changes to the constitution to bring about an interim government and that body should oversee elections for a constituent assembly which will negotiate a final constitution.

It does not foresee an interim government being in place for more than 18 months.

Regarding a referendum next year, Dr Van der Merwe said: "By this time next year we will be three years into our mandate. It would be a good time to test the water."

Amended

He said the party would like to have something specific to put to voters, but that would depend on progress achieved by the multi-party talks.

Anything decided by the talks that fitted the description "transitional arrangements" would be of such a far-reaching nature that the present constitution would have to be amended, thereby necessitating the holding of a referendum, he said.

However, ANC negotiating committee member Mohammed Valli Moosa said that holding a referendum to test white opinion would be unacceptable. Any future election would have to be on a non-racial basis.

He said the all-party congress, representing all South African political parties, would have sufficient mandate to change the constitution.

Some ANC officials believe that these recommendations on interim arrangements could then be legislated by the existing parliament.

Established

Mr Valli Moosa said that, once there was agreement on broad constitutional principles, the TBVC states had been reincorporated and transitional arrangements had been implemented, constituent-assembly elections should be held on a nonracial basis.

He envisaged these elections taking place this time next year.

The agenda for the 22 participants meeting in the preparatory talks on Friday has meanwhile been established:

The meeting will have to reach agreement on:

● Who will convene the multi-party talks. All parties agree that Mr Justice Corbett should be one of the chairmen, but Inkatha is still objecting to former NGK moderator Johan Heyns and Methodist Church president Stanley Mogaba as the two others.

□ To Page 2

Shared-rule referendum a 'serious option' for 1992

SI Times 24/11/91 (304A)

From Page 1

ter the talks on constitutional principles.

The ANC has proposed that five working groups should be set up to deal with constitutional principles, Patriotic Front conference committee be prepared to reconsider its opposition to demands for an elected constituent assembly if the working groups should be set up to deal with constitutional principles, Patriotic Front conference committee believe the conference work of the community and the re-incorporation of the TVBC states.

Wide differences exist as to what the scope of the first working committee on substantive constitutional principles and the Democratic Party want the working to reach agreement on what it regarded as fundamental principles of a new constitution.

Negotiating a compromise on this will be crucial to the process. National Party sources have indicated that the party would

● How many working groups should be set up to deal with constitutional principles, and the role of the international community in the process.

● How decisions should be made at the conference.

● Who should administ-

SA may have two anthems

S/Times 24/11/91 (304A)

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

A TOP National Party member has raised the possibility of South Africa soon having two national anthems.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party secretary-general, made the suggestion this week in the wake of the furore over the ditching of South African symbols and flags for the Olympic team.

For many decadesSouth Africa had had two national anthems — *Die Stem* and *God Save the King*, as many South Africans had been attached to one or the other, Dr Van der Merwe said.

It had worked in the past and it could be a possibility for the future.

Dr Van der Merwe emphasised that his was a personal view and had not been discussed by the government. The government believed South Africa already had *Die Stem* and "that was that".

However, the anthem question would have to be discussed, he said.

Liberation movements have already adopted *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* as their national anthem.

Dr Van der Merwe said people should not allow their hackles to rise and the matter should be dealt with calmly.

But the debate should not reach the point where people felt they had to choose between two national anthems and that the emergence of one automatically meant the death of the other.

Dr Van der Merwe's intervention follows a growing row over the decision by the National Olympic Committee of South Africa to send the country's team to Barcelona under a neutral flag and anthem.

Several of Dr van der Merwe's colleagues, including National Education Minister Louis Pienaar, severely criticised the decision.

The country appears split on the issue.

Most whites, polls show, are opposed to the scrapping of existing symbols. They also show, however, that most black South Africans support the Nocsa decision.

NIS was corrupt, PW tells Barnard

ST Times 24/11/91

Sunday Times Reporter

FORMER State President PW Botha claims he appointed Dr Niel Barnard director-general of the National Intelligence Service to stamp out corruption.

In a conversation between the two men at Mr Botha's Wilderness home last week, Mr Botha told Dr Barnard: "I brought you into National Intelligence because you were a corrupt department, and you know it. Of course, you know, National Intelligence, or the Bureau, were a useless bunch. Do you remember that?"

Dr Barnard said he could not comment "as this was the way they handled it".

Responded Mr Botha: "Wait now man, I brought you in with a task and I told you to sort out this department and co-operate with the other intelligence departments."

304 A1

Scandal

Dr Barnard became head of NIS in May 1980 at the age of 31.

NIS was the successor to the Bureau of State Security which was renamed the Department of National Security in the wake of the 1978 Information scandal.

Under former prime minister John Vorster, General Hendrik Van den Bergh became South Africa's "intelligence king", and BOSS enjoyed supremacy over the Directorate of Military Intelligence and the security police.

The rivalry apparently came to a head when General Van den Bergh learnt the SADF was preparing to secretly send paratroopers into Rhodesia.

Now PW demands inquiry into fate of that tape of Mandela



DEFIANT: PW Botha with his wife Elize at their home yesterday Picture: DAVID SANDISON

By DE WET POTGIETER

FORMER President PW Botha has asked South Africa's newly appointed ombudsman to intervene in the row between himself and NIS director-general Niel Barnard over the destruction of a tape-recording of his historic meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela in 1989.

Mr Botha, speaking from his Wilderness home, Die Anker, said he had sent copies of Dr Barnard's minutes of that meeting and transcripts of an argument with the NIS chief two weeks ago to Mr Justice Piet van der Walt.

Similar copies were posted to President De Klerk and the leader of the opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Mr Botha is outraged by the destruction of the tape by the NIS and insists Dr Barnard's minutes do not reflect important issues raised during the meeting.

Two weeks ago he summoned Dr Barnard to his home, tongue-lashed him for failing to respond to his inquiries, accused him of spying on his family and forced him to sign the copies of his minutes.

Skirmish

Yesterday, however, Mr Botha insisted he was not hostile towards anybody — and then released a transcript of the tape of his heated meeting with Dr Barnard.

He insisted his interest in the tape of his conversation with Mr Mandela on July 5, 1989, his first meeting with the ANC leader, was because of its historical importance.

Mr Botha denied the tape issue had been highlighted in order to embarrass President FW de Klerk or his reform process by suggesting he did not endorse Mr De Klerk's release of Mr Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and SA Communist Party.

"I'm not looking for confrontation with the State President," he said. "There are a lot of other issues I could use if I wanted to start a fight with Mr De Klerk."

Mr Botha's move is the latest in a skirmish which threatens to erupt into a full political battle.

This week, the Sunday Times was told by cabinet sources that Mr Botha routinely taped his conversations.

Mr Botha declined to respond to the claim yesterday.

The Sunday Times has also learnt that as far back as July 1988 Mr Botha had informed German Chancellor Helmut Kohl that he wanted black participation in central government.

Mr Botha, a year before that, also mandated then Minister Alwyn Schlebusch to sound out Mr Kohl on what the reaction of European governments would be if he released Mr Mandela on parole without first demanding he renounce violence.

Details of this communication between Mr Botha and the German Chancellor have been passed to the Sunday Times to rebut suggestions by Mr Botha that President De Klerk was incorrect when he maintained the actions he had undertaken since becoming president were the logical consequence to those of his predecessor.

In July 1987, at a meeting with Mr Kohl in Bonn, Mr Schlebusch said he had been mandated by Mr Botha to inform the German Chancellor that the government was weighing up ways in which it could meet a request by various black leaders in South Africa to release Mr Mandela.

One of the possibilities being looked at was to release Mr Mandela on parole.

Mr Schlebusch had pointed out that the renunciation of violence — something which Mr Botha had until then insisted on — would not necessarily be a precondition for release on parole.

In his Wilderness home yesterday, however, Mr Botha insisted he was out of active politics. He was working on his memoirs in which "a lot of things will be revealed".

"I'm retired, but I'm not resting at all," he said with a relaxed smile.

"The day they lower me into my grave I will go to rest."

He said he was in perfect health and exercised every morning on his exercise bike in his study.

He spent a lot of time on his small farm near The Wilderness and read a lot.

He was busy reading Thomas Pakenham's latest book, *The Scramble for Africa*, he said.

□ See Page 2

Don't play dumb with me! NIS boss told: Page 6

Cricket goes crackers!

THE Indian tour has started a new craze at South African cricket grounds.

Just as Indian fans let off firecrackers, local cricket fanatics did the same at the eight Nissan Shield first-round matches played in country areas yesterday.

From Empangeni to Witbank and Potchefstroom, platteland supporters flocked to the grounds and created the sort of loud, boisterous atmosphere which was previously the trademark of Asian cricket.

PICK 6

GOSFORTH PARK
There were 1 326 winners with each collecting R963,70. Numbers: 12; 7, 8, 9,16; 1; 3; 2, 6; 1, 9.

CLAIRWOOD
1 lucky punter collected a payout of R354 378,10. Selections: 4, 10; 9; 11; 5; 12; 5.

KENILWORTH
Only 5 winners collected a dividend of R47 935,10 each. Combinations: 5, 8; 6; 5; 4, 7, 12; 7; 3.

Man flee

By SHARON CHE

A YOUNG technician flee several kilometres from an who, minutes earlier, had friend to death.

Antonio de Almeida, 25, o the East Rand, said he and Helter, had gone to the Denv Cleveland, Johannesburg, t ual labourers.

Mr De Almeida said a over his friend's motorbike parked it outside.

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Are they telling us the full story?

9 Pres 24/11/91

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

PERHAPS South Africa's major political role players know something that we don't, *Beeld* political columnist Willie Kühn speculated this week.

Kühn was commenting on ANC president Nelson Mandela's recent statement to US deputy secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, that he "should not worry too much" about the heated level of rhetoric between South Africa's political leaders, adding they were all committed to the peace process.

Kühn warned though that while such heated rhetoric was acceptable in a developed democracy, the rough politicking made him restless, fearing that perhaps South Africa was not able to absorb such an onslaught on public trust.

He said an objective view of the present power politics made one wonder how much trust would remain once we reached the negotiating table.

"The worse the present confrontation becomes, the slimmer the chances of achieving a government of national unity," Kühn said, warning that without such a transitional mechanism the decades of strife could continue in a different guise.

□□□□

BEELD this week had a lot of fun at the expense of former State President PW Botha over his anger at National Intelligence (NI) for destroying the tape recordings of his July 1989 discussions with Nelson Mandela.

Botha apparently wanted the tapes made public to dispel NP propaganda stating that De Klerk's reforms are a logical consequence of his own reforms.

It is believed the tapes would have shown him telling Mandela he would not unban the ANC unless it foreswore violence and broke all ties with the SACP.

On Wednesday *Beeld* ran a cartoon showing Botha's wife, Elize, jiving in front of a hi-fi set, telling PW that he should listen to Neil Diamond if he could not get hold of the Niel Barnard (head of NI) tapes.

A step forward

Talks clear way for transitional arrangements

PROSPECTS for a negotiated constitutional settlement within two years took a step forward this week when South Africa's three main political players agreed to dates in December for the start of all-party talks.

The way has now been cleared for regular plenary sessions of constitution-seeking debates to follow in 1992 and for an early agreement on transitional arrangements to govern the country.

Joint announcements by the National Party Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party set the dates for a preparatory meeting on November 29 and all-party talks on December 21 and 22.

The ANC's statement is seen as having the backing of its alliance partners – Cosatu and the SACP – and its allies in the Patriotic Front, including the PAC.



Strini Moodley

These organisations are expected to attend the All-Party Conference in their own rights.

The only setback to the coming conference is Azapo's refusal to take part.

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley says the talks are intended to subvert the campaign for a constituent assembly.

The ANC, IFP and NP statements issued this week did not give details of the venue, the anticipated chairman or participants in either the preparatory or all-party talks.

Consensus

However, it is understood that it was agreed that 22 parties, including representatives of the homelands, will take part in the preparatory talks and that the chairmanship will be decided there.

The venue of the December 21/22 meeting is expected to be in the Reef/Pretoria area.

The main purpose of the talks is seen as a showcase opportunity for party leaders to commit themselves publicly to the negotiation process, and to set out goals and principles before committees are appointed to work on the four main areas on which consensus is sought.

These are:

- The composition and functioning of the actual negotiating (constitution-making) body;
- Guidelines and principles on which a new constitution should be developed;
- Transitional arrangements for functioning of government; and
- A time frame for the process, keeping in mind the urgency in the light of the term of office of the present government.

Hard bargaining can be expected within the various working committees and some measure of agreement on most points is set as the goal by the main parties as a prerequisite for reconvening in the new year.

The main obstacle in the way of early consensus is the demand for a proportionately elected Constituent Assembly backed primarily by the Patriotic Front parties and, more recently, the Democratic Party.

The form of an interim government or interim arrangement is another area where there may be some obstacles looming for the negotiators. – Sapa

Furore over tapes

From Page 1 C/Press 24/11/91

leader regarding the movement's stance on violence and communism.

Botha has denied claims that De Klerk's policies were a continuation of his reform intiatives.

Botha has also rejected as inadequate a version of minutes taken by Barnard, who was present at the meeting with Mandela.

In the revealing questioning around the motive proffered for destroying the tape recording without transcript, it also came to light that:

- The taperecording of the meeting was kept a secret from Mandela;
- Barnard destroyed the tapes because he felt they would embarrass the government and Botha; and
- It was general practice in the intelligence world to destroy tapes that could embarrass the government.

The Mandela meeting was a pivotal point in history attended also by the Minister of Justice and OFS NP leader, Kobie Coetzee, and the Commissioner of Prisons, Gen Willemse.

According to the transcripts, Barnard was asked by Botha whether it was practice to transcribe important discussions.

"And was this not an important discussion?" Botha asked. Barnard agreed that it was, and that he had destroyed the tape without notice.

"In other words you ignored me while it was my tape and my document . . .," Botha said.

Barnard said he judged it not to be in Botha's interests to have the existance of such a tape revealed . . . one made without Mandela's knowledge.

Botha: "He was a prisoner, Dr Barnard. I had the right to make a tape recording of a prisoner. Didn't I?

"Sir, I differ on that . . ."

"Oh, now you differ. For the first time in many years of assisting to make recordings in my office. I ask you, were you aware recordings were being made in the State President's office?"

Barnard said he was but was not sure whether they were still being made. – Sapa

PW fumes over tapes

304A

C/P News 24/11/91

FORMER South African State President PW Botha yesterday gave notice he was determined to pursue the unexplained destruction of a taped conversation he had with ANC president Nelson Mandela before he left office.

Botha has rejected explanations offered by National Intelligence Service (NIS) chief, Dr Niel Barnard, about the destruction of the tapes, and has accused him of irregularities and personal betrayal.

Botha invited a selected group of journalists to his home in the coastal resort town of Wilderness to release the transcript of a grilling he gave Barnard on November 12 regarding the destruction of the "Tuynhuys Tapes".

Barnard was specially dispatched to Wilderness by State President FW de Klerk to explain about the missing tapes.

Botha forwarded the transcript of his conversation with Barnard to De Klerk by express mail.

It was evident from Botha's concern over the missing documentation of his conversation with Mandela – who was still a prisoner at the time – that he wanted the official record so he could prove he confronted the ANC

To Page 2

KwaZulu/Natal ideas vital

THE proposals of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, hammered together five years ago, will play an important role in the forthcoming constitutional talks. Sowetan 25/11/91

So said Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of Inkatha Freedom Party, opening the annual general meeting of the Natal Municipal Associations, the umbrella body of white local authorities in the province, in the Durban City Hall last week. 3044

SOWETAN Correspondent

"The Indaba proposals may have come a little too early for South Africa" said Mdlalose, "but they were not lost. They are safely in the refrigerator, well preserved." R614

In the light of this "spirit", Mdlalose hinted at a merger between the NMA and the KwaZulu Local Government Association (Kwalogo).

"I look to the future when the NMA and Kwalogo will hold hands together and march into a future new South Africa with pride and mutual respect."

ANC, Azapo, PAC not disturbed

Sowetan 25/11/91 304A

THE ANC, Azapo and the PAC are not perturbed by the Democratic Party and National Party's shift in policy to gain black support.

Since the mid-eighties, when it became legal for people to join political parties of their choice and not on racial lines, the DP has accrued only minimal black membership and support.

It has, however recently been running a campaign through the black media for support, and a spokesman for the DP has said it plans to intensify this next year.

The NP, on the other hand, "opened up" to all races last year and has since been developing black membership without emphasising this drive. The NP calls it a drive for "non-traditional" support.

Azapo's secretary general Mr Don Nkadimeng said support for the NP would be marginal. Most of the black people who supported the NP and DP would be what he called high-profile blacks.

"They can forget about grassroots. Because any black person who knows what is going on (in South Africa) will never support them," Nkadimeng said.

Commenting on the marked drive of both the DP and the NP, the ANC's Mr Carl Niehaus said his organisation was not disturbed by this.

Niehaus said that the ANC did, however, believe that home for true liberation in South Africa is within the liberation movement.

Referring to the NP, he said prospective black members should judge parties by their past - and the "injustices" associated with this.

He added: "It was nevertheless the democratic right of every South African to join or support a political party of his or her choice - and the ANC will never support anything to the contrary."

A PAC source said people who joined the NP were "giving the regime credibility when it should be isolated".

However the source added that it would not interfere with the constituency building among black people by the NP.

Music for the radicals

Sowetan 25/11/91 304A



ON THE LINE

Aggrey Klaaste

MR FW de Klerk's new toughness is like music to the ears of the radicals.

The radicals from both the Left and Right find this type of posturing encouraging - almost a declaration that the battle of the races is not yet over.

The fact is, they would be even more delighted if the State President did not simply talk tough, but got tough.

The radicals to the Left and Right are always spoiling for a fight ... this being the *raison d'etre* (vitals) of their radicalism; what they fondly, if mistakenly, term being revolutionary.

It seems to me that Mr De Klerk is being suckered into a bad temper and hopefully, and better still for the crazies, into a fight.

For reasons that are purely racist, allied to an inferiority complex resulting from the loss of their "baaskap', the Right has been exhorting the Government to get tough with the "terrorists".

The fact that most of them still regard Mr Nelson Mandela as the epitome of "terrorism" is an indication of their lunacy.

You just have to listen to the various talk shows on radio to get a handle on the pained insult that white rightwingers believe has been heaped onto them by the liberalisation policies of the De Klerk administration.

The Left has a similar "rage".

Most white South Africans are racist, many of them unconsciously so. They have a contemptuous view of most things black and let's not fool ourselves about the new South Africa and all that jazz.

Some of my best friends are white and, God help them, harbour subliminal racist tendencies that sometimes emerge like an angry red rash.

In all fairness to them, the business coming from blacks is just as unacceptable.

Most blacks have an injured rage, a silent punitive anger at the things that whites and their institutions have done to blacks.

It is no wonder that getting anything sorted out in this country, so packed with adolescent breast-beating, is miraculous.

It is more than a miracle to have the various people of this country to sit down to settle a problem like equals.

The "toenadering", negotiations and whatnot that the liberal De Klerk pronounced a year ago plainly disconcerted the radicals.

There is a masochistic yen to get back to the battleground.

Part of the problem on the Left is that the struggle has not really been "won". The liberators have not marched into Pretoria with the triumphant AK-47s over their shoulders.

All this business about talks makes the anger somewhat strident and somehow ridiculous.

While De Klerk was sweet reasonableness, his opponents did not exactly know how to react.

I remember the first disconcerting scene was when the police actually escorted some priests who were marching in Cape Town.

In the past the batons would have been swinging and the television cameras rolling.

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The DP's young, bright black star

Sowetan 25/11/91 304A

Sowetan Correspondent

IN 1989 Mr Sam Leseme, then a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was jailed for two years in Kroonstad for sabotage and possessing explosives.

He was indemnified in April, released in June and joined the Democratic Party.

Leseme is one of a growing and somewhat embattled core of black members of the liberal opposition in the Free State Goldfields.

Symbol

He is, in large measure, a symbol of the DP's hope to play an increasingly influential role in shaping the politics of the new South Africa.

Recruiting people like Leseme to the DP cause was singled out as the priority for 1992 at the DP's annual congress in Sea Point last week.

Leseme, from Welkom's Thabong township, accompanied several other black delegates to the congress and, though he was an observer, this fresh recruit was acutely interested in the exchanges of his political kin.

Strategies

He joined the DP because of the party's strategies and policies. "I support their policy and I believe in peaceful politics. I do not believe in mass action because our struggle has changed," he said in an interview.

Leseme, who is actively engaged in recruiting DP members, is helping to form a DP youth branch in Thabong.

At 20, Leseme has had his fair share of the hurly-burly of political activism.

In 1986, as a 15-year-old in Standard 5 and Cosas member, he was arrested for sabotaging a school in Odendaalsrus. He was detained for for seven months and then sentenced to seven strokes.

Two years later, in Johannesburg, he was arrested for having an MK pamphlet and held for three months.

Explosives

During this time he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, helped harbour fellow cadres and was trained by the Free State commander of MK in weaponry and the use of limpet and anti-personnel mines.

Then, in 1989, he was arrested for sabotaging a school in Thabong and for possessing explosives. He was held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for 11 months and then sentenced to four-and-a-half years' imprisonment, two suspended.

But within two months of his release from Kroonstad prison, Leseme, a hardened activist, took a brave decision. He joined the DP.

"In my area, I am well known. Members of the ANC know me well and they accept that I am member of the DP.

"But some members of the DP are intimidated. One man, who was accused of being a sell-out, had a gun pointed at his head".

Problems

Dr Rhett Kahn, chairman of the DP's Goldfields Formation said black members had encountered many problems from ANC youth and members of civic organisations who did not heed their leaders' calls to cease intimidation.

However, the DP had a good relationship with senior members of the ANC.

The DP's influence in the Free State goldfields goes back to 1987 when, as the Progressive Federal Party regional representative, Kahn won some adherents in Virginia's Meloding township.

Meloding

The DP's contribution to a new housing development in Meloding was formally recognised when the site was named DP Park.

But the party has had to revoke the name and revert to the original name of the farm on which the township is built.

And it is wryly ironic that DP Park is now called Stilte Park.

Music for the radicals

Sowetan 25/11/91 304A



MR FW de Klerk's new toughness is like music to the ears of the radicals.

The radicals from both the Left and Right find this type of posturing encouraging - almost a declaration that the battle of the races is not yet over.

The fact is, they would be even more delighted if the State President did not simply talk tough, but got tough.

The radicals to the Left and Right are always spoiling for a fight ... this being the *raison d'etre* (vitals) of their radicalism; what they fondly, if mistakenly, term being revolutionary.

It seems to me that Mr De Klerk is being suckered into a bad temper and hopefully, and better still for the crazies, into a fight.

For reasons that are purely racist, allied to an inferiority complex resulting from the loss of their "baaskap', the Right has been exhorting the Government to get tough with the "terrorists".

The fact that most of them still regard Mr Nelson Mandela as the epitome of "terrorism" is an indication of their lunacy.

You just have to listen to the various talk shows on radio to get a handle on the pained insult that white rightwingers believe has been heaped onto them by the liberalisation policies of the De Klerk administration.

The Left has a similar "rage".

Most white South Africans are racist, many of them unconsciously so. They have a contemptuous view of most things black and let's not fool ourselves about the new South Africa and all that jazz.

Some of my best friends are white and, God help them, harbour subliminal racist tendencies that sometimes emerge like an angry red rash.

In all fairness to them, the business coming from blacks is just as unacceptable.

Most blacks have an injured rage, a silent punitive anger at the things that whites and their institutions have done to blacks.

It is no wonder that getting anything sorted out in this country, so packed with adolescent breast-beating, is miraculous.

It is more than a miracle to have the various people of this country to sit down to settle a problem like equals.

The "toenadering", negotiations and whatnot that the liberal De Klerk pronounced a year ago plainly disconcerted the radicals.

There is a masochistic yen to get back to the battleground.

Part of the problem on the Left is that the struggle has not really been "won". The liberators have not marched into Pretoria with the triumphant AK-47s over their shoulders.

All this business about talks makes the anger somewhat strident and somehow ridiculous.

While De Klerk was sweet reasonableness, his opponents did not exactly know how to react.

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Nats to unveil a power-share plan

304A

Sowetan 25/11/91

A PLAN aimed at granting extra-parliamentary organisations a say in the running of the country is to be proposed by the National Party at the multi-party talks next month.

The basic differences between the ANC and Government with regard to an interim arrangement revolve around the principle of where "responsibility" should start and where it should end, and where "power-sharing" should start and end.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN Political Correspondent

A senior Government source yesterday confirmed that the National Party was in favour of effective power-sharing during the transitional period.

Problem

It has also been learnt that President FW de Klerk last week told a visiting diplomat that the time of the Government making unilateral decisions "must come to an end".

"The problem is that if the ANC or PAC, for example, have a say in how to spend money from the Budget - both movements have to take responsibility for raising money for the budget," the source said.

This would mean that if the ANC or PAC (or Patriotic Front) were given a role in the Government they would have to encourage economic investment.

The NP is expected to reveal its blueprint for an interim arrangement at multiparty talks scheduled for December 20 and 21.

It is believed that Government will demand that the ANC and whoever else it meets at multiparty talks then would have to come to produce details about envisaged constitutional models.

Policy

This could mean that the ANC would be forced to make detailed statements on its economic policy for the next South Africa - something which the movement has shied from since its unbanning on February 2 1990.

More krokodil tears from PW

Political Staff

NEW developments have ensured that the PW Botha/Nelson Mandela tapes dispute will continue to rage this week.

Former President Botha revealed he had asked newly appointed ombudsman Mr Justice Piet van der Walt to investigate the National Intelligence Services's destruction of the 1989 tape recording.

Mr Botha said he had sent the ombudsman partial minutes NIS chief Dr Neil Barnard took of the Mandela meeting plus a transcript of the stormy interview he had with Barnard a few weeks ago over the issue.

Mr Botha ended his last conversation with Barnard on an ominous note: "You have kept your secrets; I have kept mine. I am far from finished."

In a strange twist, Director of Archives Mr JH Snyman - who last week said he was investigating the legality of the NIS's actions in destroying historical material - appeared to have dropped the matter.

9 carat GOLD

NP hopes for poll of nation next year

304A

CT 25/11/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Nationalist government hopes that sufficient progress will be made in constitutional talks which begin this week to justify a national referendum next year.

However, the secretary-general of the National Party, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in an interview yesterday that suggestions that the government wanted a transitional government which included the ANC installed by the second half of next year were "pushing it a bit".

He said the timing for a referendum would obviously be linked to progress made in negotiations but the "hopeful scenario" was that the various negotiating parties would be able to put "something substantive" to voters of all races next year.

In another positive signal that the various parties are anxious to get down to business, Dr Van der Merwe disclosed that the one-day "preparatory" meeting of the 22 proposed negotiating parties scheduled for Friday could be extended for a number of days, if necessary.

Key issues to be thrashed out later this week include:

- The convenorship and the chairmanship of the multi-party conference on December 20-21.
- The guest/participants list to the negotiations and the size of the delegations from the various parties.

Nats will delay shared govt, says Cronin

3041

CT 25/11/91

PRETORIA. — South Africa's National Party government had no choice but to agree to the establishment of an interim government, but would find ways to delay the process, SA Communist Party and ANC executive member Mr Jeremy Cronin said at the weekend.

Speaking at the launch of an SACP regional branch at Medunsa University, near Pretoria, he claimed: "The South African government wants to agree to the call for an interim government or interim arrangement and stall the process of it for 15 years.

"The pressure which is being mounted by the people and the international community and the recent anti-VAT strike organised by Cosatu, the ANC, SACP and other formations have left the government no alternative choice but to agree to an interim government."

The meeting, attended by about 200 PWV delegates, resolved that SACP members attending the proposed All-Party Conference should do so as representtaives of the party and not as members of Cosatu or the ANC.

● National Union of Mineworkers senior official Mr Gwende Mantashe was yesterday elected chairman of the SACP's PWV region.

Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association official Mr Bob Mabaso was elected deputy chairman. — Sapa

PW: 'I'm far from finished'

304A CT 25/11/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FORMER president Mr P W Botha signalled his intention at the weekend to return in a big way to the hurly-burly of public debate with the warning: "I am far from finished."

Although Mr Botha has stated repeatedly that he has no intention of returning to active politics, his new determination to end a period of something approaching self-imposed exile in the Wilderness could spell trouble for the National Party and his once-beloved securocrats in the National Intelligence Service.

Mr Botha gained front-page headlines at the weekend by calling together selected journalists at his Wilderness home, Die Anker, to reveal the extent to which he plans to end his reclusive status since retiring under a cloud in 1989.

At the briefing Mr Botha:

● Released details of a stormy meeting he had with the director-general of the NIS, Dr Niel Barnard, over the security chief's decision to destroy a tape of Mr Botha's historic Tuynhuys meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela in 1989.

● Announced that he had asked South Africa's newly appointed ombudsman, Mr Justice Piet van der Walt, to intervene in the ongoing row with Dr Barnard and the security establishment.

● Disclosed that he had also sent copies of Dr Barnard's minutes of the 1989 meeting with Mr Mandela and a transcript of his argument with the NIS chief to Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht — a move that will clearly encourage the CP to make political capital out of the conflict.

● Noted that he was working on his memoirs "in which a lot of things will be revealed" — an ominous signal to the party he once led as it enters the delicate phase of negotiating a new constitution (Sapa reports that he has 36,5 shelf-metres of documentation for his autobiography).



Niel Barnard



P W Botha

● Served notice that although officially retired he was "not resting at all".

● Insisted that he was in perfect health and exercising regularly — a clear broadside at members of his party who argued that he needed to leave office because of ill health.

● Accused (through the released tape) the NIS of "spying on my family" — an assertion Dr Barnard labelled "absolutely untrue".

● Asserted that he had appointed Dr Barnard to head NIS in May 1980 because the intellegence department was "corrupt" and "useless".

At the end of tape recording of his meeting with Dr Barnard at Die Anker two weeks ago, Mr Botha stated ominously:

"We (my family) don't trust the service (NIS), and you are the reason. I don't trust you because of your attitude towards me.

"But there is more to come, don't worry, doctor. You have kept your secrets, I have kept mine. Understand: I am far from finished."

Mr Botha's fighting talk and inflammatory allegations will inevitably mean that he will remain in the public eye for some time, a clear signal that he believes it is time to end his period of marginalisation from the mainstream of public life.

Since retiring in 1989 Mr Botha has often brusquely refused to see former Nationalist colleagues or has been short with them on the phone.

His contacts with most journalists has also been extremely guarded, apparently because of bitterness at the way the press handled his power struggle with the National Party in 1989.

With Mr Botha in his current combative mood, it is little wonder that both President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela have steered a wide berth in the latest tapes controversy.

Mr Botha told Sapa this weekend that: "It was the conversation everyone was looking forward to." It was of great historical value to himself and the country.

He rejected Dr Barnard's claim that such recordings had to be destroyed to protect him and the government from the fact they were made clandestinely or without Mr Mandela's permission.

"The tape-recording is my property and part of my documented record," Mr Botha said.

He said he was not an embittered or lonely man but wanted a complete and true record of his political life.

PW's relations with CP now 'more cordial'

25/11/91

3044 CAPE TIMES

Political Correspondent

RELATIONS between former president Mr P W Botha and the Conservative Party had become more cordial and relaxed in recent times, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

Although Mr Botha had cut his ties with the National Party he had not joined the CP, "and I do not expect that he will do so," he said.

Dr Treurnicht was responding to questions about why Mr Botha might have decided to send him copies of the minutes National Intelligence Service chief Dr Niel Barnard took of a meeting between the former president and Mr Nelson Mandela in 1989, as well as transcripts of an argument Mr Botha had with Dr Barnard two weeks ago about the intelligence chief's decision to destroy the tapes of the historic Tuynhuys meeting.

Dr Treunicht said he had not yet received the material "but it seems very interesting".

He suspected Mr Botha was passing on the material in a bid to put the record straight and counter misrepresentations being made by people who were "trying to destroy his integrity".

"I think he would like the world to know that he would not have done everything Mr De Klerk has done, particularly the unconditional unbanning of the ANC and the SA Communist Party," he said.

Dr Treurnicht said that when he visited Mr Botha at the Wilderness last year he was received in "a very friendly and courteous manner".

But he emphasised that the more relaxed relationship did not mean there were any official links between Mr Botha and the CP.

DP, NP all go out to recruit blacks

Sowetan 25/11/91 (304A)

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party and the National Party are going all out recruit to black people into their ranks.

The decision by the DP to commit itself to a constituent conference at its congress last week is in line with thinking in the black community and is likely to get them increased support.

The NP, on the other hand, is preparing a campaign to win what it calls "non-traditional" support.

Response

The DP reported a reasonably successful response after its recent advertising campaign. The drive will be stepped up early next year, said DP's Mr Peter Soal.

A recent poll by an independent market research group, found the NP could emerge the victor in nonracial one-person-one-vote elections, with the DP third after the ANC.

Mr Piet Coetzer, an NP information officer, says his party had gained a valuable boost earlier this year when it became the official opposition in the House of Representatives.

Coetzer agreed that the NP's support base among black people was mainly in the Western Cape because of this. But it was necessary to establish structures in black areas first, he added.

"We are presently in the preplanning stages of a membership drive in these areas," he said.

Soal said the DP was looking at winning between 10 and 12 percent of the total population in a nonracial one-person-one-vote elections.

He admits that it has been difficult for the DP to canvass support in the townships. But the party is trying to get potential black support through the media.

Another major shift in the DP policy was the adoption at its national congress last week of the principle of a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.

This sent clear signals to the NP and ANC that the DP planned to remain a force in the political arena.

This is despite President FW de Klerk's historic speech of February 2 1990, when he unbanned extra-parliamentary opposition and derestricted a host of others - effectively adopting almost all the policies of the DP - and since then things have never been the same.

Epoch-making

Commenting on the Presidents's epoch-making speech at the time former Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, said: "It is true that the National Party under De Klerk has moved into the space previously occupied by the DP."

Effectively, the NP stole the DP's policies and made vast inroads into the black community.

Simultaneously, the traditional black liberation movements - the ANC, PAC and Azapo - were rooting themselves even further into the black community.

The DP at its national congress last weekend had to come up with a policy that was attractive and acceptable to black people - particularly the middle class.

It accepted the principle of a constituent assembly, but refers to it as a constitutional conference.

The NP on the other hand is more subtle - they refer only the building of "non-traditional" support bases and refrain from using racial terms.

"Black people are now part of the voters. We are trying to maximise our support under all voters," the NP's Coetzer said.

The DP is more specific, and knows it stands to gain support among the black middle class who, Soal says, admire the values the liberals stand for.

"There is also an admiration among black people for the fight we have put up against apartheid in Parliament over the years," Soal said.

● See also page 12

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304A

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This would mean that if the ANC or PAC (or Patriotic Front) were given a role in the Government they would have to encourage economic investment.

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It is believed that Government will demand that the ANC and whoever else it meets at multiparty talks then would have to come to produce details about envisaged constitutional models.

Policy

This could mean that the ANC would be forced to make detailed statements on its economic policy for the next South Africa - something which the movement has shied from since its unbanning on February 2 1990.

Relations boosted

SA-GERMAN relations had been given a boost by the visit to SA of German Deputy Foreign Minister Helmut Schafer, but Germany wanted to see apartheid's end translated into concrete socio-economic benefits, Schafer said at the weekend.

Schafer told a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport shortly before his departure that Germany would prefer to wait until there was an elected SA government before concluding new bilateral agreements with SA.

Sunday 25/11/91

Sunday 25/11/91

French official for SA

FORMER French prime minister Laurent Fabius, now chairman of the national assembly, arrives in SA today for a two-day fact-finding visit. (208) (304A)

Fabius, who was criticised by the SA government for his refusal to meet South African officials on his last visit here in 1986, will meet President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and business representatives.



Princeton University academic Prof Amy Gutmann addresses an Idasa conference on Democracy: A Vision for the Future, in Johannesburg at the weekend. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Slabbert urges real negotiation

PATRICK BULGER 3041

SA had to stop looking for excuses for not getting on with the job of negotiating a democratic future, Idasa executive director Van Zyl Slabbert said at the weekend.

Delivering the closing address at a conference on democracy at Wits University on Saturday, Slabbert said it was a myth to expect that democracy would only come about if tolerance and peace were secured beforehand.

"It is very often the inflated expectations about democratic government that undermine a country's ability to consolidate democratic gains and prepare the way for the onset of new forms of tyranny and undemocratic government," he said. BTday 25/11/91.

Listing the myths about how a country became a democracy, Slabbert included the beliefs that: there was only one reliable political strategy that could guarantee a democratic outcome; that political tolerance had to be institutionalised before democracy could survive; that civil liberties had to be respected before there was democracy; and that democracy could not come about in a state of violence and instability.

"For the moment, our saving grace appears to be that enough key political actors seem to realise that we have no choice but to bargain for democracy if we hope to avert catastrophe," he said.

The two-day conference was addressed by top local and international academics, among them African political scientist Claude Ake of Nigeria and Prof Amy Gutmann of Princeton University.

The moment of truth for FW

STAR 25/11/91.

(3044)

The Pattern of Politics

HERMANN GILIOMEE



IT IS time for President de Klerk to impose a crucial sanction on himself; to stay at home for at least a year. His adminis-tration is running the grave risk of being perceived as a lame duck government while the Jan Smuts syndrome is steadily eroding his leadership image.

Ringing songs of praise abroad are accompanied by the dull thud of crumbling constituencies at home.

The Gorbachev comparison is again relevant. Little more than two years ago there were those who pointed to the similarities in the brilliant perestroika moves which outfoxed opponents and smashed institutional dead wood at a stroke. This time the comparison is between two political leaders whose very bases are crumbling under them.

In Mikhail Gorbachev's case, it is the economy and the party and in Mr de Klerk's case the sovereignty of the State and, more important, the support of the white constituency on which the State's authority rests.

In South Africa's transition, two competing notions of sovereignty are vying for power. The NP is trying to uphold the sovereignty of the governing institutions and to retain the capacity of the State to act as the platform for democratisation.

The NP accepts that the current Government is too weak to impose its will (as it could in 1910 or 1983). Hence it is required to draw in the respresentatives of the extra-parliamentary movement in concluding all kinds of pacts. However, except in its wavering moments, the NP sets two conditions. Firstly, the extra-parliamentary formations must have broadly the same political and economic goals. (In the VAT strike goals clashed fundamentally with those of the NP.) Furthermore, sovereignty must remain in the hands of the Government until a new constitutional order is in place.

To allow the governing institutions (as distinct from the constitutional forum) to become paralysed by conflicting paradigms of how society should be governed is the surest way to set the country on the road to ruin and destruction.

For the ANC, on the other hand, sovereignty lies in the totality of political, economic and cultural relations or, in short, in the nation that is yet to be born. The first post-apartheid government's authority would rest on the nation's newly found freedom. Thus there will be an inordinate emphasis on the movement that liberated the nation (the ANC) and their inspirational leader (Nelson Mandela.)

For the ANC the objective is to win symbolic power in all the political, economic, cultural and sports institutions before it competes in the first post-apartheid election. To get masses of people to turn out in the election must be the celebration of a liberation already achieved. Short of that the election will be a huge anti-climax.

The ANC has already succeeded in this objective in the sports and cultural fields and it was making good progress towards an economic "summit" until Eli Louw was kicked upstairs for being too soft on Cosatu. The ultimate battle will be the one for political sovereignty in the multiparty conference and the constituent assembly where the ANC wants to demonstrate its paramountcy visibly.

As things now stand, South Africa seems to be heading for a lethal paralysis of competing sovereignties with some Cabinet members already showing a lame approach to the next Budget and the possibility of yet another stayaway. To compound matters, the NP and the ANC, as movements representing these competing sovereignties, have both become much weaker over the past two years.

To argue as Allister Sparks did on this page on November 18 ("Critical power shift to ANC in the buildup to negotiations") is to mistake the show business of politics with the substance of politics.

The ANC has indeed managed to reorganise itself at the top but there is no sign that the leadership at the top could penetrate the grassroots, except for punitive actions, or that the movement could generate its own internal sources of funding. The ANC remains a symbol of resistance to white misdemeanours. It is not yet a movement that can revitalise society.

On the NP side there has been an ominous weakening of the ability to hold the actual and potential support base together. The main problem is that South Africa's transition is taking much too long and that the violence levels are far too high. Some had hoped that the political elites in the country could strike a quick deal, but the sober reality is that South Africa is much too politicised a society for an elite settlement. Simply put, the elites on either side of the colour line are increasingly unable to take middle and grassroots followers into the commitments they have made at the very top.

Well-placed observers and analysts are convinced that the De Klerk government is close to losing majority white support for its constitutional initiatives. Resistance among whites to even sharing power is no longer confined to the right wing. Following events like the VAT stayaway the middle sector is objecting.

Furthermore, it now looks as if the Conservative Party would simply recommend a stayaway at the constitutional referendum, branding participation as *volksverraad*.

A low poll, say one of 40 percent or 50 percent, would be a hammer blow to a peaceful transition, raising the spectre of whites in growing numbers taking the law into their own hands to suppress stayaways or boycott actions or rolling back residential integration.

To aggravate matters, the Democratic Party at its last congress effectively defected from the De Klerk coalition. It accepted Colin Eglin's proposal for en elected constitutional conference to draw up a new constititution after the multiparty conference has agreed to the principles.

While Mr Eglin claims that the constitutional conference will not be sovereign it is difficult to believe that elected representatives will not act as if the body were indeed a sovereign one with the right to sweep aside MPC principles as matters of detail and challenge the President on any conceiveable matter.

Since Mr Eglin is prepared for the body to sit for as long as two years, the potential for rival sovereignties developing and even political anarchy ensuing is considerable.

The present political scene is characterised by a huge paradox. The attention is focused on the construction of a roof for a new order. Foreign and local observers cheer the deft footwork of leaders of all hues in charming the party faithful and moving ever closer to the multiparty conference.

On the other hand, the walls on which the roof is resting are collapsing one after the other. The leaders can no longer count on their authority prevailing. The labour market has all but stopped taking in new entrants. Violence, always out of control in the townships, is spreading into the inner city and the suburbs. Investors shudder and stay on the sidelines.

For Mr de Klerk the overriding priority is not any further overseas trips but to instill some backbone into the Cabinet and restore the confidence of his grassroots followers. Unlike the Botha administration, the current Government only at a belated stage offers any kind of resistance to opponents who cross the line it had earlier drawn.

The question was once asked whether behind Mr Gorbachev's nice smile there were teeth of iron. The answer turned out to be negative. For Mr de Klerk the moment of truth has arrived. □

● *Professor Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.*

Nats soften attitude to shared rule

(304A)

STAR 25/11/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The National Party is softening its opposition to some form of "transitional government" — but would only go along with the idea if such a structure were in place for an indefinite period.

With the crucial planning meeting for next month's multiparty conference due to take place on Friday, the NP has let it be known that it might surprise the ANC with a proposal for "transitional arrangements".

Previously, the NP had flatly refused to consider an interim government, as it would encroach on the incumbent Government's sovereignty. Instead it spoke of "transitional arrangements", which observers took to mean little more than an advisory role for extra-parliamentary groups.

Now the NP is optimistic about the prospects for more far-reaching transitional arrangements — involving the ANC and other parties — being in place before the end of next year.

The stress on Parliament remaining entirely sovereign is no longer as strong.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe confirmed yesterday that if the multiparty conference which starts on December 20 agreed to transitional arrangements, a referendum could be held next year to seek approval for changes to the constitution.

Dr van der Merwe stressed that the NP's idea of transitional arrangements differed from the ANC's in one important respect — the NP did not believe that Parliament should be disbanded to allow an interim government to rule by decree.

However, he conceded that it was "possible, but not probable" that the NP would agree to a transitional authority acquiring some sovereignty, but Parliament would have to approve what was agreed to at the first multiparty conference at least.

Like other senior NP leaders, he confirmed that the transitional authority would have to be open-ended. The ANC envisages an interim government with a clear, limited mandate of not more than 18 months.

NP thinking, say sources, is that a drawn-out period of incremental power-sharing (a "locking-in" process) would have a moderating effect on all the participants before referendums or elections.

There is deep-seated concern among ANC leaders that they may end up sharing more responsibility (for security force actions, for example) than power. This, they say, would harm the organisation in the eyes of its constituents and play into the Government's hands.

Transitional government will be a key issue at the first session of the multiparty talks, but is unlikely to be resolved there and then. It will probably be dealt with one of the smaller committees to be established.

PW appeals to SA's new Ombudsman

STAR 25/11/91

304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Two new developments have ensured that the PW Botha/Nelson Mandela tapes row will continue raging this week.

Former president Botha revealed that he had asked newly appointed Ombudsman Mr Justice Piet van der Walt to investigate the National Intelligence Service's destruction of the tape recording of his meeting with the then-jailed Mr Mandela in July 1989.

Mr Botha said he had sent Mr Justice van der Walt the partial minutes that NIS director-general Dr Niel Barnard took of the Mandela meeting and also the transcript of the stormy interview Mr Botha had with Dr Barnard a few weeks ago about the destruction of the tapes.

Director of Archives J H Snyman — who last week said he was investigating the legality of the NIS's action in destroying archival material — appears to have dropped the inquiry.

The transcript of the tape recording of his meeting with Dr Barnard reveals a furious Mr Botha tearing into the intelligence chief and accusing him of "stabbing me in the back".

Mr Botha also tells Dr Barnard that his minutes of the Mandela meeting do not sufficiently stress the strong stand Mr Botha took against violence and the case of the Afrikaner.

He gets Dr Barnard to admit that he insisted that Mr Mandela should renounce violence.

He also accuses the NIS of spying on his family by tapping his telephone — which Dr Barnard denies and claims there is a specific instruction that his phones should not be tapped.

Mr Botha ends the conversation by saying: "You have kept your secrets, I have kept mine. I am far from finished."

Dr Barnard's notes of the Mandela meeting reveal that Mr Botha had already decided in July 1989 to release Walter Sisulu, now ANC deputy president. But Mr Botha expected Mr Sisulu not to start a propaganda campaign.

According to the notes, Mr Mandela agreed that the ANC would renounce violence if the Government took certain steps to normalise politics such as unbanning the ANC and lifting the state of emergency.

Meanwhile, the position surrounding an investigation by the director of archives of the destruction of the Mandela tapes is now unclear.

Late last week when The Star inquired about the progress of the investigation, Dr Snyman refused to comment and said the matter was in the hands of the NIS.

Under the Archives Act it is an offence to destroy official documents unless the director of archives gives permission — or if the destruction is authorised by another law.

NIS has claimed that the destruction of the tapes was covered by the Protection of Information Act and Bureau for State Security Act — but this has been queried by Democratic Party legal expert Nic Olivier.

Smear letters urge murder and rape

STAR

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter 26/11/91

As the National Party and Conservative Party wrap up their campaigns for Thursday's parliamentary by-election in Virginia, smear letters have been circulated in the Free State town ordering black domestics to murder white children and rape white women.

NP candidate Jac Kloppers said yesterday he interpreted the letters as a "deliberate, calculated effort by certain whites to sow panic and fear".

He did not believe the letters were written by any black organisation. They were not attributed and had been posted from East London to white families for the attention of their domestic workers and gardeners.

The pamphlet advises "domestic workers and garden boys" how they should shape a sharpened fence wire into a weapon to murder whites.

"The action is to be taken in towns and smallholdings, when parents are at work or when you are with white children alone. Use the weapon from the collarbone to the heart or, from the bottom rip to the heart. This method can be used for the elderly people too. You can hide your weapon easily."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it appeared the letter had been written by the ultra Right.

"The ANC strongly condemns the letter and calls on all South Africans to work for peace. We particularly call on the Right to stop fuelling racist emotions."

The police called on the public to ignore the smear letter.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Ex-spy chief to sue PW, Tr.1, says

BOSS thr

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

GENERAL H J "Lang Hendrik" van den Bergh, former head of the Bureau for State Security (BOSS), today threatened to sue former president Mr P W Botha over remarks about the intelligence service when he ran it.

This is the latest twist in the row between Mr Botha and the National Intelligence Service over the destruction of tapes recording his historic meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys in 1989.

From his chicken farm at Bapsfontein, between Johannesburg and Pretoria, General Van den Bergh said:

"I am going to sue him. I have instructed my attorney to investigate the matter with a view to proceed with a court action and to go into briefing counsel.

"I regard some of his recent remarks as a reflection on me and as libellous."

During his stormy meeting with the head of the NIS, Dr Niel Barnard, at his home at the Wilderness on November 12, Mr Botha told Dr Barnard he had brought him into national intelligence in 1980 because the service had been a corrupt one — "you know full well that national intelligence, or the bureau, were a bad lot".

Information scandal

General Van den Bergh, 78, who retired after the Information scandal in 1978, said today the remarks reflected on him "because I was national intelligence. I was that department. I started BOSS (around 1968) and from this grew the present NIS.

"The legal action I intend taking has nothing to do with Mr Botha's dispute with Dr Barnard."

He said many former colleagues had telephoned him after newspaper reports at the weekend about Mr Botha's conversation with Dr Barnard.

"They are shocked and I believe some of them are also going to sue."

He added that, although he had been a Conservative Party candidate in the 1987 election, he had no interest in politics. He had not had any contact with Mr Botha for years.

Interest in chickens

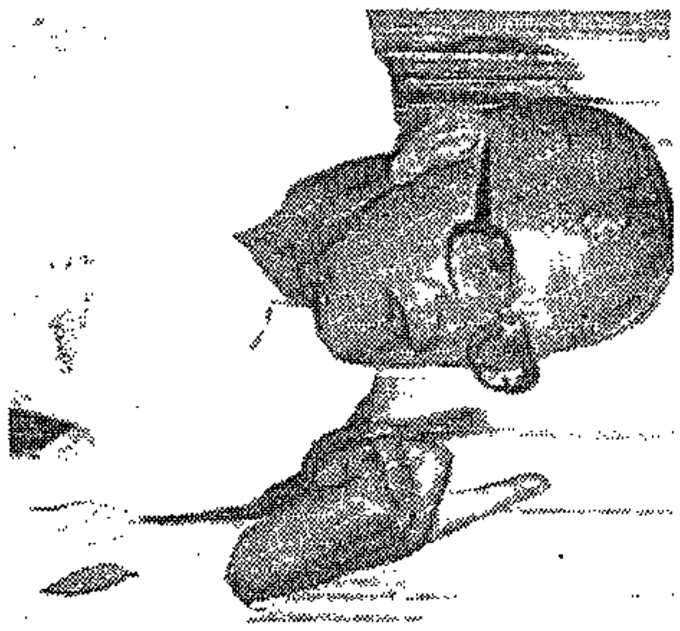
At present his main interest was his broiler chickens. He farmed 100 000 birds at a time and every few months these were sold off to make way for a new batch.

Apart from being upset about Mr Botha's remarks his main gripe was the drought.

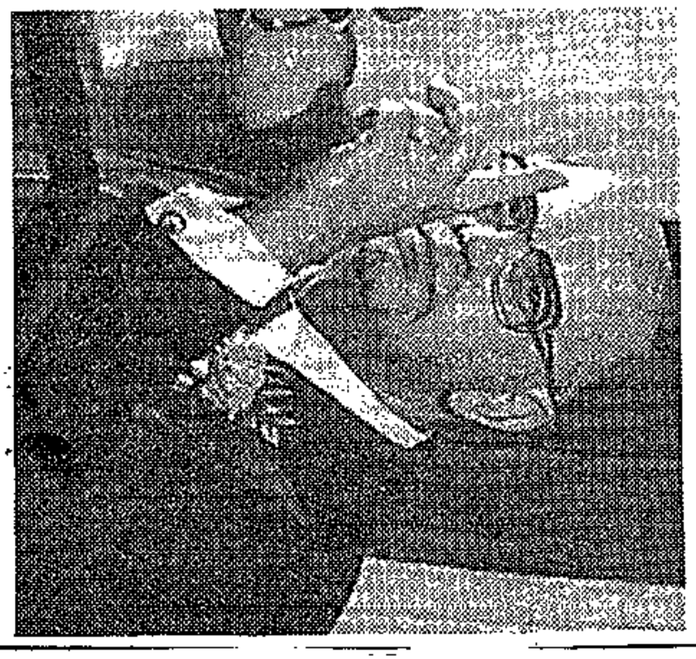
General Van den Bergh has been to court before. In 1982 a defamation claim he brought against Mr Justice Braam Lategan was settled out of court. A cash offer of R5 000 with a letter of apology was apparently included.

In the 1970s General Van den Bergh was described as one of the most powerful men in the country.

At the time of the Information scandal and the Erasmus Commission in 1979, it emerged that he had been involved in many of the secret deals.

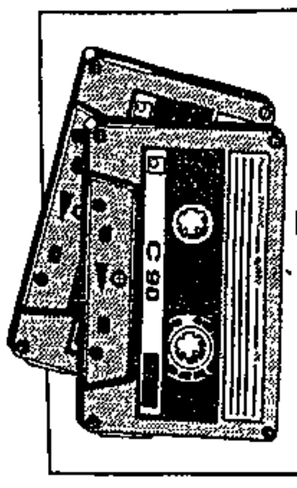


General Hendrik van den Bergh



Mr P W Botha

The PW Tapes



PW and the NIS chief: For 10 years we trusted you, now we don't — page 23.

FW confident of white vote

(304A) CT 26/11/91

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk said yesterday he was confident he would win a referendum among whites if he presented constitutional proposals to them that assured long-term stability, full participation and non-suppression of minorities.

Mr De Klerk conceded after a meeting with the Irish Minister of Industry and Commerce, Mr Desmond O'Malley, that there were short-term political problems such as this week's Virginia by-election, which observers said the National Party would lose.

But Mr De Klerk added: "I have no doubt in my mind that if we were to present to the electorate constitutional proposals which can assure long-term stability, which will offer full participation to all South Africans but which will simultaneously also ensure that there will be no suppression of minorities, I am sure that I would win a referendum comfortably, also among the white part of the community."

Stability

He did not doubt the country would succeed in establishing a new constitutional framework and dispensation.

"I have said publicly that I have three years left of my mandate and that I would like to make the necessary progress within that time in a democratic way."

The top priority was long-term stability.

"For that reason we are actually committed to ensure that such a new constitution, coupled with a justifiable bill of rights, will enshrine the very principles which can ensure long-term stability and not only the principles but will bring about structures which will ensure that those principles will concretise into reality." — Sapa

Government, Nats split for talks meeting

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the National Party will be separately represented at this week's meeting to prepare for all-party talks next month, a senior NP source said yesterday. (3048)

The development follows the insistence by most major players that the government cannot act as both referee and player in constitutional negotiations.

The source said separate representation would continue when real negotiations got underway. CT 26/11/91

● Sapa reports that the Bophuthatswana government has accepted an invitation to participate in Friday's meeting. Its three-man delegation will be led by President Lucas Mangope.

'Dismay' over loss of tape

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA History Archive (SAHA) yesterday expressed shock at the destruction of a tape-recorded conversation between former state president Mr P W Botha and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela. ET 26/11/91

In an open letter to the Director of Archives, Dr J H Snyman, SAHA co-ordinator Mr Prakash Morar writes that the destruction of the tape "not only creates gaps in our understanding of political developments of this period, it also denies the population at large knowledge of the events that are determining the course of their lives".

Mr Morar writes that SAHA was "particularly dismayed" by a report that Dr Snyman was no longer investigating the matter. — Sapa

CP: Growing unity among right-wingers'

WELKOM. — Unity and determination to defeat the National Party and establish a government to protect the freedom and rights of whites was growing among right-wingers, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Speaking at a meeting here, he said the NP was losing support by the day and no longer represented the people, while the CP was a white party — a people's party.

"It (the NP) shies away from a general election for whites. It wants to negotiate a new dispensation with enemies of our people," he said. — Sapa

PW spoiling for a fight Eglin

(304A) ET 26/11/91

Political Correspondent

THE manner in which Mr P W Botha has decided to re-enter the public debate after years of brooding seclusion is "vintage PW", says the chairman of the Democratic Party, Mr Colin Eglin.

Mr Botha burst into the public eye at the weekend by releasing transcripts of a recent showdown he had with NIS chief Dr Niel Barnard and warning that he was "far from finished".

Mr Eglin, a veteran parliamentarian who has observed Mr Botha at close quarters for serveral years, said yesterday: "One has the sense that the Groot Krokodil has been brooding at Die Anker, becoming increasingly tense and restless and spoiling for a fight.

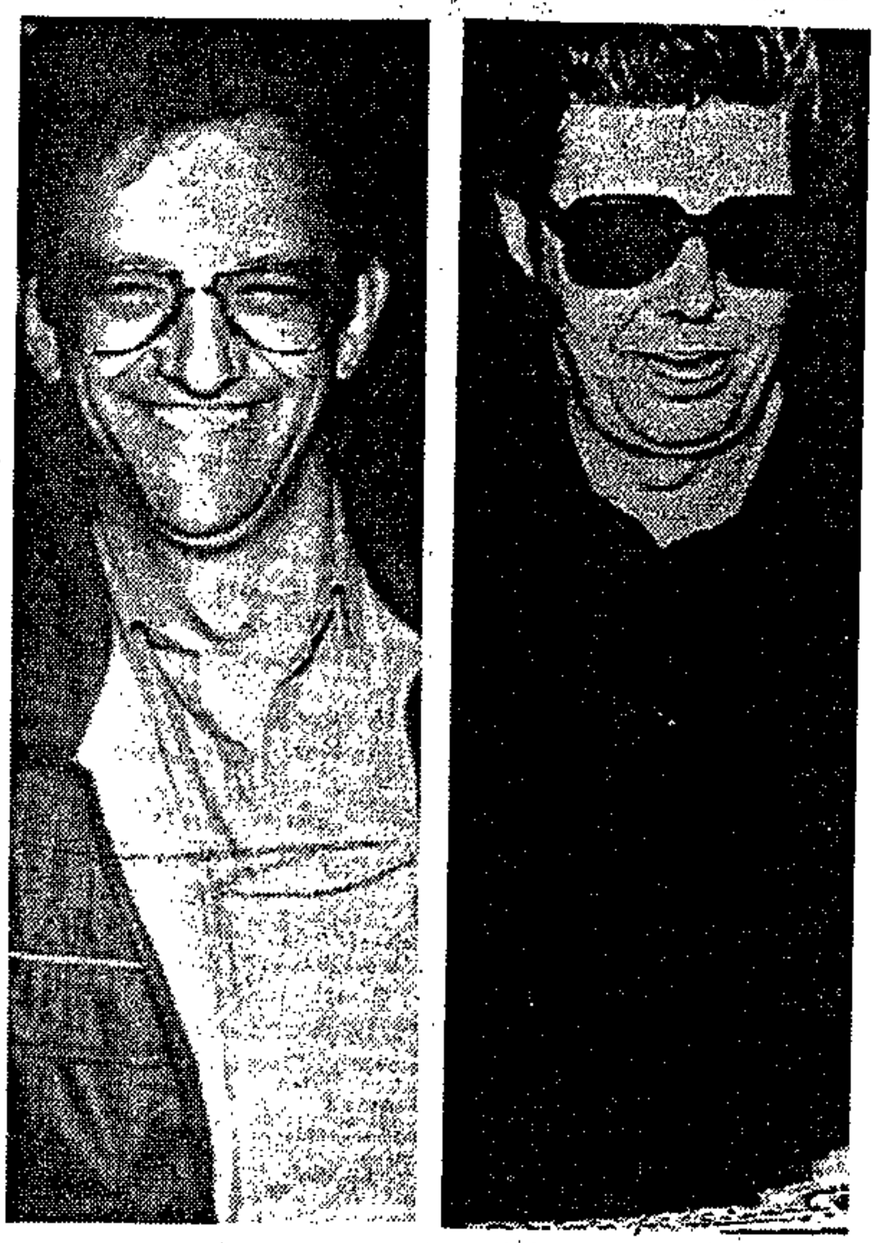
"But he wanted to have an issue where he felt he was on strong ground and with the ridiculous reasons offered for the destruction of the tapes, he now has a fight."

Mr Eglin said he did not see Mr Botha's actions as being pro-CP but rather an attempt to vent his anger at President F W de Klerk and the National Party.

Violence bears marks of State strategy, while it ravages ANC

ANC Viewpoint

By WILLIE HOFMEYR
and
MZIWONKE JACOBS



RIGHT-WING ESCAPADES . . . Maritz (left) and Martin suggest forces within the government have been involved in promoting violence.

IN OUR previous column we analysed an important study that indicated beyond all reasonable doubt that the vast proportion of violence come from those forces that are broadly pro-government.

Of course, we do not want to argue that all the blame can be laid at the door of only one party. One of the most horrible aspects of violence is that it becomes a vicious circle of people seeking revenge that is very difficult to stop and this is indeed the intention of those instigating it.

But we do feel that it is a particularly serious problem when it begins to appear that the security forces, or even the government itself, may be playing a role in promoting the violence instead of ending it.

The volume of evidence regarding specifically the involvement of the security forces in the violence has become so vast that it can no longer be denied.

Even Foreign Minister Pik Botha was forced to admit during his Inkathagate grilling on TV that there were numerous instances of collaboration between the security forces and attackers during the course of the violence. He tried to explain it as "regrettable" transgressions by individuals, but there cannot remain too many people who still take these protestations seriously. It is very clear that a large part of the involvement of the security forces is systematic and planned.

Blackmail voters

The real question facing us is whether the promotion of violence has become a deliberate State strategy as in the days of "total strategy", or whether it comes from a "third force" within the security forces whose activities the government does not wish to curb at present.

Both these possibilities may puzzle many people who believe that the government loses as vote to the vital task of rebuilding the ANC as a legal organisation after its long years in exile;

● In many of the affected areas ANC structures have virtually collapsed as members are too afraid to go out at night, or attend meetings which may be attacked.

● Publicly the violence has been as devastating for the ANC. We face massive pressure from ordinary people for protection from such attacks. They find it difficult to understand that we can provide little material assistance after our decision to suspend the armed struggle.

● Perhaps most seriously, the violence has 5 000 political murders. This rate is inconceivable for any other serious crime, especially if compared to the government's claimed success rate of over 90% for ANC offences in the past.

Cleary there has been a deliberate attempt to cover up the role of the government's dirty tricks department in the violence. The latest allegations by the escaped hunger strikers Maritz and Martin lend further credence to the evidence that forces within the government have been involved in promoting the violence on a vast scale.

At this stage it is not

Blackman voters.

The real question facing us is whether the promotion of violence has become a deliberate State strategy as in the days of "total strategy", or whether it comes from a "third force" within the security forces whose activities the government does not wish to curb at present.

Both these possibilities may puzzle many people who believe that the government loses as much as the ANC or anyone else as a result of the violence. However, this is not the case.

It is fair to say that most media observers have failed to appreciate the devastating consequences of the violence on the ANC:

● Over the past year, our leadership has been virtually crippled, spending more than half its time rushing from crisis to crisis. There has been little time to de-

CAPE TOWN 8000

ound whites or apartheid

M PRESTON (Komme-

respondent Hugh Knight s, November 19) is right in hat "all sorts of racial and crimination" existed in a before they were "lega- the tag of apartheid". He er any older readers could im on a number of points: tell him why we were not cket against India and the s, but perhaps somebody ll us whether either Eng- stralia were doing so.

s no law against "non-Eu- eing allowed into public ut as far as I can remem- ways occupied a separate uch places as cinemas, and nk that they ever made use or restaurants. Some ere more "liberal" than is respect.

aller proportion of the lation than is the case at ed in or near the towns, who did, were housed in on the outskirts, or in the of their employers. Facili- ere minimal.

and health services were ainly by the churches, subsidised by the govern- "Bantu Education" came churches fought hard to ol of their schools, and hospitals, but had to give cause they could not pro- essary funds.

here was no Group Areas e black families did live towns and villages, they nd the same schools as eighbours. Only UCT and ed students of all races.

e true to say that the Na- uld not have remained in long, if their policies had eptable to the majority of mfort-loving whites.

too afraid to go out at night, or attend meetings which may be attacked.

● Publicly the violence has been as devastating for the ANC. We face massive pressure from ordinary people for protection from such attacks. They find it difficult to understand that we can provide little material assistance after our decision to suspend the armed struggle.

● Perhaps most seriously, the violence has scared off many people who were sympathetic to the democratic movement in the past. This is especially so for communities not directly affected by the violence, since they do not have first-hand experience of it and rely on the media for their information.

On the other hand, the government has benefited tremendously by using its control over radio and TV to portray itself as a force above the violence and it has won much support in the unaffected communities.

A second, and perhaps even more important, benefit to the government is that the violence has reached such levels that many ordinary people have become desperate for peace.

Some analysts argue that the violence will in effect blackmail the majority of South Africans into accepting a constitution that is undemocratic and preserves many of the privileges of apartheid.

Dirty tricks

Such a consequence is certainly to the benefit of the NP, which has made it clear that its aim is to have an undemocratic constitution which will enable it to block any attempts to redress the massive inequalities created by apartheid.

Its attitude to democracy was well spelt out by Mr De Klerk in a very significant speech to the NP Transvaal congress when he went as far as to say that the NP would never hand over power.

If this is to be the NP attitude to democratic government and elections, one may well wonder what it is that distinguishes it from the discredited advocates of one-party systems!

The ANC believes firmly that the government does not want to end the violence because of the important benefits it derives from it. We will quote only one statistic in support of our view.

One of the most shocking facts about the violence of the past few years is that there have been only five successful prosecutions for some

Cleary there has been a deliberate attempt to cover up the role of the government's dirty tricks department in the violence. The latest allegations by the escaped hunger strikers Maritz and Martin lend further credence to the evidence that forces within the government have been involved in promoting the violence on a vast scale.

At this stage it is not possible to say with absolute certainty whether we are back in the days of the total strategy, where violence was used as a deliberate instrument of government policy.

Coalition

The consequences of accepting such a proposition would be extremely serious for the entire negotiations process. We believe, however, that there are so many pointers in this direction that the possibility cannot be dismissed lightly by anyone who is concerned with the future of peace in our country.

An indication that the NP may be conscious of the benefits of the violence is evident from the clear change in NP attitudes towards the ANC after the middle of last year as the violence increased in intensity.

The post-February 2 talk of grand coalitions and accommodation disappeared, and increasingly the notion was put forward that the NP could put together a winning coalition and beat the ANC.

We believe that an NP government will never have the political will to bring an end to the violence. Apart from the massive political benefits it derives from the violence, any attempt to impose discipline on the security forces will cost it much support.

This is one of the many reasons why the ANC has put increasing emphasis on the need for an interim government. We believe that the violence will be brought under control only when there is a government that has the political will and power to bring the security forces under control. The NP has had its opportunity and has failed abysmally.

We believe that this is the only way that we will be able to save the negotiations process and bring about the peace in South Africa for which all of us have waited and struggled so long.

[Willie Hofmeyr is the assistant secretary and Mziwonke Jacobs is the publicity secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape.]

30497 ARG 26/11/91

Naidoo digs in heels

SHARON SOROUR, Labour Reporter and Political Staff

A "very powerful" interim government which has no constituency and does not allow people to take control of their lives is useless, according to Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

In an interview in the latest Labour Bulletin, he said Cosatu would not accept any interim government that ruled by decree, "even one that is a government of our own complexion".

There were enormous problems that had to be overcome and there were high expectations among "our people".

He said: "Unless we create a process that legitimises the transition and draws people in and makes the process their own process, they are not going to accept the leadership we offer them."

Mr Naidoo did not see trade unions as part of an interim government.

"But we certainly see ourselves playing an important role in negotiations on which the interim government will be based, both at an economic and political level."

Broader macro-economic negotiations were needed to identify a national framework within which the country's economic problems could be resolved.

"In that framework, we need to set up a number of working forums, on housing, education, health, technology, investment policy and industrial restructuring, and bring on board constituencies that represent the people there.

● The ANC has labelled as "weird" indications that the National Party was prepared to form a transitional government if such a structure were in place for a period of 10 years or more.

In the latest edition of the ANC mouthpiece Mayibuye, the ANC said fear of real negotiations was catching up with "representatives of modified apartheid".

These "sudden shivers" reflected the fear among some that their schemes for the transition would boomerang.

The ANC had learnt that the NP wanted a drawn-out transitional process with an interim constitution and interim government for 10 years or more.

Mayibuye said without sufficient pressure on the NP, the transitional process could stretch out for years on end.



MIRACLE BABY: At the centre of attention is five-week-old Megan Taylor, a baby born against all odds. With her are, left, Dr Charles Edelstein of the kidney transplant unit at Tygerberg Hospital Megan's mother Mrs Ir Taylor, paediatricia Johan Smith Megan's father Tay

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Stay in Wilderness, PW told

SOWETAN

POLITICAL groupings have sent a blunt message to former State President PW Botha: Forget about a political comeback.

26/11/91

The political world is abuzz with speculation that Botha might be considering a comeback after the bluster and belligerence of his weekend statements.

He made it clear he was healthy, and more than willing to speak his mind.

The ANC said it was up to "the people" to decide whether Botha should return to active politics. (304A)

Mr Jan van Eck, Cape Provincial spokesman for the Democratic Party, said South Africa's problems could be "aggravated if Mr Botha fulfills his threat to come back to public life".

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, November 26 1991

Former French premier in SA

B/Day 26/11/91

ROBERT GENTLE
and DARIUS SANAI



President F W de Klerk and France's socialist former prime minister Laurent Fabius at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday. Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

THE guaranteeing of human rights for everyone in a changing SA was of the utmost importance, former Socialist French prime minister Laurent Fabius said yesterday at the start of a two-day fact-finding mission to SA. (304A)

Fabius, who refused to speak to SA government officials on his last visit to SA in 1986, was a staunch anti-apartheid campaigner throughout the 1980s.

Speaking to journalists after meeting President F W de Klerk yesterday, he said "much has changed" since his last visit.

He will meet a range of leaders including Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Barlow Rand chairman Warren Clewlow, DP leader Zach de Beer, Azapo leader Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke and Inkatha executive committee member Musa Myeni.

As prime minister of France in 1985, Fabius recalled the French ambassador in SA and slapped a ban on further importation of SA coal.

□ As Fabius got into his car at Jan Smuts airport a woman shouted after him to have a "very unpleasant stay". Identifying herself as Michelle Favard she said like many French nationals in SA she "violently opposed" Fabius meeting the ANC.

Meanwhile two visiting European Trade Ministers are to meet Botha and other senior government, opposition and business figures today.

Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Josef arrived in SA yesterday.

Irish Trade and Industry Minister Desmond O'Malley, who is accompanied by an 11-man trade mission representing top Irish firms, said he looked forward to an intensification of trade relations between SA and the Irish Republic.

Separate govt, NP delegates at talks

PATRICK BULGER (304T)

GOVERNMENT and the NP would be separately represented at this week's meeting to prepare for all-party talks next month, a senior NP source said yesterday.

The development, which is likely to be officially announced by the NP later in the week, follows an insistence by most major players that government could not act as both referee and player in constitutional negotiations. B 10 ay 26/11/91

The source said separate representation would continue when real negotiations got under way.

Other political sources said government would be represented separately from the NP during that period of negotiations in which government would be called upon to perform certain line functions, among them the reincorporation of the TBVC states, the setting up of a form of an interim authority and the implementation of a temporary bill of rights.

However, once these matters had been dealt with, government's representation would fall away and the NP would engage other parties as equal partners in the actual constitution-making process.

Meanwhile NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday dismissed speculation that government was preparing a "surprise" on its stance on an interim government. Reports have speculated that Parliament's influence could be curtailed by the multiparty conference being given a

☐ To Page 2

Talks B 10 ay 26/11/91.

veto over new legislation.

"Transitional arrangements are certainly going to be on the agenda," he said.

There was no formal manner in which the multiparty conference could exercise a veto over the proceedings of Parliament, he said. Parliament could in theory take a decision not to pass legislation unless it was agreed to by the conference. The conference also would have to be party to such a decision.

Political sources outside of the NP said it was possible Parliament might enact a moratorium on contentious legislation.

(304T)

☐ From Page 1

Meanwhile the PAC would insist on a neutral venue outside the country, a neutral convener and international participation, the PAC's information secretary Barney Desai said yesterday.

Desai said a neighbouring African country would be an ideal venue.

Sapa reports that the Bophuthatswana government has accepted an invitation to participate in Friday's meeting; its three-man delegation will be led by President Lucas Mangope.

● Comment: Page 8

Delegates chosen for preparatory talks

STAR 26/11/91 30(A)

Political groups yesterday began to finalise their delegations for Friday's crucial meeting of the preparatory committee for multiparty talks. Twenty organisations are likely to attend, with a limit of three delegates each.

Three right-wing groups, invited to be present, will not take their places at the negotiating table. They are the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Conservative Party, and the AWB.

Planning

On the political Left, Azapo has declined to attend.

The Star learnt yesterday that the ANC's delegation is likely to be made up of general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, international affairs head Thabo Mbeki and assistant general secretary Jacob Zuma.

At the time of going to press, there were no details on Government, NP and IFP delegations.

The SACP's delegation will be led by general secretary Joe Slovo, assisted by trade unionists Sydney Mufamadi and Moses Mayekiso.

The Labour Party delegation will be headed by deputy leader Miley Richards.

The two House of Delegates parties invited, the National People's Party and Solidarity, will be led by their respective leaders, Amichand Rajbansi and Dr J N Reddy.

All homeland parties are likely to attend.

The 20 organisations expected to attend Friday's meeting — which is likely to be held at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport — are: the Government, NP, ANC, IFP, PAC, DP, SACP, LP, NPP, Solidarity, TIC/NIC, Inyandza National Movement (Ka-Ngwane), United People's Front (Lebowa), Dikwankwetla Party (Qwa-Qwa), Ximoko Progressive Party (Gazankulu), Intando Yesizwe Party (KwaNdebele) and the governments of the four "independent" national states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. — Political Reporter.

NP 'trying to avoid an election'

STAR 26/11/91

(304A)

WELKOM — Unity and determination to defeat the National Party and establish a government to protect the freedom and rights of whites was growing among rightwingers, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said last night.

Speaking in Welkom at a meeting in support of his party's candidate in Thursday's Virginia by-election, Kobus Beyers, Dr Treurnicht said the NP no longer represented the people.

"The NP shies away from a general election for whites. It wants to negotiate a new dispensation with the enemies of our people.

"It wants to submit this to a referendum and, if the whites do not approve, it wants to go back to the drawing board. In that way it wants to get out of a general election for whites."

He said that while all this was happening, people were being misled. According to the new ID books, people were no longer being classified as white.

"How does the Government guarantee a referendum only for whites? And even if it tries to hold separate referendums, what guarantee is there it won't add the votes together to announce a so-called countrywide result?



Andries Treurnicht ... people are being misled.

"At our congress in Kimberley I invited (President) de Klerk to work together for white unity on the basis of 'our own white fatherland'. He did not (accept).

"Now we ask again, before your multiparty conference: where does the white electorate stand (also the black, coloured and Indian voters) with the Government and its relations with the ANC?"

Dr Treurnicht said the CP had information on an agreement that, should the ANC alliance stop its terror onslaught on South Africa, it had been agreed that the Government and ANC would be the main parties at the negotiations.

The Government would gradually share power and authority with the ANC until they could negotiate on an equal footing.

"And, if they negotiated on equal footing, and both accepted that white government would be done away with, there would no longer be representation of the people and there would be a black majority in the government of an undivided South Africa," the CP leader said.

Dr Treurnicht said the Government had unleashed forces it could no longer control; Nelson Mandela treated the State President with contempt; and Mr de Klerk had estranged himself from his own people. — Sapa.

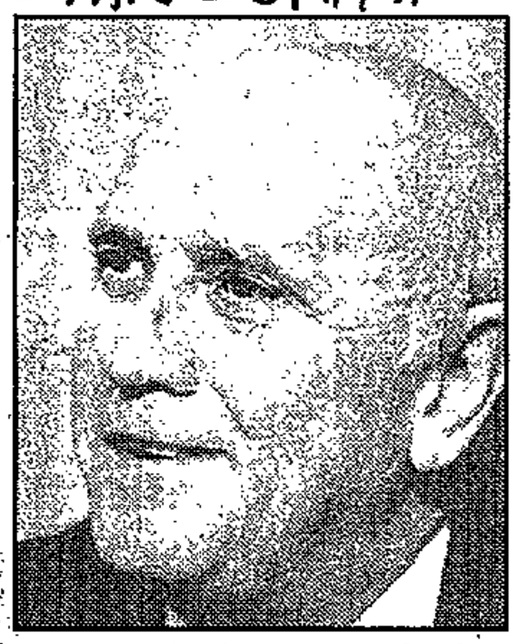
FW confident of winning white referendum

STAR 26/11/91 (304A)

President de Klerk said yesterday he was confident he would win a referendum among whites if he presented constitutional proposals which ensured long-term stability, full participation and non-suppression of minorities.

Mr de Klerk conceded after a meeting with Irish Minister of Industry and Commerce, Desmond O'Malley, that there were short-term political problems such as this week's Virginia by-election, which observers said the National Party would lose.

"I have no doubt in my mind that if we were to present to the electorate constitutional proposals which can ensure long-term stability, which will offer full participation to all South Africans, but which will simultaneously also ensure that there will be no suppression of minorities ... I am sure that I will win a referendum comfortably also among the white part of the community," Mr de Klerk said.



F W de Klerk . . . no doubt in his mind.

He did not doubt that the country would succeed in establishing a new constitutional framework and dispensation.

"I have said publicly that I have three years left of my mandate and that I would like to make the necessary progress within that time, in a democratic way.

"For that reason we are actually committed to ensure that such a new constitution, coupled with a justiciable bill of rights, will enshrine the very principles which can ensure long-term stability — and not only the principles — but will bring about structures which will ensure that those principles will concretise into reality."

The Government was not prepared to hand the country over to chaos and would not say yes to a constitution that did not offer the minimum of guarantees required to ensure long-term stability.

Mr de Klerk said he was confident SA's leadership could achieve long-term stability.

Many steps had been taken to quell violence.

"We can expect a much-improved situation — firstly because we have upgraded the capacity of the police in one year by 10 000."

In addition, more civilians were being employed to do secretarial and civilian work, allowing even more of the 10 000 policemen to devote themselves to fighting crime and violence.

"Furthermore, we have a Peace Accord where various mechanisms have been agreed upon ...

"The judicial commission has already been created under Mr Justice Goldstone."

Most important was that "we are starting with a multiparty conference where the followers of the leaders of those parties where we really have faction-fighting between them will be seeing their leaders in public in an amicable way negotiating a peace settlement".

The total package pointed to the fact that the Government had already taken steps on a broad front, but if even stronger action became necessary, the Government would not hesitate to take that step. — Sapa.

FW, Pik 'held talks with Renamo leader in Kenya'

STAR 26/11/91

304A

Star Africa Service

President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha secretly met Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambican rebel movement Renamo, in Kenya on June 8, according to knowledgeable sources.

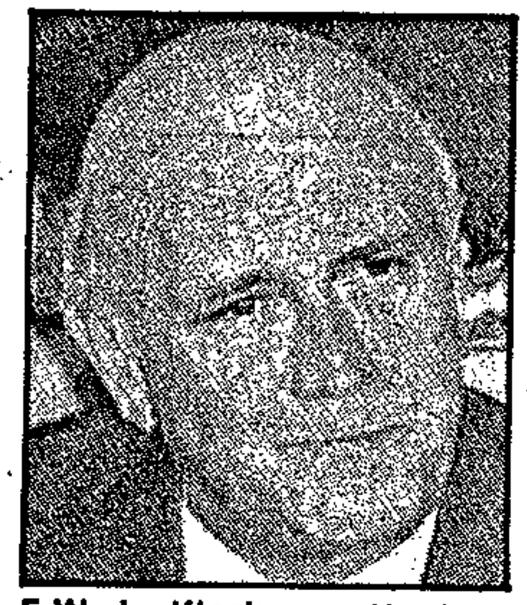
The sources said the meeting was held in Nairobi during Mr de Klerk's visit to Kenya for talks with President Daniel arap Moi.

Issues related to Mozambique are said to have been discussed by Mr de Klerk and Mr Moi.

Settlement

According to the sources, Mr de Klerk asked Mr Dhlakama whether allegations that Renamo was acquiring arms from South African syndicates were true. The Renamo leader denied that his organisation had any such contact with South Africa.

During the meeting Mr de Klerk is said to have urged Mr Dhlakama to speed up efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Mozambican conflict.



F W de Klerk ... "asked about SA arms syndicates".



Afonso Dhlakama ... "urged to speed up peace efforts".

Other senior Renamo officials, including Raul Domingos, Renamo's spokesman for external affairs and a key player in the current Mozambican peace talks in Rome, were present at the meeting in Kenya, the sources said.

In addition to the reported meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Dhlakama, there is understood to have been at least one other instance of official South African contact with the rebels in recent years.

That took place in June 1990 in order to co-ordinate the release of the Muller family who had been taken hostage after running their yacht aground on the Mozambican coast. Sandy Muller was a personal friend of President de Klerk's wife.

In addition, officials of Eskom have had discussions with Renamo in connection with efforts to persuade the rebels to stop attacking the power line from the Cahora Bassa dam to South Africa and thus enable the hydro-electric scheme to become operative.

Support

Before the meeting in Nairobi in June, the last known direct high-level South African contact with the rebels took place during the Pretoria Declaration talks in 1984, in which Pik Botha attempted to broker peace between Renamo and Frelimo.

SADF links with the rebels, which included logistical support, continued for some time after the 1984 Nkomati Accord. Allegations that these contacts have persisted have continued despite SADF denials.

Efforts to obtain comment from Mr de Klerk's and Mr Botha's offices on the reported meeting with Mr Dhlakama were unsuccessful yesterday.

Reforms not enough India tells Pretoria

Sowefan 24/11/91 3col

DELHI - The Indian government was waiting for Pretoria to take "further steps" towards a nonracial and democratic South Africa before it could establish normal relations.

Minister of State for External Affairs Eduardo Faleiro said in conformity with the decisions taken by the Commonwealth summit in Harare last month, the sports boycott had been lifted.

This, he said, was in regard to those sporting codes which had achieved interracial integration in South Africa.

"India is also lifting 'people-to-people' sanctions." However, the Commonwealth summit "decided to maintain trade, economic and financial sanctions and arms embargo until further progress was made towards a democratic South Africa," Falerio said. - *Sowetan Foreign Service*

PW silent on Hendrik's threat

(3044A)

CT 27/11/91

Political Correspondent

FORMER President P W Botha yesterday responded with a stony "no comment" to the news that former Bureau for State Security (BOSS) chief, General "Lang Hendrik" van den Bergh, plans to sue him.

General Van den Bergh has decided to slap a defamation suit on his former boss because of certain remarks Mr Botha made about the department the general once headed.

Mr Botha's remarks were part of a tape-recorded conversation between him and the current head of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Dr Niel Barnard, released to the press at the weekend.

General Van den Bergh said yesterday that effectively he "was national intelligence" at the time and so regarded Mr Botha's remarks as "libellous".

He said he had instructed his attorney to investigate the matter with a view to court action.

NIS said earlier that it had destroyed a tape-recording of a 1989 meeting between Mr Botha and imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to avoid possible embarrassment.

Mr Botha said on a television programme on Monday night that he could not see what embarrassment the historic tape could have caused.

PAC moves to hold all-party talks in Namibia

CT 27/11/91 (304A) (EFF)

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The PAC is moving to have the all-party talks held in Namibia, it emerged yesterday.

The organisation's vice-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, held talks with Namibian President Sam Nujoma in Windhoek during the day and sources have indicated that the possibility of holding the discussions in the Namibian capital was raised.

A Namibian Department of Foreign Affairs source and a senior PAC member in Johannesburg both confirmed last night that the matter had been dealt with during the meeting between the two men.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said he could not comment, but added that "we are investigating different venues". On Monday Mr Desai had said a neighbouring African country would be an ideal venue.

The organisation has insisted that what it calls the "pre-constituent assembly talks" must be held outside the country and a neutral conciliator should be convened to oversee any meetings.

"We are insisting on international mediation, observation and verification," said Mr Desai.

However, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has flatly rejected the suggestion that the talks should be held outside the country and the government is also extremely unlikely to agree to this.

The ANC's position at the moment appears to be neutral and a senior member said last night it would be talking to the PAC on this issue.

The ANC will also be holding talks today with the government. These will centre on whether the government and the NP will be separately represented at the multi-party talks.

ANC department of information and publicity member Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that it was unlikely the organisation would accept separate representation.

"There will only be political organisations at the talks," he said.

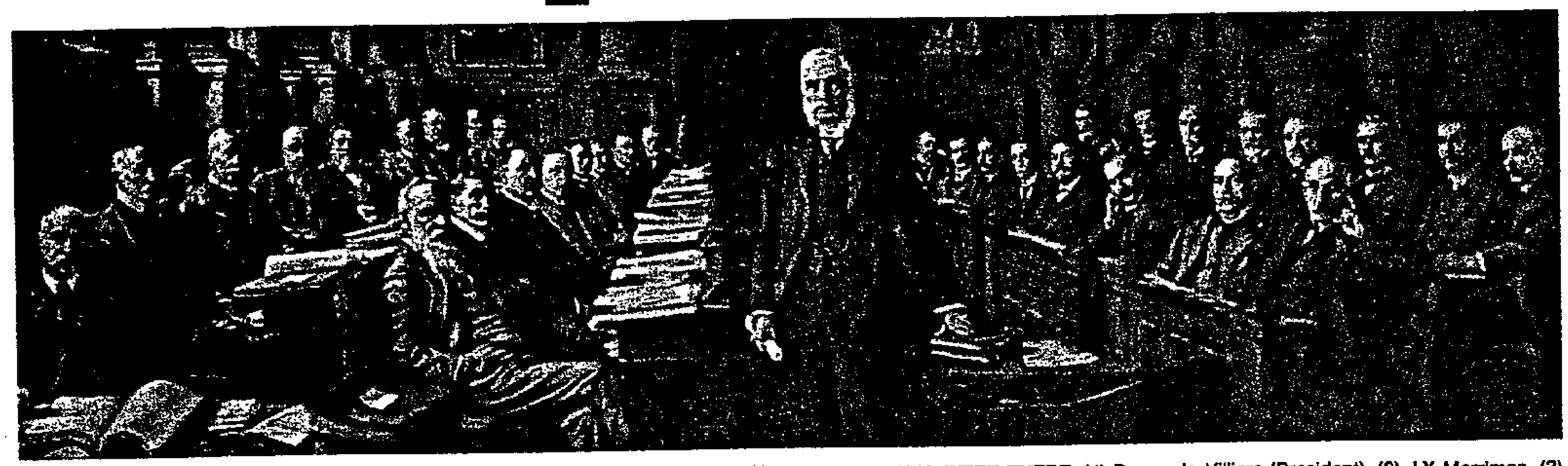
However, there is a growing feeling in some circles that government representation might be needed at the talks to allow it to effectively implement decisions during the transition stage.

Meanwhile Solidarity, the majority party in the House of Delegates, has said it will be represented at the talks by party leader Dr J N Reddy, national chairman Mr Ismail Omar and deputy chairman Mr Baldeo Dookie.

Union . . . republic . . . 1992 . . .?

BOHA ARGUS 27/11/91

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff





THOSE WHO WERE THERE: (1) Baron de Villiers (President), (2) J X Merriman, (3) J W Sauer, (4) F S Malan, (5) H C Van Heerden, (6) G H Maasdorp, (7) Sir Thomas Watt, (8) Colonel E M Greene, (9) Sir Fredrick R Moore, (10) Sir L Starr Jameson, (11) Sir Thomas Smartt, (12) Sir Edgar Walton, (13) J W Jagger, (14) Sir Meiring Beck, (15) Colonel W E M Stanford, (16) Sir Thomas Hyslop, (17) C J Smythe, (18) A Fischer, (19) General J B M Hertzog, (20) General L Botha, (21) General J C Smuts, (22) H C Hull, (23) Sir William Milton, (24) Sir Charles P J Coghlan, (25) General S W Burger, (26) A Browne, (27) Sir Lewis Michell, (28) M T Steyn (vice-president), (29) General C R de Wet, (30) Sir George Farrar, (31) Sir J Percy Fitzpatrick, (32) H L Lindsay, (33) General J H de la Rey, (34) Sir Ernest Kilpin (Chief Secretary).

Constitutional convention will be vastly different from anything that has gone before

SOUTH Africa is soon to have its second constitutional convention. The first, the National Convention in 1908 and 1909, led to Union in 1910 and 82 years of white rule.

The second will be vastly different.

Negotiations on a new constitutional system to provide equal political rights for all races are due to start early next year and right away there will be one huge contrast: many of the faces around the negotiating table will be black, and black political rights will feature prominently.

In 1908 and 1909 the aspirations of black South Africans were largely ignored, pushed aside or made the subject of wishy-washy compromises — in spite of protest by black political movements.

The British rulers of the four colonies — the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State — were interested only in bringing about a union on the basis of white political structures.

They hoped that some adequate settlement of the question of black political rights would develop after union. In the end there were to be no black representatives at the negotiations.

In 1960 Professor Leonard Thompson, in his time professor of history at the University of Cape Town, put it thus in his book *The Unification of South Africa*:

"The unification of South Africa was one of the last creative expressions of the age of optimism which was brought to a close by the First World War.

"This decisive step towards the elimination of imperial authority in South Africa, in favour of the white settlers of Afrikaner and British stocks, was considered to be justified by hopes that the Anglo-Boer feud would disappear, that white South Africans would grow increasingly humane in their dealings with their non-white fellow countrymen and that the Union would become a liberal democracy in the British pattern.

"Today it can hardly be said that those hopes have been rea-

cans have been actuated by racial sentiment rather than by the liberal traditions of their country of origin.

"Consequently, besides being a striking example of the operation of political forces in a multi-racial society, the story of the unification of South Africa provides a salutary reminder of the limitations of human foresight."

The National Convention had its first session in Durban from October 12 to November 5, 1908. It sat in Cape Town from November 22 to December 18 and again in Cape Town from January 11 to February 3 1909.

ITS final session was in Bloemfontein from May 3 to 11, 1909.

The following month the draft South Africa Act providing a new constitution for the new Union of South Africa which was formally to come about on May 31, 1910, was approved by the parliaments of the Cape Colony, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

In Natal it was approved by referendum. Only 58,2 per cent of the electorate voted, 11 121 in favour and 3 071 against.

On September 20, 1909 the South Africa Act embodying the draft constitution was passed by the British parliament.

The goverment and opposition parties of the four colonies were represented at the National Convention. Noticeably absent were black representatives.

The Transvaal was represented by General Louis Botha, General Jan Smuts, S W Burger, General J H de la Rey and H C Hull who were members of the Het Volk Party, and Sir George Farrar, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and H L Lindsay who were Progressives.

The Free State was represented by ex-president M T Steyn, Abraham Fischer, General Christiaan de Wet and General J B M Hertzog, members of the Orangia Unie, and A Browne who was a Constitutionalist.

The Cape delegates were Baron Henry de Villiers, chief justice of the Cape Colony and an independent; John X Merriman, F S Malan, J W Sauer, Sir Meiring Beck, H C van Heerden and G H Maasdorp, members of the South African Party; Sir L Starr Jameson, Sir Thomas Smartt, Sir Edgar Walton and J W Jagger, members of the Unionist Party, and Colonel W E M Stanford who was an independent.

THE Natal delegates were Sir Frederick Moore, Colonel E M Greene, C J Smythe, Sir Thomas Hyslop and W B Morcome (replaced by Sir Thomas Watt in December) who were either cabinet members or had cabinet experience.

Three Rhodesian representatives attended as observers without the right to speak or vote. They were Sir Lewis Michell and Sir William Milton, representing the Chartered Company, and Sir Charles Coghlan, nominated by the elected members of the Rhodesian Legislative Council.

In a referendum later Rhodesia was to reject joining the Union.

Even before the first meeting, it was unanimously agreed that De Villiers would be president of the convention and Steyn vice-president.

General Smuts, with his intellectual powers, devotion to duty and sound groundwork and preparation, was regarded as the outstanding delegate of the convention and to a large extent the new constitution was his creation.

The first question that had to be settled was whether the constitution would be unitary or federal.

In the end it was not purely unitary; there were some federal elements, notably the provincial system.

The divergent attitudes and laws in the various colonies concerning non-white political rights made the franchise question extremely contentious.

In the end it was decided to maintain the status quo in the colonies, but it was stipulated that no people of colour could become members of parliament. It was also agreed, at the insistence of the Cape delegates, that no alteration could be made to the Cape non-white franchise provisions unless two-thirds of members of both houses of parliament in joint session agreed.

It was agreed that the number of white adult males in each province would be the basis for calculating the number of seats each province would have in the lower house of parliament.

While whites gave overwhelming support to the South Africa Act, virtually all politically conscious people of colour objected to the provisions which concerned them.

BLACK delegates from all four colonies attended a "South African Convention" which opened in Bloemfontein on March 24, 1909.

The Cape Coloured Association and the African Political Organisation held a protest meeting in the Cape Town City Hall in March and a conference in Cape Town in April.

Both the black and coloured congresses decided to appeal to the British Government to change the non-white franchise provisions of the Act.

The draft South Africa Act was taken to Britain by a delegation headed by De Villiers.

Although the colour restrictions were criticised in the British parliament and the then British Prime Minister H H Asquith solemnly appealed to South Africa's white politicians to modify the restrictive franchise provisions, no amendments were made.

HOW hollow the words of some of the white South African politicians of those days now sound!

Jameson, the first to arrive, informed *The Times* that the "agitation" of the "extreme negrophilists" was "doing a great deal of harm to the native people". Merriman declared that Schreiner's message was "one of the most unkind things ever done to the natives".

General Botha insisted that the question of political rights for non-whites would "have to be solved in South Africa by the South Africans" who had always "shown a spirit of justice and fair play towards the native races" in the past and could be trusted to do so in the future.

After the Bill had been passed by the Lords and the Commons it was signed, as the South Africa Act, by King Edward VII in September 1909 and it came into force on May 31, 1910.

That system continued until 1984 when the present constitution giving parliamentary representation to coloureds and Indians in separate chambers was introduced.

In the meantime, many of the basic features of the 1910 constitution had been tampered with.

In 1936, black voters in the Cape and Natal were removed from the common roll and given three separate seats in the Assembly and four Senators. With the introduction of the Bantustan concept in 1960, their parliamentary representation was taken away completely.

Bantustans were also against the spirit of the National Convention.

Instead of parts of the original Union being cut off to form independent states, the idea in 1910 was that the then protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland could eventually be incorporated.

In 1955, after several failed attempts to get a two-thirds majority to scrap the coloured common roll franchise in the Cape, the Nationalist government used the infamous method of enlarging the Senate to do so. They were given four separate seats in the Assembly but these, too, were abolished in 1968.

The powers and functions of provincial councils were also considerably whittled away until they were abolished under the present system.

(304A)

Commons to debate on SA

STAR 27/11/91

LONDON — The British House of Commons will debate a motion today calling for rapid agreement on an interim government for SA.

The motion, tabled by the influential All-Party Parliamentary Southern Africa Committee, has the support of 53 MPs including prominent Tory, Labour and Liberal Democrats members.

It welcomes the prospect of an multiparty conference in South Africa and expresses "the hope that this will lead to rapid agreement on the establishment of an interim government to rule South Africa during the period of transition".

Committee secretary Richard Caborn, Labour member for Sheffield Central, said the motion had wide support from MPs across the political spectrum. They recognised the National Party could no longer continue to rule exclusively. — Star Bureau.

Unite against communism urges PW

304A

Sowetan 27/11/91

Political Staff

COMMUNISM still threatened South Africa and the world, former State President PW Botha said this week.

Expressing his desire to see "our people" (volk) unite against communism, Botha said he wanted people believing in Christian Western civilisation to stand together.

He was speaking on SABC-TV's *Agenda* programme amid a row over the destruction of an audio tape of a conversation in his Tuynhuys office in July 1989 between him and the then imprisoned ANCongress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Although he appeared to dismiss speculation that he may be intending to make a political comeback, Botha did not categorically deny re-entry into public life.



PW BOTHA

"I retired from party politics on August 14 1989," he said in answer to the question.

Question: "And that's how it stands?"

Botha: "And I stand by that. But I would very much like to see our volk unite, and those who believe in Christian Western civilisation in South Africa, and civilised standards, stand together against the hellish communism which threatens to cause trouble in the world, and which was a threat to South Africa and still is."

He also rejected the reason apparently proffered by the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard, for destroying the tape:

"As you've seen yourself, from statements, reasons were advanced that it would embarrass me and that it would create embarrassment.

"I can't see what embarrassment it would create over a discussion between myself as head of State and a prisoner."

He had been deeply disappointed at hearing that the tape had been destroyed. He had viewed it as very important.

Botha said his life had stretched over 75 years, 50 of them in public life. "What I did in those 50 years I did out of conviction and the desire to give the best of myself for my country," he said.

Come Friday, SA politics get serious, writes Political Editor **Shaun Johnson**

Let the (real) games begin!

STAR 27/11/91.

304A

FRIDAY'S meeting of the "steering committee" for next month's multiparty talks is an important curtain-raiser to the final rounds of the new South Africa challenge, on two levels.

Obviously, it will lay the places at the negotiating table. But its significance goes beyond the dotting of organisational i's and crossing of logistical t's: when the members of the steering committee take their seats around the table, they will do so on the unspoken understanding that real politicking will henceforth begin to replace mere grandstanding.

Throughout this year, the key parties have enjoyed the luxury of making broad policy pronouncements without locking themselves into detail. Thus, in many vital areas, the impression of a high degree of consensus among rivals could be created — without spelling out the substance.

Terminological gymnastics was the useful method employed: the public could be forgiven, for example, for assuming there was not much difference between the NP's proposed "transitional arrangements", the DP's "transitional government", the PAC's "transitional authority" and the ANC's "interim government". There was, of course, and still is.

Friday marks the beginning of the end of this period of cosy, mutually beneficial ambivalence. The various parties mean entirely different things in using these terms, and the formidable task of the multiparty talks is to thrash out a detailed compromise.

The NP, strategically alert as ever, is already playing publicly with the concept in preparation for some smart moves at the negotiating table. From an initial position that held that the Government's authority during transition was sacrosanct — and the likes of the ANC could hope at best for an "advisory" role — the party is suddenly releasing trial balloons on methods of pre-emptive power-sharing.

The NP is playing with the ingenious idea of softening its opposition to the notion of interim government — thus appearing flexible and conciliatory — while subverting the meaning and purpose of the concept as envisaged by the ANC.

The ANC wants an interim government that would wholly usurp the powers of the State for a limited period, constituting the transition to majority rule elections. The NP is thinking in terms of such a structure accruing powers — and responsibilities — incrementally, and developing an (indefinite) life of its own. The apparent convergence in terminology, therefore, disguises diametrically opposing strategic objectives.

For the ANC, the idea is to get the NP out of the political driver's seat as soon as possible. For the NP, it is quite the reverse: allowing a few back seat drivers on board might ensure that President de Klerk is able to keep his grip on the steering wheel well into the journey.

The ANC is already showing signs of not being quite sure of what the NP is up to, but instinctively assuming the worst. The latest edition of the ANC mouthpiece Mayibuye observes: "It is reliably learnt that the NP wants a drawn-out transitional process with an interim constitution and Interim Government taking 10 years or more." (Note that the ANC is preparing itself for the possibility that the NP will take the wind out of its propaganda sails by agreeing to an "interim government". A key ANC slogan could thereby be rendered worthless.)

Mayibuye continues: "With this kind of weird approach and with its unworkable constitutional proposals, the position of the NP is therefore tenuous. It has few friends as more and more forces ... join the quest for a fair and just transition."

This interpretation might be a useful tonic for the troops reading Mayibuye, but it is exceptionally sanguine under the circumstances. The use of the word "weird" in describing NP strategy suggests a degree of ANC confusion.

In truth, the NP idea is — from its own point of view — anything but weird. "Shrewd" would be a more appropriate term. If the party can succeed in locking its opponents into a form of shared rule on its own terms, it will benefit on many levels. The exercise of power, even pieces of power, will have an inevitably moderating effect on those who have previously been confined to the role of critics; the image of representativity at government level will lessen the pressure for "all-or-nothing" constitutional solutions; and the urgency for holding an election will decrease.

Then there is the ANC assumption that the NP is increasingly friendless as the countdown to the new South Africa begins. What is in fact remarkable is the extent to which NP proposals for avoiding a "winner-takes-all" result are receiving sympathetic hearings, notably in international circles. In the US, most of Europe and the Soviet Union, a uniquely South African solution — including "weird" arrangements restricting a new government's power — are anything but anathema.

The world in 1991 is very different from that of 1960, and foreign governments now listen carefully to any proposal they think might ensure that the future does not dissolve into ethnic chaos, as in Yugoslavia. For these reasons the ANC might be well advised to confront and combat politically NP tactics, rather than dismiss them. And, come Friday, the time for starting to do that will be well and truly nigh. □

For once SA's optimists have a case

304A
BIDay 27/11/91

Economist

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — Despite the odds, South Africans have the will to reach a political settlement, says the latest Economist.

The British business magazine says in an editorial that on the eve of the first formal talks between blacks and whites on the country's future, the case for pessimism remains strong. Despite reforms, violence has escalated and the economy is "groggy". There are fears President F W de Klerk has moved too fast for white voters, while Nelson Mandela has "proved unable to impose his tolerant vision on the black population".

With the scene "set for chaos", the Economist says, the talks will be "hard, with plenty of scope for rebukes, walkouts and breakdowns ... "Yet, despite its wretched past, SA is not automatically destined for a wretched future."

The Economist sees some positive omens, the first being that the talks are taking place at all.

"SA has long been considered the most difficult country to democratise in Africa. This is where white supremacy was given its most elaborate institutional form, and where race and tribe were set most deliberately against one another."

Introducing majority rule is not a matter of "decolonisation, in which the colonists could either go native, go home or, if incorrigibly racist, go to SA. Afrikaners may be white, but they are as much an African tribe as their name suggests. No going back for them.

"And no memories of European democracy. Most of their forebears left Europe before the Enlightenment; democracy is as much, or as little, in their culture as it is in the culture of the black Africans with whom they must share this tip of continent.

"So the marvel is that the parties are on speaking terms at all."

A second good omen is the co-operation among different groups. September's peace accord, while failing to stop the fighting, has "cemented the system of consultation and shared responsibility that has been evolving in government".

The Economist believes the debate over the ANC call for an interim government and a democratically elected constituent assembly will be hard. Whites may end up "having to be satisfied with a bill of rights on the one hand and, on the other, the power that a regionally elected senate would give them.

"To add to these constitutional worries, there is concern about the economy — will a black majority government further damage it through nationalisations and other supposedly wealth-spreading measures? And the country smells of that familiar fear of endemic violence.

"In the slightly longer term it is possible that white second thoughts will clash with black expectations, leading to breakdown and disaster.

"None of these concerns should be dismissed. But the pessimists should remember that blacks and whites also have an interest in reaching agreement; their leaders know that and are responding. For once, the optimists have a case."

NP's model for consensus is a formula for paralysis

STAR 29/11/91 (304A)



Allister Sparks

THE difficulties Gerrit Viljoen experienced in getting the political parties to agree to Friday's steering committee meeting in preparation for the multiparty conference were a foretaste of the consensus politics the National Party wants to be the basis of a new constitution.

There was no big issue at stake. It was a matter of agreeing on a convenor, the chairmen to assist him and a date for the conference. But one party's quibbling caused repeated postponements while an embarrassed Dr Viljoen rushed around trying to get his consensus together. The result was to delay the conference by nearly a month.

If we are going to have so much trouble getting decisions on trivial matters, what is going to happen when the issues are important? Imagine having to get the NP, ANC and Inkatha to agree on every executive decision that has to be taken, in the Presidency and the Cabinet, and on every item of legislation that has to pass through Parliament.

It's a formula for paralysis.

In this and other respects the implications of the NP's proposed constitution seem not yet to have dawned on white South Africans. This is largely because the Government has managed, quite falsely, to put over the idea that it is modelled on the German and Swiss constitutions.

There are elements taken from both, it is true. But in its totality this is a unique constitution, the only one in the world that provides for both statutory coalitions and consensus decision-making.

There are many coalition governments, but they are formed voluntarily and, except in rare instances, when there is no clear majority in parliament.

To compel the forming of a coalition by law even when there is a parliamentary majority is another matter. Combine that with the consensus requirement and the NP's plan to load representation in favour of minority parties and you have a system that is both impracticable and a distortion of democracy.

The Government argues that its purpose is to prevent domination and to accommodate cultural differences. But this confuses "domination" with majority rule. Democracies function on the basis of parliamentary majorities. It is only if the majority oppresses minorities that it is appropriate to talk about domination.

What a constitution needs to do is to prevent such oppression. It can do so with various mechanisms to protect the legitimate rights and interests of minorities.

But to go further, as the NP's proposed constitution does, and require that legislative and executive action can be taken only if minority parties consent to it, is a negation of democracy. It nullifies the will of the majority and empowers the smallest minority, which can go on saying no until its demands are met.

This is not to ignore the importance of minority fears. Reconciliation is our country's crying need, and a prudent black majority party would do well to make a gesture by inviting representatives of other parties and interest groups to join its first Cabinet. There could even be an agreed formula for joint participation for an interim period.

But not a requirement written into the constitution. That makes it a formula for frustrating the majority and sets up the constitution as a target of resentment.

Consider the undemocratic distortions the NP proposal would be likely to produce. There will be one-person-one-vote elections, with proportional representation, to a legislative assembly.

So far so good. But representation in the Senate — the more important House of Parliament because it has the final say on what is passed into law — will be on a regional basis, with every party that polls more than a minimum percentage in each region getting the same number of seats.

The Executive will be a "Presidency" consisting of the leaders of the three largest parties, who will appoint a multiparty Cabinet. Both must take decisions by consensus.

Assume Party A wins 60 percent of the votes in a general election, Party B 20 percent and Party C 10 percent, and that the voting pattern is more or less the same in all regions. It means B and C together have only half A's support but double its representation in the Presidency and Senate.

It also means C alone, with its 10 percent voter support, can block any Executive decision.

It would be difficult to imagine anything more explosive than to block the will of the majority in this way. Here we are saying that apartheid is over and that we are going to have a new, democratic South Africa. We allow the blacks to vote and their chosen party to win a majority, expecting that this will enable it to start redressing the gross inequalities that are the legacy of apartheid.

But then we have a constitution that prevents that majority from meeting the expectations of the millions of people who voted for it; that allows the NP or even the Conservative Party to veto whatever they don't like and so preserve the status quo.

Why did President de Klerk ever embark on this course with his famous speech of February 2 1990? Surely because the failure of the tricameral constitution to satisfy the overwhelming majority of the population had led to an upsurge of internal strife and external pressures that made the situation in the country untenable.

So why do the same again? Who stands to gain from a constitution that, by frustrating the majority of people, causes renewed alienation and political turmoil? Surely not anyone. □

Conservatives set for landslide in this hard-hat constituency

STAR 27/11/91. (304A

A beleaguered National Party is heading for defeat at the hands of the Conservative Party in the Virginia by-election tomorrow, writes Political Reporter ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE.

THERE IS little that counts in the National Party's favour in tomorrow's Virginia parliamentary by-election.

Massive retrenchments on the Free State constituency's mines have led to the departure of 8 000 voters from the area, many of whom have been traced by — and will vote for — the Conservative Party.

Sporadic violence at the President Steyn gold mine has also played into the hand of CP candidate Kobus Beyers, who says violence is "simply the manifestation of the new South Africa" and the result of the unbanning of "revolutionary" groups.

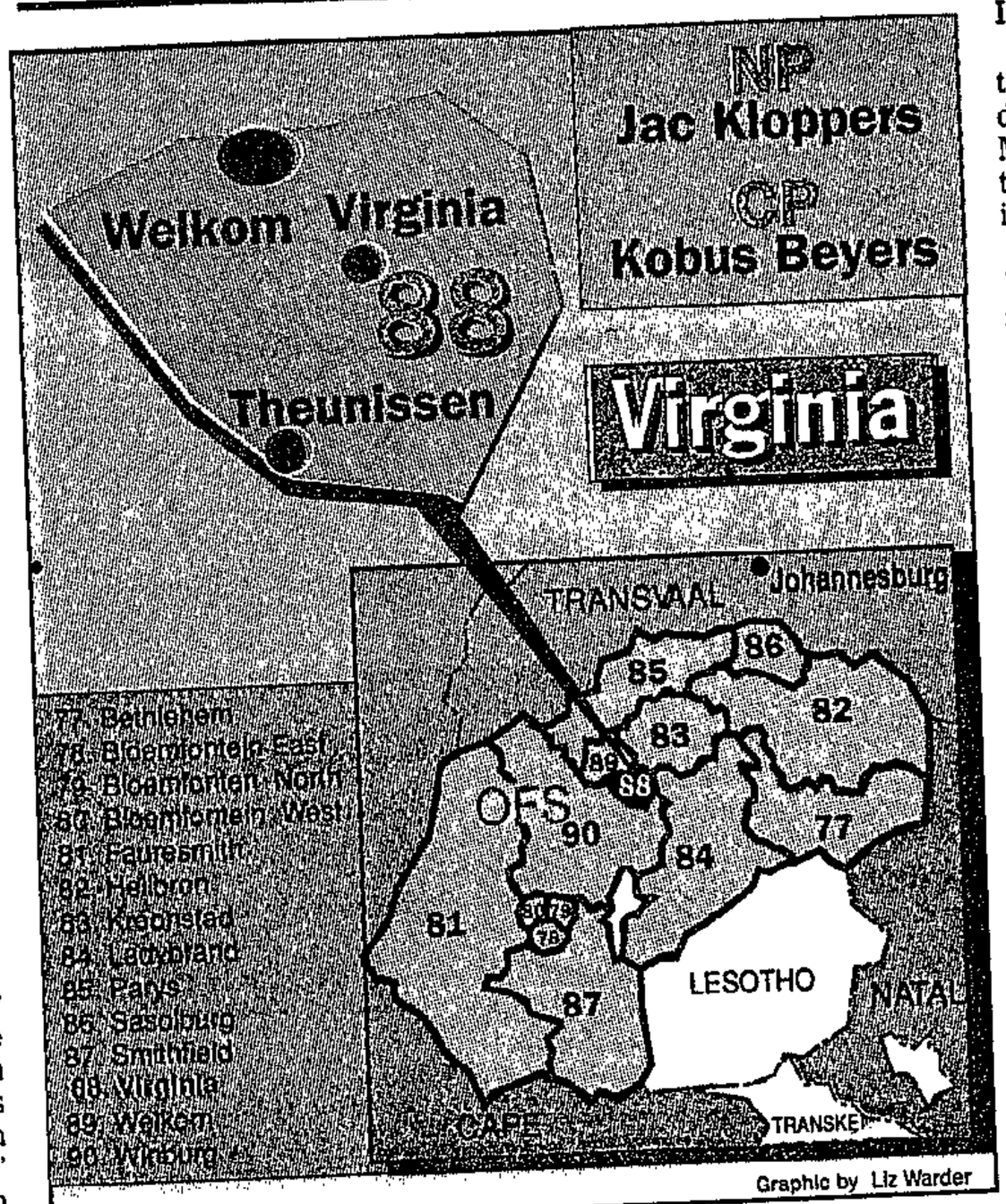
The CP has also successfully exploited the nonracial policy of many mining houses.

Mr Beyers says the Saaiplaas suburb of Virginia is already 20 percent black due to "this forced integration" which has led to "frustration and soaring crime, while shebeens have been opened all over, and locations have been brought right into white backyards".

Yet Mr Beyers maintains that the constituency's roughly 23 000 voters will go to the polls to indicate a political choice.

Predicting a 3 000-vote CP majority, Mr Beyers says the massive swing to the Opposition could be attributed to the NP's constitutional direction "which doesn't offer whites a future" and unkept promises made in the 1989 general election, when conservative "own affairs" Minister Piet Clase scraped home by a mere 47 votes. Mr Clase resigned earlier this year.

"Die-hard Nationalists, even some NP election workers, are voting CP because the NP can no longer hide the consequences of reform — a unitary state under a communist ANC government," says Mr Beyers.



"The NP made a huge mistake by promising own schools, own suburbs and separate voters rolls in the 1989 election. This has been proved to have been a vote-catching gimmick. The NP's credibility has reached rock bottom."

The Democratic Party, which drew 680 votes in the last election but is not standing this year, has battered the beleaguered NP from the opposite direction — accusing the NP of being hypocritical in not coming out in open support of nonracialism and integration.

NP candidate Jac Kloppers, a lawyer, reacts angrily.

"The DP is the party which wants to integrate. The NP explicitly states that there should be a choice.

"I propagate NP policy. How can I say all schools should be open if the party says there should be a local option? It is ridiculous to say I am dishonest. I am not a DP candidate."

Against all predictions that the NP will suffer a humiliating defeat in the two-way contest, Mr Kloppers remains adamant that this assumption is based on inflated CP expectations.

But privately top Nationalists have gloomily forecast a landslide CP victory in a constituency in which 80 percent of the voters are employed in mining.

Mr Kloppers claims that many CP supporters have defected to the NP, recognising that it offers a safe future while the CP will be increasingly marginalised.

"After nine years, the CP has not made any progress with its white homeland. People are realising that CP policy is unworkable. They realise that their future lies in the concentration of forces into an alternative power bloc to that of the radicals. The NP is increasingly looking like a safe haven, compared to the CP option which will make whites irrelevant, as has happened in Rhodesia.

"And NP supporters accept our constitutional proposals. They understand that the NP is taking steps which will be in everyone's interest. They accept that an era has come to an end," says Mr Kloppers.

"They know that blacks should get rights. It is only fear of the consequences of this policy that keeps many people within the CP fold. Those who understand that fear is not enough know that the NP is offering the safest solution". □

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

2 judges may chair meeting

STAR 21/11/91 (3044)

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

Today's historic preparatory committee meeting to set the scene for next month's multiparty negotiations may be chaired by two Supreme Court judges, The Star has learnt.

As last-minute arrangements for the historic meeting were made yesterday, the names of Mr Justice P J Schabort and Mr Justice I Mahomed — the country's first black judge — were mentioned.

The meeting is scheduled to start at 10 am at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, near Kempton Park.

Sources said late yesterday the main players had been consulted, and the Government, ANC and DP had already agreed to the issue of the chairmanship.

But it was possible that all the parties would not reach agreement before talks started and the meeting itself would have to decide.

Another proposal was that the chairmanship should rotate among the five bigger parties — the Government, ANC, PAC, IFP and DP.

About 20 parties — including the six self-governing national states and the four TBVC states — will attend.

The dispute about the chairmanship underlined the sensitivity about arrangements which has characterised preparations for the meeting. Exactly what would happen at the meeting remained something of a mystery yesterday.

Because the meeting has not officially been convened by anyone, no official agenda has been prepared. The meeting itself will have to decide on one.

This week, the ANC finalised a "statement of principles" to be presented at today's meeting.

It outlines basic ANC policy on a new constitution, stating that the country should be a non-racial, non-sexist democracy; that there should be free political choice; that human rights should be entrenched in a bill of rights; and that there should be an independent, representative judiciary.



Mr Justice I Mohamed ... tipped to co-chair talks.

The statement also said there should be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary.

Today's meeting will take place behind closed doors and the participants themselves will decide whether to issue a statement or hold a press conference afterwards.

The meeting is expected to continue tomorrow.

The PAC yesterday sent a delegation to some embassies in Pretoria to drum up support for its demand for an outside venue and neutral convener for the multiparty conference. Sources said the PAC did not receive a sympathetic hearing.

● President de Klerk yesterday confirmed that the NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, would lead the NP delegation to the meeting and that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen would head a separate Government delegation.

● More reports — Pages 3 and 14

India seeks more reforms by Pretoria

STATE 27/11/91

By Neel Patri
Star Foreign Service

NEW DELHI — The Indian government was waiting for "further steps" by Pretoria to make the progress towards a nonracial and democratic South Africa "irreversible" before establishing normal relations, according to a statement made in the lower House this week.

Minister of State for External Affairs Eduardo Faleiro said that in conformity with the decisions taken by the Harare Summit, boycotts had been lifted in regard to sports in which there had been integration.

"India is also lifting people-to-people sanctions."

However, the Commonwealth summit "decided to maintain trade, economic and financial sanctions and the arms embargo until further progress was made towards achieving a democratic and nonracial South Africa", he said.

Power behind Nat throne

Broederbond is seeking for the protection of minority rights



THE secret Afrikaner Broederbond is still the power behind the National Party throne and had as early as 1986 suggested that a black person must be able to become president.

Actually, the Broederbond charted the present constitutional negotiations and set the guidelines.

In 1986 the Broederbond circulated among its members a document, Basic Political Conditions for the Continuing Survival of the Afrikaner, for discussion.

Important statements included that:

All political groups should be involved in drawing up a new constitution;

Blacks should be admitted to the highest level of Government;

The Cabinet should be able to have a black majority; and

A black should be able to become president of the country.

This rare glimpse into the elite and exclusive Broederbond and that of all political groups in South Africa today is contained in a new book, Political Organisations in South Africa: A-Z by Hennie Kotze and Anneke Greyling.

Black readers will be especially intrigued by the chapter dealing with the Broederbond, the rightwing Afrikaner Volkswag and the ultra-right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, as well as the rise of the Afrikaner to political power.

Did you know that the NP's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was Broederbond chairman from 1974 to 1980; that during 1990 a further document, A possible constitutional model for South Africa, was released by the Broederbond and was in fact, the work of its youth wing, Ruiterwag?

To quote from the book: "Experts in the field of political studies were invited to explain the different political dispensations. In some cases Ministers and even the present State President were called upon to answer critical questions relating to the (1986) document.

"...the extensive debates within the Broederbond about possible constitutional models ensured that it was not caught unawares by the new direction taken by FW de Klerk. His close ties within the organisation enable him to use the Broederbond as a 'political messenger' for the Afrikaner community in general.'

Transition

It says this symbiotic relationship between the NP and a chosen elite group of Afrikaners - all males, by the way - may be of great value to De Klerk during the transition from apartheid to a more democratic dispensation.

However, it should be borne in mind that it was the Broederbond which presented the now contentious proposal that an attempt be made to protect minority rights.

Another quote: "...it means there can no longer be a white-entrenched government. But neither can there be a black-entrenched or a Zulu-entrenched government, for example", says the 1986 document.

A succesful graphic presentation on the role of the "political" and/or "apolitical" churches is given - from the NG Kerk (which rejected apartheid in 1986) to the critical South African Council of Churches and the "passive" Independent Black Churches and the Rhema Church.

Kotze and Greyling make this point: "The diversity and complexity of politics in South Africa are duplicated in the church, religion and theology. Because the churches are a reflection of society, they represent not only society's theological differences, but also all its political differences and tensions."

The manifestos, aims and policies of the ANC, PAC, NP and all other "major players" are meticulously presented.

The photograph of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is next to that of Dr Carel Boshoff, former Broederbond chairman and present Afrikaner Volkswag chairman who advocates an "independent volkstaat" and the ANC's Ms Cheryl Carolus.

Mr Joe Slovo of the SACP is smug next to Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Kotze is head of the department of political science at the University of Stellenbosch. Greyling is a researcher in the same department.

(Political Organisations in South Africa: A-Z is published by Tafelberg and retails at R59,55.).

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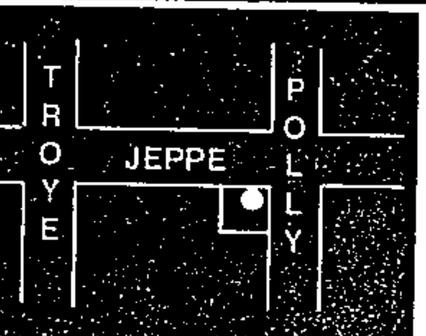

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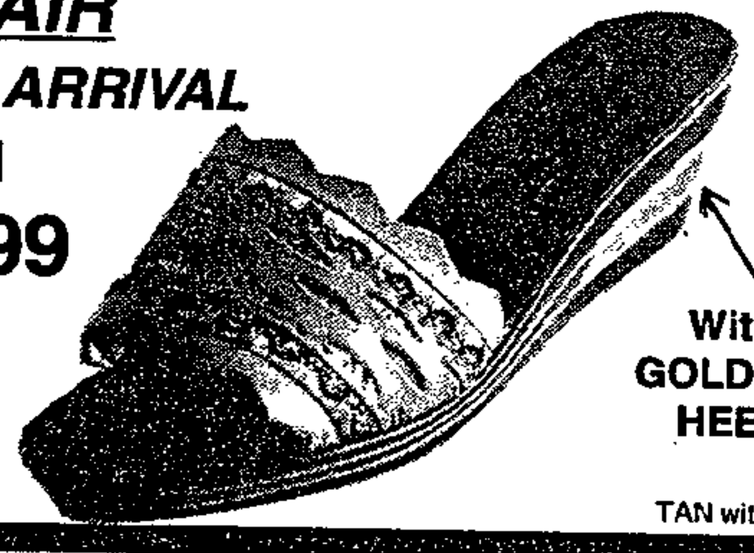

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SEND R20 DEP. FOR C.O.D. ORDERS

Virginia: CP 'comfortably ahead' in prior votes

3048
ARG 28/11/91

Political Staff

VIRGINIA. — The Conservative Party is comfortably ahead on prior votes cast for today's parliamentary by-election in Virginia — regarded as an acid test for President De Klerk's reforms in the workers' class mining constituency.

The CP yesterday claimed to have processed about 70 percent of the 7 700 prior votes cast by last night but the National Party was optimistic that it might recover lost ground on polling day.

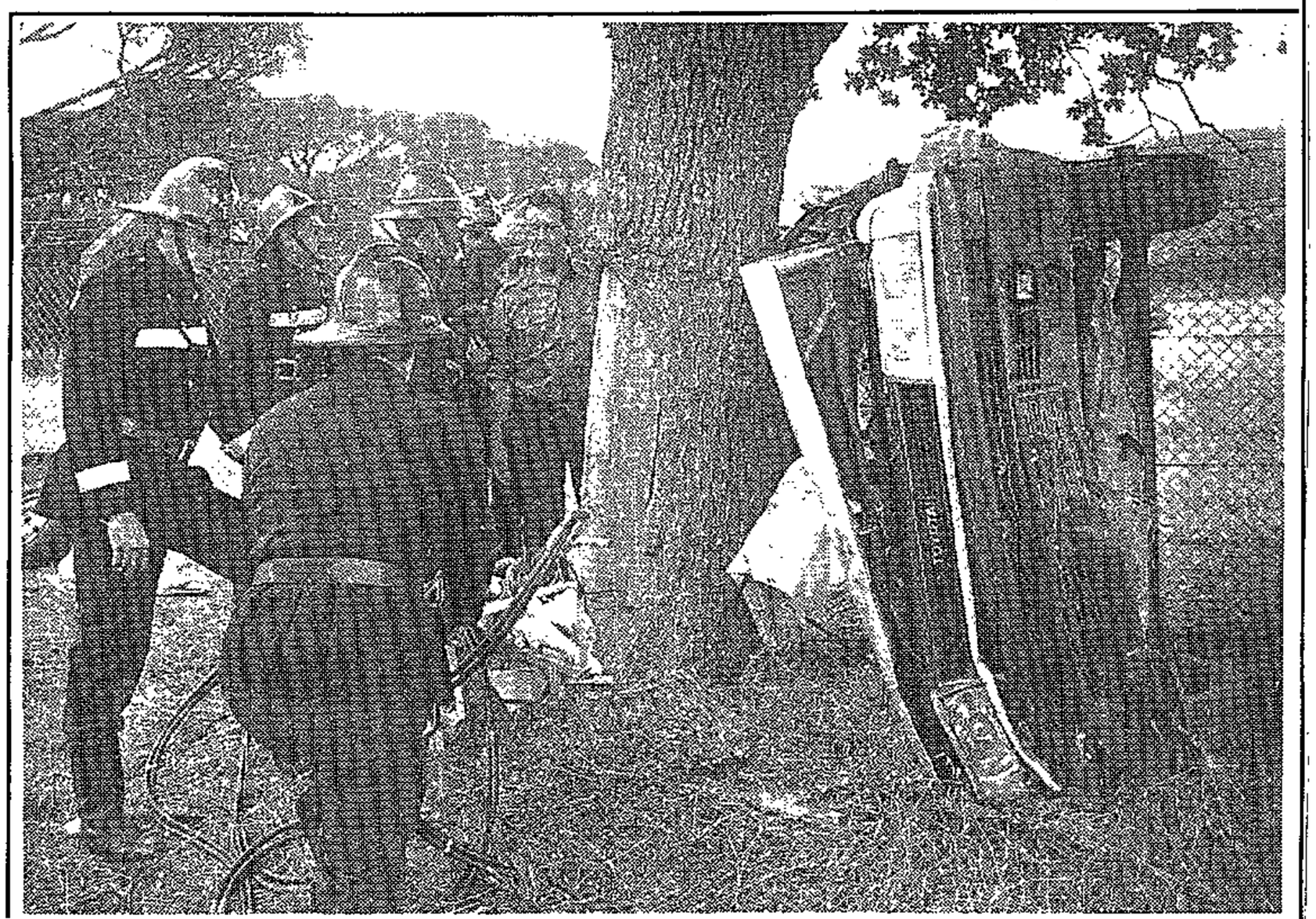
NP candidate Jac Kloppers said: "Our votes have picked up strongly but we are still trailing.

"After an excellent NP public meeting on Monday night with Mr Pik Botha, at which we had the largest audience ever drawn at a political meeting in Virginia, there is a spirit of optimism that the battle is far from over."

CP candidate Kobus Beyers confidently predicted a 3 000-vote majority for his party — enough, he said, to hand the government a devastating blow and prove the NP no longer represented the majority of whites.

The Free State constituency's roughly 23 000 voters go to the polls today to elect a successor to former "own affairs" Minister Piet Clase who has resigned.

The NP clung on to Virginia by a mere 47 votes in the 1989 general election, in which the Democratic Party polled 680 votes and the Herstigte Nasionale Party 88 votes.



Picture. BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

CRASH SCENE: Firemen looking at the wreck of a car which left Rhodes Drive near the University of Cape Town and hit a tree, seriously injuring and trapping the driver, Mr A Tooley, 19, of Constantia, who was taken to Groote Schuur Hospital.

(304A) CT 28/11/91

'Secret deal'

Govt, ANC in plan — PAC



'SECRET DEAL' ... The PAC's Mr Bennie Alexander who revealed details yesterday of a claimed government-ANC secret plan.

Political Staff

THE PAC yesterday claimed the ANC and the government had a secret plan to install an interim government by February and bring an end to sanctions.

Producing what it said were the minutes of a briefing given by ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki to African ambassadors to the United Nations earlier this month, the PAC lashed out at its Patriotic Front partner, the ANC, accusing it of "deceit and duplicity".

The ANC and the government yesterday denied the existence of such a plan.

The public row between the PAC and the ANC, on the eve of the preparatory talks in Johannesburg tomorrow, indicates that the tenuous unity reached between them at the Patriotic Front conference at the end of last month is in jeopardy.

But PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said the PAC would still attend tomorrow's preparatory talks for a multi-party conference.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, rejected the PAC claim. He called it disinformation.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The ANC utterly repudiates the unfounded assertions."

At a hastily called news conference last night, Mr Mbeki said the meeting referred to was not a meeting of African leaders, but a meeting of the frontline states. No minutes were kept. He suggested that the document released by the PAC was a fabrication.

'Minutes' of briefing

According to the PAC's general secretary, Mr Bennie Alexander, the document, which he showed to the press, contained minutes of a briefing given earlier this month by Mr Mbeki to African ambassadors at the UN.

In the document it is alleged that Mr Mbeki would suggest at tomorrow's meeting that a declaration of intent should be adopted setting out the legal basis for the interim government.

Mr Alexander said the document showed the government and the ANC had agreed to a timeframe to install the interim government by February 1992 with the ANC effectively dropping its demand for a constituent assembly.

This agenda was agreed upon during secret meetings between the government and the ANC, but the PAC had not even been informed about the meetings, Mr Alexander said.

According to Sapa, part of the minutes released by Mr Alexander said: "The parties (ANC and government) are eager to have things move fast, hence the ANC has problems with its 'constituent assembly' demand which would delay the process by up to a year."

The preparatory meeting tomorrow would adopt a declaration of intent, the document said.

"Legally, once the declaration of intent is accepted, apartheid will be dead."

Mr Mbeki is then alleged to have said it would be difficult to support or advocate sanctions after the acceptance of the declaration.



'DISINFORMATION' Dr Gerrit Viljoen



'FABRICATION' ... Mr Thabo Mbeki

CP likely to 'walk' Virginia election

304A

ET 28/11/91

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Whites in South Africa's right-wing heartland go to the polls today for what is expected to amount to a resounding Conservative Party win.

Although CP officials are officially claiming they expect to win Free State's Virginia by-election by 2 000 votes, they say in private that a majority of less than 3 000 will come as a big surprise.

CP candidate Mr Kobus Beyers said yesterday that the CP had scooped 70% of the 7 000-odd special votes posted by yesterday's 2pm deadline.

There are nearly 23 000 registered voters in Virginia, of whom a substantial number — the CP estimates about 8 000 — have left the area as a result of poor economic conditions and widescale retrenchments.

If the CP figures are correct they already have a 5 000-vote head start on the NP.

'Disillusion'

The National Party won the seat in the 1989 general election by only 47 votes. The by-election results from the retirement of the MP for the constituency, Mr Piet Clase, who was Minister of Education and Culture.

Political analyst Mr Wim Booyse said yesterday: "The CP is going to walk it. The only question is by how much."

Mr Beyers said yesterday the swing to the CP was the result of "disillusion with the NP/ANC alliance" and the growing perception that the country would become "a unitary state run by the ANC".

The NP is pinning its hopes on what candidate Mr Jac Kloppers has described as a late groundswell of support as as result of South Africa's international sporting and diplomatic breakthroughs.

"CP claims that they are going to win by 3 000 votes are wildly exaggerated . . . it is going to be a race right to the end," said Mr Kloppers.

The by-election is being held on the eve of the preparatory meeting for the multi-party talks and may give an indication of how these are perceived by whites.

De Villiers to head NP group

(304A) ARG 28/11/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers is expected to lead the NP's delegation to tomorrow's crucial meeting of about 20 parties and governments to arrange an all-party conference on negotiations.

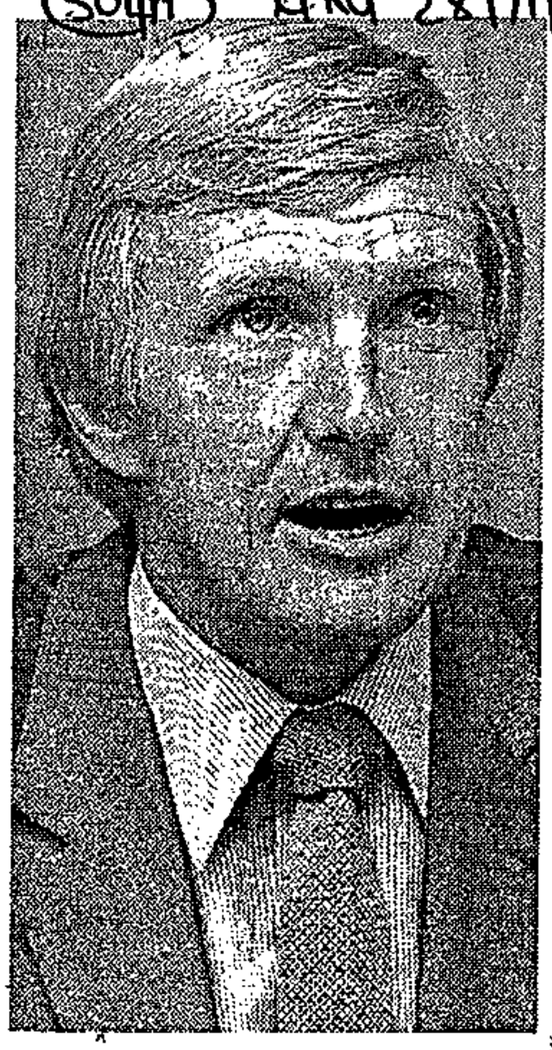
The government is to send a separate delegation headed by its chief negotiator Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Informed sources believe that the other two members of the NP delegation will be Transvaal NP leader and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

The remaining two members of the government delegation will be Justice Minister and NP Free State leader Mr Kobie Coetsee and the government's chief constitutional adviser Mr Fanie van der Merwe, sources said.

Some sources believe that the NP and government delegations could merge at some stage in the negotiations.

Meanwhile up-and-coming ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa seems to be moving into a strong position to take a place at the preparatory committee table as one of his party's three-person delegation.



Dr Dawie de Villiers

Earlier, ANC sources said their three-man delegation would consist of secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Mr Jacob Zuma and international affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki.

But the latest speculation is that Mr Moosa will replace Mr Zuma. This is being interpreted as a minor victory for the ANC "internals" over the exiles.

Mr Moosa was a prominent UDF leader before the ANC was unbanned while Mr Zuma was in exile for many years.

Some political observers see the choice of Dr De Villiers to head the NP's delegation as a sign that he is now clearly number two in the NP hierarchy and has overhauled Mr Du Plessis — the man who came close to beating President De Klerk in the election for the party leadership in February 1989.

As evidence they point to his closeness to Mr De Klerk and to the fact that the Cape now has many more MPs than the Transvaal NP — especially since about 20 coloured MPs in the House of Representatives joined the NP this year.

The NP, ANC, IFP and others were due to meet last night to finalise arrangements for the preparatory committee meeting.

The provisional arrangements are that the meeting will take place at the Jan Smuts Airport Holiday Inn and will be closed.

Although it has only been scheduled for one day, most observers expect it to run over to Saturday, for which contingency plans have been made.

(304A) ARGT 26/11/91

'W: I'm not bitter

arnard 'stabbed me in the back, spied on my family ...'



Picture: JOHAN SCHRÖNEN, The Argus.

rescue workers inspect the wreck of a bakkie after it bus on the N2 near Heideveld yesterday, trapping a The bakkie was sent flying through the air after the ipants of the bus were unhurt.

off Table Mountain

uission for anoth- nanagement re- ay". was best to Gorge. down and Santana a man ed to with me-

9.30pm. He said some of them had scratches.

● A false alarm over two women missing in the Helderberg Nature Reserve placed several volunteer rescuers on standby yesterday.

A search party was called out after a preliminary search proved fruitless, according to Mr Roy Van Schoor, of the Four Wheel Drive Club's offroad rescue unit.

The women, who had got lost during their hike, were found at home during a routine check.

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PIERRE CLAASSEN
of Sapa
and The Argus
Political Staff

The PW Tapes

WILDERNESS. — Former president Mr P W Botha says he is not an embittered or lonely but wants a complete and true record of his political life.

Central to his huge legacy of 36,5 metres of documentation, and still missing, is the hour-long conversation he had with Mr Nelson Mandela a little more than a month before he resigned as president.

A comprehensive biography is being written which will ultimately reveal many secrets of his long innings as parliamentarian, minister, prime minister and South Africa's first executive state president.



Dr Niel Barnard

Mr Botha was in an effusive mood when he welcomed a small group of journalists he had invited to his house for a mini-media conference at which he put his case regarding the missing "Tuynhuys tapes" of an hour-long meeting with the then prisoner Mr Mandela.

Mr Botha was insistent regarding the tapes which he said the National Intelligence Service chief, Dr Niel Barnard, had no right to destroy without making a transcript or warning him.

He also rejects Dr Barnard's claim that such recordings had to be destroyed to protect him and the government from the fact they were done clandestinely or without Mr Mandela's permission.

"The tape-recording is my property and part of my documented record," Mr Botha said.

He rejected the summarised recollections Dr Barnard — who attended the meeting with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and the Commissioner of Prisons — offered as a substitute for the missing tape and said he would pursue the matter until he was satisfied that no certified record of his historic discussion existed.

He released Dr Barnard's top-secret minute of the meeting and a transcription of a grilling he gave the intelligence chief 12 days earlier.

● Mr Botha wiped the floor with the National Intelligence Service head when they met at his home at the Wilderness on November 12, reports The Argus political staff.

This emerged from the transcript of the meeting during which Mr Botha demanded to know why Dr Barnard had destroyed a tape of his meeting with Mr Mandela on July 5 1989.

In the transcript of the tape of the meeting with Dr Barnard, released by Mr Botha, Dr Barnard hardly had the chance to complete a sentence before Mr Botha attacked him again.

He accused Dr Barnard of stabbing him in the back and spying on his family, something the NIS head strongly denied.

Mr Botha told Dr Barnard that the one reason why the tape of what he described as "the most important conversation" had been destroyed because "you people thought I was dying. But I did not die. I am still alive and I am as healthy as ever, if not healthier".

Pact exists to rule SA by decree, PAC claims

ANC, Govt deny secret deal

By Shaun Johnson
Kaizer Nyatsumba
and Peter Davies

The ANC and the Government last night dismissed a bombshell allegation by the PAC that the NP and ANC have struck "secret deals" to run the country jointly.

At a hastily called media conference, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki denied the PAC claims, saying no talks on constitutional matters had taken place with the Government in the last six months.

Mr Mbeki said a document produced by the PAC to substantiate their claims was "a lot of mischief (invented by someone) who wants to discredit the ANC."

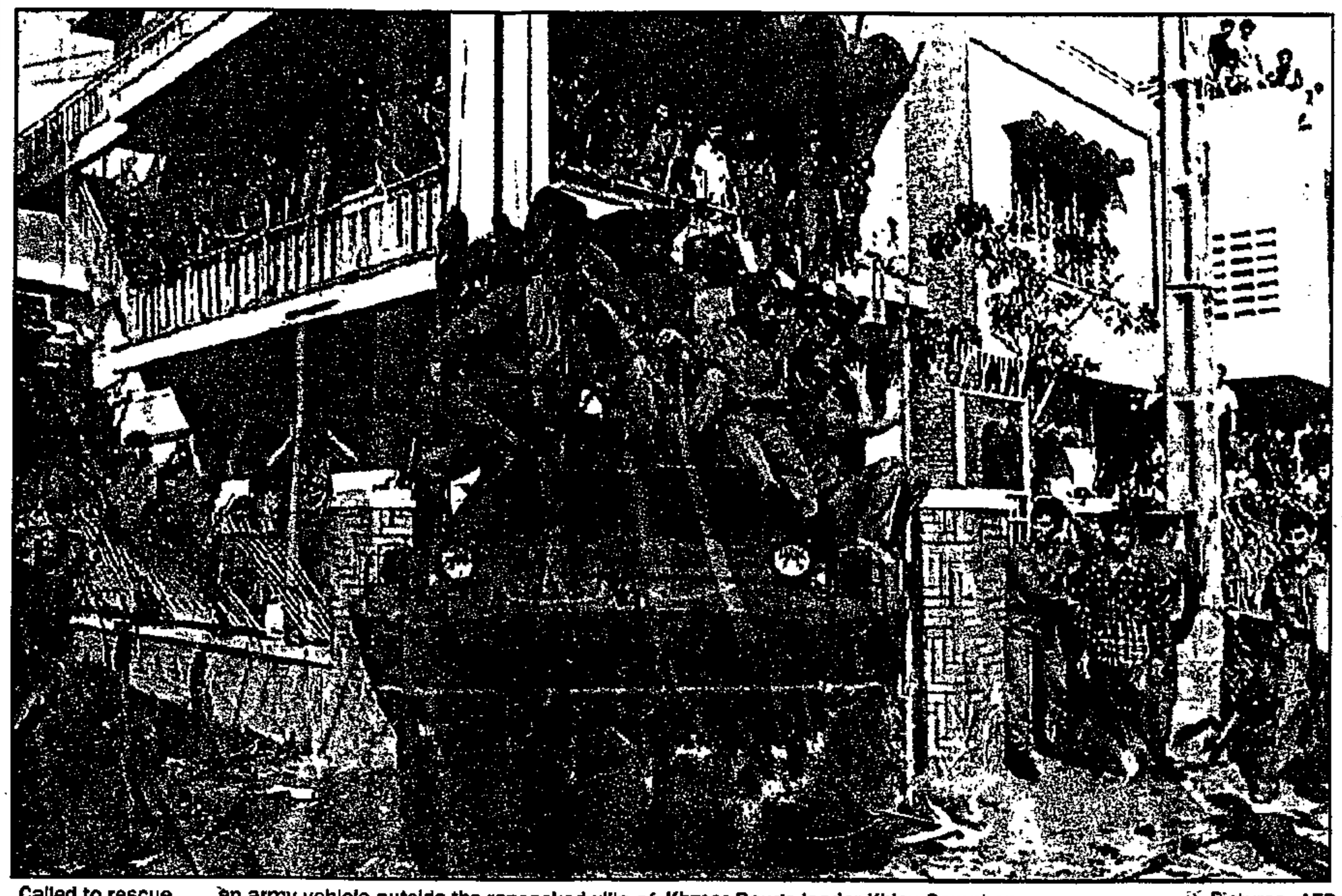
Mr Ramaphosa expressed regret that the PAC — the ANC's ally in the Patriotic Front — had chosen to make "reckless charges" through the media.

Dawie tipped to lead NP team — Page 3
Custodians of SA's future — Page 33

Yesterday afternoon the PAC produced a document alleging that the NP and ANC had secretly made deals which would allow the two parties to "rule South Africa in alliance by decree for many years to come".

The PAC said the document proved the ANC planned to:

- Drop its demand for a constituent assembly.
- Have an interim government installed in just more than two months from now.
- Surprise tomorrow's steering committee meeting with a proposal for a "declaration of intent" with profound political implications.
- Stop advocating sanctions after tomorrow's meeting.



Called to rescue . . . an army vehicle outside the ransacked villa of Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan. Pictures: AFP

3 held after gang kills two on train

By Monica Oosterbroek

Three men were arrested after two people were killed and two others seriously injured in an attack on train commuters on the Reef last night.

The men were arrested at the New Canada station in Soweto and three firearms, including a home-made rifle, were confiscated.

Police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said the attacks took place on the train travelling between the George Goch station in downtown Johannesburg to the Nancefield station in Soweto at about 6 pm.

Two people were killed at the Langlaagte station by a gang that rampaged through the carriages.

One of them was stabbed and beaten to death on the platform and the other was run over by the train after being thrown off.

Two people were injured when the train pulled in at Longdale station.

One person was stabbed and thrown off the train and the other jumped off the train and broke his leg after the attackers hit him.

Mob storms villa, beats up hated Khmer Rouge leader

PHNOM PENH (Cambodia) — An angry mob screaming "Dog!" and "Murderer!" yesterday surged past sympathetic police and beat a top leader of the Khmer Rouge,



day's attack at the very least delayed what was to have been the first meeting of a national reconciliation council comprising the four warring factions, including the



Yesterday afternoon the PAC produced a document alleging that the NP and ANC had secretly made deals which would allow the two parties to "rule South Africa in alliance by decree for many years to come".

The PAC said the document proved the ANC planned to:

- Drop its demand for a constituent assembly.
- Have an interim government installed in just more than two months from now.
- Surprise tomorrow's steering committee meeting with a proposal for a "declaration of intent" with profound political implications.
- Stop advocating sanctions after tomorrow's meeting.

The PAC document contained what the organisation claims are the minutes of a confidential briefing given by Mr Mbeki to a group of African ambassadors at the United Nations last week.

A copy of the minutes was allegedly obtained by the PAC's chief representative in New York, a Dr Pheko, and forwarded to the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters. Dr Pheko had been excluded from the New York meeting "at Mr Mbeki's request".

According to the document, Mr Mbeki told the ambassadors in a 2½-hour briefing that secret meetings between the ANC and the NP were held. In the course of these meetings, it is alleged, plans were made for the convening of the steering committee and the all-party conference itself.

An eight-point agenda for the conference was agreed to.

Rejecting the claims last night, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said it was clear that in the recent past, distortion of information about the negotiations between the Government and the ANC had been given to the press.

Neither the Government nor the NP had conducted any negotiations with the ANC about constitutional change, he said.

In his statement, Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC "utterly repudiates the unfounded assertions in the PAC's media release, and shall seek means other than the mass

● To Page 2

TELSTAR

ANC, Govt deny claim of secret deal

(3044) (114)

● From Page 1

media to pursue them with the leadership of the PAC".

He added that at its national executive committee plenary meeting on Tuesday this week, the ANC "endorsed the decisions of the Patriotic Front regarding the constituent assembly and committed itself to striving for an interim government of national unity, of limited duration, to oversee the transition".

Mr Mbeki confirmed that a meeting had taken place on the date mentioned, but said: "It was a meeting not of African ambassadors, but of Frontline states. Do you know the relationship between the ANC and the Frontline states? Frontline states don't issue minutes of meetings, so I don't know where the PAC (got this)."

The PAC document claimed further that Mr Mbeki had told the gathering that tomorrow's steering committee meeting would "first consider a 'declaration of intent'. The declaration of intent would set up the legal basis for the decisions of the conference.

"It will set up how decisions will be arrived at and how they will be incorporated into SA law."

In addition, Mr Mbeki is reported as saying the Government had agreed to the recent amendment of the Referendum Act in order to make it nonracial.

"The parties are eager to have things move fast and hence the ANC has a problem with its own constituent-assembly demand.

"The ANC saw the interim government being installed by February 1992."

The disputed document seems certain to provoke further controversy around Mr Mbeki, who has many left-wing critics because of his supposedly "moderate" views, and the ANC leadership. It has also posed a threat to the recently founded Patriotic Front.

"We have with great regret concluded that the ANC is without question guilty of deceit and duplicity," the PAC announced yesterday.

"The ANC is ditching the constituent assembly in the face of their own congress decisions and the declaration of the Patriotic Front.

"We believe the ANC, in cahoots with the regime, is aborting our common resolve," the PAC said.

The PAC said although the ANC had purported to inform its Patriotic Front ally about meetings with the Government, it had not told them about most of the things mentioned by Mr Mbeki in the meeting.

In spite of the surprise development, the PAC said it would still attend tomorrow's meeting.

Nevertheless, Mr Ramaphosa said he regarded the row between the two key Patriotic Front members as "a hiccup. The PF exists among a whole range of organisations, not just the ANC and the PAC".

STAR 28/11/91

(304A) 28/11/91

Custodians of S

STAR 28/11

The most representative meeting of lea... seen in the political life of South Africa ... way tomorrow. Political Editor SHAUN JOH... views an event destined for a prominent ... history books.

FEATURED below are all the organisations and some of the men — there are surprisingly few women involved — who will take off their jackets and slide into chairs around a negotiating table at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow morning. Look at them and their organisations carefully — they are the political custodians of South Africa's future.

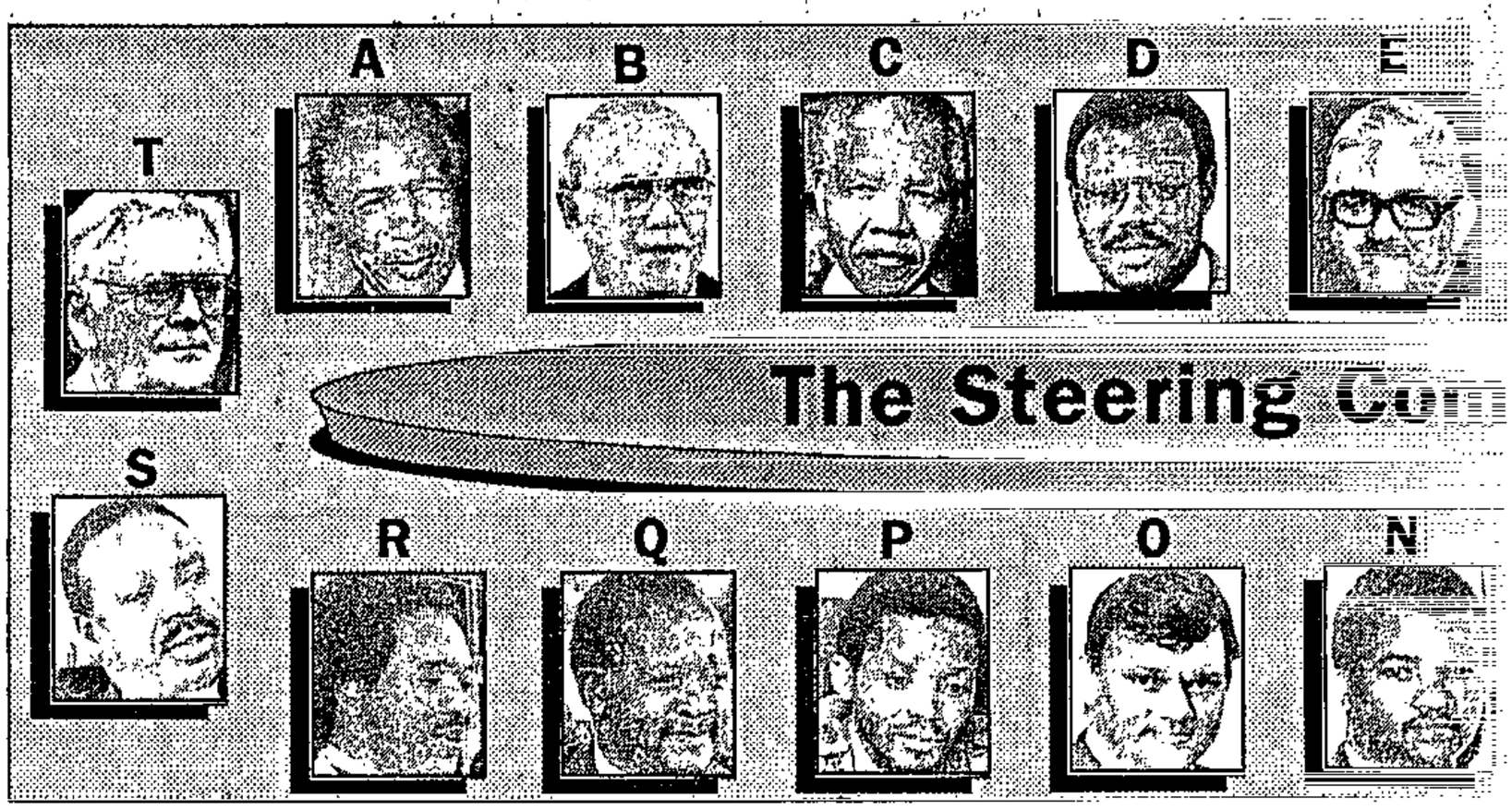
The steering committee meeting for multiparty talks which they are convening marks the formal point of no return in the negotiations process. The steering committee get-together is an historic stop-off point on the long road to the new South Africa. It will not in itself take any decisions on the shape of the country's future, but it will make the taking of those decisions possible for the first time. It signifies the end of "talks about talks".

The constitutional convention into which next month's multiparty talks will metamorphose cannot come about without the successful conclusion of the steering committee meeting. If it can enter the weekend in agreement, the steering committee will have achieved unprecedented political consensus.

The presence of the NP, ANC, IFP and PAC (although there were last-minute rumblings yesterday from the PAC) is enough to ensure that the bulk of South African political opinion has converged to the point of getting down to real business.

The white Right, as represented by the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, will not attend — but the representivity of those at the table is such that elements of the right wing are likely to be drawn into the process at some stage. The same applies to the left-wing Azanian People's Organisation; the point is that the other participants are strong enough without them at ...

The start of ... tiations on South ... stitutional future is ... in the country's ... for the simple ... before have leade... ing such a wide ...



A Pan Africanist Congress
Leader: Clarence Makwetu.
Formed: 1959 (breakaway from ANC).
Membership: not given.
Philosophy: African socialism but opposed to totalitarianism. Multiparty democracy, independent judiciary, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: part of Patriotic Front with ANC and others, but closer ideologically to Azapo and Black Consciousness Movement.
Chief negotiator: Barney Desai is present convener of negotiating team.
Position in party: publicity secretary.
Career: 27 years in exile, London barrister.
Delegation: Mr Desai, William Sereti, Mlubi Mbandaza.

B Government
Ruling party: National Party.
Leader: President de Klerk.
Came to power: 1948.
Basic philosophy: Same as NP.
Chief negotiator: Not clear, but Mr de Klerk will have ultimate say.
Career: Lawyer, politician.
Delegation: Provisionally Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Kobie Coetsee, Fanie van der Merwe.

C African National Congress
Leader: Nelson Mandela.
Formed: 1912.
Membership: Paid up 600 000.
Philosophy: Nonracialism, a democratic SA with universal franchise, mixed economy and a socio-economic policy to address inequalities, independent judiciary with bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.
Chief negotiator: Likely to be Cyril Ramaphosa.
Position in party: General-secretary.
Career: Lawyer, trade unionist.
Delegation: Likely to be Mr Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma (with Mohammed Valli Moosa having an outside chance).

D Inkatha Freedom Party
Leader: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
Formed: 1990 (formerly Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe, formed 1975).
Membership: Not given.
Philosophy: Race-free multiparty democracy, rule of law, independent judiciary with executive of government subject to Supreme Court. Maximum devolution of power, bill of rights. Free enterprise economy.
Possible allegiance: Independent. Bilateral talks with all groups.
Chief negotiator: Dr Frank Mdlalose.
Position in party: National chairman.
Career: Medical doctor, politician.
Delegation: Dr Mdlalose, Walter Felgate, Inkosi S H Gumede.

E National Party
Formed: 1914.
Membership: Not given (1 036 499 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Participatory democracy with justice for all, private-enterprise market economy with a social conscience.
Possible allegiance: A disposition to form alliances with "moderate" parties.
Chief negotiator: Likely to be Dr Gerrit Viljoen.
Position in party: Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.
Career: Academic, politician.
Delegation: Provisionally Dawie de Villiers, Barend du Plessis and Roelf Meyer.

F Labour Party
Leader: Rev Allan Hendrickse.
Formed: 1965.
Membership: Not given (171 930 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Nonracial democracy, geographic federation of economically viable states, mixed economy, affirmative action, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Too early to determine. Talking to all organisations.
Chief negotiator: Rev Allan Hendrickse.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Cleric, politician.
Delegation: Miley Richards, Chris April, Peter Hendrickse.

G Inyandza National Movement (KaNgwane)
Leader: Chief Minister Mangisi Cephas Zitha.
Formed: 1977.
Membership: Claimed 350 000.
Basic philosophy: Mixed economy, multiparty democracy.
Possible allegiance: ANC.
Chief negotiator: Mr Zitha.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Government official and Minister.
Delegation: Elias Ginindza, Dr Patrick Maduna, Professor Selby Ripinga.

H Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses (joint delegation)
Leaders: Cassim Saloojee (TIC), George Sewpersad (NIC).
Formed: TIC late 1800s; revived 1982. NIC 1894; revived 1972.
Membership: No system of paid-up membership. Overlaps with ANC/SACP.
Philosophy: Nonracial, non-sexist united SA, universal franchise, mixed economy, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.
Chief negotiator: Possibly Mr Saloojee.
Position in party: TIC president.
Career: Welfare administrator.
Delegation: Mr Saloojee; two NIC members not yet announced.

I Venda government
Ruling party: Military council.
Leader: Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana.
Came to power: 1990.
Basic philosophy: Nonracialism, full democracy, social upliftment.
Possible allegiance: Uncertain, but some links with ANC.
Chief negotiator: Brigadier Ramushwana.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Policeman, politician.
Delegation: Not yet announced.

J Bophuthatswana government
Ruling party: BDP.
Leader: Chief Lucas Mangope.
Came to power: 1977.
Philosophy: Democracy, independent judiciary, free-market economy, fundamental human rights.
Possible allegiance: With all those who share ... and values.
Chief negotiator: ...
Position in party: ...
Career: Teacher, ... itician.
Delegation: ... Rowan Cronje, ...

K United Peo... (Lebowa)
Leader: Chief ... Ramodike.
Formed: 1991.
Membership: Not ...
Basic philosophy: C... sembly, protection ... leadership, free-mar...
Possible allegian... Front.
Chief negotiator: Mi...
Position in party: ...
Career: Traffic ... interpreter, politi...
Delegation: M I ... M J Mahlangu, M C ...

L Solidarity ...
Leader: Dr J N ...
Formed: 1984.
Membership: Not ... votes polled in last ... tion).
Philosophy: Justice ... cy, tolerance and ...
Possible allegiance ... termined by shar... and strategies.
Chief negotiator: Dr ...
Position in party: ...

# of SA's future

STAR 28/11/91 (304A)

most representative meeting of leaders ever in the political life of South Africa gets under tomorrow. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON pre- an event destined for a prominent place in the history books.

...weging, will not attend but the representivity of ... at the table is such that ...ts of the right wing are ... to be drawn into the pro- ...at some stage. The same ... to the left-wing Azanian ...'s Organisation; the point that the other participants are strong enough to proceed without them at this stage.

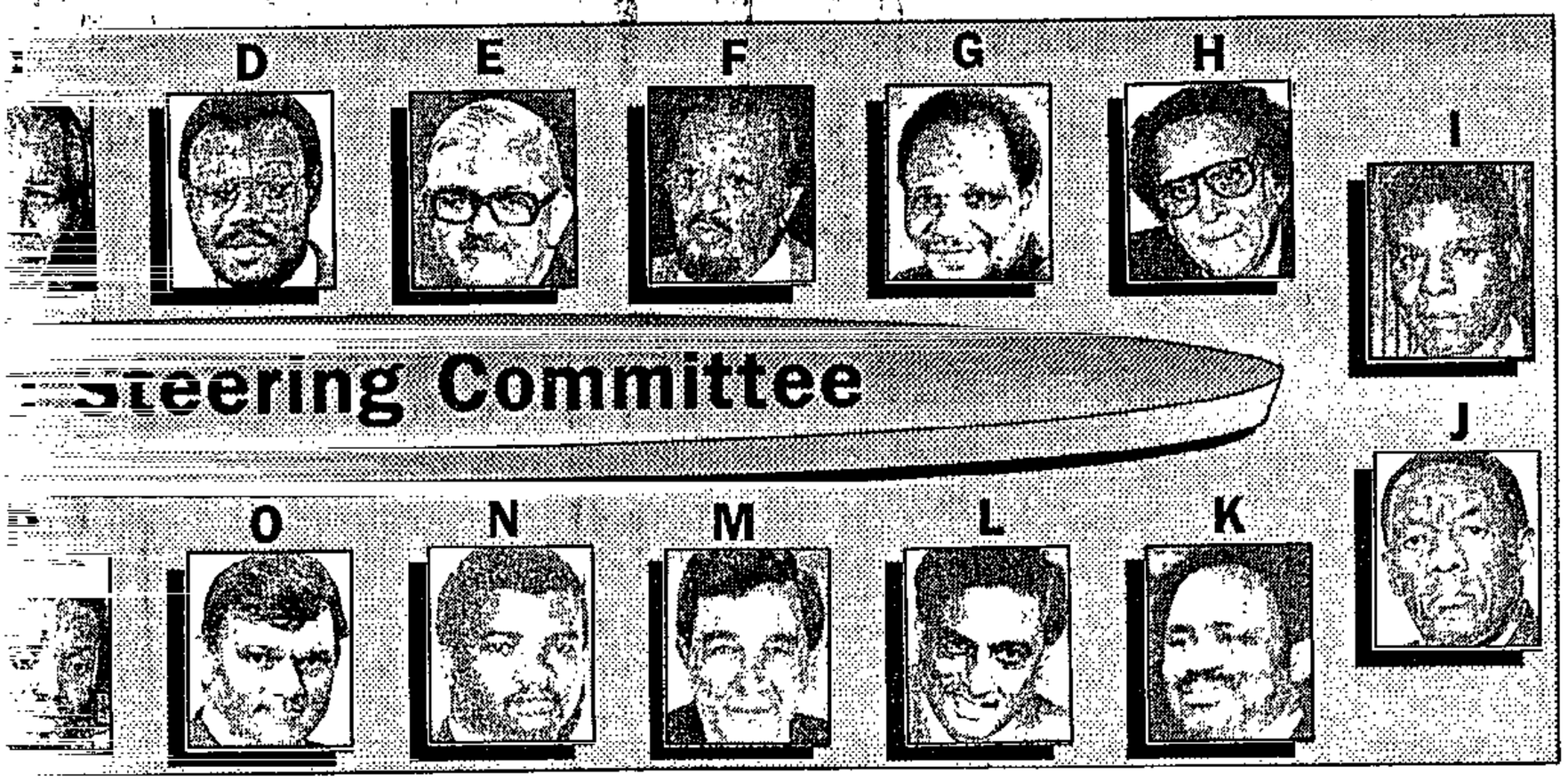
The start of round-table negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future is a watershed in the country's political history for the simple reason that never before have leaders representing such a wide spectrum of the population gathered with common purpose — and never before has the potential existed that a political system might be fashioned which enjoys the approval of the majority of South Africa's citizens, rather than just a section of them.

The Star today publishes a guide to the participants in the steering committee meeting. It is as accurate and up-to-date as possible, but given the fluidity and volatility of the negotiations process, some organisations may yet pull out or climb on board at the eleventh hour.

In most cases, the information given on organisations and their standpoints has been provided by the parties themselves. In some instances, however, The Star's political writers have had to make do with limited information available on file.

The guide also names those three-person delegations from each party that have been finalised. Some will only be known tomorrow morning. It should also be noted that delegations to the steering committee meeting will not necessarily go forward to the multiparty talks proper — more-senior individuals may be drafted in in some cases.

The purpose of the guide is to provide an idea of the range of organisations involved, historical outlines of each group, the personalities likely to play key roles, and the broad political leanings of each. It is intended to be a reference point for South Africans who will, in the new year, find themselves trying to keep up with a complicated, confusing and fast-accelerating process heading towards full democracy in this country. □



NIC 1894; revived 1972.
...mbership: No system of paid- membership. Overlaps with ...C/SACP.
...sophy: Nonracial, non-sexist ...ted SA, universal franchise, ... economy, bill of rights.
... allegiance: ANC/SACP/ ... alliance.
... negotiator: Possibly Mr Sa...
... in party: TIC president.
...: Welfare administrator.
...ation: Mr Saloojee; two NIC ... not yet announced.

Venda government
... party: Military council.
...: Brigadier Gabriel Ra...
... to power: 1990.
... philosophy: Nonracialism, ... democracy, social uplift...
...ssible allegiance: Uncertain, some links with ANC.
... negotiator: Brigadier Ra...
...ition in party: Leader.
...: Policeman, politician.
...ation: Not yet announced.

Bophuthatswana government
... party: BDP.
...: Chief Lucas Mangope.
...me to power: 1977.
...losophy: Democracy, indepen... judiciary, free-market econ... fundamental human rights.
...ssible allegiance: With all those who share these principles and values.
Chief negotiator: Chief Mangope.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Teacher, tribal chief, politician.
Delegation: Chief Mangope, Rowan Cronje, Clement Sehume.

K United People's Front (Lebowa)
Leader: Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.
Formed: 1991.
Membership: Not available.
Basic philosophy: Constituent assembly, protection of traditional leadership, free-market economy.
Possible allegiance: Patriotic Front.
Chief negotiator: Mr Ramodike.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Traffic policeman, court interpreter, politician.
Delegation: M I Moroamoche, M J Mahlangu, M C Ramusi.

L Solidarity
Leader: Dr J N Reddy.
Formed: 1984.
Membership: Not given (58 216 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Justice and democracy, tolerance and reconciliation.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by sharing of values and strategies.
Chief negotiator: Dr Reddy.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Banker, politician.
Delegation: Dr Reddy, Ismail Omar, Baldeo Dookie.

M Democratic Party
Leader: Dr Zach de Beer.
Formed: 1989 (merger of PFP, IP and NDM).
Membership: Not given (441 471 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Social market economy, liberal democracy.
Possible allegiance: Independent but possible tendencies to both ANC and NP.
Chief negotiator: Probably Colin Eglin.
Position in party: Caucus chairman.
Career: Quantity surveyor, former PFP leader.
Delegation: Dr Zach de Beer, Ken Andrew, Dave Dalling.

N Transkei government
Ruling party: Military council.
Leader: Major-General Bantu Holomisa.
Came to power: 1988.
Philosophy: Multiparty democracy, mixed economy, constituent assembly.
Possible allegiance: Patriotic Front. Ties with ANC/SACP/Cosatu.
Chief negotiator: A T Sigcae.
Position in party: Minister of State.
Career: Teacher, politician.
Delegation: General Holomisa, Z Titus, Pondomwemdmovu Ndamase.

O National People's Party
Leader: Amichand Rajbansi.
Formed: 1981.
Membership: 15 000.
Philosophy: Nonracial democracy, social rights, free-enterprise economy with rearrangement of wealth on an agreed basis.
Possible allegiance: Highest priority is unified front of all forces; government of national unity including right wing and IFP.
Chief negotiator: Mr Rajbansi.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Teacher, public relations officer, politician.
Delegation: Mr Rajbansi, Kamal Panday, Sagadava Naidoo.

P Ciskei government
Ruling party: Military and civil Cabinet.
Leader: Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.
Came to power: 1990.
Philosophy: Fundamental human rights, equality before law, free-market economy, Christian values and standards, wealth creation.
Possible allegiance: Independent. Bilateral talks continuing.
Chief negotiator: Brigadier Gqozo.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Military officer.
Delegation: Dr H Kayser, N Nogcantsi, M B Webb.

Q Dikwankwetla Party (Qwa Qwa)
Leader: Chief Minister Kennet... Mopeli.
Formed: In office since 1975.
Membership: Claimed 50 00.
Basic philosphy: Free market, anti... sanctions, multiparty democracy.
Possible allegiance: Ready to back... NP, ANC or DP positions on merit.
Chief negotiator: Dr Mopeli.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Headmaster, school inspec... tor, politician
Delegation: Rev T H Mohapi, J S... Phatang, R P Ramasia.

R Intando Yesizwe Party (Kwa Ndebele)
Leader: Prince James Mahlangu.
Formed: 1990.
Membership: Claimed 50 000.
Basic philosophy: free market, multiparty democracy.
Possible allegiance: ANC.
Chief negotiator: Prince James.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Former student leader, led resistance to independence.
Delegation: N J Mahlangu, Vel... Mahlangu, Mboshwa Mahlangu.

S Ximoko Progressive Party (Gazankulu)
Leader: Professor Hudson Ntsan... wisi.
Formed: 1991 (cultural organisation formed in 1983).
Membership: 35 000.
Basic philosophy: Multiparty, nonracial federal government, free-market economy with minimum wage, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Alliances with parties with same ideology.
Chief negotiator: Professor Ntsanwisi.
Position in party: President.
Career: Academic.
Delegation: Professor Ntsanwisi, Chief S W D Nxumalo, E P P Mhinza.

T South African Communist Party
Leader: Joe Slovo (new leader to be elected next month).
Formed: 1921.
Membership: Paid-up 23 500.
Philosophy: Socialist society to be basis of communist society in long run; multiparty system; mixed economy with emphasis on socialism.
Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP/ Cosatu alliance.
Chief negotiator: Mr Slovo (subject to change after December).
Position in party: General-secretary (outgoing).
Career: Lawyer, politician.
Delegation: Mr Slovo, Sydney Mufamadi, Moses Mayekiso.

● Compiled by Esmaré van der Merwe and Peter Fabricius

CP Free State win predicted

Sowetan 28/11/91. (304A)

WHITES in the rightwing heartland vote today in a by-election expected to demonstrate resounding rejection of moves towards nonracial government.

The CP, the official opposition in the white house of parliament, has predicted it will win the rural Orange Free State constituency of Virginia by up to 3 000 votes.

"The Conservative Party is going to walk it," said political analyst Mr Wim Booyse. "The only question is by how much."

In the last General Election in 1989, the National Party won the seat by just 47 votes.

Political commentators say the poll will indicate the extent of rightwing white opposition to State President FW de Klerk as he prepares for talks with the black opposition on a nonracial constitution.

The by-election is being held on the eve of talks between the Government, the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and other groups on arrangements for a multi-party conference on power-sharing due to start in December. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

PAC claim dismissed as reckless

ANC accused of secret pact with govt

304A

Bloody 28/11/91

SECRET meetings between government and the ANC had led to an agreement on an interim government by February next year, joint decision-making on future legislation and the lifting of all remaining sanctions, the PAC claimed yesterday.

Producing what it said were the minutes of a briefing given by ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to African ambassadors to the UN earlier this month, the PAC lashed out at its patriotic front partner, the ANC, accusing it of "deceit and duplicity".

But its deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the PAC would still attend tomorrow's preparatory talks for a multiparty conference.

Both government and the ANC yesterday denied the PAC claims.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said neither government nor the NP had negotiated with the ANC on constitutional matters. "Negotiations of the government with the ANC have so far centred on the negotiation process and security problems," he said.

TIM COHEN reports ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The ANC utterly repudiates the unfounded assertions ... and shall seek means other than the mass media to pursue them with the leadership of the PAC."

At a hastily called news conference last night, Mbeki said no minutes were kept at the meeting.

Mbeki said everything he told the meeting was in line with the ANC's position. "Someone is trying to create mischief."

Ramaphosa said the PAC's statement, although reckless, was only a "hiccup" in the ANC relations with the PAC and would not affect the patriotic front.

A senior NP source said the declaration of intent referred to in the minutes had in fact been discussed in meetings between the ANC and government.

"A declaration of intent has been mooted for the agenda of the (multiparty conference) meeting on December 20. It was mooted in meetings with the ANC," the source said.

The PAC's document is two pages long and purports to be the minutes of a "lively meeting" which lasted for three-and-a-half hours. The PAC said Mbeki had asked the ambassadors to exclude the PAC's UN representative from the briefing.

Asked why the PAC was not invited to the meeting, Mbeki said last night he had gone to the UN to assist with the drafting of resolutions about SA, and the ANC had therefore called a meeting of states, because they were the ones that could cast votes. "The PAC does the same."

Based on what has emerged regarding negotiations in the past few weeks, much of the document is correct.

It says: "The steering committee on the 29th of November will first consider a 'Declaration of Intent'. The declaration of intent will set up the legal basis for the decisions of the conference. It will set (out) how decisions will be arrived at and how they will be incorporated into the SA law. Provisions of the declaration of intent will override present SA law wherever the two

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PATRICK BULGER

☐ From Page 1

'Secret pact'

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Bloody 28/11/91

are at variance.

"The parties are eager to have things move fast, hence the ANC has problems with its constituent assembly demand which could delay the process by up to a year. The ANC appealed for flexibility in negotiations even at the UN on SA resolutions. The ANC saw the interim government being installed by February 1992."

Last night Ramaphosa specifically denied the ANC had changed its stance regarding its call for a constituent assembly to draw up SA's new constitution.

The PAC document went on: "Mr Mbeki discussed sanctions and the position of the Frontline states and Africa. He believed Africa lost the initiative at Abuja (scene of the OAU summit earlier this year), hence they will have to lag behind events.

"It would be difficult to support or advocate sanctions after the acceptance of the declaration of intent on November 29 1991. Legally once the declaration of intent is accepted, apartheid will be dead.

"Mr Mbeki dealt with the issue of the army and police forces. He said Africans accounted for more than half the police force and that they were very supportive of the present changes. Senior white officers too were co-operating. In the army, only the top brass understood the situation. The rank and file feared for their positions."

No-name talks start battle over future SA

South Africa is on the threshold of negotiations. DAMIAN DE LANGE previews the issues:

AFTER decades of minority rule and months of stop-start negotiations, the "talks about talks" may soon give birth to fully-fledged negotiations. But will this process end in a democratic South Africa?

A preparatory committee gathers this week to finalise arrangements for an all-party meeting. Among the issues to be resolved are where these negotiations will be held, who will chair, who will convene and who will take part.

Even a title for this historic meeting has to be agreed on. Various names are in use, each coming from specific political groupings. Among them are All-Party Conference (APC), used by the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, Multi-Party Conference, used by the National Party and its allies and Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting, used in the PAC camp.

A major issue is whether these talks agree to the election of a Constituent Assembly or to setting up a form of transitional rule to lay the foundations for elections. The PAC camp wants to see the election of a Constituent Assembly. The ANC, despite its official position, has indicated flexibility. AZAPO has refused to take part, stating talks can only begin once a Constituent Assembly has been elected.

Despite the breakdowns and stalling that characterised "talks about talks" a wide spectrum of political opinion agrees this final stage of negotiations should incorporate all political parties. This has yet to be achieved.

Political parties to the right and the left, such as the Herstigte Nasionale Party and AZAPO, insist they will not take part. Others, like the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging, remain undecided.

Despite these refusals the preparatory committee is expected to reach consensus that will prepare the way for the first session of an all-party meeting on December 20 and 21.

When New Year dawns the first moves to gain the political highground will have been made. Manoeuvres will begin at the first session and will continue throughout the projected six months of negotiations. Each political party will attempt to maintain the highground while entering into agreements and compromises with other parties.

Political violence in its many forms will be a constant threat to the stability of the talks. Third force violence has been a constant threat during the whole period of "talks about talks". In April this year the ANC-led alliance withdrew from negotiations due to the level of political violence.

Parties will be fighting for their futures in the conference room and outside. Another "Inkathagate" would weaken the National Party while division and disorganisation could weaken the Patriotic Front.

The parties outside the talks will exert an influence on the process. If the talks fail they will be proved correct. If the talks succeed these parties will have to devise new tactics.

If a transitional arrangement is agreed upon how will it ensure that political differences do not lead to violence, bloodshed and death? Using recent history as a yardstick, the prospects are bleak well and new mechanisms may have to be devised.

Political parties with well organised structures and enough money to fund publicity campaigns have a definite advantage.

And access to television and radio during this period is still unresolved, with a clear advantage to the National Party. Some form of regulated and equal access to the mass media might be arranged.

For all the political parties, the form of interim government is crucial.

The National Party will benefit if transition drags on and it can co-opt and swamp other parties within the government's structures.

The ANC and its allies prefer an interim government with a time limit of 18 months. How the transitional body exercises its authority and who it is answerable to must be agreed on. And who will run the country while the interim government prepares for elections? Will it be the NP or the interim government?

Negotiations have seen parties surface claiming significant support bases from which to launch their version of the new South Africa. Informed sources indicate at the preparatory committee phase that each interested party will have the same number of delegates. During this phase the number of delegates per invitee will be decided.

Those invited to the All-Party talks may be limited to political parties. Labour federations or other groups which have played a role in South African politics, such as women and youth bodies, could be excluded.

The Patriotic Front enters the talks with a successful anti-VAT campaign behind it. The NP-led coalition, despite its gains on the sanctions front, is held accountable for the violence, inflation and is still accused of attempting to smuggle in some form of minority rule.

For the ordinary person as well as the members of political parties the next two years will be complex as political parties struggle for a place in tomorrow's South Africa.



Gatsha Buthelezi



Nelson Mandela



FW de Klerk



Clarence Makwethu

Slick campaign sought to exploit tourist potential

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA's enormous foreign tourist potential could not be adequately exploited without a well-financed international promotion campaign, Fedhasa executive director Peter Hearfield said yesterday.

A well-financed campaign was beyond Fedhasa's means and this was why intensified efforts were being made to get government aid.

This year Satour will spend 80% of its R60m budget on direct or indirect marketing.

Fedhasa has persistently tried to persuade government to grant the hotel industry the same export incentive concessions granted other industries. BIDay 28/11/91

Hearfield stressed the industry was not looking for handouts.

It had been rightly estimated that with the correct approach and backed by adequate finance the tourism industry could in time come close to the gold mining industry as an earner of foreign exchange.

The danger was the huge potential market would remain under-developed without the stimulation of a well planned promotional campaign.

Another constraint hampering tourism expansion was the protection given SAA against cheaper charter flights into SA.

Charter flights have to be applied for 28 days in advance to Civil Aviation. For December and January, only seven days notice is needed.

A Transport Department spokesman was unable to say how many charter applications had been refused this year.

CP expects major victory in Virginia

BIDay 28/11/91 30(A)

Political Staff

DURBAN — Whites in SA's right-wing heartland go to the polls today for what is expected to be a resounding CP win.

Although CP officials are officially claiming they expect to win the Virginia by-election by 2 000 votes, they say in private a majority of less than 3 000 will come as a big surprise.

CP candidate Kobus Beyers said yesterday the CP had scooped 70% of about 7 000 special votes posted by yesterday's 2pm deadline.

There are nearly 23 000 registered voters in Virginia, a substantial number of whom — the CP estimates about 8 000 — have left the area as a result of poor economic conditions.

If the CP figures are correct they already have a 5 000-vote headstart on the NP and can expect to cruise home today.

The NP won the seat in the 1989 general election by only 47 votes. The by-election results from the retirement of MP Piet Clase, who was also Education and Culture Minister in the House of Assembly.

Political analyst Wim Booyse said yesterday: "The CP is going to walk it. The only question is by how much."

Beyers said the swing to the CP was the result of "disillusionment with the NP/ANC alliance" and the growing perception that the country would become "a unitary state run by the ANC".

"The NP has no credibility left ... nobody believes it," said Beyers.

He believed the traditional NP polling-day support — the CP led the 1989 election on special votes — "will be a factor, but we also have a lot of people who are going to turn up".

The NP is pinning its hopes on what candidate Jac Kloppers has described as a late groundswell of support resulting from SA's international sporting and diplomatic breakthroughs.

"CP claims that they are going to win by 3 000 votes are wildly exaggerated ... it is going to be a race right to the end," he said.

The by-election is being held on the eve of the preparatory meeting for the multi-party talks and may give an indication of how these are perceived by whites.

Analysts will also pore over the results for indications of how well President F W de Klerk would do in a referendum.

Booyse said for the Virginia result to ring alarm bells for De Klerk, the CP needed to win by 3 500 votes. "If the margin is 3 000, it means the NP could just win a referendum," he said.

The DP, which attracted 600 votes in 1989, has withdrawn from the contest and its supporters are expected to throw their weight behind the NP.

The CP holds six of the 14 seats in the Free State, which were all in NP hands before 1989.

Other factors in the voting are expected to be the recent violence at the President Steyn gold mine in Welkom and anonymous letters sent to black domestic workers in Virginia urging them to murder white children and rape white women.

Kloppers described the letters as "a deliberate, calculated effort by certain whites to sow panic and fear".

REPORT BY: C Whitfield, 11 Osborne Rd, Durban.

De Villiers looks set to lead Nat team

STAR 28/11/91.

304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers is expected to lead the NP's delegation to tomorrow's crucial meeting of about 20 parties and governments to arrange a multiparty conference on negotiations.

The Government is to send a separate delegation headed by its chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Informed sources believe the other two members of the NP delegation will be Transvaal NP leader and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and key negotiator and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

The remaining two members of the Government delegation would be Justice Minister and Free State leader Kobie Coetsee and the Government's chief constitutional adviser, Fanie van der Merwe, sources said.

Some sources believe that the NP and Government delegations could merge at some stage in the negotiations.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa seems to be moving into a strong position to take his place at the preparatory committee table as one of his party's three-person delegation.

Earlier, ANC sources said their three-person delegation would consist of secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Jacob Zuma and international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki.

But the latest speculation is that Mr Moosa will replace Mr Zuma. This is being interpreted as a minor victory for the ANC "internals" over the exiles.

Mr Moosa was a prominent UDF leader before the ANC was unbanned, and Mr Zuma was in exile for many years.

Some political observers see the choice of Dr de Villiers to head the NP's delegation as a sign that he is now clearly number two in the NP hierarchy and has overhauled Mr du Plessis — the man who came close to beating President de Klerk in the election for the party leadership in February 1989.

As evidence, they point to the fact that the Cape now has many more NP MPs than the Transvaal.

Some believe that no special significance should be read into Dr de Villiers's prominent position in the delegation and point out that he ranks above Mr du Plessis in Cabinet seniority.

The NP, ANC, IFP and others were due to meet last night to finalise arrangements for the preparatory committee meeting.

The provisional arrangements are that the meeting will take place at the Jan Smuts Airport Holiday Inn and will be closed.

Although it has been scheduled for only one day, most observers expect it to run over into Saturday, for which contingency plans have been made.

No agenda is expected to be released before the meeting, which is likely to draw up its own agenda.

CP ahead on prior votes in Virginia

(3044)
STATZ
28/11/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party is comfortably ahead on prior votes cast for today's parliamentary by-election in Virginia — regarded as an acid test for President de Klerk's reforms in the mining constituency.

The CP yesterday claimed to have processed about 70 percent of the prior votes cast by last night, but the NP was optimistic that it may recover lost ground on polling day.

NP candidate Jac Kloppers said: "Our votes have picked up strongly but we are still trailing. After an excellent NP public meeting on Monday night, at which we had the largest audience ever drawn at a political meeting in Virginia, there is a spirit of optimism that the battle is far from over.

"We are not worried. Nationalists traditionally vote on polling day."

CP candidate Kobus Beyers predicted a 3 000-vote majority for his party — enough, he said, to hand the Government a devastating blow and prove that the NP no longer represented the majority of whites.

Electoral officials said up to 7 700 prior votes had been cast by last night.

The Free State constituency's roughly 23 000 voters will go to the polls today to elect a successor to former "own affairs" minister Piet Clase.

The NP clung on to Virginia by a mere 47 votes in the 1989 general election, in which the Democratic Party polled 680 votes and the Herstigte Nasionale Party 88 votes.

Today's election is a straight two-way contest, with the HNP backing the CP and the DP reluctantly supporting the NP as "the lesser of two evils".

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

STAR 28/11/91

'Statement of defeat'

President de Klerk's statement this week that he would win a white referendum amounted to an acknowledgement that he would lose a general election, Boerestaat Party (BP) leader Robert van Tonder said yesterday. Mr van Tonder said President de Klerk was right that he would win a white referendum, and the BP had already called on all right-wing organisations to boycott a referendum similar to the one which was held before the establishment of the tricameral Parliament in 1983.

304A

The story of SA's unification is a reminder of human shortcomings, writes Tos Wentzel

The limitations of foresight

STAR 28/11/91

304A

SOUTH Africa is soon to have its second constitutional convention. The first, the National Convention of 1908 and 1909, led to Union in 1910 and 82 years of white rule. The second, scheduled for December 20 and 21 1991, will be vastly different.

These negotiations on a new constitutional system to provide equal political rights for all races offer one huge contrast: instead of serving the tea, the black people in the room will be seated at the negotiating table. In 1908 and 1909 the aspirations of blacks were largely ignored — in spite of protest by black political movements.

The British were interested only in bringing about a union on the basis of white political structures. They hoped that some adequate settlement of the question of black political rights would develop after union.

In 1960 Professor Leonard Thompson put it thus in his book "The Unification of South Africa": "The unification of South Africa was one of the last creative expressions of the age of optimism which was brought to a close by the First World War. This decisive step towards the elimination of imperial authority in South Africa, in favour of the white settlers of Afrikaner and British stocks, was considered to be justified by hopes that the Anglo-Boer feud would disappear, that white South Africans would grow increasingly humane in their dealings with their non-white fellow countrymen and that the Union would become a liberal democracy in the British pattern."

The first session was held in Durban from October 12 to November 5 1908 and in Cape Town from November 22 to December 18 and again from January 11 to February 3 1909. Its final session was in Bloemfontein from May 3 to 11 1909.

The following month the draft South Africa Act, providing a new constitution for the new Union of South Africa which was formally to come about on May 31 1910, was approved by the parliaments of the Cape Colony, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

In Natal it was approved by referendum. On September 20 1909 the South Africa Act was passed by the British Parliament. At the National Convention the Transvaal was represented by General Louis Botha, General Jan Smuts, S W Burger, General J H de la Rey and H C Hull, of Het Volk Party, and Sir George Farrar, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and H L Lindsay, who were Progressives.

The Free State was represented by ex-president M T Steyn, Abraham Fischer, General Christiaan de Wet and General J B M Hertzog, of the Orangia Unie, and A Browne, a Constitutionalist.

The Cape delegates were Baron Henry de Villiers, chief justice of the Cape colony and an independent, John X Merriman, F S Malan, J W Sauer, Sir Meiring Beck, H C van Heerden and G H Maasdorp, of the South African Party, Sir L Starr Jameson, Sir Thomas Smartt, Sir Edgar Walton and J W Jagger, of the Unionist Party, and Colonel W E M Stanford, an independent.

The Natal delegates were Sir Frederick Moore, Colonel E M Greene, C J Smythe, Sir Thomas Hyslop and W B Morcome (replaced by Sir Thomas Watt in December), who were either Cabinet members or had Cabinet experience.

The divergent attitudes and laws in the various colonies concerning non-white political rights made the franchise question extremely contentious. In the Cape Colony all adult male British subjects who could write their names, addresses and occupations and who earned £50 a year or occupied property worth at least £75 were eligible to vote. There was no colour bar on membership of the two houses of parliament. In Natal, in theory, any adult male British subject could become enfranchised if he earned at least £96 a year or owned immovable property worth at least £10 a year in rent.

In practice, however, the law in Natal was administered in a way that people of colour were, to all intents and purposes, debarred from obtaining the franchise. In 1907, 99,1 percent of the electorate there was white. No one of colour had the vote in the Transvaal or the Free State.

In the end it was decided to maintain the status quo in the colonies, but it was stipulated that no people of colour could become MPs. It was also agreed, at the insistence of the Cape delegates, that no alteration could be made to the Cape non-white franchise provisions unless two-thirds of the members of both Houses of Parliament in joint session agreed.

On the question of official languages, it was decided to entrench the rights of English and Afrikaans.

While whites supported the South Africa Act, all politically conscious people of colour objected to the provisions that concerned them. Blacks from all four colonies attended a "South African Convention" in Bloemfonteoin on March 24 1909.

The Cape Coloured Association and the African Political Organisation held a protest meeting in the Cape Town City Hall in March and a conference in Cape Town in April.

Both the black and coloured congresses decided to appeal to the British government to change the franchise provisions of the Act.

W P Schreiner, a former premier of the Cape Colony, led a deputation of black and coloured leaders to London, but they did not succeed in their purpose. Although the colour restrictions were criticised in the British parliament and the then British Prime Minister H H Asquith solemnly appealed to South Africa's white politicians to modify the restrictive franchise provisions, no amendments were made.

General Botha insisted the question of political rights for non-whites would "have to be solved in South Africa by the South Africans" who had always "shown a spirit of justice and fair-play towards the native races" in the past and could be trusted to do so in the future.

After the Bill had been passed by the Lords and the Commons it was signed, as the South Africa Act, by King Edward VII in September 1909 and it came into force on May 31 1910.

In 1936, black voters in the Cape and Natal were removed from the common roll and given three separate seats in the Assembly and four Senators. With the introduction of the Bantustan concept in 1960, their parliamentary representation was taken away completely. □

Jo'burg offers to host talks on new SA

304A

STAR 28/11/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

As the country's main political players continue sensitive discussions to choose a neutral venue for "real" constitutional negotiations, the Johannesburg City Council yesterday offered the city and its municipal facilities as a possible rendezvous for the historic event.

Management committee chairman Ian Davidson said an invitation had been faxed off yesterday to Fanie van der Merwe, one of the Government's main negotiators and a co-ordinator of the multiparty talks.

Preparatory talks between some 20 political groups will be held at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn tomorrow, while the hotel has been mooted as the venue for the start of multiparty talks on December 20 and 21.

Mr Davidson said the council was aware through the media that the December talks would possibly take place at the airport hotel.

"We would like to offer ourselves as a venue for either that meeting or the multi/all-party conference itself because we believe we have the necessary infrastructure as a council and as Johannesburg," he said.

Mr Davidson said the city had built up credibility in pioneering the Metropolitical Chamber, a forum for multiparty talks on local government.

"Through the Metropolitan Chamber, where we have been doing what they (the national political leaders) will be doing, Johannesburg has built up sufficient credibility and goodwill with all parties to be able to say we will be deemed a sufficiently neutral venue."

In addition, Johannesburg offered an excellent communications infrastructure.

NP holds all the cards in this game

Sowetan 29/11/91 304A

THE National Party's position in the driver's seat during the transition period could become the biggest setback to attaining democracy in South Africa.

The ANC and the PAC have since their unbanning led the call for an interim government - with the latter going as far as to declare the National Party Government illegitimate.

The PAC's claim is to some extent substantiated by the argument that the NP has never, in more than 40 years of rule, governed by consensus of the governed: it has never been voted into power by more than 15 percent of the country's population.

Be that as it may, indications are that the Government will not give up its position of strength while it tries to win black support for future elections.

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The PAC on Wednesday continued the call by the extra-parliamentary opposition for an interim government.

Speaking at a briefing where an alleged ANC/NP "pact" was made public, PAC secretary general Mr Benny Alexander said the Government could not be trusted to oversee the transition period.

"The transitional authority must assume control over the security services, the state-controlled electronic media, defined areas of budget and finance and must monitor the elections for the (constituent) assembly," Alexander said.

His comments are not that misguided if one considers the following scenario.

The NP has become a two-headed beast: one continues to govern while the other seeks support among black people whom it has, through apartheid, rendered poor and underprivileged.

While the one NP holds out its hand to win support, the other pays for it (with taxpayers' money) through "safety nets" and money freed from strategic oil stockpiles.

Similarly, the spiral of violence in the country - which many people have suggested is the Government's creation - stops periodically only after Government troops have been sent in.

Altogether, when the poor and underprivileged black people vote, they will first vote with their stomachs for the party that can provide "safety nets" and secondly with their fears for the party that has troops to quell the violence.

In the final analysis, the NP has the media, the military, the money and a party - led by former Education and Training Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe - to win the next election.

A cursory tour of the political horizon produces this startling picture of imbalance and perhaps uncertainty.

There is every indication that today's meeting could be decisive - provided the ANC, PAC and its Patriotic Front allies revert back to its original agreements.

But time alone will tell.

See page 19.

Now for the real thing

304A
Sowetan 29/11/91

IT'S down to business.

South Africa gets its first real crack at national reconciliation today as the political leaders of this country go behind closed doors to unfold bold plans for a democratic future.

All but four of the country's major political organisations are expected at today's steering committee talks.

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Azapo, the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will not be there.

And, by the end of the day, all political

● To page 2

All set for the real business

Sowetan 29/11/91 304A

● From page 1

leaders in attendance are expected to have produced a declaration of intent - to which a multiparty forum scheduled for December 20 and 21 will give legal teeth.

Mr Mohammed Vally Moosa of the ANC's negotiations commission yesterday told Sowetan in a briefing that a next month's multiparty talks will be a waste if the laws of the country can simply override decisions made and agreements reached there.

For this reason, he said, the ANC's legal team was looking into ways of giving "legal force" to decisions taken at a multiparty forum.

The tentative agenda for today's meeting is:

- Appointment of chairman/men for multiparty talks;
- Adoption of the agenda;
- What the multiparty talks will be called;
- The overall purpose of the multiparty forum that emerges from the December 20-21 talks; and
- Agreement on an agenda for future progress.

The ANC will today propose eight items for the agenda for those talks after widespread consultations.

The eight points are:

- Climate for free political participation;
- General constitutional principles;
- The creation of a constitution-making body:
- Interim government/transitional arrangements;
- The future of the homelands - both "independent" and otherwise;
- The role of the international community;
- The time frame for change; and
- Any other items that arise.

Moosa said the ANC saw a "very big role" for the international community in the role of observing and monitoring the transitional period.

He also said the Government had initially opposed the inclusion of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana at multiparty talks, saying that such talks should be between "the political parties of the Republic of South Africa".

Moosa said: "It has been now agreed that they (TBVC) would be at tomorrow's (today's) preparatory meeting - which is quite significant, in that even before the first shot is fired it has been accepted what the definition of what South Africa is."

Custodians of SA's future

3044A ARG 29/11/91

THE most representative meeting of leaders in the political life of South Africa gets under way today. SHAUN JOHNSON of The Argus Political Staff previews an event destined for a prominent place in the history books.

FEATURED below are all the organisations and some of the men - there are surprisingly few women involved — who will take off their jackets and slide into chairs around a negotiating table at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport today. Look at them and their organisations carefully — they are the political custodians of South Africa's future.

The steering committee meeting for multiparty talks which they are convening marks the formal point of no return in the negotiations process.

The steering committee get-together is an historic stop-off point on the long road to the new South Africa. It will not in itself take any decisions on the shape of the country's future, but it will make the taking of those decisions possible for the first time. It signifies the end of "talks about talks".

The constitutional convention into which next month's multiparty talks will metamorphose cannot come about without the successful conclusion of the steering committee meeting. If it can enter the weekend in agreement, the steering committee will have achieved unprecedented political consensus.

The presence of the NP, ANC, IFP and PAC (although there were last-minute rumblings from the PAC) is enough to ensure that the bulk of South African political opinion has converged to the point of getting down to real business.

The white Right, as represented by the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, will not attend — but the representivity of those at the table is such that elements of the right wing are likely to be drawn into the process at some stage. The same applies to the left-wing Azanian People's Organisation — the point is that the other participants are strong enough to proceed without them at this stage.

The start of round-table negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future is a watershed in the country's political history for the simple reason that never before have leaders representing such a wide spectrum of the population gathered with common purpose — and never before has the potential existed that a political system might be fashioned which enjoys the approval of the majority of South Africa's citizens, rather than just a section of them.

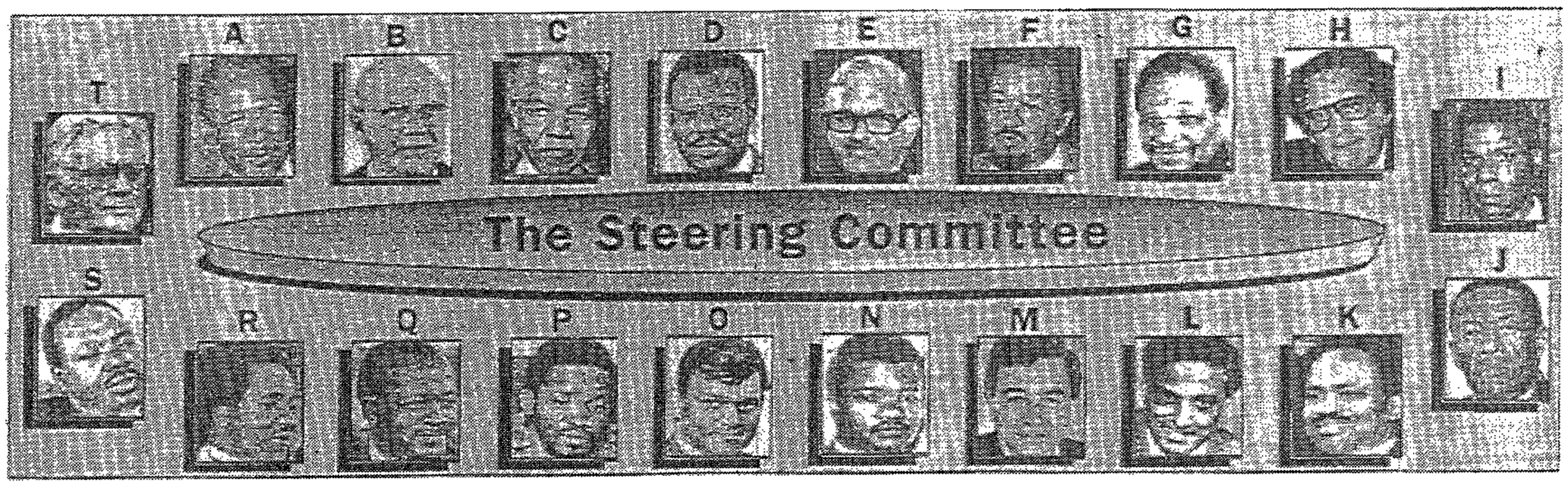
The Argus publishes a guide to the participants in today's steering committee meeting. It is as accurate and up-to-date as possible, but given the fluidity and volatility of the negotiations process, some organisations may yet pull out or climb on board at the eleventh hour.

In most cases, the information given on organisations and their standpoints has been provided by the parties themselves. In some instances, however, political writers have had to make do with limited information available on file.

The guide also names those three-person delegations from each party that have been finalised. Some will have been only known today. It should also be noted that delegations to the steering committee meeting will not necessarily go forward to the multiparty talks proper — more-senior individuals may be drafted in in some cases.

The purpose of the guide is to provide an idea of the range of organisations involved, historical outlines of each group, the personalities likely to play key roles, and the broad political leanings of each.

It is intended to be a reference point for South Africans who will, in the new year, find themselves trying to keep up with a complicated, confusing and fast-accelerating process heading towards full democracy in this country.



The delegates

A

Pan Africanist Congress
Leader: CLARENCE MAKWETU.
Formed: 1959 (breakaway from ANC).
Membership: not given.
Philosophy: African socialism but opposed to totalitarianism. Multi-party democracy, independent judiciary, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Part of Patriotic Front with ANC and others, but closer ideologically to Azapo and Black Consciousness Movement.
Chief negotiator: Barney Desai is present convener of negotiating team.
Position in party: Publicity secretary.
Career: 27 years in exile, London barrister.
Delegation: Mr Desai, William Sereti, Mlubi Mbandaza.

B

Government
Ruling party: National Party.
Leader: PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK.
Came to power: 1948.
Basic philosophy: Same as NP.
Chief negotiator: Not clear, but Mr de Klerk will have ultimate say.
Career: Lawyer, politician.
Delegation: Provisionally Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Kobie Coetsee, Fanie van der Merwe.

C

African National Congress
Leader: NELSON MANDELA.
Formed: 1912.
Membership: Paid up 600 000.

Conservative Party
Leader: ANDRIES TREURNICHT.
Formed: 1982.
Membership: 189 000.
Philosophy: Conservative Christian principles, self-determination, separate development.
Possible allegiance: Will not be part of negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Lecturer, politician.
Delegation: Dr Hartzenberg, Dr Wynand Malan, Dr Andries Beyers.

Christian Democratic Party
Leader: REV F CHIKANE.
Formed: 1991.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Christian democracy, free-market economy, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Rev Frank Chikane.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Cleric, politician.
Delegation: Rev Chikane, Dr Beyers Naude, Dr Theo Kotze.

Democratic Party
Leader: DR ZACH DE BEER.
Formed: 1989.
Membership: 1 500.
Philosophy: Liberal democracy, free-market economy, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr Jaap Marais.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Businessman, politician.
Delegation: Dr de Beer, Dr Marais, Dr Dene Smuts.

Democratic Party of South Africa
Leader: ROBERT SIZWE HOBSON.
Formed: 1991.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Free-market economy, bill of rights, multiparty democracy.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Robert Hobson.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Businessman.
Delegation: Robert Hobson, Dr Ken Andrew, Dr Ian Kirkpatrick.

F

Freedom Party
Leader: CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI.
Formed: 1975.
Membership: Claimed 1 million.
Philosophy: Free-market economy, bill of rights, federal system.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr Frank Mdlalose.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Chief minister, politician.
Delegation: Dr Mdlalose, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Dr Ben Ngubane.

Federal Party
Leader: DR JOHN WILSON.
Formed: 1977.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Federal system, free-market economy, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr John Wilson.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Academic, politician.
Delegation: Dr Wilson, Dr Ken Andrew, Dr Ian Kirkpatrick.

Federal Progressive Party
Leader: DR ROLF MEYER.
Formed: 1977.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Federal system, free-market economy, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr Rolf Meyer.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Academic, politician.
Delegation: Dr Meyer, Dr Ken Andrew, Dr Ian Kirkpatrick.

Freedom Front
Leader: GENERAL CONSTAND VILJOEN.
Formed: 1991.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Self-determination, free-market economy, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr Pieter Mulder.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Farmer, politician.
Delegation: Dr Mulder, Dr Carel Boshoff, Dr Wynand Malan.

G

Inyandza National Movement (KaNgwane)
Leader: Chief Minister MANGISI CEPHAS ZITHA.
Formed: 1977.
Membership: Claimed 350 000.
Basic philosophy: Mixed economy, multiparty democracy.
Possible allegiance: ANC.

Labour Party
Leader: REV ALLAN HENDRICKSE.
Formed: 1965.
Membership: Not given (171 930 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Nonracial democracy, geographic federation of economically viable states. mixed economy, affirmative action, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Too early to determine. Talking to all organisations.
Chief negotiator: Rev Allan Hendrickse.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Cleric, politician.
Delegation: Miley Richards, Chris April, Peter Hendrickse.

I

Inkatha Freedom Party
Leader: CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI.
Formed: 1975.
Membership: Claimed 1 million.
Philosophy: Free-market economy, bill of rights, federal system.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr Frank Mdlalose.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Chief minister, politician.
Delegation: Dr Mdlalose, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Dr Ben Ngubane.

Independent Party
Leader: Chief Minister LUCAS MANGOPE.
Formed: 1987.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Free-market economy, bill of rights, federal system.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr Piet Meiring.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Chief minister, politician.
Delegation: Dr Meiring, Dr Jan Delport, Dr Jan Hoon.

L

Solidarity
Leader: Dr JN REDDY.
Formed: 1984.
Membership: Not given (58 216 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Justice and democracy, tolerance and reconciliation.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.

Minority Front
Leader: Chief Minister NELSON RAMODIKE.
Formed: 1991.
Membership: Not available.
Basic philosophy: Constituent assembly, protection of traditional leadership, free-market economy.
Possible allegiance: Patriotic Front.
Chief negotiator: Mr Ramodike.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Traffic policeman, court interpreter, politician.
Delegation: MI Moroamoche, MJ Mahlangu, MC Ramusi.

M

Afrikaner Volksunie
Leader: DR CONSTAND MULDER.
Formed: 1990.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Self-determination, free-market economy, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr Carel Boshoff.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Academic, politician.
Delegation: Dr Boshoff, Dr Wynand Malan, Dr Andries Beyers.

Minority Party
Leader: Chief Minister OUPA MANYE.
Formed: 1990.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Free-market economy, bill of rights, federal system.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Chief Minister Oupa Manye.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Chief minister, politician.
Delegation: Chief Minister Manye, Dr Piet Meiring, Dr Jan Delport.

Minority Rights Group
Leader: Chief Minister ENOCH SONTSHANGASE.
Formed: 1990.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Free-market economy, bill of rights, federal system.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Chief Minister Enoch Sontshangase.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Chief minister, politician.
Delegation: Chief Minister Sontshangase, Dr Piet Meiring, Dr Jan Delport.

Minority Front
Leader: Chief Minister NELSON RAMODIKE.
Formed: 1991.
Membership: Not available.
Basic philosophy: Constituent assembly, protection of traditional leadership, free-market economy.
Possible allegiance: Patriotic Front.
Chief negotiator: Mr Ramodike.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Traffic policeman, court interpreter, politician.
Delegation: MI Moroamoche, MJ Mahlangu, MC Ramusi.

N

National Party
Ruling party: National Party.
Leader: PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK.
Came to power: 1948.
Basic philosophy: Same as NP.
Chief negotiator: Not clear, but Mr de Klerk will have ultimate say.
Career: Lawyer, politician.
Delegation: Provisionally Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Kobie Coetsee, Fanie van der Merwe.

National Party of South Africa
Leader: DR ESSOP PAHAD.
Formed: 1990.
Membership: Not available.
Philosophy: Free-market economy, bill of rights, multiparty democracy.
Possible allegiance: Will be determined by negotiations.
Chief negotiator: Dr Essop Pahad.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Academic, politician.
Delegation: Dr Pahad, Dr Dawie de Villiers, Dr Ian Kirkpatrick

democratic SA with universal franchise, mixed economy and a socio-economic policy to address inequalities, independent judiciary with bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP/
Cosatu alliance.
Chief negotiator: Likely to be Cyril Ramaphosa.
Position in party: General-secretary.
Career: Lawyer, trade unionist.
Delegation: Likely to be Mr Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma (with Mohammed Valli Moosa having an outside chance).

D

Inkatha Freedom Party
Leader: Chief Minister MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI.
Formed: 1990 (formerly Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe, formed 1975).
Membership: Not given.
Philosophy: Race-free multiparty democracy, rule of law, independent judiciary with executive of government subject to Supreme Court. Maximum devolution of power, bill of rights. Free enterprise economy.
Possible allegiance: Independent. Bilateral talks with all groups.
Chief negotiator: Dr Frank Mdlalose.
Position in party: National chairman.
Career: Medical doctor, politician.
Delegation: Dr Mdlalose, Walter Felgate, Inkosi SH Gumede.

E

National Party
Formed: 1914.
Membership: Not given (1 036 499 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Participatory democracy with justice for all, private-enterprise market economy with a social conscience.
Possible allegiance: A disposition to form alliances with "moderate"
parties.
Chief negotiator: Likely to be Dr Gerrit Viljoen.
Position in party: Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.
Career: Academic, politician.
Delegation: Provisionally Dawie de Villiers, Barend du Plessis and
Roelf Meyer.

F

Labour Party
Leader: Rev ALLAN
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Government official and Minister.
Delegation: Elias Ginindza, Dr Patrick Maduna, Professor Selby Ripinga.

H

Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses (joint delegation)
Leaders: CASSIM SALOOJEE (TIC), GEORGE SEWPERSAD (NIC).
Formed: TIC late 1800s revived 1982. NIC 1894 revived 1972.
Membership: No system of paid-up membership. Overlaps with ANC/SACP.
Philosophy: Nonracial, nonsexist united SA, universal franchise, mixed economy, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP/
Cosatu alliance.
Chief negotiator: Possibly Mr Saloojee.
Position in party: TIC president.
Career: Welfare administrator.
Delegation: Mr Saloojee
two NIC members not yet announced.

I

Venda government
Ruling party: Military council.
Leader: Brigadier GABRIEL RAMUSHWANA.
Came to power: 1990.
Basic philosophy: Nonracialism, full democracy, social upliftment.
Possible allegiance: Uncertain, but some links with ANC.
Chief negotiator: Brigadier Ramushwana.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Policeman, politician.
Delegation: Not yet announced by early today

J

Bophuthatswana government
Ruling party: BDP.
Leader: Chief LUCAS MANGOPE.
Came to power: 1977.
Philosophy: Democracy, independent judiciary, free-market economy, fundamental human rights.
Possible allegiance: With all those who share these principles and values.
Chief negotiator: Chief Mangope.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Teacher, tribal chief, politician.
Delegation: Chief Mangope, Rowan Cronje, Clement Sehume.

K

United People's Front (Lebowa)
Chief negotiator: Dr Reddy.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Banker, politician.
Delegation: Dr Reddy, Ismail Omar, Baldeo Dookie.

M

Democratic Party
Leader: Dr ZACH DE BEER.
Formed: 1989 (merger of PFP, IP and NDM).
Membership: Not given (441 471 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Social market economy, liberal democracy.
Possible allegiance: Independent but possible tendencies to both ANC and NP.
Chief negotiator: Probably Colin Eglin.
Position in party: Caucus chairman.
Career: Quantity surveyor, former PFP leader.
Delegation: Dr Zach de Beer, Ken Andrew, Dave Dalling.

N

Transkei government
Ruling party: Military council.
Leader: Major-General BANTU HOLOMISA.
Came to power: 1988.
Philosophy: Multiparty democracy, mixed economy, constituent assembly.
Possible allegiance: Patriotic Front. Ties with ANC/SACP/Cosatu.
Chief negotiator: AT Sigcae.
Position in party: Minister of State.
Career: Teacher, politician.
Delegation: General Holomisa, Z Titus, Pondomwemdmovu Ndamase.

O

National People's Party
Leader: AMICHAND RAJBANSI.
Formed: 1981.
Membership: 15 000.
Philosophy: Nonracial democracy, social rights, free-enterprise economy with rearrangement of wealth on an agreed basis.
Possible allegiance: Highest priority is unified front of all forces. Government of national unity including right wing and IFP.
Chief negotiator: Mr Rajbansi.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Teacher, public relations officer, politician.
Delegation: Mr Rajbansi, Kamal Panday, Sagadava Naidoo.

P

Ciskei government
Ruling party: Military and civil Cabinet.
Leader: Brigadier OUPA GQOZO.

Biggest gathering of political opponents in 80 years

Talks at last!

MICHAEL MORRIS Political Correspondent and Political Staff

WORLD attention focused on South Africa's first solid steps towards a new constitution today when the government met the biggest gathering of political opponents in 80 years.

Fielding two strong teams — one representing government under Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and the other the National Party under Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers — the government entered the talks with a clear tactical advantage.

It was not clear early today whether this would provoke objections from other parties.

But the historic encounter today launches the long-awaited constitutional negotiation process, raising the prospect of South Africa finally shaking free of the logjam that has dogged the political process since the Act of Union in 1910.

Closed doors

Delegates from 20 political parties, including representatives from the six self-governing national states and the four TBVC states, are locked in discussions behind closed doors at the Holiday Inn Airport Hotel at Jan Smuts.

The meeting takes place in an atmosphere of extreme sensitivity.

Scores of South African and foreign journalists and television crews gathered behind a cordon outside the hotel early today to await the arrival of the delegations.

Half-an-hour before the meeting was to start, at 10 am, a selected pool of journalists was ushered into the conference room to record the launch of the most representative — and most delicate — meeting in the annals of South African politics since the National Convention in 1908/09.

Then the media withdrew and discussions got underway. The meeting is expected to continue tomorrow.

Absent from the talks are the Conservative Party and other right-wing groupings, and the Azanian People's Organisation and much smaller but vocal leftwing groupings such as the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

So sensitive has been the preparation that there is not even an agenda. The first task participations are tackling is to decide who should chair the meeting and what should be on the agenda.

As last-minute arrangements for the historic meeting were made yesterday, the names of Mr Justice P J Schabort and Mr Justice I Mahomed — the country's first black judge — were mentioned as possible chairmen for the meeting.

Main players

Sources said the main players had been consulted, and the Government, ANC and DP had already agreed to it.

Another proposal was that the chairmanship should rotate among the five bigger parties — the Government, the ANC, the PAC, the IFP and the DP.

The dispute about the chairmanship underlined the sensitivity about arrangements which has characterised the preparations for the meeting.

Most of the agenda will be self-evident. The meeting has the task of choosing the venue, date, participants, size of delegations and other arrangements for the all-party conference provisionally scheduled for December 20 and 21.

An intriguing possibility is that the steering committee will make a "declaration of intent" about the path ahead during the transition phase.

In last-minute preparations yesterday, a convening group drafted an agenda for today's meeting and proposed that the first all-party conference in December end its deliberations with a statement of intent.

This week, the ANC finalised a "statement of principles" to be presented at today's meeting. The statement outlines basic ANC policy on a new constitution.

● See page 21.

ANC briefing to UN envoys could spell doom for Front

Sowetan 29/11/91 30417

THIS week's disclosures by the Pan Africanist Congress that African National Congress foreign affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki had briefed African ambassadors to the UN on the Patriotic Front could spell doom for the initiative.

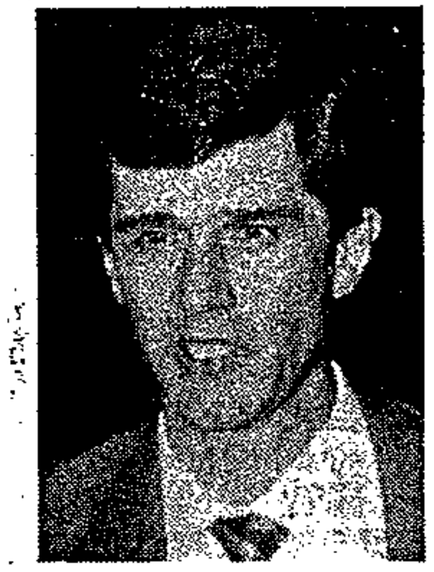
Mbeki's briefing to the ambassadors at the United Nations has once and for all shattered the grand illusion that the Patriotic Front, as it exists, is a watertight and workable concept for meaningful political change in South Africa.

Senior PAC leaders have for weeks secretly complained that the ANC was not honouring agreements which were reached at the launch of the PF in Durban last month.

When on November 20 Mbeki told the UN ambassadors of a series of behind-the-scenes agreements that the ANC had reached with the Government - without consulting its PF partners - the movement irrevocably broke the trust which it had engendered when it entered into the front.



GERRIT VILJOEN



ROELF MEYER



BENNY ALEXANDER

It also enhanced the position of organisations such as the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Conservative Party who for different ideological reasons are refusing to enter into multiparty talks.

For the ANC, the revelations signal a last, at-all-costs dash for the winning post even if it means ignoring its PF partners.

The ANC has only one avenue left for attaining power. This is through negotiations and if it fails (to attain maximum power) because of hardline influences in the PF it is sunk.

Sanctions are on their way out, the armed struggle is not feasible in the present world order and President FW de Klerk has suggested that he could use force to quell unwanted developments - he was not specific though.

The fact is, recent market research results had lent a measure of authenticity to the notion that the ANC was the putative government of South Africa.

Other polls have given the NP the majority of the vote. Effectively, between the two of them, the NP and ANC must feel that they can win an election without any help.

It is an established fact that senior and very influencial Government people are not in favour of the Patriotic Front.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen referred to the PF as "a ganging up by the ANC and its allies against the Government".

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said earlier this year: "It is extra baggage which the ANC does not need."

A conclusion that can be drawn from what appears to be moves towards closer unity between the Government and the ANC, to the extent that it excludes every other political party, is that neither the ANC or Government any longer need the PAC or the Patriotic Front.

The ANC needed the PAC in the PF to gain credibility among more militant black people and the Government needed the PAC to say yes to multiparty talks so it could gain credibility for having "done everything in its power to bring all sides to the negotiating table".

In the final analysis, the Government's Machiavellian scheme of incorporating sections of the liberation movement while it continues to gain friends and influence people at home and abroad is working.

Commenting on the "deal" between the Government and the ANC, PAC secretary general Mr Benny Alexander said on Wednesday: "We believe that the ANC is in cahoots with the regime and is aborting our common resolve."

Cloud over preparatory meeting

CT 29/11/91 (3044)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE preparatory meeting of the all-party conference meets under a cloud at Jan Smuts Airport this morning amid renewed signs of political enmity and suspicion among the major political players.

As the ANC and the PAC moved to patch up this week's furore over alleged ANC/government collusion on an interim government, radical left-wing groups like the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action used the row to justify their non-participation in the talks.

And the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly accused unnamed political groupings among the 22 participating parties of trying to hijack the talks for their own political gain.

The government gained a tactical edge, however, via a President F W de Klerk announcement that the state and the National Party would field separate three-person delegations.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, will head a government team which will include Minister of Justice and Correctional Services Mr Kobie Coetsee and the government's constitutional expert, Mr Fanie van der Merwe.

The Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie de Villiers, will lead the NP's team which includes Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

304A
ARG 29/11/91

CP controls half OFS seats

Political Staff

VIRGINIA. — The Conservative Party last night won the Virginia parliamentary by-election with a comfortable majority of more than 3 000, leading to increased CP claims that President De Klerk's Government no longer enjoyed majority support among whites.

The CP victory, which was not unexpected, is likely to lead to more demands by the CP that the government resign and call a general election.

The by-election result, announced by electoral officer Mr K H Smit shortly before 11.30pm, now gives the CP seven of the 14 parliamentary seats in the Free State — equal to those held by the National Party.

CP candidate Mr Kobus Beyers, a Pretoria-based marketing manager who is CP secretary Andries Beyers's brother, polled 7 980 votes and NP candidate Jac Kloppers polled 4 814 votes. This gives the CP a majority of 3 166.

Mr Smit said a total of 12 819 votes cast gave a voter turnout of 55,5 percent.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee last night conceded defeat hours before voting ended.

Mr Coetsee, who ascribed the CP victory to the ailing economy in the mining constituency, said the defeat would not affect government reforms.

Mr Coetsee said NP workers had never before been as efficient during a by-election.

Voters had shown indifference to political and constitutional issues, and were concerned about three matters: the ailing economy in the goldfields, violence on the nearby President Steyn mine and personal security.

At least 800 white workers in Virginia alone had been hit by retrenchment.

"I have fought many by-elections, but never before have the dice been so loaded against us as they are today. Politics is not the focal point," Mr Coetsee said.

He said he was hopeful that once the economy had improved and an international rugby team had played against the Springboks in a Free State stadium, the NP would recapture the votes lost to the CP.



LET'S CELEBRATE IN STYLE: UCT final-year law students he… Even little Angus got some … the first words of mother A… her in the celebrations … McLaughlan, both of S… exa…

Mayor ca…

EDWARD MOLO… STR…
Staff Reporter

MAYOR Mr … pealed to … sure the… rank, s…

M… tha…

Big win for CP in OFS election

CT 29 11 91

304A

Own Correspondent

VIRGINIA. — The Conservative Party yesterday inflicted a heavy defeat on the National Party in the parliamentary by-election in the Free State constituency of Virginia.

CP candidate Mr Kobus Beyers won the seat with a majority of 3 166 votes from NP candidate Mr Jac Kloppers. It is a gain for the CP.

Mr Beyers received 7 980 votes and Mr Kloppers 4 814.

Election officer K H Smit said a total of 12 819 votes with a voter turnout of 55,52% — were cast. There were 25 spoilt papers.

In the election of 1989 former Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, who had resigned earlier this year, won the seat with a slender majority of 47 votes.

After a slow start voting picked up steadily during the day, with a dramatic increase after 5pm when a large number of miners finished their shifts for the day.

In the late afternoon only about 9 300 votes (including the 7 747 special votes) were cast.

By 8pm the number of votes cast were still less than 50% of the more than 23 000 possible votes.

Virginia result puts self-determination demands in spotlight

CP 'could win white poll'

STAR 29/11/91. (304A)

The Conservative Party's decisive victory in yesterday's Virginia by-election has signalled for the first time that it could win a white general election — and possibly even a white referendum.

The CP turned its 47-vote defeat in 1989 into a 3 166 triumph — an astonishing 15 percent swing.

Leading election analyst Professor Dirk Laurie of Potchefstroom University computed today that if this result were projected on to the national stage, the CP would win about 50 percent of the white vote.

This meant it would vie with the National Party for victory in a referendum.

In a general election, with the CP better represented in weighted rural seats, it would win by about 10 seats, on the strength of the Virginia result.

As expected, this result prompted CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht immediatly to challenge President de Klerk to grant whites a general election.

Mr de Klerk is sure to turn down this demand. However, some informed CP sources believe that the pressure will now be enormous on Mr de Klerk to grant the Afrikaner the right to self-determination of some sort in the coming negotations.

If he acceded to this demand, this would in turn put the CP leadership under pressure to enter negotiations on those terms.

The suggestion is that self-determination could mean either complete partition — the official CP policy — or a lesser degree of autonomy for a white state in a federal South Africa.

Professor Laurie said today that the Virginia result was the best the CP had ever had and the first which suggested it could win a white general election and even a referendum.

But he stressed that the circumstances were most favourable for the CP, in a white worker constituency, where mines had closed and unrest was high.

The last few by-election results had been less favourable for the CP and indicated that the NP would still win 55 to 56 percent of the white vote.

Professor Laurie computed that about 26 percent of the NP's support in Virginia had deserted to the CP.

About 15 percent of the total vote had moved to the CP — an "extremely substantial swing".

"This is the first by-election result where one could reasonably talk of a possible (national) CP victory."

Wits University political scientist Alf Stadler said the result which indicated shrinking support for the Nats, would seriously affect NP clout in negotiations.

"Growing support for the CP is also a warning for the ANC that if they think the NP are the bad guys, they had better watch out for the tapping on the Nats' right shoulder."

He believed the latest result could incline the ANC to a more placatory stance in talks and the NP to become more conciliatory.

Professor Stadler said the CP had reinforced its support by a rump of tough-minded white voters in rural areas such as Virginia, an indication that white politics had become polarised between the De Klerk/de Beer faction and the Treurnicht sector.

● To Page 2

RESULT

Koos Beyers (CP)	7 980
Jac Kloppers (NP)	4 814
Majority	3 166
Percentage poll	55,52
Spoilt papers	25



CP 'could win election and referendum'

STAR 29/11/91

● From Page 1

(304A)

The result could strengthen the hand of the CP's Koos van der Merwe who had indicated he wanted to survive in a post-apartheid South Africa, he added.

● Photographer Herbert Mabuza and reporter Kaiser Nyatsumba last night had to leave the Virginia polling station before the results were announced after about 10 men — wearing khaki with Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) insignia — had threatened them.

The men walked into the polling station shortly after 8 pm and walked past them. A few minutes later they encircled them, hurling racial insults at the two men and asked one another what was to be done with The Star staffers.

They managed to escape from the circle and, with the help of Lieutenant J Earle, left the place after NP supporters had advised them that their lives could be in danger.

"It's a pity that you have to leave. They will get the satisfaction they want," Lieutenant Earl told the two men.

Nyatsumba said: "We had been at the receiving end of various racist remarks and verbal abuse from CP supporters since our arrival in the town early in the morning and we were liberally referred to as 'kaffirs' who had no business there." — Political Staff-Sapa.

R8 000 award for Paula

Staff Reporter

The Star's consumer reporter, Paula Fray, was last night named the overall winner of the 1991 Checkers Award for Consumer Journalism on the eve of her marriage to another award winner, Des Latham of Radio 702.

And Star Line's June Bearzi won first prize in the print media category for her latest series of exposes.

Paula won R8 000 and the prestigious trophy. Today, she marries Des, who took the R2 500 second prize in the electronic media category.

The awards were announced at a banquet in Johannesburg attended by editors, journalists and personalities of the print and electronic media.

Guest speaker was CNN Gulf War correspondent Peter Arnett.

Paula won for her balanced and exhaustive reporting in a series on VAT, which was perhaps the major consumer issue of the year and which showed the qualities of relevance, impact, enterprise, reliability and general excellence, the judges said.

Des won for a series on frauds which demolished the savings of construction workers hoping to rebuild Kuwait.

Star Line's June Bearzi won the first prize in the print media category for investigations into loan sharks and fraud. She is a former winner of the Consumer Award.

Janine Lazarus of the Sunday Star received a merit award for her series, "Crimewatch".

CURRENT ISSUES



Towards the All Party Congress: 2

Issues around the All Party Congress

Many people have been puzzled by reports in the last few weeks around the convening of talks amongst different political parties on the future of this country. The first reports said that the talks would start on 29 November. Then we heard that the meeting that was to finalise the date had been cancelled and that the chances of the All Party Congress (APC) taking place this year were very slim. There is now talk that the meeting will probably take place before the end of this year.

It seems that there has been disagreement on who should convene the conference and who should participate in it. People were told that the preparatory meeting was cancelled because other parties objected to the announcement by the ANC president Nelson Mandela that the talks would start on 29 November before agreement was reached on the date with the other political parties. There are also different views on who was supposed to be in the preparatory meeting. The reports say that Inkatha wanted what it considers as 'major parties' like itself, the ANC and the National Party to be in the meeting. This is in line with its view that it must be the 'major parties' that issue invitations to other organisations to attend the All Party Congress. There has also been a debate on whether the conference should only be open to political parties. People are debating whether organisations such as trade unions, church bodies and organisations of the bosses should attend the All Party Congress.

At first it seems as though the disagreements are petty and revolve around practical arrangements. But underneath the fights about who will convene the APC and who will attend, lies the difference on the role of the conference.

Two points of view

Broadly, there are two points of view on the role of the APC.

- The government and the ruling class have argued up to this point that the role of the Multi-party Conference must be to draft a new constitution. This view is in line with the government's rejection of the demand for a Constituent Assembly. According to the government, to have elections for a Constituent Assembly before the constitution is actually agreed upon by the major parties, is to put the cart before the horse. From the arguments of government spokespersons it is clear that there is a fear that a constitution that emerges out of a forum of elected representatives will clearly not protect minority interests in the same way that apartheid has been a benefit for a tiny section of the population. So for the ruling class the constitution must come out of the Multi-party Conference and not the Constituent Assembly. The fact that the strength of the different parties who will be attending the APC in terms of mass support would not have been tested in not an issue for the National Party.
- Recognising that the APC will not be a forum of elected delegates, the liberation organisations like the ANC and PAC have been opposed to the insistence by the government that the conference draws up a new constitution for the country. Instead, they have argued that the Constituent Assembly is the only body that can draw up a new constitution. In line with the Harare Declaration, the liberation movements have defined the role of the APC as working out ways and means of getting to a new South Africa.

The questions that the liberation organisations are putting for discussion are:

- How will South Africa be governed in the process of transition so that no party is disadvantaged in the process?
- What role should the international community play in the process of transition?
- What forum should draw up a new constitution?

The liberation organisations are going to the APC to call for the present government to step down and for the establishment of an Interim Government that will supervise the elections to a Constituent Assembly. This is a process that the regime is opposed to.

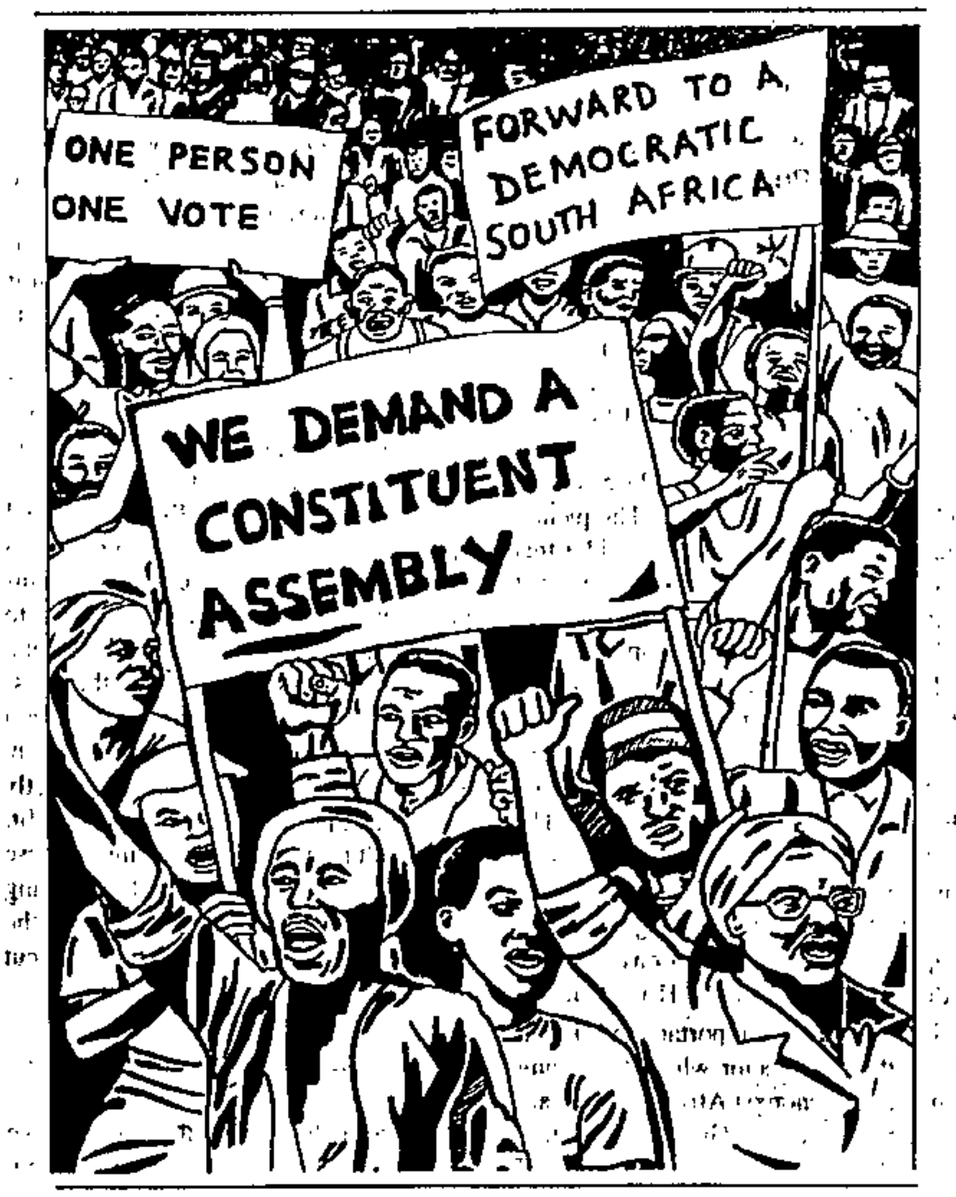
Reaching an agreement.

These two points of view raise the question of how agreement will be reached at the APC. It also raises the question of how decisions will be made at the conference. This last point is related to the issue of representation.

- Can the delegates at the conference vote on whether the Constituent Assembly is the best forum for drawing up a new constitution?
- How will the vote of the different parties be determined?

Having allies at the conference is viewed as strengthening one's position. The battle for allies is reaching a climax.

In the preparations for the conference a suggestion has been made that decisions at the conference be reached on the basis of consensus - this means complete agreement. This would be fine if the parties that would be sitting at the negotiating table had some common interests. It is difficult to imagine how consensus would be reached on the issue of a democratic Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government. The options are clear: the mass movement either compromises on its stand on the Constituent Assembly and Interim Government or the regime gives in to the demands of the majority.



Constitutional Principles

The fact that the government has up to now not raised objections to the idea of a constitution being drawn up by a Constituent Assembly, must not lull us into thinking that they will not try to find a way out of this situation. The aim of the regime is to have a constitution that while giving the majority certain rights will not do away with minority privileges. It is possible for the regime to 'agree' to the demand for a CA br the APC, but this will obviously not be the CA that the masses have been calling for. The masses have been struggling for an Assembly that is not restricted by prior agreements and which has all the powers to draw up a new constitution.

What the National Party will do when it sees that there is overwhelming support for the CA at the conference, will probably be to demand that certain principles be agreed on at the APC. These would be the framework within which the elected delegates would have to do their work of drafting a new constitution. The Nats and their allies will try to define these principles in such a way that the CA will be a toy chamber where the elected delegates will be adding flesh to something that has been decided.

Concern has been raised about the possibility of the APC taking over the responsiblities of the CA. The relationship of the constitutional principles which the Harare Declaration says must be discussed in the APC and the actual constitutiuon is something that needs to be discussed thoroughly.

Mass Involvement

What all these issues raise is how the mass movement will ensure that its positions win at the APC. From the arguments in this period towards the APC it is clear that issues in this new phase of negotiations are going to have to be struggled over. The APC will be a site of struggle and so the role of the masses becomes crucial in this regard. The challenge that faces the mass movement is how to involve the masses in this whole process. How will the movement ensure that the march towards the CA and the Interim Government continues unabated?

The question of keeping people informed about developments is vital for any approach that understands the role of the masses in the whole process. The mass movement needs to devise ways of ensuring that the masses are fully aware of developments on the negotiations front at all times. But it is not just the question of informing people that is at stake here. The question of the actual involvement of the masses in decision making is vital. This raises the question of mandates and regular report-backs. The suggestion that deadlocks at the conference need to be put to a popular referendum needs to be carefully considered.

Nats throw in towel

(304A)

Sowetan 29/11/91

JUSTICE Minister Kobie Coetsee last night conceded defeat to the Conservative Party in the Virginia by-election hours before voting ended.

Coetsee, National Party leader in the Free State, said he was preparing for a loss of the marginal seat to the CP.

The CP victory will ensure the party seven parliamentary seats in the Free State, half the total number of seats in the province. This will effectively mean that the CP, which until 1989 had no seats in the Free State, will now have the same number of seats as the NP.

The NP's candidate in the by-election is Welkom attorney Mr Jac Kloppers and the CP's candidate is Pretoria-based marketing manager Kobus Beyers, a brother to CP chief secretary Andries Beyers — the CP candidate in the forthcoming Potchefstroom parliamentary by-election.

Ailing

Coetsee, who ascribed the widely expected CP victory to the ailing state of the economy in the mining constituency of Virginia, said the NP's defeat would not affect the Government's reforms. The CP victory would not have any "far-reaching implications other than that they (CP) have captured a marginal seat".

Speaking shortly after his arrival at the polling station about 5pm, Coetsee said NP election workers had never before being as efficient during a by-election as they were yesterday.

They had canvassed "virtually every household and visited every nook of the constituency" before the election.

Coetsee said Virginia voters had shown great indifference to political and constitutional issues, but were concerned about three main issues.

These were the ailing economy in the goldfields, violence at nearby President Steyn Mine and their own personal security.

He said that at least 800 white workers in Virginia alone had so far been affected by retrenchments.

Attitude

"There is an indifferent attitude towards constitutional development and politics as such, which the electorate don't consider issues to vote about. It is this indifference which might bring about the loss of the seat."

The Virginia constituency became vacant when former Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase — widely regarded as a conservative in President de Klerk's reformist Cabinet — resigned as MP. — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

FM 29/11/91

Getting to the beef

304A

This Friday's preliminary meeting of 22 parties, dominated by the National Party and the ANC, is expected to prepare the agenda for multiparty constitutional negotiations, starting on December 20.

That second-round meeting is expected to see the NP present its proposals on the shape of an interim authority. If they are acceptable to the ANC, financial sanctions against SA might be lifted almost immediately (see Face to Face).

Yet it remains to be seen whether the ANC will then have crossed the threshold by accepting joint responsibility for public policy — including the "unpopular" bits, which still leaves some in the ANC dubious about what they refer to as "dual power."

The pace of change may have been so dizzy that nobody has noticed, but Friday's meeting could effectively be the start of SA's second national convention. A new constitution might even be in place in about two years' time.

While Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party alone has raised objections to two of three NP-nominated conveners of the multiparty conference, the Nats and ANC met separately last week to plan strategies and tactics for this week's meeting.

Inkatha, no doubt peeved at being apparently relegated to second-level status in all this, has agreed with the nomination of Chief Justice Corbett as convener of the all-party talks. Its reservations concern the other two Nat-proposed candidates — former NGK moderator Johan Heyns and Methodist Church president Stanley Mogoba. This will not, however, present a serious hurdle in the preparatory meeting, says an ANC source, who adds that Inkatha "are back in line — for the moment." The main thing is to get the ball rolling.

Also on the agenda of the preparatory meeting, which is really concerned with administrative matters, is the mechanics of decision-making at the multiparty conference; who will issue invitations; and the number of working committees to be set up.

Of crucial importance here will be the one on constitutional matters. If this committee is able to reach agreement on fundamental principles for a new constitution, then the NP might then go along with the demand for an elected constituent assembly to fill in the details.

The ANC could also raise the question of a separate forum to negotiate economic policy, as demanded by its ally Cosatu.

Related to the setting up of working committees (others suggested by the ANC include one on interim government arrangements, on incorporation of the TBVC states and the role of the international community) is the status of parliament. There have been "whispers" that parliament may be adjourned for a while next year to get the multiparty conference going, partly because a number of MPs would be involved in its various preparatory committees.

One benefit expected from the big indaba is that the violence, which largely hobbled an earlier commencement of the all-party conference, will at least abate, if not end altogether. Perhaps that's being too optimistic. But government and the ANC, at least, are determined to keep the negotiations on track; the stakes are too high to risk their derailment and each side recognises that the other is needed for a successful outcome.



"There will be setbacks and disappointments," President F W de Klerk acknowledged recently, but, he added hopefully, "the power of reason, realism and cool heads will assert itself to lay the foundation of a new society."

Though there is an encouraging degree of what Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Tertius Delport has called "convergence" between the NP and ANC, there are fundamental differences, observes DP research chief Nic Olivier. However, Delport has said there is enough agreement to be used "as the basis for negotiating an equitable, democratic future for all South Africans."

After analysing the ANC's constitutional guidelines, Olivier has identified the points where there is "probably no conflict" with government, as well as areas of difference and possible conflict.

Thus the NP is unlikely to have serious problems from the ANC over:

- ☐ The ANC's wish for a united, democratic, non-racist, non-sexist, unitary SA with a bill of rights;
- ☐ Three branches of government and separation of powers;
- ☐ A bicameral legislature;
- ☐ Secret, regular elections;
- ☐ In independent judiciary;
- ☐ Citizenship;
- ☐ A justiciable bill of rights;
- ☐ Elimination of discrimination; and
- ☐ Provisions for declaring a state of emergency.

Some of the areas of probable difference and conflict identified by Olivier (in last month's *South Africa International*):

- ☐ The ANC's demand for an interim government (though there has recently been some convergence on this), and for a constituent assembly;
- ☐ Majority government as against the concept of power sharing;
- ☐ Unitary or federal structure;
- ☐ The nature of affirmative action;
- ☐ The election, powers and functions of the president;
- ☐ Whether the Cabinet should be formed on a multiparty basis;
- ☐ The electoral system; and
- ☐ The language issue. ■

NP making diplomatic gains

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA's international gains in legitimacy were benefiting the NP at the ANC's expense, RAU political scientist Deon Geldenhuys said yesterday.

He told an SA Institute of International Affairs meeting the NP and ANC had, in a sense, reversed roles.

It was the ANC which was now struggling with something of an international credibility problem.

In the past six months SA had played host to ministers and deputy ministers from Australia, the UK, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Finland, Japan, the US, Romania, Kenya, Cameroon, Cape Verde and Ireland. (304A)

Since the beginning of the year, 65 official delegations from African states other than the SADCC countries had met members of the SA government.

The ANC was apparently not pleased with the growing diplomatic traffic.

Another indication that diplomatic isolation was collapsing was the expansion of the country's missions abroad, Geldenhuys said. Bl Rand 29/11/91

A total of 34 internationally recognised states were officially represented in Pretoria, 20 of them at ambassadorial level.

SA was in turn represented in 49 states, in 26 of them by ambassadors.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

No time to feel guilty

Honourable achievements make a firm basis for future policy

The Democratic Party believes it has a role, but it is not at all sure what that role is. There are many individual members who feel certain about what the party *should* be doing, but they tend to differ — sometimes heatedly. The result is a firm belief that the DP must survive — with confusion about what policies it needs.

After weathering the "three blind mice" period of leadership with Wynand Malan and Denis Worrall, Zach de Beer (63) has established himself as a force to be reckoned with in SA politics as the DP's sole leader. First elected to Parliament in the Fifties, he likes to joke that foreign dignitaries are paraded around the historic sites of SA, and he's one of them.

De Beer is friendly and unusually candid for a politician. But he is also a consummate seeker after compromise, working to influence a move towards "for want of a better word — the centre." He says that when a new government is in place, he would be willing to play "an important role." The question is whether there will still be a DP when that happens.

Talk to Paul Pereira and Mark Heaton, of the strongly market-oriented, classically liberal youth wing of the DP, and you sense the frustration that has seeped into areas of the party. They fear that a move towards "the centre" will translate into a little less nationalisation and a lot of State meddling.

They resent that, while the rest of the world is unashamedly moving toward capitalism, the DP is still playing footsy with something called the "social market." And with socialism in death throes everywhere else, their chosen party continues to play host to a covey of MPs who don't seem to have a problem with the ANC.

> **The DP has an important watchdog role...**
> *Helen Suzman*

Houghton MP Tony Leon, still regarded, at nearly 35, as a young Turk, acknowledges that "we tend to be too polite so as not to upset our political partners or the opposition. That's part of the problem of being player and negotiator. But we have every incentive to push a market orientation. It gives us a very definite positioning other parties don't have."

However, observers with a lot more experience in life in general and political life in particular — Helen Suzman for one — believe the DP should hone its role as a middleman. "The DP has an important watchdog role, especially in the civil rights area. Its monitoring of unrest is also valuable," she says.

"The DP's fate," adds Canadian political scientist Heribert Adam, a visiting professor

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FM 29/11/91 (30 of 47)

at the University of Cape Town, "is to object to NP policy." No-one in the party argues that unrest monitoring — or NP monitoring for that matter — is unimportant, but, as Pereira says, "our primary role is not to be a research group like Idasa."

Saths Cooper, national director of the non-partisan Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, sides with the faction that says it is time for the DP to capitalise on its track record. "They have to decide whether they are really a party or a cultural phenomenon. If it's a party, it must act like one. A cultural phenomenon tends to act like a moral outfit. A political party has to have its eye on the hustings. It's not enough to have humdrum report-backs."

So what is the DP's role?

It rightfully pats itself on the back for its parliamentary work this session in the repeal of the Land, Group Areas and Population Registration Acts, which helped pave the way for the lifting of American sanctions. It fought to reduce VAT to 10%. It recommends opening shuttered all-white schools to all races. It proposes giving away township houses to long-term residents, something that the ANC recently decided to favour.

The DP also feels justified in saying that through debate in Parliament it forced the Nats to drop the term "group rights" in favour of proportional representation and accept the idea of an entrenched constitution with a Bill of Rights. "And an independent judiciary," adds De Beer.

But who notices? One Markinor poll in July this year indicated that the DP is down to only 2% of white support (with 19% of whites saying they would vote for Inkatha, 42% for the Nats, 2% for the ANC and 16% for the CP). This is in stark contrast with De Beer's claim that the party has 50 000 members and possibly half a million voters. Perhaps the DP's 33 seats no longer reflect its true support; if it still has political clout, it must act to prevent further erosion.

Even a senior DP man like Worrall has a hard time figuring out his party's plans. He wrote in *Business Day* this week: "Before the party can convincingly recruit support, it has to make up its mind that it has a future." But De Beer asks: "What's the problem? Getting everyone to move to the centre — our policy — has worked extraordinarily well."

For Leon, that's evidently not enough. "Are we simply to keep points, to act as a polite chorus of approval when we think the NP or ANC do something right and criticise them when we think they do something wrong? That's a very necessary role in politics, but it's not a reasonable role for a political party."

Are we simply to keep points, to act as a polite chorus of approval when we think the NP or ANC do something right and criticise them when we think they do something wrong?
Tony Leon

What all political groups still have to face is that the future electorate will be more than 10m, in contrast to the hundreds of thousands in recent white political history. As the political flux intensifies, there may well be a strong need among blacks for a party such as the DP.

Leon, a politician with a nose for power if ever there was one, likes to say that he represents the "radical centre" of SA — the professionals, the property owners, the people of all colours who aren't afraid to admit that they are wary of the NP and the ANC, both politically and economically. "We have to become more aggressive as the party people identify with, defending the right to property, to a market-driven economy tempered by social justice, to a real brake on State power. The NP has the patronage machine; it sees itself as viable. The ANC has the whiff of power. The DP is the free-thinking organisation."

Where Leon may strike a chord with many DP members is in his readiness to address white uneasiness and insecurity, rather than merely feel guilty about apartheid as many liberals do. "My constituents," says Leon, "are deeply concerned about the immediate issues of law and order and the soaring cost of living. They feel financially crippled. They need a forum to articulate this position and the solutions. We have to fight for their corner. If we offend the liberation movements, too bad. With liberals, there tends to be a wariness about confronting the unacceptable face of black politics — violence, intolerance. They dare not speak its name."

One issue that has been broached over and over again is the gap between the ANC supporters on one side of the party and the Nat-leaners on the other. At the recent DP congress, De Beer insisted on no further public bickering and, if serious splits persist, examples will have to be made. It remains to be seen whether De Beer will be ruthless enough to make them, or will go down in history as another Sir De Villiers Graaff, presiding over endless compromise.

Says Saths Cooper: "The elements that want to leave should leave. The DP will be smaller in the short term and stronger in the long term. It needs to be very specific."

Will the DP break apart? It seems unlikely at the moment. The way things are going, it seems more likely that the ANC will implode first; its policies are even less coherent then the DP's.

But some observers put the long-term problem more bluntly. "The DP will never play an effective political role because it can never muster enough electoral support," says Sam Moss, now an independent but formerly a leading Prog, who this month beat a DP candidate in a "safe" Johannesburg city council ward in Houghton-Killarney. Others suggest that the DP will hold its own until the constitution is approved, then split.

The younger Democratic MPs, who are interested in politics and future office rather than in vaguely preserving a liberal protest group for its own sake, will obviously not be keen to hang around on a sinking ship. They will keep their options open and jump if and when the time is right.

"There's far more talent per head in the DP than in any party," says De Beer, ticking off the names like Leon, Roger Burrows, Ken Andrew and Hennie Bester. "They will be wanted badly in any future government."

Though De Beer may seem rather too gentlemanly for the roughhouse of the new SA, he also has his cheerleaders. Says Heribert Adam: "He is experienced, articulate, sophisticated. There are not too many public figures who are that worldly. I hope he will continue to play a role, more as a voice of rationality and reason." Again, that role need not be as leader of the DP.

In the end, electoral politics is about a volatile blend of personalities and policies. In terms of personalities, the DP certainly has the edge over both the ANC and the NP, who are thin on the ground once you get past the likes of F W de Klerk, Pik Botha, Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan.

But intelligent charm is no use without policies. The DP badly needs to grab hold of some solid issues which will guarantee an economic future for SA, as well as attract voters. The party should push for lower taxes and increased growth; privatisation to provide desperately needed money for redistribution of opportunity; and the end of exchange control. In the area of crime and security, its members need to take their eyes off future high office and get down to the grassroots problems.

Above all, however, the DP must stop feeling apologetic. ■

There's far more talent per head in the DP than in any party. They will be wanted badly in any future government.
Zach de Beer

Multiparty talks to get under way today

6/Day 29/11/91 (304A)

PATRICK BULGER

LONG-awaited multiparty talks will get under way at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport when 22 political parties meet in closed session today.

Details of the meeting were announced in identical statements issued yesterday by the ANC and government, the latter to be represented separately from the NP.

President F W de Klerk said government would be represented by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Development director-general Fanie van der Merwe. The NP would be represented by Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers, Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

The ANC's delegation will be led by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Jacob Zuma and ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Other parties at the meeting will be Inkatha, the PAC, DP, SACP, Labour Party, Solidarity and the homeland governments and ruling parties.

Today's meeting will focus on setting up an agenda for the multiparty conference, and decide on a chairman and convener, a venue and a title for the conference.

A senior NP source has said the start of real talks on December 20 would see a meeting being asked to consider a statement of intent that will form the legal basis for decisions taken at the conference and may empower the conference to have a say in legislation passed next year.

Valli Moosa said last night such a declaration incorporating the ANC's constitutional principles might be put to the first

☐ To Page 2

Talks

B/Day 29/11/91. (304A)

☐ From Page 1

session of real talks. It would commit participants to a nonracial, united and democratic SA with a bill of rights.

He also said the all-party congress would in effect be able to veto the passage of legislation through Parliament. "It would not make any sense to go into an all-party congress whose decisions can be overruled by another body."

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday the PAC would propose that two commissions arise from the plenary session: the first to deal with the modalities of a constituent assembly and the second with transitional arrangements.

He foresaw two competing points of view being put forward — that of government and the ANC and that of the PAC.

Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said he would insist decisions be taken by all parties and not by the ANC, NP and Inkatha acting in a troika. "We are meeting to bury the troika," he said.

● See Page 13

Major political players sit down to shape history

304A

B/Day 29/11/91

PATRICK BULGER

MOST of SA's major political players sit down today to decide on an agenda for all-party talks designed to shape a future constitution for SA.

It is indeed a historic occasion. Never in SA's past have the representatives of SA's racial groups sat down together to discuss a common future.

Pre-talks manoeuvering has tended to induce in the public at large a sense of apathy about the talks and a lingering suspicion that the disputes over trivia like a name for the negotiating forum may mask a more fundamental disinclination among the players to actually negotiate.

In all likelihood the NP will arrive at the conference fresh from a resounding defeat in the Virginia by-election. Such a result will pose the question in the minds of the political players: what is the point of negotiating with the NP when its support is visibly crumbling around it?

The CP will no doubt use the Virginia result to back its insistence that the ordinary white does not support the NP's negotiation strategy.

The Virginia result may also prompt a perception that the NP will not be able to sell the outcome of negotiations to white voters in a future referendum, rendering any agreements worth little more than the paper they will be written on.

It is quite possible that the negotiating partners might find themselves having to enter a fresh round of negotiations as a bloc with CP and AWB elements. Such negotiations could be altogether more difficult.

It remains to be seen what effect the extremists will have on the country's constitutional future, especially if SA's economy continues to deteriorate and violence escalates.

The PAC's role needs to be seen in this context.

Almost without exception, post-independence elections in African colonies were dominated by a small educated elite backed by the masses of undereducated youth with high expectations and little real grasp of what would best serve their interests.

Black youths are not unanimously convinced that negotiations are being held to serve their interests.

The ANC Youth League conference early next month will no doubt hear calls for the speeding up of the establishment of defence units.

Radical members will see in defence units an offensive capacity that could be used to secure real gains.

The PAC is less than convinced that the talks will bring about a transfer of power, and is already developing escape hatches should the talks become bogged down.

Its allegations that government and the ANC have reached agreement on substantive issues like an interim government will provide it with the perfect pretext to pull out at some stage should it want to. Projecting itself then as the true standard-bearer of the revolution, the PAC will hope to tap radical sentiment and generalised disillusionment with a negotiated outcome.

The experience of Zimbabwe — where the PAC's ally, the Zimbabwe African National Union, retained its revolutionary purity and secured ultimate victory by merely abstaining from deals of the sort that Muzorewa, Sithole and even Nkomo were entering with Smith — is not that far from the PAC's thinking.

To say today's meeting will probably not deal with "substantive" issues is to miss the point.

The fact is that all party talks will rapidly develop (or deteriorate) into a struggle to demonstrate just who is able to command sovereignty in the new SA.

If the ANC is able to prevail in the competition even for a name for the conference, it will in effect be showing that only with its sanction can talks proceed.

The struggle for sovereignty will become paramount.

There is a very real danger that the major players will come to see the conference as merely an institutional mechanism to make their bid for total power rather than a negotiating forum characterised by give and take and reconciliation.

THE CABINET FM 29/11/91 304A

Let's calm down, chaps

Just when there is a moment's peace on the political front, up pops a Cabinet Minister to cause a commotion.

First it was Louis Pienaar (National Education), getting hysterical at a National Party congress in Pretoria about the decision not to use the flag, the anthem and the Springbok emblem when our team takes part in the Barcelona Olympics. As the *FM* argued at the time (*Leaders* November 15), petty interventions such as this will achieve precisely the opposite of their intention. Pienaar might consider devoting his full energies to his main portfolio, education.

Last week it was Gene Louw (Home Affairs) — twice. First he sounded off about the need for stricter censorship. This was extremely puzzling because the censors have been behaving quite reasonably for years. If a list of the country's priorities were to be made, reform of the censorship system would surely rate about 117th.

As if to deflect any resultant suspicions that he has nothing to do with his time, Louw then launched into a blistering attack on the SABC. He apparently finds it outrageous that the corporation is cutting back on local drama productions. Not surprisingly, Louw was warmly applauded by local film-makers, some of whom have been living comfortably for years on a constant flow of work.

While we regret any hardship that is caused by loss of jobs, we are on the SABC's side here. As the *FM* Corporate Report in this issue makes clear, the SABC is expected (and determined) to run itself on business principles. It has decided that, for the moment, it cannot afford to commission more local drama series. The SABC also resents being lumbered with the responsibility to subsidise film-makers, while M-Net somehow escapes this and remains immune to Louw's wrath.

In any case, it is the function of the SABC's management to decide how the money will be spent, and the board's job to determine overall policy. Perhaps Louw should make representation to them — after all, the SABC is in his portfolio — without bothering the rest of us with his problem. He might also ask Cabinet colleagues for a licence fee increase to help the SABC pay for costly ventures.

What have these Ministers been up to? Perhaps it's all to do with the by-election in Virginia — and trying to create the perception that the SABC and government are not, after all, in the same bed.

If this is indeed President F W de Klerk's strategy, he needs to brief his Ministers to be less transparent and less clumsy. A little *gravitas* would also be in order. We are all jumpy enough as it is, without being shouted at for the strangest reasons. ■

Act against the right to pry

W\Mail 29/11-5/12/91.

Apartheid may — officially — have ended but many of the laws concerning privacy are still intact, reports **BARBARA LUDMAN**

PRIVACY, says a constitutional lawyer, is like motherhood: everyone's in favour of it, in the abstract.

But in South Africa the right to privacy, like other fundamental rights, is grounded in common law, so it can be — and has been — overridden by legislation.

"The whole apartheid system was a flagrant invasion of privacy," says dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Natal, Professor David McQuoid-Mason. But while the Immorality, Prohibition of Mixed Marriages and Group Areas Acts are gone, others not racially-based, like the Publications Act, are still with us.

Attempts since February 1990 to remove laws infringing civil liberties have left much of the privacy situation untouched. The Criminal Procedure Act of 1977 is substantially unchanged, and Section 118 of the Post Office Act still allows interference with private communications. The Internal Security Act has been radically amended, but those portions dealing with search and seizure remain.

New laws have invented new intrusions: in June, parliament passed the Investigation of Serious Economic Offences Act which empowers an official to search business premises and seize documents.

Presumably, the state's right to look at the post, tap the phones and seize the private papers of its citizens will be dealt with in a new constitution. But in an electronic age, the state isn't the only agency people have to worry about.

"At the moment, the area of computer privacy — the collection of personal information on computers — is not sufficiently protected. It must get attention," says Unisa private law Professor J Neethling. "Millions of bits of information have been collected by credit bureaus on creditworthiness. The collection of information, if there's no justification for it, infringes that person's privacy.

"You would have to give the individual some amount of access to the data, so that incorrect, misleading or irrelevant data could be erased. A person must have some control over what's happening to all these bits of information concerning him."

Earlier this year in the United States the Lotus Development Corporation announced it was ready to unveil something called Lotus Marketplace: Households, with the names, addresses, estimated incomes, consumer preferences and other details of 120-million people, compiled by Equifax — one of the Big Three credit-reporting bureaus — and designed to run on Apple computers. The package was available to anyone willing to pay $695 for it.

The outcry from people who believed their privacy was being invaded was so loud that Lotus cancelled the project. But on a smaller scale, this sort of invasion is common, in South Africa as well as the US. Mailing lists — although not as sophisticated as the Lotus one — are sold to businesses and politicians as a matter of course.

The US Supreme Court has interpreted the US constitution in favour of the individual's right to privacy, largely from government agencies. Germany's Basic Law specifically mentions an individual's right to privacy. So does the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African National Congress' constitutional proposals and the Law Commission's recommendations.

Legislation in many democracies concentrates on the individual's right to sue for information. In Britain, for example, says McQuoid-Mason, "you have to be told that an agency is holding your file, you have to be informed of the name and address of anybody making an inquiry about you, you have the right to inspect, correct and update your file and you must be notified by the agency each time your data is released, in terms of legislation". These constraints apply to civil, not security, matters.

"Those countries which have dealt with access to information have generally had a freedom of information Act," says Democratic Party MP Tony Leon. "In South Africa there is no such concept." There is a possibility that the National Intelligence Service may have contravened the law when, citing the Prohibition of Information Act, it destroyed the tapes of then-State President PW Botha's first conversation with then-prisoner Nelson Mandela. "Ironically," Leon says, "there is a suggestion in this saga that the state has a right against the destruction of its property. But this will not avail the individual claimant."

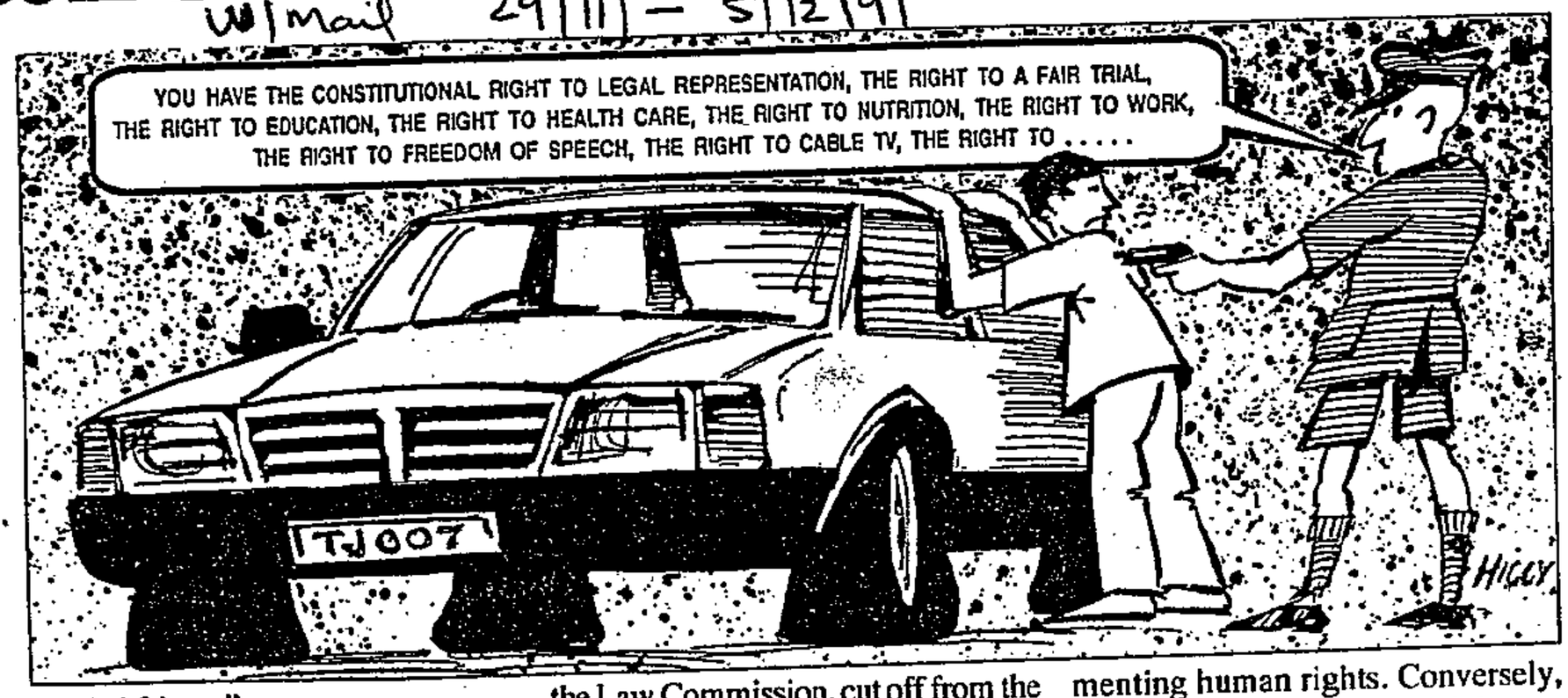
It's a philosophy that pervades the system. "Whatever government has on file is their property and their document. One has no access to it," says the Legal Resources Centre's Geoff Budlender.

Says Neethling, whose concern is largely with private, rather than government, incursions: "You must know that information is being collected about you. Otherwise all your remedies, statutory or common law, won't help you — because you won't know your privacy is being infringed."

The vital second wheel of the chariot

W|mail 29|11 – 5|12|91

Entrenching first-generation rights in a constitution without including socio-political rights will create a smokescreen that obscures the underlying forces which dehumanise people, argues KADER ASMAL



THE battle lines for the debate on the content of a future constitution of South Africa are slowly but inexorably being drawn.

One serious area of combat will be over the content of the Bill of Rights, the basic document of citizens' rights which will form an integral part of the entrenched constitution. Although there is a large measure of agreement concerning the traditional civil and political rights, the debate has not been advanced by the inability of the National Party and the Democratic Party to produce their own versions. The government-appointed Law Commission has finally produced its revised second version.

However defective in its research and ahistorical in its approach, the fact that it has changed its mind on a number of areas bodes well for the emerging debate on what have been described as first generation rights.

As prescribed in the Harare and the United Declarations of 1979, the first stage of negotiations is expected to agree on a "new constitutional order" based on a number of common-form principles vital for a democracy. Significantly, both sets of proposals refer to the need for the creation of an "economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans".

The view of the African National Congress is that social and economic rights are integral to any discussion of rights-based approach to the constitution. Nelson Mandela, with the acuity often found lacking in the Law Commission's approach, put it very well earlier this year when he said:

"In accordance with international standards of human rights, we assert the indivisibility of human rights. The reason for asserting the co-equal status of the so-called second generation of rights is simply put: a vote without food, shelter and health care is to use first generation rights as a smokescreen to obscure the deep underlying forces which dehumanise people. It is to create an appearance of equality and justice, while by implication socio-economic inequality is entrenched."

Some South African lawyers, like the Law Commission, cut off from the judicial activism of the benches of Canada and India, for example, are wont to dismiss the inscription of the right to housing, health care, education and other such rights on two grounds. Firstly, that they are not directly enforceable through a court of law and, secondly, that they would undermine the legitimacy of the first generation of rights, which impose simple restrictions on governments while the former are claims by the community.

Any systematic study will show the incoherence and illogicality of both approaches. There are civil and political rights which make claims on resources. A fair trial requires legal aid in criminal and in some civil cases. Only the state can provide this and the Indian Supreme Court has said that neither administrative nor financial reasons can stand in the way of implementing human rights. Conversely, some economic and social rights are immediately enforceable, as the Law Commission recognises itself when it recognises the right to free primary school education.

Who can argue, apart form the casuistic lawyer obsessed by forms of action, against the direct enforceablility of the right to clean water, to adult education and of minimum nutrition for children against a recalcitrant local authority?

Courts may not be competent to deal with all economic and social rights because the need to improve the minimum floor of rights is dependent on resources. But constitutional devices can be used to ensure that, as in the case of the modern Spanish constitution, an idividual may only be able to rely on some rights when parliament has passed legislation to provide for the benefit to such rights.

The Indian Supreme Court has viewed the first and second generation of rights as two wheels of a chariot, each indispensable to the other.

Enforceability of rights is not dependent solely on judicial intervention. Even our crabby positivists must be able to recognise that political and administrative methods can be used for enforcement. The ANC rejects the marginalisation of socio-economic rights by relegating them to the status of "directive principles of state policy" as in the Namibian constitution (this is like throwing a rope of sand to the poor) or by describing them as enforceable ideals, *pace* the Law Commission.

There has to be a genuine debate as to the most effective way of implementing all human rights. But we must guard against the approach which presents a truncated view of humanity by treating non-justiciable rights as not really rights. Such an approach slides to the perception that they do not reflect fundamental societal values or commitments. A denial of such rights is to accept the bias in favour of the powerful, reflected in extreme form in the Law Commission's unique invention of employer rights.

To deny, therefore, the status of rights to socio-economic claims in a South Africa committed to reconstruction can only perpetuate conflict.

Kader Asmal is professor of human rights law at the University of the Western Cape and a member of the NEC and constitutional committee of the ANC

A new start to a new epoch

304A

W/Mail 29/11 - 5/12/91.

THE constitutional talks get off the ground today with an historic first meeting of the major players. After almost two years of acrimonious preliminaries, the talks are well on track ... even though the National Party and African National Congress had to frantically deny Pan Africanist Congress claims this week that they had connived in a secret pact.

What South Africa can expect is several weeks of walk-outs, sell-outs, poses and postures, of new best friends and fresh antagonisms, break-downs, start-ups, optimism, pessimism, pockets of peace and waves of violence — and in the end, perhaps, lasting agreement.

The PAC, which caused controversy this week with its accusations against the ANC, is the first casualty of negotiations with a major split looming. The most interesting issue from today's talks will be whether the PAC stays in the process.

So far the PAC has made two impossible demands — for an external venue and an external mediator. They will find no support for either of these today.

REVIEW: *Shaping the new Constitution*

Deciding now on our future rights

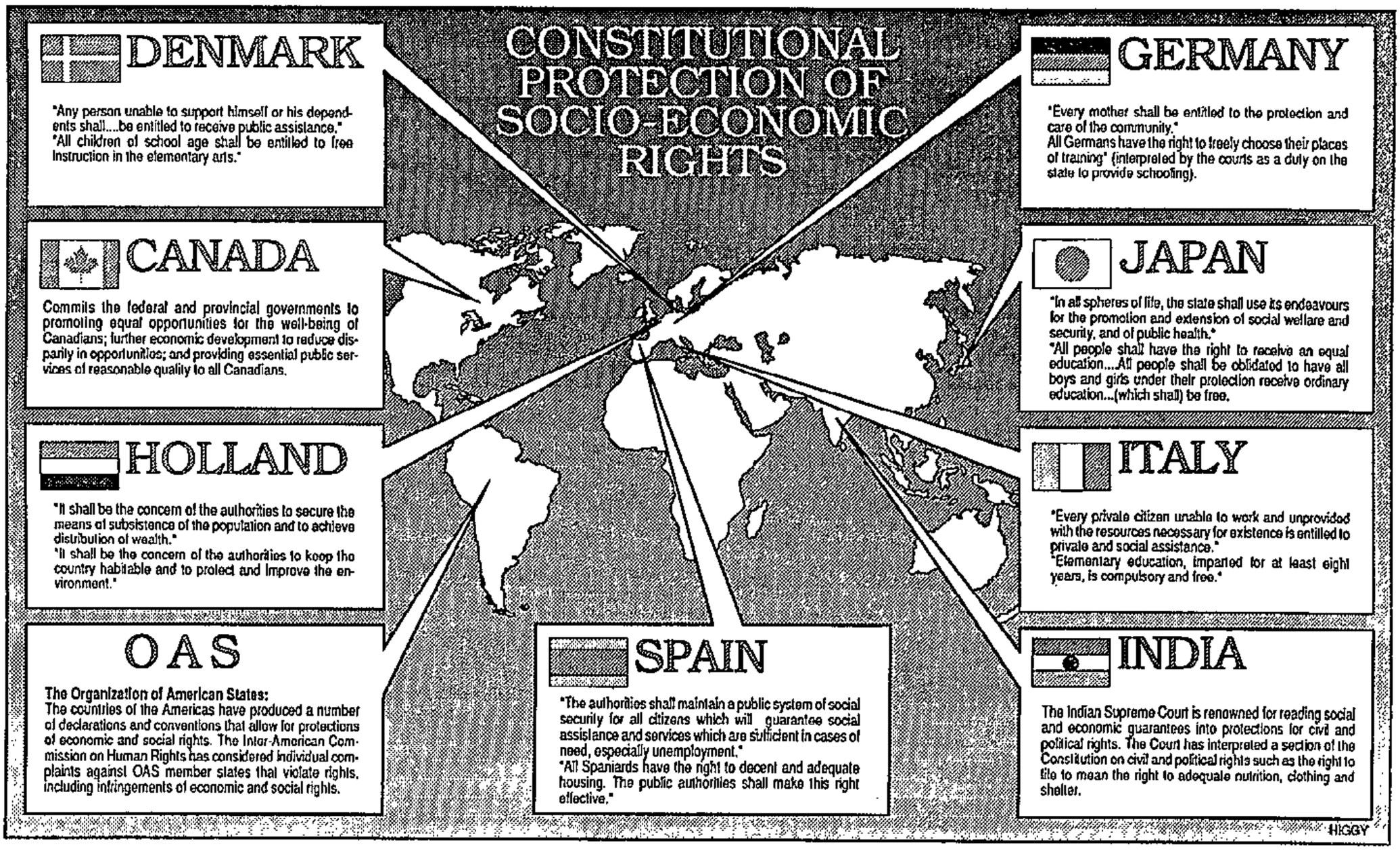
SOUTH AFRICA is on the verge of negotiating a new constitution — an event as significant in our history as the drawing up of the constitution in 1791 was to the United States of America.

But as parties wrangle over procedures, chairmen, venues and forums for drawing up the constitution, and emotions rise over the Springbok symbol and the national anthem, there is a startling silence from the public over human rights.

South Africa has come a long way in the field of rights: both the government and the anti-apartheid opposition agree that there should be a Bill of Rights containing a number of basic liberties that have always been denied to the majority of the population.

However, there is a bitter argument brewing over the incorporation of civil rights such as the abolition of the death penalty and economic rights, the right to shelter, education, health care, a clean environment and social assistance. These are rights that will set the tone for our new society.

As a contribution to the ongoing struggle for human rights, *The Weekly Mail* this week publishes a seven-page supplement reviewing some of the issues that could dominate the public debate over what rights we should put in our constitution.



How the rest of the world looks after second generation human rights **Graphic: JOHN HIGGINSON**

Aluta continua – but no one realises it

After years of suffering under apartheid and fighting the oppressive system, South Africans can now guarantee their rights. But they are strangely apathetic. By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE preparatory meeting for the All-Party Conference to be held today brings talks on the new South Africa a dramatic step closer.

After almost two years of haggling over the obstacles, public confrontation and behind the scenes talks between the country's main political protagonists, the job of making a constitution is about to begin in earnest.

Yet the lengthy delays in talks do not seem to have inspired the kind of public debate that the historic moment in South Africa calls for.

The act of forging the new society is being left to an elite group of politicians and their backroom advisors — constitutional lawyers and negotiation fundis.

This is a strangely passive response from a population where people's rights have been so comprehensively trampled on for so long and where we have witnessed every form of resistance and defiance.

What human rights should we write into our constitution? The question is far from self-evident, and certainly should not be overshadowed by the parallel debate over what kind of democratic system is to be negotiated.

Constitutional rights, usually contained in a Bill of Rights, are an extremely important form of empowerment setting out the basic definition of citizenship. They cannot be taken away at the whim of one election.

The state-appointed Law Commission, under Mr Justice Olivier, has made an impressive contribution to shifting the parameters of the debate on a Bill of Rights.

It has played a major role in consigning racial group rights to the garbage heap.

But the Law Comission's more-than-700-page report is unlikely to be read by more than a handful of the people whose rights are being entrenched in the constitution.

And, while it is progressive on the issue of individual rights, it has been criticised by the African National Congress for being equivocal on a host of fundamental civil liberties, such as the abolition of the death penalty and a freedom of information clause.

An even more serious failing is that it has been accused of being reactionary in its approach to those rights that protect or provide for the basic necessities of life — social assistance, health care, housing, employment, education, the environment, culture and so on.

To prove this point, the passage that is most often quoted from the Law Commission's submissions is the finding that "surely the right to health (of a child) is not a legally enforceable right but a privilege which the creator may grant or take away from human beings".

Legal experts tend to break the two groups of rights down into "first generation", "second generation" and even "third generation" rights. The first generation rights include the political and civil liberties that we most often associate with a Bill of Rights.

These relate to democratic and equality rights, legal rights in the criminal process, freedom of expression, association and movement, and the right to liberty and security of the person.

The distinction between civil and political rights and the "second generation" social and economic rights is that the second generation rights are positive rights dependent on the available economic resources and requiring the active intervention of the state.

Civil and political rights are negative obligations, requiring the government to refrain from unreasonably interfering with the autonomy of an individual or a group.

Third generation rights include the rights to peace and a clean environment — a more recent cluster of rights being written into constitutions.

The second generation rights are not only an innovation of post World War II constitutions, as they are often held to be.

They were recognised as basic rights at the very beginning of the emergence of the liberal state.

As early as 1758, the French philosopher Montesquieu argued that the state owed all citizens "nourishment, suitable clothing and the opportunity for a healthy life".

The French constitution of 1791 required the government to establish a system of free public education and public assistance for orphans, abandoned children and the indigent, and to furnish work for the able-bodied who cannot obtain it for themselves.

Social and economic rights and principles are contained in the constitutions of a majority of the countries of the world, particularly in those of many Western industrialised nations.

Over 55 constitutions have provisions for health care; more than 30 constitutions have a right to housing; more than 60 constitutions enshrine the right to employment; more than 70 constitutions ensure the right to education; the right to a clean and healthy environment is contained in 25 constitutions; and 30 constitutions impose a duty on the state to promote culture.

The Law Commission, while conceding the right to a primary school education, rejects inclusion of the second generation rights largely because it claims they are unenforceable and would undermine the credibility of the Bill of Rights.

However, in many countries, these rights are enforceable. One of the most activist courts in this regard is India.

And, even where they are not enforceable, their entrenchment serves as an expression of shared values and aspirations and as a guide for national policy-making. As the ANC said in its response to the Law Commission report: "The people of South Africa deserve both bread and freedom."

However, the people of South Africa will only get the rights they want if they become more involved in debating and fighting for them.

…age se… …or serious …orse …racing

W/Mail 29/11 – 5/12/91 304A

The constitutional negotiations process gets off the ground today with an historic first meeting of almost all the major players.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK and GAVIN EVANS

SOME 60 delegates and hundreds of advisors will cram into a Johannesburg hotel this morning for the historic beginning of negotiations to forge a democratic South Africa.

Although the talks about talks will simply set the terms for the December 20 and 21 Convention for a Democratic South Africa, never before has such a diverse collection of people representing a variety of views gathered together under one roof.

After almost two years of often acrimonious preliminaries, the talks are well on track — even if the National Party and the African National Congress this week strenuously denied Pan Africanist Congress claims that they had connived in a secret pact.

The way the process has been set up largely prevents the possibility of deadlock until February, when all the major parties will themselves be too locked into the talks to withdraw with ease.

Today's meeting is the first step in a process that, once started, is likely to move more rapidly than many have predicted.

The envisaged convention on December 20 and 21 will be similar to last year's Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings. The aim is that the parties emerge with some form of a declaration of intent, while setting up working committees to narrow the differences on substantive issues.

Issues on the agenda of the convention include the broad constitutional principles, an interim government, the forum to actually draw up the constitution (whether or not to have a constituent assembly), the reincorporation of the homelands, the role of the international community and the time frame within which to achieve these.

If progress is made in the working committee, a follow-up conference in February could ratify agreements that could well set up a one person, one vote referendum and put in place "transitional arrangements" in government before the end of next year.

Several contentious issues around the December convention — such as the convenorship, the venue, the chairmanship, who will attend and whether the media will be allowed in to witness the talks — will feature on today's agenda.

However, none of these are make-or-break issues and representatives of the major parties are confident that the date of December 20 and 21 will be confirmed and, where there are differences, acceptable compromises will be found

The first fissure among the 24 parties invited has been between the 20 who have chosen to participate and the four who are staying away — the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Azanian People's Organisation.

On the right, the Conservative Party — despite its expected overwhelming victory in the Virginia by-election — is mortally divided between those who want to get into the talks and hard-liners opposed to negotiations.

At the moment, CP leader Andries Treurnicht is maintaining a precarious party unity, but the pro-talks faction, including Koos van der Merwe and the Mulder brothers, have a month in which to get on to the negotiations train before it leaves the station platform without them.

The only party of any significance on the left which has declined to attend is Azapo which has opted instead to call a conference of "true patriots" (as opposed to the Patriotic Front), including the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Unity, the considerable fallout from the fractured PAC and one or two others.

Among those who have counted themselves in, the field looks something like this:

●The PAC is already looking like the first casualty of negotiations, with a major split looming. The most interesting issue from today's talks will be whether the PAC stays in the process, and if it does, how much support it will lose.

So far it has made two impossible demands — for an external venue and an external mediator. It will find no support for either of these today and will have to go back to its supporters having made yet another unacceptable compromise, or walk out and save some face.

●The ANC [illegible] ly cleared the largest obstacles over today's meeting: the perspective that a troika of itself, the government and Inkatha has no role to play, the principle of independent convenors, and the inclusion of the TBVC states.

●The ANC, along with its immediate allies, the South African Communist Party, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and the Transkei Military Council, are backing religious leaders Dr Johan Heyns and Bishop Stanley Mogoba to join Mr Justice M Corbett as co-convenors of the December convention. It is opposed to the PAC's call to hold the convention outside the country because it does not want it held away from its supporters.

While the ANC will get its way on some points, it is likely to find the going a lot tougher on the big issues about which the NP will be wanting agreement — the nature of the upper house, the presidency and the cabinet, the inclusion of socio-economic rights in the Bill of Rights, the powers of provincial or federal governments and the future of the security forces.

●The Labour Party, Inyandza (of kaNgwane) and the Intando Yesizwe Party (of kwaNdebele) are all, to varying extents, tending towards the ANC at present. At least as far as the process demands (constituent assembly and interim government), they should follow the Patriotic Front line. But on issues like devolution of power, federalism and the composition of the senate they may be less reliable.

●The Democratic Party, the Venda Military Council and the Tshimoko Progressive Party (Gazankulu) do not fall squarely in either of the main camps. The DP, for instance, has come up with something close to the ANC's proposals on the process leading up to the first non-racial parliamentary elections.

It accepts something approaching the NP's proposals for a multi-party cabinet and a federal system, but parts company with the NP on minority party representation in the senate and on the rotating presidency.

●The government/National Party will be sending separate delegations; the government representing, for instance, the military, the police and the civil service. The NP/government looks ready to compromise on the transitional arrangements in return for some tough compromises from the ANC on constitutional principles, and perhaps a substantial time period in which coalition rule is enforced.

●The Ciskei government, National People's Party, Solidarity and Dikwankwetla Party (QwaQwa) look likely to coalesce with the NP on most issues of substance and would be the most likely partners if the NP pushed ahead with its Christian Democratic Alliance idea.

●The Bophuthatswana government is also a sure-fire supporter of the NP, except for the lengths that President Lucas Mangope is going to to wriggle out of re-incorporation (which the NP accepts as inevitable).

●The kwaZulu government/ Inkatha Freedom Party, another potential ally of the NP, is a special case. In the run-up to today's preparatory meeting, the IFP has already showed that it is prepared to vent its independence by blocking progress at every turn.

The IFP will be hard-pressed to explain its insistence that the two church leaders not be co-convenors of the December convention.

What we're in line for is intense horse trading — of walk-outs, sell-outs, poses and postures, of new best friends and fresh antagonisms, breakdowns, start-ups, optimism, pessimism, pockets of peace and waves of violence — and in the end, perhaps, lasting agreement. And it all starts today.



Angry reaction ... PAC members bury Baby Mongwageloa, who was allegedly 'necklaced' by ANC rivals
Photo: TOM EDLEY

PAC digs in its heels over talks

W/Mail 29/11 – 5/12/91

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Pan Africanist Congress' blistering attack on the African National Congress over an alleged deal with the National Party this week is a reflection of the movement's struggle to appease its own internal factions and avoid a split.

And, while both the ANC and the PAC have played down the effect of the attack on the Patriotic Front alliance, there is little at the moment to show for the much-heralded "unity of the oppressed" that the PF promised.

The ANC, the PAC and other PF partners will not be united as a delegation at today's talks — the PAC has denounced the ANC for "deceit and duplicity" and a member of the PAC was "necklaced", allegedly by ANC rivals in the West Rand township of Munsieville last week.

In an angry speech at the funeral of Baby Mongwageloa, PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke called upon PAC members under attack from other groups to hit back. "If levels of intimidation increase, so should our levels of resistance ... we have a duty to defend ourselves," he said.

Though Moseneke argued strongly for the principle of the PF, speaking of the need for the oppressed to speak in one voice, he urged PAC members who were unable to reform sectarian (that is, ANC) civic organisations to leave and form their own civics.

The hard-line tone of Moseneke's speech and the decision by the movement to dig in its heels over a venue outside South Africa for the talks also reflect the sensitivity of the leadership to charges that it is selling out by joining in the all-party talks.

Divisions over whether to get involved in negotiations go back as far as the PAC's congress in December last year. Opposition to the talks is strong within the student wing of the PAC, the Pan African Students' Organisation (Paso).

These divisions will come to a head this weekend, when PAC members from the Joint East and West Rand Facilitating Committee of the PAC have called a meeting in Katlehong in opposition to the leadership's decision to participate in the talks.

However, while there are unresolved divisions among the rank and file, the PAC is under intense pressure from some of its foreign backers, such as Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, to participate in the talks.

REVIEW: *Shaping the new Constitution*

● From PAGE 19

ing in the development of Hansard — is another landmark, giving recognition of a public right to knowledge as to the performance of their supposed representatives in government. And that was of course extended in the United States in more recent times by the Freedom of Information Act, giving recognition to a public right of access to knowledge about the internal workings of the mechanisms of power.

Right the wrongs via information

W|Mail 29|11-5|12|91 (304A)

Access to knowledge was limited in early times by the scarcity of books (although the great library at Alexandria was reputed to contain 700 000 works) as well as literacy. But with recognition of a public right to education — belated though it is in this country — coupled with the invention of the printing press and now the technological and communications revolution, we are fast moving towards the creation of the global library which will be the final consummation of the process which Gaius Pollio set in train two thousand years ago.

And it is surely in recognition of that process that a new South African constitution should entrench rights of access to knowledge on a scale in advance of even the United States.

With the help of computers, modems and data-banks — publicly available at library centres — the very minutiae of government actions can be placed on record for information and, if needs be, judgment.

Whether it be the conveyance from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria of a battered and naked black consciousness leader in the back of a police vehicle, or the unprovoked invasion of Angola.

"National security interests"? A plague on the phrase which has been used by our masters as a cover for murder and massacre.

In the 12th century there was an epigram:

"A monastery without a library is like a castle without an armoury."

Today it can be said that a public without knowledge is a people without power.

Right the wrongs via information

W|Mail 29|11-5|12|91 (304A)

The victims of apartheid must take a art in constitution-making and the secrecy in the 'interest of security' must end for South Africans to ensure their freedoms.

By ROSS ST JOHN

CONSTITUTIONS are intended to protect potential victims from the abuse of power, so the job of constitution-making rightly belongs to the millions of South Africans with the experience of victimisation.

And, looking back over the sorry history of the abuse of power in the apartheid era, those constitution-makers should perhaps take heed of one constant; the instinct which those in power showed to hide their activities from the public gaze.

The military took refuge behind the Defence Act for their murderous attacks on neighbouring states; the police hid behind the Police Act to beat, electrocute and kill; con artists in positions of political authority exploited sanctions-busting subterfuge to cheat and rob the country and the Nationalists used the whole paraphanalia of secrecy laws in general to hide — at least from their own constituency — the disastrous path down which they were leading South Africa.

Taken together, these two facts — the need for the victims of yesteryear both to involve themselves in constitution-making and the need to combat state secrecy — suggest that a crucial part of South Africa's new constitution should be guaranteed access by the public to information. And by demanding it they will be placing themselves in the vanguard of a process which stretches back over centuries.

Recognition of the public "right to knowledge" has a long history in western civilisation, which can perhaps be said to have begun with the concept of the public library.

It was as long ago as the first century BC that Gaius Pollio used war booty to build a library in Rome's Temple of Libery which, in the words of Pliny, made "the ingenuity of man a public thing".

And the principle continued to be recognised down the ages — through the mediaeval period, when the monasteries routinely allowed access to their great collections, down to the late 19th and 20th century when the task of bringing information to public attention became pro-active with the development of the municipal and circulating libraries in Europe and America.

It was not without opposition, rulers justifiably fearing the empowerment of the people inherent in the spread of knowledge.

In the mid-19th century, when the House of Commons debated legislation to promote the development of libraries, opponents warned that they would become "schools of political agitation".

The idiocy of which remark perhaps explains the rear guard action fought by the Commons to prevent publication of its own debates.

The well-known triumph of the British press in this respect — result-

To PAGE 22

Labour's Hoods joins NP

Political Staff (3044)

CAPE TOWN — Dr Willie Hoods, MEC for Transvaal who, this week, resigned from the Labour Party, has joined the National Party.

Dr Hoods joins the man he ousted last year as party chairman, the Rev Andrew Julies, who earlier this year crossed the floor in the House of Representatives to join the NP.

Dr Hoods said he could no longer indentify himself with the course of the LP leadership and its association with the Patriotic Front. STAR 2/11/91

But LP spokesman Peter Hendrickse said Dr Hoods had been a party spokesman at the Patriotic Front.

"If he was so unhappy why did he not resign then?"



William Hoods . . . no longer identifies with LP.

Mr Hendrickse challenged Dr Hoods to resign as Transvaal MEC because "earlier this year he had called on Labour Party MPs who had defected to the NP to resign their seats".

Patrick Laurence looks at the role of the self-governing states in the multiparty Talks

The battle for the homelands

STAR 29/11/91 (304A)

THE meeting today of representatives of at least 20 political organisations and institutions marks the last important step before the start on December 20 of substantive negotiations for a political settlement in South Africa.

The main actors — FW de Klerk's governing National Party, Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and Clarence Makwetu's Pan-Africanist Congress — are well known, even to casual observers.

The lesser known actors, however, are not there merely as stage props. They could tip the balance on one or another, depending on how and where they align themselves in coming debate on critical issues.

Today's meeting is concerned primarily with procedural questions: who should convene the multiparty conference, how should its chairmen be chosen, what criteria should be used to determine the size of the delegations, whether decisions will be taken by majority vote or consensus.

More substantive matters will be debated at the multiparty conference which starts on December 20.

Two substantive items on the conference agenda are transitional arrangements for the governance of South Africa until the inauguration of a new constitution and the new constitution itself (including the question of whether it should be drafted by the multiparty conference or a popularly elected constitutent assembly or a combination of both).

The potential importance of the lesser actors has been manifest in the concerted efforts by Mr de Klerk's NP and the ANC to woo them on to their side. The NP has talked loosely of an alliance of Christian, democratic forces. The ANC, with the help of Mr Makwetu's PAC has gone a stage further: it has formed the Patriotic Front.

The lesser known organisations and institutions include the ruling parties or governments in South Africa's 10 "black homelands".

The ANC seems, on the surface, to have stolen a march on the NP in the battle for the allegiance of these largely regional forces. Representatives of governing parties or governments in six "homelands" have identified with the Patriotic Front by apparently associating themselves with a Front declaration denouncing the "De Klerk regime" as illegitimate.

The six are Transkei's Military Council, KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, KwaNdebele's Intando Yesizwe Party, Lebowa's United People's Front, Venda's Council for National Unity and QwaQwa's Dikwankwetla Party.

But, with the possible exception of Transkei's Military Council, none can be assumed to be firmly in the Patriotic Front camp. The probabilities are that they are keeping their options open while outwardly going along with the Front's radical rhetoric.

Leaders from the four "homelands" which did not send representatives to the Patriotic Front conference last month — Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu and the IFP, Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Bophuthatswana Democratic Party, Professor Hudson Ntswanisi of Gazankulu and the Ximoko Progessive Party, and Brigadier Oupa Gqoza of the Ciskei and the African Democratic Movement — are attending the constitutional talks as independent actors.

Some ANC-PAC propagandists, applying the dictum that those who are not with us are against us, have branded them government stooges. Their utterances are good propapanda but bad sociology.

Brigadier Gqoza, who took power after a coup in the Ciskei in March last year, remains an enigma. But Messrs Buthelezi, Mangope and Ntswanisi are men of independent mind. They may well find themselves on the same side as Mr de Klerk on some — perhaps even most — issues; that, however, would be because of a convergence of interests, not because they are taking orders from him.

By the same token they could vote with the ANC or the PAC on some issues, provided the Patriotic Front does not adopt a hostile attitude which alienates and excludes them completely.

The battle for the allegiance of these forces has only just begun; its outcome is critical to the approaching negotiations and, beyond that, to a nonracial election for either a new government or a constituent assembly. The importance of these largely regionally based forces is manifest in calculations made by the Development Bank of Southern Africa; it reckons that of South Africa's projected total of 17,3 million voters, more than 45 percent live in the 10 "homelands".

Put another way, excluding whites, coloured and Indians, who account for nearly 20 percent of the potential voters, the "black homelands" contain well over 50 percent of the black vote. That vote is obviously crucial to the result of any nonracial election.

The NP's proposed constitution, with its emphasis on regional autonomy and its plan to boost the representation of regionally based political parties in the proposed upper chamber of the legislature — or "house of minorities" — is clearly designed to appeal to smaller parties.

"None of these organisations have ever had to compete against the ANC or the PAC in a free and fair election before. No easy assumptions can be made in the contest ahead. For the immediate future, however, their votes at the negotiating table are important chips.

In broad terms the same analysis applies to the majority parties in the coloured and Indian chambers, Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party and J N Reddy's Solidarity. They, too, are being wooed by the NP and the ANC as potential allies at the negotiating table. In the case of Mr Hendrickse LP, however, it is strange courtship. It is conducted amidst threats by the suitors to absorb the LP if it does not respond positively. Mr de Klerk's NP has won over some 35 MPs from Mr Hendrickse's ranks; Mr Mandela's ANC, having installed Allan Boesak as regional chairman in the coloured heartland of the Western Cape, has launched a vigorous drive to win coloured voters. □

White poll could be risky for FW

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

IN THE wake of the National Party's crushing defeat by the Conservative Party in Virginia, President De Klerk has put on a brave face, but the swing to the right highlights the risk of a referendum for whites on a new constitution.

Mr De Klerk has said before that South Africa cannot afford to have its new negotiated constitution rejected in a referendum on the basis of a right-inspired campaign.

But the result in Virginia and what analysts predict will be another loss in the next by-election in Potchefstroom will serve to strengthen the anti-reform lobby. 304A

Both Mr De Klerk and Free State leader Mr Kobie Coetsee insisted yesterday that the loss of Virginia by more than 3 000 votes was "definitely not" a response to the government's reform programme.

They also rejected the view that the result was an indication of the likely pattern in a general election.

Mr Coetsee said Virginia was lost on the basis of local issues. He highlighted poor local economic conditions, violence on the mines and retrenchments.

TIRT 30/11/91

Mr De Klerk believed the absence of "unusual" local factors in Potchefstroom would make it a far better barometer of voter sentiments. A date has yet to be set for that by-election, due following the death of The Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange.

Analysts think differently, most predicting an almost certain loss for the NP.

Speaking, ironically in a way, during the first historic meeting of the all-party talks steering committee, Mr De Klerk made it clear yesterday that the NP would continue carrying out its mandate of negotiating a new constitution.

Its defeat on the Free State goldfields would not deter the NP from continuing with its reform plans.

Nor, he indicated, would it deter the NP from submitting the result of negotiations to democratic testing.

However, many in the National Party are becoming increasingly concerned about how well they will fare in a whites-only referendum on a new constitution.

However irrelevant whites-only by-elections have become, the result in Virginia gives credence to the fear that President De Klerk may not get the endorsement he has promised to seek in a referendum once a new constitution has been negotiated.

If, as Mr De Klerk has said, conditions in Potchefstroom make it a better barometer of national voting intentions among whites, then the next by-election will be critical.

1 The name is ... CODESA

IT'S

PETER FABRICIUS and ALAN DUNN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS for a new constitution will be formally launched on December 20 and 21 when at least 20 political parties and governments sit down at a Convention for a Democratic South Africa — to be known as Codesa.

Codesa will take place at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport and will be observed by guests from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the European Community.

The name Codesa replaces unwieldy and conflicting names for the all-party conference proposed by different organisations.

The historic decisions were taken on the successful first day of a preparatory committee meeting of 20 parties and governments at the Holiday Inn at Jan Smuts yesterday.

The committee meeting continues today.

The committee agreed on Codesa's agenda including general constitutional principles, a constitution-making body or process, transitional arrangements or interim government, the future of the TBVC states and the role of the international community.

Twelve delegates from each of the 20 political parties and governments represented at the preparatory committee will be invited to Codesa.

A steering committee of the 20 delegations is likely to be formed to make detailed arrangements for Codesa.

One of its duties will be to try to secure the attendance of the four parties which declined invitations to the preparatory meeting — the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the AWB and Azapo.

After weeks of wrangling among parties, the preparatory committee meeting's first day went extremely well. Most delegates said the mood of the meeting had been good with occasional moments of tension

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We have finally arrived at the point where we have triggered off a process that will lead to a democratic dispensation where our people will have won the freedom they have been struggling for for years and years."

A senior government delegate described the meeting as a "watershed" in the long historical process since 1910 of broadening the basis of the constitution.

The only really sour note was struck by the PAC which said afterwards that a joint statement issued by the two judges who chaired the meeting had not reflected their view.

Only the PAC, which wants the conference to be held outside the country, opposed the decision to hold Codesa in South Africa. It was over-ruled.

As a consolation to the PAC, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is understood to have agreed that all PAC exiles will be in-

■ Turn to page 3

2 The date is . . . DEC 20/21 (304A) ARG 30/11/91

3 The venue is . . . JAN SMUTS

A DEAL!



☐ **SHAKE, COMRADE:** SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo, left, takes the hand of Defence Minister Roelf Meyer at the start of the talks. Getting into the spirit of things along with them is Mr Sydney Mafumadi, an SACP delegate.

FW: Reform to go on despite swing to right

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night that the National Party would continue with its mandate to negotiate a new constitution despite the Virginia by-election result. (30/11)

Election analysts predicted that reformist white voters would still win a referendum despite the 15% swing to the right in Virginia. CT 30/11/91

Political analyst Mr Donald Simpson said once the 3 166 CP victory margin was adjusted for low turnout and "excess CP effort" in the by-election, the NP could still win 60% of the white vote in an election or referendum.

The "adjusted" projection for a general election based on the Virginia outcome was 84 seats for the NP and 72 for the CP.

He predicted a narrow win for the CP in a by-election early next year in Potchefstroom, another highly marginal NP seat.

Another political analyst, Professor Willem Kleynhans, said that by-elections since the 1989 general election indicated that the CP could win seats from the NP in urban areas and was no longer merely a rural party.

"If there's a general election tomorrow the CP stands to gain 15 new seats in the Transvaal, 10 in the Cape, four in the OFS and two in Natal," (a total gain of 31 seats) he said.

● Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht says the CP would probably win a general election if its Virginia win indicated a trend.

20 parties, governments to take part in 'Convention for Democratic SA'

D-Day set for vital talks

STAR 30/11/91. (304A)

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS for a new constitution will be formally launched on December 20 and 21 when at least 20 political parties and governments will sit down at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa — to be known as Codesa.

Codesa will take place at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport and will be observed by guests from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the European Community.

The name Codesa replaces the unwieldy and conflicting names for the multiparty conference proposed by different organisations.

Report, picture on Page 2.

The historic decisions were taken on the highly successful first day of a preparatory committee meeting of 20 parties and governments at the Holiday Inn at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. The committee meeting will continue today.

The committee agreed that Codesa's agenda would include general constitutional principles, a constitution-making body or process, transitional arrangements or interim government, the future of TBVC states and the international community's role.

Twelve delegates from each of the 20 political parties and governments represented at the preparatory committee will be invited to Codesa.

A steering committee of the 20 delegations is likely to be formed to make detailed arrangements for the talks.

One of its duties will be to try to secure the attendance of the parties which declined invitations to the preparatory meeting.

These were the Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Azapo.

After weeks of wrangling among parties, the preparatory committee meeting's first day went extremely well.

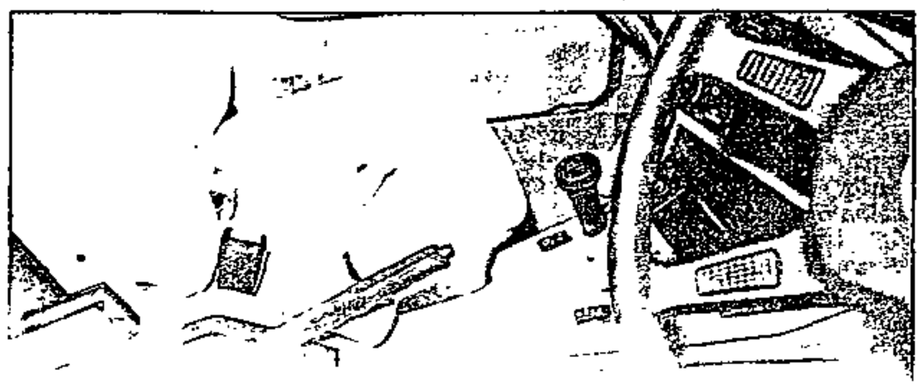
Most delegates said the mood of the meeting had been good, with occasion-



HAPPY TOGETHER: The Scotts in happier times spent last Christmas with close friend Eileen Healy (left). John Scott plays with Sarah (5). Next to her is baby Helene (2) and mother Andrea. ● Photographs: JOHN HOGG

Eerie combination of slaughter, family bliss

BRONWYN WILKINSON



"I'M SORRY" was all John Scott had to say in a note left on his kitchen table after brutally stabbing to death his wife and two young daughters some time on Thursday night.

The 41-year-old managing director of a German chemical company also left instructions on how to dispose of his R2 million fortune

"John [illegible] gave [illegible] and [illegible]

the domestic servant could not get into the house and called a neighbour, who called the SAP. Policemen broke a garage window and found Mr Scott's body lying in the car.

According to the police, the letter Mr Scott left on the kitchen table raised more questions than it answered.

A successful businessman, Mr Scott was the managing director of the German company Wacker Chemicals.

He had been to Germany on a busi-

TPA identifies massive tracts for housing

STAR 30/11/91

SHIRLEY WOODGATE

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration is believed to be on the verge of identifying about five vast tracts of land in the northern PWV region to be developed as site-and-service projects to meet massive urbanisation.

This follows the controversial establishment of Ivory Park on the eastern boundary of President Park, Midrand, where about 85 000 homeless people have been settled within less than two years on 711 ha demarcated for informal settlement.

Sources have indicated that the first of the sites could be available from as early as March.

According to reliable sources, the bulk of these settlements will accommodate Johannesburg's northern neighbours, specifically Sandton, Randburg, Midrand and Verwoerdburg. The following developments are expected to be announced soon:

- It is speculated that the so-called "Norweto" or Diepsloot area is being considered to accomodate Sandton workers from Zevenfontein where squatter shacks were recently demolished.
- Cosmo City on the

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AN INVITATION

YOU CAN'T

AFFORD TO MISS

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Most delegates said the mood of the meeting had been good, with occasional moments of tension.

Triggered

African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We have triggered a process that will lead to a democratic dispensation in which our people will have won the freedom they have been struggling for for years and years."

A senior Government delegate described the meeting as a "watershed" in the long historical process since 1910 of broadening the basis of the constitution.

The only real sour note was struck by the Pan Africanist Congress, which said afterwards that a joint statement issued by the two judges who chaired the meeting had not reflected their view.

Only the PAC, which wants the conference to be held outside the country, opposed the decision to hold Codesa in South Africa. It was overruled.

As a consolation to the PAC, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is understood to have agreed that

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Codesa

● FROM PAGE 1.

all PAC exiles would be indemnified to attend the convention.

The meeting also agreed that the Government would be represented at Codesa as a separate delegation from the National Party, but with no voting power.

The PAC voiced its dissent from the start by objecting to the choice of two Transvaal Supreme Court judges, Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabort, as chairmen of the meeting.

However, the PAC did not walk out, raising hopes that it is now fully aboard the negotiations process.

One of the contentious issues which will have to be resolved today is who will convene and chair Codesa.

The PAC wants the convenor to be a foreign organisation and there are also differences between the ANC and IFP on whether clerics should be involved.

But it is widely accepted that the meeting will agree today on remaining issues.

At yesterday's meeting, the IFP asked for separate representation at Codesa for the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people. The meeting provisionally agreed there should be only one delegation for this grouping.

The Government delegation at first rejected the proposal for the Non-Aligned Movement to be invited to Codesa but relented after Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen telephoned President de Klerk.

In the absence of a chairman at the start, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer opened the meeting.



TOWARD TALKS . . . African National Congress general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (left) and Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer register at the venue yesterday where 20 political groups gathered for two days of talks to prepare for constitutional negotiations. Picture: AP

From page 1

take their places at the head of the horseshoe-shaped conference table (30419)

The meeting then moved to the adoption of an agenda for the December 20-21 conference, the name of the conference, its purpose, its first meeting date, a list of invitees and size of delegations.

It stalled momentarily, a homeland source said, when the government delegation objected to the presence of the Non-Aligned Movement at the coming conference. This was overcome when other delegations pointed out that many of the NAM delegates would in fact be members of the other international missions as well. ET 30/11/91

The meeting continues today to consider the chairmanship and the standing rules for December.

ANC accused of colluding with Government

PAC rocks the talks boat

STAR 30/11/91

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE historic preparatory conference for substantive negotiations ended on an acrimonious note last night, with the Pan Africanist Congress accusing the African National Congress and the Government of collusion to ensure that their will prevailed.

In a statement read out at the end of talks, Barney Desai of the PAC referred to a "clear pattern" in which the ANC and "the regime" supported one another against the PAC.

Noting that ANC-Government proposals were almost invariably backed by delegates from the "homelands" and the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament, Mr Desai said: "Without exception, proposals made by the PAC were rejected."

Consulted

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa refused to be drawn into a public row with the PAC, insisting that the ANC was faithfully fulfilling its "historic responsibility to ensure the establishment of peace and democracy" in South Africa.

Mr Ramaphosa emphatically denied that the ANC had colluded with the De Klerk administration in any way. It had consulted with the Government, as it had conferred with the PAC and a whole range of political parties at a "high level", he added.

Mr Desai, who refused to take questions from journalists, bitterly recited a series of PAC proposals which had been rejected by the ANC-Government axis.

They included proposals that:

- Yesterday's meeting should be chaired in rotation by the PAC and the ANC in terms of the Patriotic Front declaration. The meeting voted that it should be chaired by two judges, Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed and Mr Justice Piet Schabort.
- The media be allowed to attend all sessions. The conference voted to exclude the press, except for brief "photo sessions".
- The pending substantive negotiations should be called a Conference for a Constituent Assembly. The meeting opted for the label Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).
- The pending negotiations should not be held in South Africa but at a neutral venue outside South Africa where no single party would be at an advantage. The meeting agreed that the negotiations should he held at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

In a clear expression of discontent, Mr Desai said of the official statement, read out by judges Mahomed and Schabort: "It does not reflect the PAC's position."

But at the end of his address to journalists, Mr Desai acknowledged that the PAC would be present when the meeting reconvenes today, thus indicating, for the moment, that it would not withdraw.

There was one minor consolation for the PAC. While its demand that the negotiation should be chaired by an eminent person from outside South Africa was rejected, the meeting did agree to invite representatives from foreign governments and international organisations to observe the negotiation process.

The meeting agreed to invite observers from the UN, the OAU, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Another hurdle remained to be cleared last night: insistence by the Inkatha Freedom Party that the KwaZulu government should be represented at the negotiations as well.

The presence at yesterday's meeting of delegations from the Government and the National Party established, in the view of the IFP, a precedent for dual representation of the IFP and the KwaZulu government.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who headed the three-man Government delegation, adopted a positive note. He described yesterday's conference as historic, saying it prepared the way for "bridging the gap between peoples and points of view".

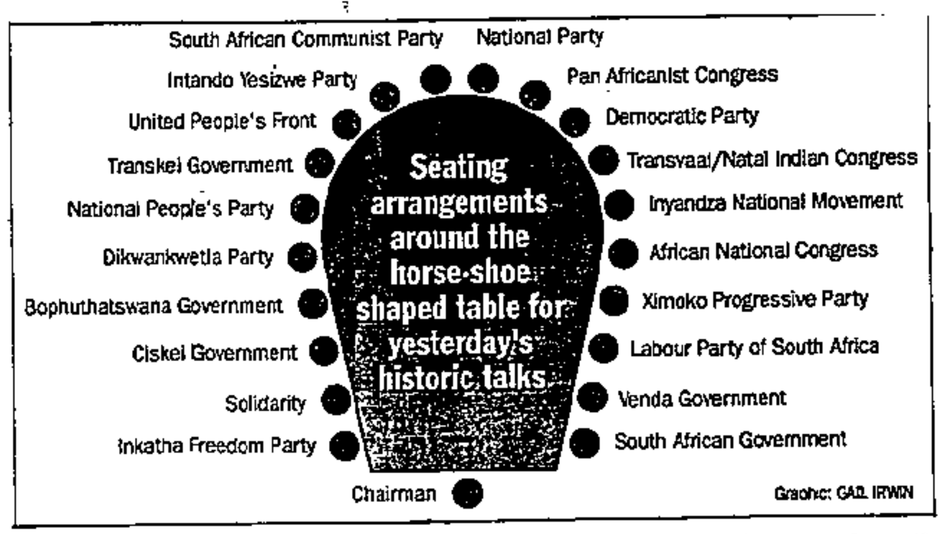
Unification

The choice of the name Codesa for the substantive negotiations was reminiscent of the National Convention of 1908-1909, which paved the way for the unification of the two former Boer Republics and the two British colonies into the Union of South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.

The presence at yesterday's meeting of South Africa's four nominally independent states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — and their scheduled presence at Codesa — foreshadowed that the Union which the nation's founding fathers established in 1910 and had been destroyed by apartheid would be re-established in the settlement ahead.



SMILES ALL ROUND: SACP leader Joe Slovo (left) shakes hands with Defence Minister Roelf Meyer at the start of talks yesterday. Sydney Mufamadi of the ANC's national executive committee looks on. Photograph: AP.



Analysis of Nat rule sheds light on De Klerk's plans

3044

STAR 30/11/91

SHAUN JOHNSON
Political Editor

PERHAPS the most intriguing element of all in the "real" negotiations, now to all intents and purposes under way in South Africa is the mind of President de Klerk.

Theories abound as to what is motivating him and his party as they lead white South Africa into the unknown, what his vision is of how the country will look when it is all over, and whether he has a secret bottom line — and a "Plan B" to be activated if that line is crossed.

The truth is that nobody, the reams of newspaper speculation notwithstanding, really knows.

But this does not discourage students of the De Klerk psyche — nor can it, because the answers hold one key to the future.

Those students of De Klerkism (and, as a natural corollary, the history of apartheid and the National Party) could do worse than look for clues in a just-published book by Wits University lecturer Henry Kenney.

Titled "Power, Pride and Prejudice: The Years of Afrikaner Nationalist Rule in South Africa", Kenney's book claims admirably little for itself — but provides an empirical and analytical springboard for a down-to-earth understanding of Mr de Klerk and all who sail with him.

"This book simply attempts to tell a story," Kenney writes. "How the Nationalists arrived in power, what they wanted for themselves and did to other South Africans in pursuing their own self-interest, how their policies changed over the years and why."

Wondering

In fulfilling these tasks, however, the author provides a refreshingly non-ideological — essentially *human* — framework for wondering about what the Nationalists might do next.

Kenney does not think that Nationalists in particular, or Afrikaners in general, are an especially weird breed.

"Apartheid can most plausibly be seen as a manifestation of what economists have come to call 'rent-seeking': the use of government power by interest groups to obtain special privileges for themselves. It was about the mobilisation of Afrikaners as Afrikaners to confer favours on their own," he says.

On this all-too-human basis, the mystique falls away, and assessments can begin to be made about possible future courses of action — in terms of how best the NP believes it can protect those original interests and gains, given that it no longer has the power to shape the political landscape on its own.

What Kenney is saying, if I understand him correctly, is that the NP Government should be viewed as not being particularly different from a company which has long enjoyed a monopoly, suddenly realising it cannot be sustained, and looks for ways of salvaging what it can for its shareholders.

Because the board of directors have identified the problem early, they strategise from a position of relative strength. Their actions can be assessed — and, to a degree, predicted — in this context.

Of course it cannot be quite that simple, but Kenney's approach has the attractive effect of stripping away confusing complexity.

His assessment of Mr de Klerk, the man, is similarly direct. Mr de Klerk's background meant that from the time he assumed the leadership of the NP, he had a foot in both the "verlig" and "verkramp" (the terms retain their value, all these years on) camps.

"His very lack of previous commitment," says Kenney, "made it easier to respond to rapidly changing circumstances, none of them favourable to white supremacy."

Concocted

He goes further: "The De Klerk course since 1990 has had nothing to do with previous Nationalist policy except in the most broadly vacuous 'reformist' sense. It was a genuine break with the past, to which politicians can hardly ever bear to admit."

And so it is with the NP, which these days goes to great lengths to convince its followers that the current course was concocted in 1986, that there is therefore coherence, and control.

But, says Kenney, "there can be no question that De Klerk suddenly, expediently, decided to throw policies overboard which he had once found in his own interests to defend".

Accept this, and apparently irrational changes of mood and rhetoric (as we have seen recently in De Klerk's *kragdadig* showings at NP congresses) become comprehensible.

Historical

Kenney is telling us — as others have said about Nelson Mandela — that at the end of the day Mr de Klerk is a politician, not a messiah. And politicians can be judged, up to a point, by standards that cross geographical and cultural boundaries.

The bulk of Kenney's book is not concerned with prediction, however, but with historical explanation — which, I suggest, can be very useful for those concerned with prediction. He is not an admirer of the ANC, and this will not endear him to that organisation's uncritical admirers.

He is, however, an admirer of non-nonsense historical exactitude, and the untrammelled thinking that can result from an open-minded reading of it.

This should be reason enough to commend him to anyone trying to reach their own conclusions about what is going on.

Day NP lost its Virginia

STAR 30/11/91. (304A)

Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



IT WAS a week of romance and rancour in new-South African politics. In other words, things were entirely normal.

The National Party, reluctantly and after many years of waiting, prepared to lose its Virginia.

The moment approached not without a struggle, but psychoanalytical opinion concurred that the trauma would not cause a dramatic change of behaviour in the blushing, politically deflowered ones.

Far away from this all-white clinch, the venue was being prepared for political intercourse which would have had the architects of the old Immorality Act fainting in horror.

In a hotel near Jan Smuts airport (chosen to facilitate dramatic departures?) leaders of every hue — politically — as well as pigmentally speaking — gathered for the talks to end all talks (about talks).

This time around, as opposed to the last national convention in 1908, the black people in the conference room were not there just to serve the tea.

Precisely because of this, many white people whose ancestors participated in 1908 declined to attend in 1991. National conventions, in their view, had deteriorated markedly in the intervening 80 years.

The build-up was spiced-up by a furious tiff between a recently-engaged couple called PAC and ANC. ANC had been cheating on PAC, the aggrieved party fumed — and with a sworn enemy (called NP) at that.

The engagement was not summarily called off, but several soothing candle-lit dinners were clearly called for.

Meanwhile, in the thriving metropolis of Phuthaditjhaba, the strangest relationship of all was blossoming. Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supremo Eugene Terreblanche joined hands with Chief Minister T K Mopeli of QwaQwa, and the two emerged from their soiree to say they had "found considerable common ground".

This was a most astonishing statement, leading immediately to speculation that the problem of where to put the boerestaat had finally been resolved — although it was not quite clear as to what was in it for the QwaQwanites. "QwaTransvaal" did have a certain ring to it, though.

The onset of real, as opposed to play-play, negotiations politics this week has brought many chickens home to roost, turned some worms and let several cats out of various bags. Now that the real thing is getting under way, people are having to get real.

The time for being more-radical-than-thou (on all sides of the political spectrum) is rapidly passing, and soon there will be those who are on the negotiations train, and those who are left at the station.

This explains some of the contortions through which, for example, the PAC and the Conservative Party are going. In terms of multiparty negotiations, the PAC is on the inside looking out, and the CP is on the outside looking in.

There are powerful factions in both parties which would like to see that situation reversed: left-wingers in the PAC who want the organisation to pull out, and "verligtes" in the CP who want the party to pull in.

The internal power struggles are now under way in earnest, and will continue until they are resolved. This could lead, in the new year, to factions peeling off from both the PAC and the CP. They will pass each other, one lot heading in and the other out, in the corridor of the conference centre.

This is a good development, and it is of course not confined to the PAC and the CP. All parties face a year of tough decisions, and compromises. Those who are not really serious about a negotiated settlement will watch from the wings, and those who stay inside will have to show stamina — and thick skins.

The fact that the near-farcical series of dramas which preceded Friday's meeting (Mandela's preemptive announcement of the date, Inkatha's quibbling, De Klerk's kragdadig outbursts, the PAC's conspiracy theories) did not succeed in scuttling the whole thing, is an indication that the once-fragile negotiations process has already developed some useful callouses.